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Indian Key

By Michael G. Schene*

JACOB HOUSMAN

Sometime in the early 1820's a young captain from Staten Island arrived off the Florida keys in a small schooner recently purloined from his father.¹ As the story goes, "the young *Captain* . . . was too much of a sailor to keep to fresh water, and one day took it into his head to make a 'West Indie' trip without asking his father's permission. . . ." The inexperienced captain struck the Florida reef, damaging "... his little craft so much that he was obliged to put into Key West for repairs, during which time he got such an insight into the 'wrecking' business that he concluded to become a wrecker himself."²

The new salvor readily grasped that the curious web of relationships among the Key West merchants permitted them to reap most of the profits derived from the salvage business. A former Key Wester charged that the same merchant often functioned in a "quadruple capacity" supposedly representing all interests. This conflict of interests was, of course, impossible to reconcile, and the writer concluded that most merchants pursued their own interests "with most assiduity."³ Additional income was derived from the drayage, wharfage, and storage fees levied on the cargo once it was landed. The sale of the cargo again presented this small clique with an opportunity to realize a profit. The Key West correspondent for a popular journal (mentioned above)

*Mr. Schene is employed by the Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management as a research historian. He is indebted to the Division of Archives, History and Records Management; the Division of Recreation and Parks; and the Florida Bicentennial Commission, for the support which he received in compiling the research material for this article.

claimed that he had often witnessed valuable cargoes being auctioned off for a fraction of their actual value. This situation resulted, he concluded, from an absence of competition as well as collusive agreements among the merchants.⁴

Although Captain Housman may have tried to invade this domain, and had been repulsed, it is more likely that he shrewdly grasped the significance of an uncontested monopoly. By eliminating any competition, and as his critics charged, any legal restraints, he could maximize the profits derived from wrecking. An isolated island, strategically located in the keys—it was almost midway between Key Biscayne and Key West, would satisfy his needs. The island had certain other advantages. Situated opposite Alligator Reef, it was also only about thirty-five miles from Carysfort Reef, considered by most mariners to be the most dangerous portion of the reef.⁵ The harbor was said to be the equal of any to be found in the keys.⁶ Sparsely settled and still public land—with fresh water available at Upper Matecumbe Key—the venturesome captain must have considered the minuscule key an ideal place for his future empire.⁷

When Housman first visited the key, he must have met the island's few inhabitants, which included Joseph Prince and Silas Fletcher—the first white settlers that we can identify. The latter settled on Indian Key in April, 1824, selling goods for the merchant firm of Snyder and Appeleby.⁸ Prince was then hired and assisted in the construction of a store and a dwelling. Avis, Fletcher's wife, and their two children (William H. and Abigail) were soon settled in this second structure.⁹

A partnership was formed and their employer's stock was bought in January, 1825. The venture succeeded, although in May, Prince decided to leave and sold his half of the enterprise to Fletcher.¹⁰ The latter then purchased the store from Snyder and Appeleby. In November, 1828, he sold all of his property on the island to Thomas Gibson for \$2,500, and departed the following spring.¹¹ His former partner returned in January, 1826, opening a competing store.¹² Joining these pioneers were a number of wreckers and turtlers, who had pushed the population over fifty by 1829.¹³

Housman probably settled on Indian Key around 1830, and the following year began a concerted effort to acquire title to the island as well as most of the property on it.¹⁴ Thomas Gibson's real estate was purchased in 1831 for \$5,000. This property included a store and a two-story building, equipped with a billiard table and nine pin alley.¹⁵ The latter was well furnished and used as the island hotel.¹⁶

The young capitalist prospered as a merchant. His store rapidly acquired a monopoly on the sale of dry goods and other merchandise both on the island and in the immediate vicinity. It was claimed that yearly sales had reached thirty thousand dollars before the end of the thirties.¹⁷ Dr. Benjamin Stobel, a Key West physician, maintained that Housman used the store to gain an “ascendency” over his customers “... which he turn(ed) to some account.” He also charged that these people acted as Housman’s “... agents, or spies, who give him the earliest intelligence of wrecks...” In addition to having their outstanding balance at the store reduced, these spies were to receive a share of the salvage award. Stobel implied that it was through inflated prices, advantageous mistakes in bookkeeping, and usurious interest rates that Housman’s store acquired a lien on the property of these people.¹⁸

The store also assisted Jacob in acquiring the outstanding property on the island. James Egan, for instance, first appears on the key in the fall of 1830, as the owner of a house situated on Front Street. The following year Egan had to sell the building in order to satisfy a \$324.20 debt that he had incurred at the store.¹⁹ Using lumber and shingles which he obtained from Thomas Gibson and perhaps from Housman, Egan erected another structure which he opened in 1832 as a boardinghouse.²⁰ His advertisement, which regularly appeared in the Key West newspaper, promised to “... render satisfaction to those who may favor him with their company.” To reassure those traveling on a limited budget and concerned with costs, he added that his terms were moderate.²¹ The venture was seemingly not profitable, possibly because of some type of pressure exerted by Housman. Egan finally sold the property to Housman for \$350 in 1835.²²

Samuel Spencer then opened the Tropical Hotel, which was billed as a resort for invalids. Tourists apparently disagreed and stopped at other spots along the coast. Spencer was finally forced to sell his interest in the hotel to Pardon C. Greene and Fielding A. Browne in 1838 — although he apparently continued to manage the hotel until its destruction in 1840.²³

With his spiraling profits, Housman continued to acquire property as it became available. In February, 1835, Reason Dukes, a Key West merchant, mortgaged an indefinite piece of property that the indenture described as “... one half of the house, kitchen, and advantages...” If Dukes repaid the mortgage, \$625, plus interest within five years his title to the property would be restored. Dukes may have decided to default on the mortgage and allow Housman to retain these premises, for in May,

1835, he sold to Jacob for \$600 "... one half of the house, kitchen, and advantages ... belonging ... to one half of the Lot #30 ... formerly occupied by Dr. H.L. Waterhouse ..."²⁴ Late in 1835, Jacob moved to extinguish Joseph Prince's preemption claim by purchasing his "... right, title, and interest to ... Indian Key, including all ... his buildings" at the inflated figure of \$5,000.²⁵ Other sales were consummated, and within a few years he owned nearly all the property on the island.²⁶

Along with his property transactions, Housman began the construction of those facilities that would ensure that wreckers would rendezvous at Indian Key. In 1832, the island had one wharf and probably some building that was used for the storage of wrecked property.²⁷ He expanded these facilities, financing the construction of two warehouses and two wharves.²⁸

To provide the fresh water for everyone connected with the key, Housman had several cisterns fashioned out of the island coral.²⁹ When area craftsmen proved unequal to the task, a New York marble cutter, James Dutcher, was imported. The latter built one cistern, charging his employer \$4,000.³⁰ Skilled craftsmen were hired and kept busy repairing disabled vessels and attending to the routine work of the village.³¹

During this time, Housman began the construction of what one visitor called a "large and elegant mansion." The mansion was soon graced by the feminine charms of a "beautiful bride" whom Housman returned with from one of his frequent trips to Charleston.³² Whether it was his wife's (Elizabeth) interest or part of his master plan to create an island paradise, he imported a "quantity of earth" which he used in fashioning a "fine garden."³³ Streets were laid off and the small key was divided into lots of varying size. The island was a "miniature Eden," Judson said, and Housman, "monarch of all he surveyed."³⁴ His investment had been sizable and may have been, as alleged, \$144,630.³⁵

It is virtually impossible to determine the number of people who lived on the island during the thirties. A census of Indian Key conducted in 1838 showed that there were ninety-eight whites, twenty-nine slaves, and fourteen free blacks.³⁶ William A. Whitehead, a Key West merchant, claimed that a later census taken by Charles Howe, and excluding transient seamen as well as naval personnel showed only forty-seven inhabitants on the island in December, 1838.³⁷ Whitehead also claimed that he had received a statement from an unknown individual stating that the population of Indian Key included only four families, twenty-one whites and twenty-six blacks.³⁸

According to the records of Charles Howe, Indian Key must have been a busy port during the thirties.³⁹ In 1834, while acting as the deputy collector of customs, he noted that there were 637 arrivals and 623 departures.⁴⁰ Whitehead of Key West claimed that this figure was highly inflated and included "... every wrecking vessel or fishing boat, no matter whence coming or whither going, that may chance to make use of the anchorage of Indian Key for a night."⁴¹

Howe also maintained that during the last nine months of 1834 and the first three months of 1835, seventeen vessels had been wrecked within forty miles of Indian Key. Ten of the vessels had been disabled within fifteen miles of the island.⁴² Four wrecking vessels sailed from Indian Key and tried to control all salvage operations in this area of the reef.⁴³ Housman probably owned them, which further increased his profits.⁴⁴

Housman was, of course, a wrecker himself, as well as employing seamen to man his wrecking vessels, and the continuation of his "empire" probably depended heavily on the profits derived from this pursuit. He had begun patrolling the reef sometime in the early 1820's; his presence, as well as his notoriety, was established in the fall of 1825, through his handling of the French brig *Revenge*. The vessel, bound from Campeche to France with a load of cochineal and logwood, went on the reef about three miles from Caesar's Creek, early in September. After the *Revenge* had bilged and been abandoned by her crew, Housman boarded her and on September 7, transferred to his schooner, *William Henry*, "... eight Ceroons of Cochineal, two boxes of Sugar, and a quantity of Logwood unknown, but supposed to be twelve tons, and a parcel of sails and rigging."⁴⁵

It is not clear whether Housman intended to dispense with legal procedures or clashed with the authorities in Key West over the adjudication of the salvage. Fielding A. Browne, of Key West, however, charged that the former was Housman's aim. Browne, specifically, accused Housman of robbing the *Revenge*, adding that he had "... defied both the civil and military authorities of this place." Browne therefore asked that Captain Brown of the U.S. Revenue Cutter *Florida* pursue Housman to Charleston, where it was said that Housman intended to dispose of his cargo, and recover the French property.⁴⁶

Whatever Housman's intentions might have been, he brought the wrecked property into St. Augustine on September 27. Apparently acting without the authorization of the master or the owner, he declined to use

the admiralty court, and instead, settled his claim through arbitration. The jury awarded him ninety-five percent, which satisfied no one but Housman, and the French consul took the case into the Superior Court, where Judge Joseph L. Smith reduced the award about thirty percent.⁴⁷

The matter was far from settled, however, and Housman responded to Browne's allegations with his own charge that it was the dishonesty of the Key West merchants that had resulted in his "... giving preference to a decision at St. Augustine over one at Key West."⁴⁸ It is more than likely that Housman abandoned at this time any plans that he may have had to settle in Key West. After this altercation, his relations with the Key Westers continued to deteriorate, and were certainly partially responsible for his subsequent attempts to free Indian Key from any dependence on Key West.

In 1828, Housman was again the focus of attention as the result of a collusive agreement with the master of the French brig *Vigilant*. Carrying \$32,000 in specie in addition to her regular cargo, the *Vigilant* grounded on the shoals near Key Vacas. With the next high tide the vessel was able to partially free herself, but it was only after the master had accepted the services of two wreckers that she was able to reach deep water and a safe anchorage at Key Vacas. While the *Vigilant* was in the harbor at Key Vacas, Housman arrived in the wrecking sloop *Sarah Isabella* and agreed to pilot her to Key West for seventy-five percent of the vessel, cargo, and specie, "... with an understanding that Housman would return part of the money to the Captain, for himself." Housman subsequently received his exorbitant commission and sailed with the *Vigilant's* captain to Charleston.⁴⁹

In November, 1831, Housman was involved in an imbroglio concerning the arbitration of the brig *Halcyon*. Housman and John R. Western, the other salvor, alleged that the *Halcyon* struck a dangerous part of the reef, and would have bilged had it not been for the exertions of the two crews. Through their efforts they were able to transfer enough cargo to enable the vessel to float off the reef, and somewhat disabled, she was brought into Key West. The two salvors, claiming that they had the master's consent, submitted their claim to two disinterested persons, who awarded them fifty-six and one-fourth of the net value of the brig. Oliver O'Hara representing the *Halcyon's* owners, charged that the vessel's distress had been misrepresented, and while he admitted that she had struck a reef, he asserted that the brig's crew could have freed her without any assistance. He also claimed that the captain of the *Halcyon*

had never agreed to submit the matter to arbitration. To recover his client's property, O'Hara sued the salvors in the Superior Court at Key West; the suit was finally heard by Judge Webb in May, 1832. Webb felt that both sides had misrepresented the facts, although he allowed Housman and Western twenty-five percent on the cargo and vessel.⁵⁰

Partisan feeling exacerbated by Housman's manifest dislike and even disdain for those Key Westers who monopolized the wrecking business on that island diminished his chances of quickly, and without controversy, adjudicating any salvage that he brought into that port. Key Westers were vocal in their opposition and denunciation of Housman. And for the most part, they were responsible for forming contemporary opinion about Housman; an image, however distorted, that has filtered down to us. There is one case, however, for which ample documentation exists, in which Housman was guilty of improper as well as illegal conduct.

On the night of March 14, 1833, the schooner *North Carolina*, bound from Apalachicola to Charleston, and laden with 366 bales of cotton, went ashore at low tide on Pickles Reef, about ninety-five miles from Key West. The following day, the *Hyder Alley*, Joshua B. Smith, master, arrived on the scene and offered assistance which was promptly accepted by Captain George McIntyre, the master of the *North Carolina*. Smith set up a consortship involving Housman and Austin Packer, master of the wrecking sloop *Brilliant*, although neither of these individuals participated in the salvage operation. The *Hyder Alley* then transferred 115 bales of cotton from the *North Carolina*, which lightened the schooner sufficiently, so that she was able to float off the reef and accompany the *Hyder Alley* into Indian Key.

Housman, without informing Captain McIntyre of his own interest in the cargo, persuaded McIntyre to appoint him as his business agent and to submit the salvage award to arbitration at Indian Key, instead of going to Key West. Lemuel Otis and Charles M. Johnson, both residents of Indian Key, were chosen as arbitrators. They appraised the schooner and the cargo at \$8,940 and awarded thirty-five percent of this figure to the salvors. Intriguingly, the cotton had originally sold in Apalachicola at \$36 a bale, although, apparently without damage, it had, according to the arbitrators, a value of only \$20 a bale.

On May 18, Oliver O'Hara, representing the owners, filed suit in the Superior Court at Key West alleging fraud and other misconduct on the part of the salvors. Judge Webb agreed and decreed restitution of the

seventy-two bales still in Housman's possession. In 1838 the Territorial Court of Appeals upheld Judge Webb's decision, whereupon Housman took his case to the United States Supreme Court. The Court, which rendered its decision in 1841, stated that the transactions at Indian Key had been negotiated in bad faith, and the justices unanimously decreed "... that the salvors, by their conduct, have forfeited all claim to compensation, even for the service actually rendered."⁵¹

Housman's fortunes continued to tumble, and in May, 1836, he was found guilty of embezzling goods taken from the *Ajax*, a large merchantman that had struck on Carysfort Reef, on November 14, 1836. When it became apparent that the vessel could not be floated off the reef, several wreckers, including Housman in the *Sarah Isabella*, began removing the *Ajax's* cargo, an operation that took several days during which the weather was extremely inclement. Captain Heim, master of the *Ajax*, subsequently charged that Housman had stolen the goods taken off his vessel by the *Sarah Isabella*. Judge Webb concurred with Heim and Housman forfeited his share of the salvage.⁵² Further illegal conduct resulted in his license being revoked by Webb in 1838.⁵³

Housman struggled throughout the thirties to make Indian Key independent of any control from Key West. The creation of Dade County in 1836 was an important step toward eventual total autonomy. His victory was enhanced when Indian Key was designated as the temporary county seat.⁵⁴

The principal settlements in the new county were at Indian Key, Cape Florida, and Key Vacas. To alleviate the discontent of the latter two the location for a permanent county seat was left undecided. Until that decision had been reached, the judge of the Superior Court was to hold one term each at Cape Florida and Indian Key.⁵⁵

To enhance Indian Key's claim to the county seat, Housman constructed a courthouse using his own money.⁵⁶ It was, however, the outbreak of the Second Seminole War in 1836, that effectively eliminated any threat to Indian Key's position in the county. Intimidated by the presence of the hostile Indians and frightened by their frequent forays, like the attack on the Cape Florida lighthouse, most residents either moved away or settled temporarily on Indian Key, which was armed and fortified.

Captain Housman's control over affairs in the county was strengthened by the fact that most of the important county officers were also his employees. Thomas Jefferson Smith, his friend and attorney, was

the first county judge.⁵⁷ George W. Somarindyck, Housman's chief clerk for several years, was the first clerk of the county court.⁵⁸ In 1840, Walter C. Maloney, also a clerk to Housman, succeeded Somarindyck in this position as well as serving as a justice of the peace, and an auctioneer.⁵⁹ Lemuel Otis, who was occasionally employed by Housman as an arbitrator, was a justice of the peace from 1836 to 1842 and was elected sheriff in 1840.⁶⁰ And even James Dutcher, the New York marble cutter, was a justice of the peace while he was on the island.⁶¹ Other offices were held by residents of the island. William H. Fletcher (the son of Silas Fletcher) and William Whitehead, for instance, were appointed auctioneers in 1836, while Charles Howe served as a notary public.⁶² In 1840, William Whitehead, while continuing in his office as an auctioneer, was appointed a justice of the peace, and at the same time, Temple Pent, who intermittently resided on the island, was a justice of the peace.⁶³

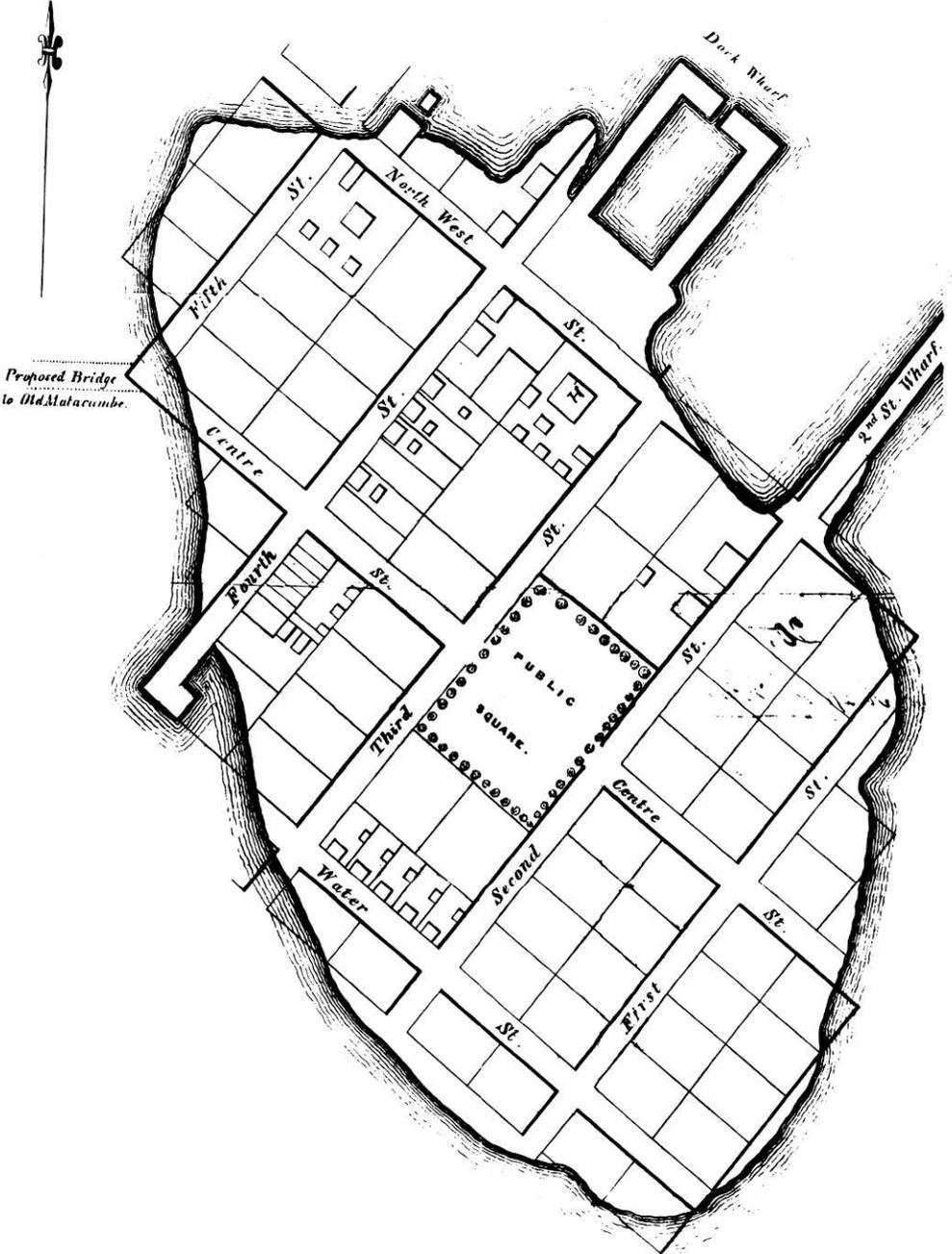
In 1838 and 1839, through his friend Thomas Jefferson Smith, Housman urged Congress to make Indian Key a port of entry.⁶⁴ His petitions stressed the difficulty as well as the danger of transporting wrecked property to Key West; while it alleged that a lack of proper facilities and an absence of competition at Key West resulted in further loss to the owners of wrecked property; and since Indian Key possessed the necessary facilities, all concerned with the wrecking business on the Florida reef would benefit by making it a port of entry.⁶⁵ The Key West spokesman, William A. Whitehead, claimed that the Smith petition contained incorrect figures, distorted facts, and slanderous statements, all of which had been motivated by factious considerations.⁶⁶ In view of the conflicting statements, Congress decided to drop the matter.

In 1840, Housman again addressed himself to the United States Congress, asking that they

authorize him to form a settlement on the south coast of Florida, and granting a portion of land to said settlers with the rights to the people of said settlement of *self-government* within the circle of three miles radius from the center thereof, with an exemption from *all control of all officers* and *all laws* of the revenue, naval, and military departments of the Government of the United States.

Congress, much to Housman's chagrin, routinely dismissed his grandiose petition.⁶⁷

Housman's empire had been tottering for several years. His political gambits, with one exception, had all been unsuccessful, while his finan-



Map of Indian Key, 1840.

cial affairs were becoming increasingly desperate. The Indian War, beginning in 1836, deprived him of his trade with the Indians and many of the reef settlers. He must have keenly missed, too, the revenue from wrecking cut off when his license was revoked in 1838. His claim against the government for \$14,418 for the maintenance of a militia company remained unpaid, although he had pressed it since 1836.⁶⁸ To ward off total disaster he mortgaged his interest in Indian Key to Smith Mowry, Jr. and Joseph Lawton, both of Charleston, for \$14,283, in March, 1840. The mortgage was to be repaid with ten percent interest and this may have resulted in the \$16,000 that was later claimed to have been the correct figure. In 1843, Lawton and Mowry obtained the property at a sheriff's sale for \$350. They subsequently sold it to Stephen R. Mallory for the same amount.⁶⁹

HENRY PERRINE

On Christmas day, 1838, Henry Perrine, the noted horticulturist and his family arrived at Indian Key. Dr. Perrine, contrary to the wishes of his friends in the north, who feared for his safety among the hostile Indians, was not to be detained and was irresistibly eager to continue an avocation that had superseded his professional work as a medical doctor. The island, he hoped, would be but a temporary headquarters, and as soon as the Indian War was terminated he expected to transfer his nursery to the mainland where he could continue the cultivation of tropical agricultural plants in earnest. Had he been prescient, he would have remained on the brig *Lucina* and returned with it to his friends and medical practice in the north, thus escaping the cruel death that awaited him two years later.

A descendant of Daniel Perrin, a prominent Huguenot refugee, who arrived in New Jersey in 1665,⁷⁰ Henry was born at Cranbury, New Jersey, in 1797. He taught school while still in his teens in Rockhill, New York, and sometime during this period completed his medical education. In September, 1819, he set out his shingle in Ripley, Illinois, where he practiced until his health forced him to move further south. In 1827 his deteriorating health again compelled him to seek a balmy climate, and in 1827, he accepted an appointment as United States Consul at Campeche, Mexico.⁷¹

Coincident with Perrine's appointment in Mexico, the Federal Government promulgated its second circular urging government officials, especially port collectors, officers of naval and merchant vessels, and consuls, to lend their assistance in securing foreign plants of known or

probably commercial value. Perrine was enthusiastically receptive to the idea, and spent the next nine years bombarding the government with detailed reports on officinal and other economic plants, especially the fiber-producing agaves. His efforts included his repeated and often futile exertions to ship live plants or seeds out of Mexico.⁷²

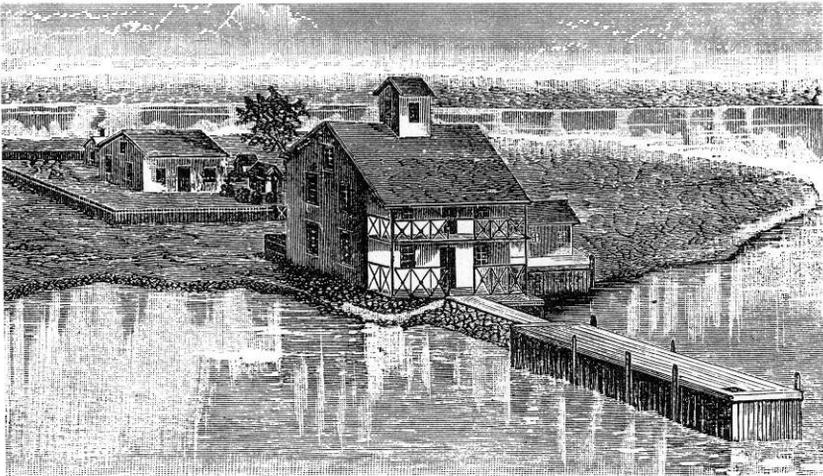
Among those who received his seeds and cuttings were Charles Howe of Indian Key and John Dubose at Key West, and Perrine's interest in the peninsula may have stemmed from his association with these individuals.⁷³ His interest in Florida became manifest in 1832, when he petitioned the Legislative Council for a charter "incorporating himself and his associates into a company for the cultivation of tropical exotics ... on the southern part of the Peninsula."⁷⁴ A bill to achieve this purpose was introduced into the legislature in 1832, but it languished until 1838, when the Territory incorporated the Tropical Plant Company with Henry Perrine, Charles Howe, and James Webb as the chief stockholders.⁷⁵ At the same time, the national Congress moved to enact legislation which would provide Perrine with the necessary land to implement his project. On July 7, 1838, after several years of debate, Congress granted 23,040 acres—a township—to Perrine and his associates "to be located in one body six miles square below twenty-six degrees north latitude." The grant was conditional in that the land had to be occupied within two years, and each section had to be occupied by a settler cultivating useful tropical plants.⁷⁶

It was the agaves, especially the *Agave sisalana*, that Perrine wanted to cultivate on his township. This was a fibrous plant that had many uses in Latin America, and Perrine hoped that the agave could be readily substituted for hemp, and he had even developed a process to achieve this transformation, "which he expected to revolutionize the agriculture of the United States and of the world."⁷⁷ Hemp, of course, could be readily converted into rope, bagging, yarn, and cordage, all of which were essential to the cotton economy. It was also a potential cash crop, if the Navy could be induced to accept it in lieu of Russian hemp. The agaves, though, were not the only tropical plants that were of interest to Perrine. The demand for vegetable dyes caused him to study certain dye producing plants, such as the logwood, the cochineal cactus, the common indigo of Tabasco, and several others. The inventory of the plants that he intended to cultivate in Florida included tea, coffee, cacao, cassava, bananas, mangoes, and the mamey apple. Spices, medicinal, and other plants were also to be grown on his land.⁷⁸

Perrine had originally intended to immediately begin his work, but the Indian depredations on the mainland forced him to alter his plans, and he settled, for what he hoped would be a brief period, on Indian Key. He had previously sent some plants to Charles Howe, and when he arrived in December, he found they were flourishing. Perrine did not intend to allow the “savages” to completely stifle his plans, and after inspecting the neighboring islands, he decided to locate the preparatory nursery on the adjacent island of Lower Matecumbe Key.⁷⁹ His son, Henry E., a young boy at this time, stated that the nursery was located near the sinkhole on this island. It was enervating work, according to the young Perrine, and he was most happy when illness forced him to abandon his share of the labor.⁸⁰ After the nursery had been completed, the young Perrine, accompanied by his two sisters, would join Dr. Perrine on his daily inspection of the plants.⁸¹ Outside of occasional interruptions to render necessary medical care, Dr. Perrine continued to care for his plants until his untimely death in August, 1840.

Henry E., although a young boy while he lived on the island, later recounted in vivid detail his first impression.

We saw on the distant horizon the top of palm which appeared at first as though floating in the air, there seeming to be a space between the sea and the feathery fronds of the palms. . . . Soon the tops of houses could be seen, and then the whole island of Indian Key in all its beauty greeted our eager



Dr. Perrine's house and the wharf.

eyes. ... A large warehouse three stories in height, and crowned with a lofty cupola, was the most prominent object. A short distance beyond, stood the two-story mansion of Captain Houseman, the proprietor of nearly all the island and of the various cottages, about forty buildings in all, none of them of pretentious architecture, but nearly all having either the graceful palm trees, or others of a tropical or semi-tropical nature near their doors. Three large wharves stretched out from the north-eastern side of the island; beyond these was a small neck of land, upon which stood a carpenter's shop and a blacksmith shop. About a hundred feet beyond, stood a two-and-a-half story house with a cupola upon it. ... Right opposite this house, which was to be our home, stood the low one-story house and negro dwellings. ... On the southwestern side of the island, another wharf stretched out of deep water. The side of the island towards the gulf consisted of jagged coral rock, while on the opposite side was a sandy beach.⁸²

MASSACRE AT INDIAN KEY

The outbreak of the Second Seminole War late in December, 1835, was an unwelcome development for all the residents of the keys, and forced most of them to move away or, for those who lived in what would soon be Dade County, temporarily settle on Indian Key.⁸³ While the mass exodus from the islands and the inflation of Indian Key's population magnified Housman's political power it did not resurrect his faltering financial affairs. Rather, whatever additional business Housman was able to transact with the new immigrants was more than offset by the elimination of his trade with the Indians as well as the disappearance of his extensive transactions with the residents of the northern keys. He was also burdened with the responsibility, which included an economic liability, of providing for the defense of the island, as he suspected that the Indians would consider his well-stocked store a prime target.

The island was rapidly transformed into an armed camp. Dirt embankments were hastily constructed at selected points around the island, and a half dozen six- and twelve-pound cannons were mounted at strategic locations.⁸⁴ Housman also required that all able-bodied men, both white and slave, pledge their willingness to defend the island. Acting on his own, he organized about forty of them into Company B, 10th Florida Militia. He provided them with arms and ammunition and advanced them pay and subsistence at the regular army rate. As expected, he was elected the commanding captain and served in

this capacity until the company was disbanded some eighteen months later.⁸⁵

Housman and the inhabitants also sought to attract a contingent of United States military forces to the island. Captain Rudolph of the revenue cutter *Dexter* intermittently used Indian Key as his home base during 1836 and 1837.⁸⁶ While the inhabitants were grateful for this protection their real interest was in seeing that a substantial force was permanently attached to the island. In June, 1837, they petitioned the Secretary of the Treasury to provide the necessary forces, stating that

the peculiar Situation of Indian Key renders it liable to incursions from these hostile savages more than any other location on the coast; the temptation too is considerable inasmuch as a large store is kept on the key which is at all times filled with provisions and munitions of war for the use of the inhabitants and wreckers engaged on the coast, and these facts are well known to the Indians, they having previous to the breaking out of hostilities been in the habit of trading at this store.

Military forces would also relieve them of the economic burden of defending themselves which they claimed had already cost them upwards of \$9000.⁸⁷

In March of the following year the government responded to the petition by permanently stationing the *Dexter* at Indian Key. After the withdrawal of the *Dexter* a few months later, Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin of the U.S. Schooner *Wave* was attached to the island. Additionally, elements of the Florida Squadron first under the command of Commander Isaac Mayo and then Lt. McLaughlin, rendezvoused at Indian Key, and served as an added deterrent to an Indian attack. In the spring of 1840, however, Lt. McLaughlin transferred his command to the nearby island of Tea Table Key.⁸⁸ This information was quickly relayed to the Indians who obviously began to make plans for a concerted attack on the island.

Sometime in the early morning of August 7, 1840, James Glass, a carpenter in Housman's employ, was apparently unable to sleep and was meandering around the island in search of some ducks, when he suddenly discovered a band of Indians. He immediately awakened his neighbor, George F. Beiglet, and together they started for Captain Housman's dwelling to alert him and the rest of the inhabitants. While they were on their way, the Indians discovered them and immediately commenced firing. In the confusion Glass and Beiglet escaped.

The firing, of course, aroused the entire island, and they all scattered pell-mell across the key. Some scurried out of their dwellings and made a desperate charge for the nearest water, others hid themselves in cisterns, under wharves, and in warehouses. Lemuel Otis, who was sleeping in the upstairs of Housman's store, was wounded but managed to reach the south beach and float off in one of the canoes. James Glass secreted himself under the 2nd Street wharf while his companion, George Beiglet, hid in the cistern under the large warehouse. Charles Howe and his family were able to safely reach the water and sail away in one of his boats.

Others were not as fortunate. Captain John Mott, his wife and their two children, and his mother-in-law were all brutally slain by the Indians. James Sturdy, a young black boy, was scalded to death when the building over the cistern in which he was hiding burned. The most famous victim of the massacre, however, was Dr. Henry Perrine. When he had safely hidden his family in the turtle crawl under their house, he tried to reason with the Indians, but when this failed he sought to barricade himself in one of the rooms. "One wild shriek, a rifle shot," apprised his saddened family of his death.

Housman's mansion was one of the first points stormed by the Indians, and he and his wife barely had enough time to jump out of their bedroom window before the Indians burst into the dwelling. The two stealthily made their way to the south end of the island where Housman secured a boat from the "Boat Pond," and without detection, they made their way to Tea Table Key.⁸⁹

On arriving, Housman discovered to his chagrin that the effective garrison had been reduced to five men, the rest were either aboard the *Wave* which had departed several days earlier or in the hospital located on Tea Table Key. The commanding officer, Midshipman Francis K. Murray, finally succeeded in organizing a small force to repel the Indians. And around seven o'clock that morning this contingent departed for the island in two barges, each of which was armed with a four-pound swivel gun. As they approached the island they fell under a heavy fire from the shore, the Indians using effectively one of the six-pounders that had originally been mounted for the defense of the island. The barges returned the fire and in the process the four-pounders recoiled overboard. Lacking adequate fire power, Murray was forced to abandon the attack and return to Tea Table Key.⁹⁰ The Indians gleefully returned to their pillaging and looting, and before they left the island that afternoon,

they set fire to the buildings and wharves. They departed in thirty-four boats, "heavily loaded with plunder," and Lt. McLaughlin estimated, from the number of departing craft, that they could not have been less than one hundred and thirty-four persons.⁹¹ The island, in less than one day, had been reduced to rubble.

THE DECLINE OF INDIAN KEY

Housman had been trying for some time to persuade Lt. McLaughlin to use Indian Key as the headquarters for the Florida Squadron. Four days after the destruction of the island, McLaughlin finally agreed to Housman's proposition, and the young lieutenant contracted — for an unspecified sum of money — with Housman "for the cession of the whole key to the United States, except a small portion of it, for his store and dwelling." McLaughlin stated that he was induced to transfer his base from Tea Table Key to Indian Key because of the fresh water and facilities to be found at the latter location. A station on Indian Key would also relieve him of the necessity of dividing his small force, as after the attack he had apparently found it expedient to station some elements of his command on the island.⁹²

Housman, meanwhile, remained in the area until October (1840). At that time, according to Charles Howe, he "cleared out for good — took everything he had left, to Key West . . . to sell at Auction — his Negroes (*sic*) — Boats — vessels . . . he is a good deal in debt. . ."⁹³ After liquidating his few possessions, he apparently secured a position on a wrecking vessel, and was killed shortly thereafter "while attempting to go on board a wrecked vessel in a heavy seaway; being crushed between his boat and the side of the vessel."⁹⁴ It was an ironic, and perhaps appropriate, demise for this legendary character. According to E.Z.C. Judson, the law repudiated Housman's wife after his death. The careful research of a later historian has confirmed Judson's story.⁹⁵

Charles Howe and his family, along with Henry Goodyear, who operated "a small store, or Grog Shop, on the wharf," were apparently the only residents who returned to the key after the August massacre.⁹⁶ They were soon joined, however, by the Florida Squadron, or as it was more commonly known, the "Mosquito Fleet," in all about six hundred men.⁹⁷

McLaughlin rapidly set about providing quarters for his command, which included two companies of marines under the command of Lt.

Col. T.T. Sloan, as well as building an adequate hospital, and completing the necessary repair work on the cisterns. In all he constructed twelve buildings which included a private residence for himself and his family, a hospital, which John Hastings, an assistant surgeon at Indian Key, disparagingly referred to as "literally nothing of a hospital," several frame dwellings which were used as barracks, a workshop, several boat-sheds, and an unknown number of storehouses.⁹⁸ His total expenditures amounted to \$343,937.⁹⁹

George Center became the island's principal merchant and did a brisk and profitable business importing the lumber, hardware items, and medicine needed by the Mosquito Fleet. In the two years that the command occupied the island, Center transacted over \$50,000 in business. Oliver O'Hara, the Key West merchant, Wall and Pinkney, also from Key West, and the ubiquitous Henry Goodyear, as well as others, all traded with the Navy.¹⁰⁰ At the end of the war in 1842 McLaughlin and his command were transferred to other stations, leaving Indian Key to the few turtlers and wreckers who were still in the area.

The end of the Second Seminole War did not eliminate the possibility of future Indian depredations in the keys, many prospective settlers concluded, and few of them were willing to gamble on their chances of survival anywhere in the new county. In 1843, Walter C. Maloney, the only official still conducting county business, reported that Indian Key was totally deserted. And until recently, he added, the county had been completely abandoned. As a result of Maloney's report the territory decided to relocate the county seat, and the small settlement at Miami was selected as the new capital.¹⁰¹

Six years after this incident there were still not over one hundred settlers within all of Dade County, and perhaps as few as four or five people living on Indian Key.¹⁰² As the Indian threat receded additional settlers were attracted to the island and by 1860 there were probably several families and at least ten or fifteen settlers on Indian Key.¹⁰³ These individuals included William H. Bethel, inspector of customs, and his family, John Curry and his family, Errand Bell and his wife, and William Mott. Undoubtedly they were involved in wrecking and interspersed this occupation with fishing and turtling.¹⁰⁴

Perhaps as a deterrent to smugglers or to maintain order in the upper keys, the government sent troops to Indian Key in 1869. Two companies of the 3rd Artillery, commanded by Captain E.R. Warner, were stationed on the island during August and September. If their arrival had been due

to a crisis, it must have subsided, for they abandoned the post at the end of their second month.¹⁰⁵

Probably due to economic conditions in the Bahamas, a number of Bahamians were attracted to the Florida Keys, and by 1870 they had swelled Indian Key's population to forty-seven, which even included a Methodist preacher.¹⁰⁶ Unlike their ancestors these Bahamians derived their livelihood from the soil, and out of the island's entire population, only one individual indicated that he made his living from the sea.¹⁰⁷ The Pinder family, which included about half of the island's population, assiduously cultivated every inch of available soil within the immediate vicinity of Indian Key, and by 1885, the four branches of the family were cultivating hundreds of banana trees and harvesting a crop that sold for \$8,500.¹⁰⁸ They may have also been the family that regularly sold water to passing vessels.¹⁰⁹ The island probably continued to be inhabited after this time by a small number of people, although we know nothing about them or the island. In the present century the island has been an occasional refuge for mariners, fishermen, and hermits. It has, however, been largely uninhabited.

NOTES

1. In 1822, a Charleston newspaper listed the port departure of a sloop, the *William Henry*, under the command of Captain Housman. This is the first reference we have to Housman in southern waters and it is not known whether his visit to Charleston was part of his first trip to the keys. *Charleston Courier*, July 27, 1822.

2. E.Z.C. Judson, "Sketches of the Florida War—Number IV—Indian Key—its Rise, Progress, and Destruction," *Western Literary Journal and Monthly Review in Pensacola Gazette*, March 29, 1845; Fred E. Pond, *Life and Adventures of "Ned Buntline"* (New York: n.p., 1919), p. 24. Housman was a descendant of a Dutch family that had settled on Staten Island (N.Y.) in the early 1700's. Elmer G. VanName, *The Housman (Huysman)-Simonson Family of Staten Island, N.Y.* (Haddonfield, N.J.: published privately, 1955), *passim*.

3. "Wrecks, Wrecking, Wreckers, and Wreckees on the Florida Reef," *Hunt's Merchants Magazine* 6 (April 1842): 349.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 351-352.

5. U.S., Congress, House Committee on Commerce, *Building Light-Houses, Light-Boats, Beacons, &c.*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1838-39, H. Doc. 158, I.W.P. Lewis to S. Pleasonton, March 5, 1838, p. 15.

6. U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Commerce, *Memorial of William A. Whitehead in answer to the petition of Thomas J. Smith, in favor of making Indian Key a port of entry*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1838-39, S. Doc. 140, N.L. Coste to William A. Whitehead, January 2, 1839, p. 8. Coste was commander of the U.S. Revenue Cutter *Campbell*.

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7. Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (1795; reprint ed., New Orleans, La.: Pelican Publishing Co., 1961), p. 252.

8. Statement of Silas Fletcher in support of his preemption claim to Indian Key, Monroe County Deed Book B, p. 168, Monroe County Courthouse, Key West, Florida. All Monroe County Deed Books are located at the Monroe County Courthouse, Key West, Florida.

9. Ibid. Statement of Avis Fletcher in support of her husband's preemption claim to Indian Key, Monroe County Deed Book B, p. 170. Statement of Abigail Talbert ..., Monroe County Deed Book B, p. 167, and statement of William H. Fletcher ..., Monroe County Deed Book B, p. 171.

10. Statement of Silas Fletcher ..., Monroe County Deed Book B, pp. 168-169.

11. Ibid.

12. Statement of Pardon C. Greene in support of Joseph Prince's preemption claim to Indian Key, Monroe County Deed Book A, p. 488.

13. Indian Key Poll Book, May 4, 1829, Records of the Secretary of State, on file at the Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Tallahassee, Florida. In this period wrecking was not the only enterprise in which the key inhabitants were involved. Fishing and turtling were important sources of revenue. Many wrecking trips involved fishing with a constant search for a disabled vessel.

14. E.Z.C. Judson in *Pensacola Gazette*, March 29, 1845.

15. Monroe County Deed Book A, p. 352. The purchase also represented his initial thrust to obtain Fletcher's preemption right. Indian Key, unlike many of the other keys, was not part of the Spanish land grant properties, and as such, immediately became part of the public domain belonging to the Federal Government. Congress, in 1818, began debating legislation that was subsequently (1830) enacted into law establishing the preemption right on all public lands. Benjamin H. Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies* (New York: Peter Smith, 1939), pp. 151-153. It was this right that Fletcher and his family tried to establish by their sworn statements found in the Monroe County Deed Books. As the land was not surveyed until the 1870's, it was never put up for sale while Housman remained on the island. The government later denied his claim to the island, arguing that he was "a mere tenant at sufferance of the United States." U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Claims, *Representatives of Jacob Housman*, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 1847-48, H. Rept. 798, Summary statement of the Committee on Claims, July 25, 1848, p. 2.

16. Dr. Benjamin Strobel in the *Charleston Mercury*, July 4, 1833. Strobel left his native Charleston, where he was a physician, in 1829. While on his way to Key West, he stopped at Indian Key (1829). He resided at Key West from this time until 1832, when he returned to Charleston. His impressions of the keys were serialized in the *Charleston Mercury* and later in the *Charleston Courier*. E.A. Hammond, ed., "Sketches of the Florida Keys, 1829-1833," *Tequesta*, 29 (1969): 73, 74, 77.

17. U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Commerce, *Petition of Thomas J. Smith in reply to the remonstrances of William A. Whitehead against the establishment of a port of entry at Indian Key*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1838-39, S. Doc. 71, *Petition of the Citizens of Indian Key*, August 31, 1836, p. 9.

18. Dr. Benjamin Strobel in *Charleston Mercury*, July 4, 1833.

19. Monroe County Deed Book A, pp. 266, 352.

20. Ibid., 266-267.

21. *Key West Gazette*, April 25, 1832.

22. Monroe County Deed Book B, p. 174.

23. *Key West Enquirer*, October 10, 1835; Monroe County Deed Book B, pp. 505-506.

24. Monroe County Deed Book B, pp. 175-176, 221. Dr. Henry W. Waterhouse served as the island's physician and postmaster. He died in a boating accident in January, 1835. *Key West Enquirer*, January 24, 1835.

25. Monroe County Deed Book B, p. 248.

26. U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee of Claims, *Report of the Committee on the Memorial of Jacob Housman*, August 8, 1846, 29th Cong., 1st sess., 1845-46, Record Group 46, Records of the U.S. Senate, National Archives Building.

27. Petition of Thomas J. Smith, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1838-39, S. Doc. 71, Petition of the citizens of Indian Key, August 31, 1836, p. 8.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

29. Representatives of Jacob Housman, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 1847-48, H. Rept. 798, Summary Statement of the Committee on Claims, July 25, 1848, p. 1.

30. U.S., Congress, Senate, Military Affairs Committee, *Petition of Abraham P. Housman, Administrator of Jacob Housman, deceased, Praying the reimbursement of advances made for the Public Service during the Florida War*, presented April 20, 1846, 29th Cong., 1st sess., 1845-46, Record Group 46, Records of the U.S. Senate, National Archives Building (hereafter cited as U.S. Senate Files, 29th Cong., 1st sess.).

31. Henry E. Perrine, *A True Story of Some Eventful Years in Grandpa's Life* (Buffalo, N.Y.: E.H. Hutchinson Press, 1885), hand drawn map of Indian Key ca. 1840.

32. E.Z.C. Judson in the *Pensacola Gazette*, March 29, 1845.

33. Dr. Benjamin Strobel in *Charleston Mercury*, July 4, 1833.

34. "Map of Indian Key, South Florida, 1840," Florida Historical Society Map and Photograph Collection, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida; E.Z.C. Judson in the *Pensacola Gazette*, March 29, 1845.

35. *Report of Committee on Memorial of Jacob Housman*, 29th Cong., 1st sess., 1845-46, Record Group 46.

36. *Petition of Thomas J. Smith*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1838-39, S. Doc. 71, Census of Indian Key, March, 1838, p. 12.

37. *Memorial of William A. Whitehead*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1839-39, S. Doc. 140, Statement of William A. Whitehead, January 19, 1839, p. 2.

38. U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Commerce, *Document in relation to the establishment of a port of entry at Indian Key*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1838-39, S. Doc. 26, William A. Whitehead to the Committee on Commerce, December, 1838, p. 1.

39. A New Englander from Massachusetts, Howe apparently settled on the island in 1832 when he was appointed inspector of customs, a post he held until 1842. In April, 1835, he purchased several structures from Housman for \$580. In May of the following year he bought from Housman for an additional \$580, the land on which this property was built. He also owned several of the neighboring keys, including Key Vacas, Long Point Key, Grassy Key, Duck Key, and Knight Key. Following Dr. Waterhouse's death in 1835, Howe became the postmaster for the island, a position he held until March. Earl Johnson, "Earl Johnson's Notes on Howe's family history." Typescript undated, Monroe County Public Library, Key West, Florida; Department of State, *Register of All Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval in the Service of the United States* (Washington, 1833), p. 59; *idem*, *Register*, 1843, p. 111; Monroe County Deed Book B, pp. 278, 279-280; Monroe County Deed Book A, p. 100.

40. *Petition of Thomas J. Smith*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1838-39, S. Doc. 71, Statement of Charles Howe, June 8, 1835, p. 8.

41. *Memorial of William A. Whitehead*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1838-39, S. Doc. 140, Statement of William A. Whitehead, January 19, 1839, p. 6.

42. *Petition of Thomas J. Smith*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1838-39, S. Doc. 71, Statement of Charles Howe, June 8, 1835, p. 8.

43. These vessels were the schooner *John Denison*, D. Cold, master; the sloop *Sarah Isabella*, T. Eldridge, master; the sloop *Thistle*, S. Sanderson, master; the schooner *Fair American*, J. Staurtiell, master. *Key West Enquirer*, December 26, 1835.

44. Charles Nordhoff, "Wrecking on the Florida Keys," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 18(April 1859); 585.

45. *St. Augustine East Florida Herald*, October 4, 1825.

46. *Ibid.*, November 8, 1825.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Pensacola Gazette*, August 12, 1828.

50. *Key West Gazette*, November 30, 1831, May 23, 1832.

51. *Housman v. The Cargo of the Schooner North Carolina*, 15 Peters 40; Dorothy Dodd, "Jacob Housman of Indian Key," *Tequesta*, 8(1948): 17, quoting *O'Hara v. Schooner North Carolina*, and *Housman*, Florida Supreme Court File no. 0793, and File no. 0793, and *Housman v. Cargo of Schooner North Carolina 0794*. The Supreme Court no longer has the records of these cases.

52. Dorothy Dodd, "The Wrecking Business on the Florida Reef, 1822-1860," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 22(April 1944): 191, quoting from *Housman v. Ship Ajax*, Florida Supreme Court File no. 0865. The Supreme Court no longer has the records of this case.

53. Nordhoff, "Wrecking on the Florida Keys," pp. 583, 585. Such revocation barred him from any further salvage operations. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, vol. 4, p. 132.

54. Florida (Territory), *Acts and Resolutions of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida*, 1836, p. 19.

55. *Ibid.*

56. U.S. Senate Files, 29th Cong., 1st sess.

57. *Petition of Thomas J. Smith*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1838/39, S. Doc. 71, Thomas Jefferson Smith to the U.S. Congress, January 10, 1839, p. 1.

58. Florida (Territory), *Acts*, 1837, p. 6.

59. Governor Robert Reid to the Senate of the Legislative Council, Executive Nominations for Territorial Appointments, February 17, 1840, *Territorial Papers of the United States, Florida*, Vols. 22-26, ed. Clarence Carter (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956-1962), 26: 63-64 (hereafter cited as *TP*).

60. *Ibid.*

61. U.S. Senate Files, 29th Cong., 1st sess.

62. Tallahassee *Floridian*, March 5, 1836.

63. Reid to Legislative Council, *TP*, 26: 63-64.

64. The federal wrecking act of 1825 required that wrecked property be entered at a port of entry. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, Vol. 4, pp. 132-133.

65. *Petition of Thomas J. Smith*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1839-39, S. Doc. 71, Smith to the U.S. Congress, January 10, 1839, pp. 1-4.

66. *Memorial of William A. Whitehead*, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1838-39, S. Doc. 140, Statement of William A. Whitehead, January 19, 1839, p. 6.

67. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on the Public Lands, *Reefers of Florida, Housman and Bethel—Montgomery Railroad Co.—David R. Mitchell—Legislature of Florida, Land for Seat of Justice*, 26th Cong., 1st sess., 1839-40, H. Rept. 593, Report of the Committee on the Public Lands, June 19, 1840, p. 1.

68. U.S. Senate Files, 29th Cong., 1st sess.

69. *Ibid.*; Monroe County Deed Book C, p. 370.

70. Howland Delano Perrine, *Daniel Perrin "The Huguenot" and His Descendants in America of the Surnames Perrine, Perine, Prine* (n.p., 1910), p. 23.

71. Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 22 vols. (New York: Charles Scriber's Sons, 1934), 14: 480.

72. U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Agriculture, *Report on the memorial of Dr. Henry Perrine, praying for a grant of land to encourage the introduction and promote the cultivation of tropical plants in the United States*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., 1837-38, S. Doc. 300, Summary Report of Committee on Agriculture, March 12, 1838, pp. 1-3; idem, *Report on the memorial of Dr. Henry Perrine*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., 1837-38, S. Doc. 300, Henry Perrine to Committee on Agriculture, January 4, 1838, pp. 3-5; idem, House, Committee on Agriculture, *Memorial of Dr. Henry Perrine, late consul at Campeche, asking for a grant of land in the southern extremity of East Florida, for the encouragement of the growth of new and important agricultural products, exotic vegetables*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., 1837-38, H. Rept. 564, Summary Report of the Committee on Agriculture, February 17, 1838, pp. 1-99.

73. *Memorial of Dr. Henry Perrine*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., 1837-38, H. Rept. 564, Extracts from Letters of Charles Howe and John Dubose, pp. 59-60.

74. James D. Westcott to the Legislative Council, January 3, 1832, *Journal of the Florida Legislative Council*, 1832, p. 6.

76. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, vol. 5, p. 302. This was a singular honor granted to few individuals, and was reserved for meritorious service. Among others who received grants of land were General Lafayette and Baron Steuben, both heroes of the Revolutionary War.

77. Nelson Klose, "Dr. Henry Perrine, Tropical Plant Enthusiast," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 27 (October 1948): 195. Klose's article is based on extensive research done on Perrine in conjunction with his doctoral dissertation: "Foreign Plant Introduction by the Federal Government: A Study in American Agriculture History" (The University of Texas, 1947). Also, see his monograph: *America's Crop Heritage: The History of Foreign Plant Introduction by the Federal Government* (Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1950).

78. Klose, "Dr. Perrine," p. 196.

79. "Progress of Dr. Perrine's Scheme of Introducing Tropical Plants," *Farmers' Register*, 7 (1839): 40, 41. This periodical received several notices from Perrine before his death in the fall of 1840 requesting that "seeds, cuttings, bulbs, &c. of useful plants" be sent to the "tropical nursery."

80. Perrine, *Some Eventful Years*, p. 46.

81. Hester Perrine Walker, "Incidents in the Life of Hester Perrine Walker," typed manuscript prepared 1885 (?), on file at The Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida, p. 20.

82. Perrine, *Some Eventful Years*, pp. 31-32.

83. Petition to Congress by Inhabitants of Monroe County, March 1, 1836, *TP*, 25:247.

84. *Niles' Weekly Register*, 49 (January 30, 1836): 370, quoting from *Key West Enquirer*, January 2 & 14, 1836.

85. U.S. Senate Files, 29th Cong., 1st sess. His claim of \$14,418 was never paid on the grounds that the company had never been legally mustered into the service of the United States.

86. *Key West Enquirer*, June 18, 1836; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 3: 255, quoting from *Key West Enquirer*, September 17, 1836; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 3: 27 (quoting from *Pensacola Gazette*, June 25, 1836), 202, 203.

87. Petition to the Secretary of the Treasury by Inhabitants of Indian Key and Vicinity, June, 1837, *TP*, 25: 406.

88. *Representatives of Jacob Housman*, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 1847-48, H. Rept. 798, Statement of Certain Residents of South Florida, undated, pp. 3-4.

89. Walker, "Incidents," pp. 27-51; *Charleston Courier*, August 29, 1840.

90. John T. McLaughlin to the Secretary of the Navy, August 11, 1840, *TP*, 26:194.

91. *Ibid.*

92. John T. McLaughlin to the Secretary of the Navy, August 11, 1840, *TP*, 26:193. U.S., Department of the Navy, "Proceedings of General Courts-Martial and Courts of Inquiry," Court Martial No. 982 of 1841, *Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Navy)*, M-273, Record Group 125, National Archives Building. This is an exhaustive record of the affairs of the Florida Squadron, focusing on the expenditures of Lt. McLaughlin.

93. Charles Howe, "A Letter from Indian Key," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 20 (October 1941):197.

94. *Pensacola Gazette*, March 29, 1848. Housman was buried on the island, supposedly on the east side. His gravestone, which has since been broken up and removed from the island, has the following inscription:

"Here Lieth the body of Capt. Jacob Housman,
formerly of Staten Island, State of New York,
Proprietor of the island, who died by accident
May 1st, 1841, aged 41 years 11 months.

To his friends he was sincere, to his
enemies he was kind, to all men faithful.

This monument is erected by his disconsolate
though affectionate wife, Elizabeth Ann
Housman.

Sic Transit Gloria Mundi."

R.C. Holder, "Along the Florida Reef," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 42 (February 1871):363.

95. *Pensacola Gazette*, March 29, 1845; Dodd, "Jacob Housman of Indian Key," p. 18.

96. Howe, "A Letter from Indian Key," p. 198.

97. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Public Expenditures, *Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin*, 28th Cong., 2nd sess., 1844-45, H. Rept. 163, Summary Statement of the Committee on Public Expenditures, February 25, 1845, p. 2.

98. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Public Expenditures, *The Late Florida Squadron—Expenditures, &c.*, 28th Cong., 1st sess., 1843-44, H. Rept. 582, Summary Statement of the Committee on Public Expenditures, June 14, 1844, p. 6, Answers to Interrogatories posed by Committee on Public Expenditures to Dr. John Hastings, June 10, 1844, p. 89, Miscellaneous Vouchers, 13-86, passim.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

100. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 16-46, 83-86.

101. F.M. Hudson, "Beginnings in Dade County," *Tequesta* 1 (1943):12-13, quoting from a report from W.C. Maloney to the governor of the territory, document in the Florida State Library; Florida (Territory), *Acts*, 1844, p. 17.

102. U.S. Census, 1850, Population Schedules, Florida, Dade County, Roll 58, Sheet 84, p. 168.

103. U.S. Census, 1860, Population Schedules, Florida, Dade County, Roll 106, Sheet 238, p. 476.

104. *Ibid.*

105. Post Returns for the months of August and September, 1869, submitted by Captain E.R. Warner, U.S. Army Command returns from United States Military Posts, 1800-1916, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives Microfilm M617, Roll 1516.

106. U.S. Census, 1870, Population Schedules, Florida, Monroe County, Roll 132, Sheet 376, p. 753. In 1866 the state had changed the boundary lines and Indian Key was included in the land within Monroe County.

107. *Ibid.*

108. *Ibid.*; Florida, Department of State, Schedule of the Florida State Census of 1885, Monroe County, Agriculture, Roll 9, pp. 1-3.

109. John F. Reiger, ed., "Sailing in South Florida Waters in the Early 1880's," *Tequesta*, 31 (1971):61. James A. Henshall, the author of the article, visited Indian Key in the 1880's and apparently found little to comment upon.

The Evolution of Miami and Dade County's Judiciary, 1896-1930

By Paul George*

City and county courts reflected in various ways the meteoric growth of Miami and Dade County between the former's incorporation as a city in 1896 and 1930.¹ Swelling court dockets, numerous special sessions, a growing number of judges, and additional tribunals were the norm. The area's courts handled civil and criminal cases, ruled on the constitutionality of municipal and state ordinances, and issued opinions and pronouncements on the structure and operation of numerous institutions of criminal justice in Miami and Dade County. Furthermore, the county Grand Jury, an adjunct of the Circuit Court, served a vital community role through investigation of crimes, presentation of indictments, and proposals for the improvement of city and county institutions. This study will examine the operation and growth of the area's court system during Miami's first generation of corporate existence, the Grand Jury and its impact upon criminal justice, and, finally, other functions of the courts in addition to the adjudication of civil and criminal cases.

The original city charter gave Miami's lone court, the Municipal Court, jurisdiction over all offenses against the city code and any and all misdemeanors under state law committed within the city of Miami.² The county has separate and distinct courts which were created by Florida statute during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

A Circuit Court consisting of three sections — criminal, chancery, and common law — is the highest level county court. Initially, all crimes in the county came under the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court, which until 1917 was a peripatetic tribunal holding two sessions annually in

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Dade County. A twelve person jury decided each criminal case. The Circuit Court also directed the deliberations of a county Grand Jury. Finally, this tribunal heard appeals from the lower courts of Dade County.

The other branches of the Circuit Court dealt with civil suits. The chancery tried litigation cases, such as divorce suits and foreclosures on mortgages or liens, where jury trials were unnecessary. The common law division of the Circuit Court was concerned with monetary suits involving \$5,000 or more, which could be referred to a six person jury for settlement.

In addition to a judge elected to a term of four years by the voters of Dade County, the chief officers of the Circuit Court included a state's attorney who served as a prosecutor in criminal cases and a county sheriff who served as bailiff.³

The second level county court was the Criminal Court of Record which, after its creation in 1907, relieved the heavily congested Circuit Court of all criminal cases except those involving capital crimes.⁴ The Criminal Court of Record held six regular sessions annually. A six person jury decided cases in this court. In addition to a judge who also served a four-year term, the court's chief officers included a county solicitor, who acted as a public prosecutor, and a county sheriff.⁵

Minor suits involving sums of money less than \$500.00 were tried in the County Court under the direction of a county judge and in the presence of six jurors. The county judge was also the presiding officer in the County Judge's Court, which tried both criminal and civil suits. In criminal cases, this judge sat as a committing magistrate with his authority limited to one of two areas. He could either discharge a defendant from arrest, or bind the defendant over to the Criminal Court of Record, or, in capital cases, to the Circuit Court. The County Judge's Court had jurisdiction in civil suits involving less than \$100.00. This court was also the probate court with jurisdiction over wills and estates. The judge of the County Judge's Court also held lunacy hearings, issued marriage and hunting licenses, and signed occupational and other licenses. Officers of the County Court and County Judge's Court included the sheriff and several county constables.⁶

The county judge also served as ex-officio coroner. In addition, from 1911 until 1921, he was judge of a Juvenile Court, an appendage of the County Court. The jurisdiction of this court extended to delinquent persons seventeen years of age and younger.⁷

A Court of Crimes, created by the state legislature in 1927 to relieve the congested Criminal Court of Record of all misdemeanor cases, became another important county tribunal.⁸ Additional courts in Dade County included a Civil Court of Record which heard all common law suits involving \$5,000 or less, the United States District Court for the southern district of Florida, a peripatetic federal court which heard hundreds of cases during the 1920's involving violators of federal prohibition statutes, and a Justice of the Peace Court.⁹ In a Justice of the Peace Court, justices acted as committing magistrates with authority to discharge or bind defendants over to the Criminal Court of Record or the Circuit Court. In civil actions, the justice of the peace for Miami had jurisdiction in suits involving not more than \$50.00¹⁰

In the years immediately after Miami's incorporation, the few courts in the area met only briefly and sporadically. Miami's Mayor or Police Court was the lone court in the immediate area since the county tribunals met in Juno in northern Dade County until the county seat returned to Miami in 1899. The Mayor's Court held several sessions monthly in the new city hall building on Twelfth Street (later Flagler Street). The city's mayor served without compensation as its judge, sentencing offenders in accordance with a schedule of penalties outlined in the municipal code. Despite light court dockets and modest fines, the Mayor's Court was the primary source of municipal revenue during this period.¹¹ As the city entered its second decade crime had increased sharply. To meet heavier court loads more effectively, the city council replaced the Mayor's Court with a Municipal Court in 1905. The Municipal Court had a full-time elected judge who served a two year term at an annual salary of \$600.00 A prosecuting city attorney assisted the Municipal Court judge.¹²

The rise in criminal activity also contributed to heavier dockets in the county courts, which heard cases in the new county courthouse on Twelfth Street after 1903. Meeting in spring and fall sessions, the Circuit Court disposed of hundreds of cases annually by 1907. Despite this record, the Circuit Court faced a backlog of six months to one year in criminal cases and indefinite delays in the disposition of civil cases. Consequently, support grew for the establishment of a Criminal Court of Record to relieve the Circuit Court of a portion of its work.¹³

Therefore, the Florida Legislature created a Criminal Court of Record for Dade County in 1907. In its inaugural session in December, 1907, the new court heard 120 cases.¹⁴ Within one year of its inception,

the Criminal Court of Record had disposed of nearly 700 cases, from misdemeanors to homicides.¹⁵ In the ensuing decade its case load continued to spiral.

The dockets of other county courts were considerably lighter, but the fine and forfeiture money collected in the County Court enabled the county to finance its penal institutions, pay the costs of criminal prosecutions, and underwrite the operations of the sheriff's department. As mentioned earlier, additional responsibility for the judge of the County Court came with the creation of a Juvenile Court in 1911.¹⁶

In the Juvenile Court's first decade, the County Court judge disposed of hundreds of cases that came before it. Since the county lacked a juvenile detention home, the Juvenile Court sent serious offenders to the Florida Industrial School for Boys, a reform school at Marianna; the Court placed minor offenders in the custody of parents or with a court appointed guardian. The Court's probation officer maintained frequent consultation with the latter.¹⁷

Due to the heavier work load and responsibilities of the county judge and a rise in juvenile delinquency, the state legislature, in 1921, created a separate Juvenile Court for Dade County. The judge of the new Juvenile Court served for two years at an annual salary of \$2,400. The Court's jurisdiction remained as before. Within two years of its creation, the Juvenile Court had heard over 400 cases. By 1926, it had adjudicated 4,000 cases.¹⁸

The Municipal Court was the area's busiest tribunal. By 1915, it was deciding 3,000 cases annually and its fine and forfeiture total had reached \$12,000.¹⁹ Daily sessions, which initially lasted for several minutes, stretched to one hour or longer. The Court's docket included infractions against nearly every municipal ordinance. Violations of traffic, liquor, and gambling laws brought the largest numbers of offenders before the Court. The Municipal Court also issued rulings on the constitutionality of municipal ordinances. On a lighter note, the judge of the Municipal Court married numerous persons brought before the Court for fornication in order to prevent their incarceration.²⁰

Most of the defendants appearing in Municipal Court posted bonds. Increasing numbers found that although they might forfeit their bonds, they would suffer no ill consequences. Persons arrested and unable to post bond usually remained in the city jail overnight and appeared in court the following morning. Punishment of persons found guilty of a municipal offense was relatively light, rarely exceeding thirty days in

jail or a fine of several hundred dollars. Those persons found guilty and unable to pay a fine were usually put to work on municipal building and cleaning projects for the length of their term.

By the early part of the 1920's, the Municipal Court was hearing upwards of 5,000 cases and contributing \$60,000 annually to the municipal coffers. With the great South Florida land and construction boom bringing thousands of fortune seekers to Miami monthly in 1925, the Court now tried as many as 250 cases daily and collected as much as \$25,000 monthly from fines and forfeitures.²¹

With the Municipal Court unable to hear cases quickly enough to relieve the overcrowded city jail, the city commission, in 1925, authorized an assistant Municipal Court judge to assist the Court in processing its cases.²² But congestion in the court and jail continued. Consequently, the city commission established, in October, 1925, an evening session of the Municipal Court which met six times each week.²³ At one session in November, 1925, it heard 113 cases.²⁴ During the spring of 1926, Coconut Grove, which had recently been annexed to Miami, received its own Municipal Court; this tribunal subsequently heard cases involving infractions against the municipal code in Miami's southwest sector.

The boom had ended by 1926, but the Municipal Courts' dockets remained heavy. During one night session in April, Judge John Hefferman sentenced more than one hundred traffic offenders to jail for one day.²⁶ On November 8, Judge Frank Stoneman tried 254 cases.²⁷ By 1927, however, the city's population had declined sharply; a commensurate decrease in crime led to a sizable reduction of the Municipal Courts' dockets. Soon the city eliminated the night session of the Municipal Court. Later, the Municipal Court in Coconut Grove closed.²⁸

The astounding growth of the Municipal Court during this period was matched in the county courts. The Criminal Court of Record, with a broad spectrum of cases before it, heard, by the beginning of the 1920's, upwards of 200 cases during each of its six annual terms.²⁹ By this time the Court had received another officer — a county detective whose investigatory work provided the county solicitor with vital assistance in preparing the state's case against a defendant.³⁰ By 1925, the court was hearing thousands of cases annually and conducting numerous special sessions.³¹

Like the Municipal Court, the Criminal Court of Record's backlog of cases remained heavy after the boom was over. This backlog reached

800 in the fall of 1926, prompting a Grand Jury to recommend creation of a second Criminal Court of Record.³²

The Florida Legislature, instead, created, in 1927, a Court of Crimes which assumed jurisdiction over all misdemeanors previously tried in the Criminal Court of Record. The judge of this new tribunal served a four year elective term and received an annual salary of \$6,800. During its inaugural session in September, 1927, the Court of Crimes heard over 200 cases. It remained busy for the duration of the 1920's, hearing, in particular, numerous cases involving persons arrested for driving while intoxicated.³³

Despite its limited jurisdiction, the Criminal Court of Record remained busy. Heavy court dockets prompted the state legislature to provide the county solicitor with an assistant, and led to special sessions of the Court in 1928 and 1929.³⁴

The Circuit Court underwent even more dramatic changes during Miami's boom years. Prior to the boom, the state legislature, in 1917, provided a permanent Circuit Court for the area. The Circuit Court now met in several annual sessions in the Dade County courthouse.³⁵

Litigation before this tribunal increased sharply, prompting Florida Governor Cary Hardee to assign another judge to the bench in 1923.³⁶ Two years later, the Circuit Court received a third jurist. By this time the Court's clerk had 156 assistants to help him prepare its business.³⁷

As the Circuit Court's civil sector became increasingly congested, the legislature, in 1926, provided the county with a Civil Court of Record with jurisdiction over all common law suits involving \$5,000 or less.³⁸ In the following year, the Circuit Court received a fourth judge to assist it in adjudicating nearly 7,000 cases. These included more than 5,600 chancery suits, 1,250 common law suits, and a small number of criminal cases.³⁹

While other county courts also disposed of increasing numbers of cases, their dockets never reached the levels of the aforementioned tribunals. Some of these courts, however, played increasingly important roles during the 1920's. The United States District Court for the southern district of Florida held several sessions annually in Dade County by the middle of the 1920's, disposing of hundreds of cases of prohibition violations.⁴⁰

The Justice of Peace Court was another tribunal which assumed increasing importance in the 1920's, primarily because city and county lawmen, in an effort to halt a steep rise in reckless driving and au-

tomobile accidents, turned over many persons convicted of these offenses in Municipal Court to the Justice of Peace Court (as well as the Court of Crimes) for a second trial under state statute.⁴¹

The operation of the courts, as well as other institutions of the city and county, was influenced directly by the Dade County Grand Jury. This body was composed of eighteen men selected from various parts of Dade County by the judge of the Circuit Court. The County Grand Jury met several times annually at the behest of this jurist who charged it with investigating major crimes and conducting inquiries into local affairs and institutions supported by taxation, including city and county government, public schools, hospitals, and jails. At the outset of its deliberations (which could last from a few weeks to several months), each Grand Jury selected a foreman from among its peers to provide it with leadership and a clerk to prepare its final report to the judge of the Circuit Court.

In conducting criminal investigations, the Grand Jury worked closely with the state's attorney, who presented the state's cases to the Grand Jury, seeking indictments. This process included interrogation of witnesses by the Grand Jury. In the event a Grand Jury returned an indictment, the case, depending on whether it came under the category of a capital offense or a lesser crime, went to either the judge of the Circuit Court, the Criminal Court of Record, or the Court of Crimes. The judge of the court receiving indictments then ordered its chief officer to issue *capiases* (judicial writs) to the sheriff to make arrests. In special circumstances, such as the murder of Sergeant Laurie Wever of the Miami Police Department in 1925, the judge of the Department in 1925, the judge of the Circuit Court could call a Grand Jury into session immediately. A civil emergency, such as the labor unrest in Miami during 1919, could also lead to the immediate convocation of a Grand Jury.⁴²

Conducting trial investigations was an important Grand Jury function. Proceeding according to specific instructions from the judge of the Circuit Court, the Grand Jury also undertook investigations into a wide variety of municipal practices and institutions. At the end of its labors, it issued a written report containing, in addition to indictments in criminal cases, its findings on the conditions of the institutions examined with recommendations for their improvement.⁴³

City and county authorities, however, rejected most Grand Jury recommendations. Notable exceptions occurred in the realm of prisons, traffic and liquor enforcement, and court personnel.

The Grand Jury's recommendations were generally balanced. A notable exception occurred in 1918, when the Grand Jury recommended the establishment of a "restricted district" where prostitution would be allowed. The Grand Jury argued that such a district would prevent the spread of prostitution into residential areas of Miami — which had occurred since the demise of Hardieville, Miami's redlight district, in 1917. But a loud outcry from the press and many prominent Miamians quickly killed this recommendation.⁴⁴

Ten years later a Grand Jury undertook a laborious investigation of the Miami Police Department highlighted by the interrogation of hundreds of witnesses. It subsequently recommended a total reorganization of the force under new leadership. This recommendation was, for the most part, adopted.⁴⁵

The number of categories of criminal cases before the courts at a particular time reflected the type of crimes predominant in the area during that era. For example, many persons appeared before the Municipal Court and some county courts during the early years of the twentieth century for alleged offenses against the sanitary code.⁴⁶ By the second decade of the twentieth century, liquor and gambling cases far exceeded sanitary violations. In the latter part of this decade, cases involving traffic violations began to clog the dockets of several courts. Throughout the 1920's, liquor, gambling, and traffic violations continued to dominate court dockets.⁴⁷

But the function of the courts and their justices transcended adjudication of civil and criminal cases. The courts also judged the constitutionality of laws brought before them in test cases, particularly legislation regulating liquor and traffic. For example, Judge W. Frank Blanton of the Municipal Court struck down, in 1915, a law providing that all near beer saloons pay \$1,500 for a merchant's license because it imposed a "prohibitive" cost on a product not proven to be intoxicating.⁴⁸ In the following year, the city council passed a new ordinance setting the price of a merchant's license for near beer operators at \$500.00.⁴⁹ The Municipal Court and, later, the Circuit Court upheld this law.⁵⁰ At other times, however, a higher court reversed a decision of a lower court. This occurred in 1922 when the Circuit Court reversed an earlier decision of the Municipal Court upholding an ordinance which banned jitneys from thoroughfares where street cars operated.⁵¹

Judges also addressed themselves to numerous social issues. They advocated procedural and institutional reforms, and, in the process of

sentencing offenders, took direct aim at repeated violations of certain laws. Thus Judge James T. Saunders of the Municipal Court complained, as early as 1906, of the large number of vagrants in the city, and promised that "if the police will arrest them, I will do the rest."⁵² Soon after, Judge William I. Metcalf of the Criminal Court of Record, angered at the number of persons before his Court for offenses committed while inebriated, declared that the police must exercise more vigilance in pursuing drunks.⁵³ One decade later, Judge Stoneman of the Municipal Court declared a war on vice and promised to impose maximum fines on prostitutes who came before his court.⁵⁴

Judges sometimes expressed opinions on race. Judge John Grambling of the Municipal Court spoke disparagingly of Nassau blacks who "upon their arrival here consider themselves the social equal of white people."⁵⁵ Judge Blanton asked the city council in 1917 to establish a "Color Line" separating the races in Miami.⁵⁶ Three years later, Judge H. Pierre Branning of the Circuit Court led a delegation of municipal leaders who met with black leaders in the aftermath of a white bombing in Colored Town and proposed solutions to the problems which provoked the crisis.⁵⁷

Justices of the Circuit Court were ideally suited to combat social problems because of their power to impanel an investigating Grand Jury. Justice Branning charged a Grand Jury in 1919 with investigating the possibility that a labor-race conspiracy was behind the unrest that rocked Miami during this period.⁵⁸

In the realm of institutional reform, the most frequent judicial demand concerned the area's crowded jails. Judge Saunders in 1906 requested that the city council act to relieve the city jail of severe overcrowding, while his counterpart on the bench of the Criminal Court of Record, Judge Metcalf, requested similar action of the county commission for the county jail in 1908.⁵⁹ This refrain continued, becoming more frequent in the 1920's when jurists like Judge Stoneman repeatedly asked the city commission to provide the city with a new jail.⁶⁰

The Circuit and County Courts directed their pleas for institutional reform to demands for additional tribunals to assist with increasingly heavier court dockets. As mentioned earlier, Judge Minor Jones of the Circuit Court asked for a Criminal Court of Record in 1906.⁶¹ Twenty years later, two of his successors, H.F. Atkinson and Andrew J. Rose, pressed state authorities and the Florida Legislature for additional judges and courts.⁶² In the meantime, justices of the County Court made frequent entreaties for an independent Juvenile Court.

The recent origins of the city and its institutions provided the courts with an excellent opportunity to introduce new procedural and legal practices and improve upon old ones. Consequently, demands for reform in these areas focused on a wide variety of issues. This activity was especially evident in the Municipal Court. The first period of change occurred with the accession of Paul G. Phillips to the bench in 1911. Judge Phillips instituted daily sessions of the Court which began promptly at 9:00 A.M.⁶³ Phillips also eliminated the practice of many persons who, after their arrest, signed "John Doe" on the police blotter in place of their legal name, posted bond, and subsequently forfeited it in lieu of a court appearance. This procedure permitted them to avoid any connection with their arrest. Phillips ruled that the legal name of all persons arrested would have to appear on police and court records; furthermore, the name and offense of each person would be read on the day their trial was scheduled whether or not they appeared in court. Judge Stoneman, in 1919, took Phillips' ruling one step further by prohibiting any person from avoiding a court appearance after an arrest.⁶⁵

By 1920, the Municipal Court had compiled an index file of all cases before it.⁶⁶ In subsequent years, persons appearing in court were checked against this file, and, if found to be repeaters, were usually fined more heavily than a first offender. By the middle of the 1920's, the Municipal Court and the Miami Police Department were cooperating closely in issuing "Courtesy Cards" to Miamians and visitors. A person holding a "Courtesy Card" could avoid a trip to police headquarters, a booking and bond after an arrest on a minor charge. Instead, he received a date to appear in court.⁶⁷ By the end of the decade, the Municipal Court and the police were permitting petty traffic violators to avoid a court appearance altogether by paying a fine at police headquarters.⁶⁸

The Criminal Court of Record was also innovative. Judge H.F. Atkinson, in 1910, installed a blackboard in his courtroom. At the outset of each daily session of the Court, the clerk listed cases scheduled for that day and the following day on this board. Atkinson adopted this measure to ensure the appearance of attorneys with cases before the court at the correct time, since, according to Atkinson, "the court has been bothered a great deal in the past by attorneys not being ready for since, according to Atkinson, "the court has been bothered a great deal in the past by attorneys not being ready for trial, either because they misunderstood the date set for the trial of certain cases, or because they had forgotten the date."⁶⁹

The Criminal Court of Record's prosecuting attorney, the county solicitor, sometimes contributed to court innovations. For example, Fred Pine, county solicitor from 1918 to 1926, was the primary force behind the passage of a law providing the Criminal Court of Record with a detective in 1919.⁷⁰ Pine's successor Robert Taylor also left his mark on court reform. In order to reduce congestion in the county jail and courts, Taylor in 1926 instructed Dade County Sheriff Henry Chase to release any prisoner whose conviction was doubtful because of insufficient evidence. For the same reason, Taylor also supported speedy trials for all prisoners.⁷¹

The Circuit Court's primary contribution to procedural reform occurred in 1926 when it sponsored a countywide law enforcement conference which, in part, dealt with schemes for a more expeditious dispatch of court cases.⁷²

Many judges believed that stern sentencing was an effective approach to reducing repeated violations of certain ordinances. John L. Billingsly, who was Judge of the Criminal Court from 1914 to 1917, was especially severe on prohibition offenders. Frequently Billingsly fined an offender \$500.00 or imposed a sentence of six months in jail.⁷³ Billingsly's successor, Thomas Norfleet, imposed lengthy sentences on confidence men and thieves who preyed on wealthy tourists. Norfleet sentenced a man convicted of robbing a tourist of \$9.50 to ten years in prison.⁷⁴ Judge J. Emmett Wolfe of the Criminal Court of Record dealt severely with traffic violators. Throughout 1920, Wolfe sentenced reckless drivers to three months in the county jail.⁷⁵

Judges of the Municipal Court were severe with gamblers, prostitutes, and liquor violators; but speeders, and reckless and drunken drivers were special targets. Judge Phillips in 1913 declared a "war on automobile speeders" and promised to punish persons convicted of this violation to the full limit of the law.⁷⁶ As the automobile accident rate increased sharply in the 1920's, the Municipal Court began sentencing many traffic offenders to twenty-four days in jail and \$50.00 fines before turning them over to the Court of Crimes for a second trial for this violation under state statute.⁷⁷

Contrasting sharply with the punitive approach was the *modus operandi* of the Juvenile Court. H.W. Penny, the Court's first judge after its establishment as an independent entity in 1921, exercised paternal care over each offender during his four years on the bench. The background of each youth was investigated to determine the underlying causes of his trouble. Penny was reluctant to send offenders to the state

reform school at Marianna, preferring instead to place them under the guidance of the county probation officer.⁷⁸

Penny's successor, Edith Atkinson, the first female jurist in Dade County, also believed that errant youths should be sent to reform school only as a last resort. Instead, Judge Atkinson campaigned tirelessly for a county farm for delinquent youths, which she believed would be more effective than reform school in their rehabilitation.⁷⁹

Judge Atkinson was also an indefatigable campaigner for an assistant probation officer to process the court's increasingly heavy case load, the passage of child welfare measures, and secondary school courses in the care and training of children. In pursuit of these objectives, Judge Atkinson addressed numerous civic groups and even lobbied before the state legislature. Most of these objectives were realized during her term on the bench.⁸⁰

Thus, by 1930, the Juvenile Court had compiled an enviable record. Representatives of the area's other courts could also take pride in the performances of their tribunals for each had handled with reasonable dispatch and efficiency extremely heavy dockets resulting from Miami's meteoric growth. The area's judiciary was firmly implanted by 1930 and could look forward to the future with optimism.

NOTES

1. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Volume III, Part I, Population. Reports By States* (Washington, 1932), p. 451. Miami's population at the time of its incorporation was approximately 3,000. Transient laborers, employed by Henry Flagler on myriad construction projects, comprised a large percentage of the early population. Within a few years of incorporation, most of these projects had been completed. Accordingly, many laborers left Miami, causing a sharp dip in the population. By 1930, however, Miami's population stood at 110,637 after exceeding 200,000 at the peak of the boom in 1925.

2. Paul Wilcox (ed.), *City Manager's Report to the City Commission of Five Years of Commission-Manager Government for the City of Miami* (Miami, 1926), p. 105.

3. *Revised General Statutes of Florida, 1920, Volume Two*, Chapter IV, Section 3052; Chapter II, Articles 1-7; Chapter X, Title I, Chapter I, Section 3104-3233; Part II, Title I, Chapter I, Section 5937; Chapter II, Article I, Section 5941-5942.

4. Capital crimes include murder and rape.

5. *Revised General Statutes of Florida, 1920, Volume Two*, Chapter III, Article I, Section 5960.

6. *Revised General Statutes of Florida, 1920, Volume Two*, Title VI, Section 3327; Title VII, Section 3326; Title VII, Article I, Section 3337; Title VII, Article II, Section 3341-3343.

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7. *Revised General Laws of Florida, 1920, Volume One*, Chapter XXX, Article Two, Section 2308-2309; Chapter XXXII, Section 2322-2327.

8. *Compiled General Laws of Florida, 1927, Annotated, Volume Four, Crimes and Criminal Procedure*, Sections 8266-8277.

9. *Compiled General Laws of Florida, 1927, Annotated, Volume Two, Civil Courts, Their Organization and Proceedings Therein*, Title VIII, Chapter One, Sections 3363 & 3365.

10. *Revised General Statutes of Florida, 1920, Volume Two*, Title VIII, Chapter One, Sections 3363-3365.

11. John K. Dorn, "Recollections of Early Miami," *Tequesta*, 9 (1949): p. 52; *Miami Herald*, July 23, 1916, pp. 8-9, 23; *Miami Metropolis*, January 8, 1897, p. 8; October 1, 1897, p. 2; October 15, 1897, p. 4; *Miami Daily News*, July 28, 1921, p. 9; John Sewell, *Memoirs and History of Miami, Florida* (Miami, 1933), p. 137.

12. *Ordinances of the City of Miami*, Book I, p. xix; *Miami Daily News*, July 26, 1925, Utilities Section, p. 22; *Miami Metropolis*, November 24, 1905, p. 7; *Minutes of the City Council*, Volume Two, October 19, 1905, p. 158; Volume Two, December 7, 1905, p. 216.

13. *Miami Metropolis*, April 20, 1900, p. 8; May 4, 1900, p. 4; December 13, 1901, p. 1; April 11, 1902, p. 1; October 23, 1903, p. 9; October 21, 1904, p. 1; October 6, 1905, p. 8; October 5, 1906, p. 6; March 22, 1907, p. 4. Judge Minor Jones of the Circuit Court and members of the Dade County Bar Association were leading supporters of a Criminal Court of Record.

14. *Miami Herald*, May 10, 1913, p. 2; *Miami Metropolis*, December 4, 1907, p. 1; December 5, 1907, p. 1; December 12, 1908, p. 1.

15. *Miami Metropolis*, September 22, 1908, p. 1; December 12, 1908, p. 1.

16. *Miami Metropolis*, September 27, 1911, p. 1; *Revised General Statutes of Florida, 1920, Volume One*, Chapter XXXII, Sections 2322-2327.

17. *Miami Herald*, January 13, 1912, p. 1; May 6, 1915, pp. 4-5; *Miami Metropolis*, April 2, 1911, p. 6; December 19, 1911, p. 2.

18. *Miami Herald*, July 10, 1921, Part II, p. 3; October 16, 1921, Part II, p. 8; October 18, 1921, p. 12; December 25, 1921, p. 11A; May 2, 1923, p. 1; June 3, 1926, p. 36; *Illustrated Daily Tab*, August 5, 1925, p. 2.

19. *Miami Herald*, April 21, 1915, p. 6.

20. *Miami Herald*, February 12, 1914, p. 3; April 23, 1914, p. 5; December 7, 1915, p. 8; *Miami Metropolis*, December 29, 1911, p. 3; December 30, 1911, p. 3; July 9, 1912, p. 4; September 4, 1912, p. 8; October 17, 1914, p. 8.

21. *Miami Herald*, March 23, 1924, p. 4; April 2, 1925, p. 2A; August 11, 1925, p. 2.

22. *Minutes of the City Commission*, Volume Fourteen, September 14, 1925, pp. 610-611.

23. *Ibid.*, Volume Fifteen, October 28, 1925, p. 65.

24. *Miami Herald*, November 6, 1925, p. 2.

25. *Minutes of the City Commission*, Volume Fifteen, May 24, 1926, p. 416.

26. *Miami Herald*, April 14, 1926, p. 17.

27. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1926, p. 8.

28. *Miami Herald*, July 1, 1927, p. 2; *Minutes of the City Commission*, Volume Seventeen, June 30, 1927, p. 132.

29. *Miami Herald*, August 2, 1920, p. 1; July 31, 1921, p. 2; June 25, 1922, p. 11; October 24, 1922, p. 3.

30. *Miami Metropolis*, December 4, 1919, p. 9.

31. *Miami Herald*, August 2, 1924, p. 1; June 10, 1925, p. 10B; December 27, 1925, p. 1F; May 9, 1929, p. 2.

32. *Ibid.*, December 18, 1926, p. 1; February 24, 1927, p. 3; August 4, 1927, p. 3.
33. *Ibid.*, June 14, 1927, p. 4; July 14, 1927, p. 1; September 12, 1928, p. 6.
34. *Ibid.*, June 14, 1927, p. 2; October 3, 1929, p. 2.
35. *Ibid.*, May 30, 1917, p. 4. The new Circuit Court was part of the Eleventh Judicial District encompassing Dade and Monroe (the Keys) counties.
36. *Ibid.*, December 8, 1925, p. 1; December 27, 1925, p. 1F.
37. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1925, p. 3A; December 30, 1927, p. 15.
38. *Compiled General Laws of Florida, 1927, Annotated, Volume Two, Civil Courts, Their Organization and Proceedings Therein*, Title V, Sections 5156-5168.
39. *Miami Herald*, May 5, 1927, p. 3.
40. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1924, p. 2B; May 5, 1927, p. 3; August 31, 1928, p. 2; April 30, 1929, p. 24; May 14, 1929, p. 20.
41. *Ibid.*, November 21, 1924, p. 11A; March 20, 1925, p. 2; March 19, 1928, p. 2; *Miami Metropolis*, December 12, 1919, p. 6.
42. *Miami Herald*, March 19, 1928, p. 2.
44. *Miami Herald*, November 30, 1918, p. 2; December 5, 1918, p. 4; *Miami Metropolis*, November 30, 1918, p. 1.
45. *Miami Herald*, March 8, 1928, p. 2; March 9, 1928, pp. 1 & 10; March 19, 1928, p. 2; March 21, 1928, pp. 1 & 6; May 8, 1928, pp. 2 & 13. The indictment of Police Chief H. Leslie Quigg and three policemen in the death of a prisoner prompted this Grand Jury investigation of the police.
46. *Miami Metropolis*, July 12, 1901, p. 4; November 13, 1903, p. 9; December 4, 1907, p. 1; December 12, 1908, p. 1.
47. *Miami Herald*, September 4, 1912, p. 8; February 25, 1914, p. 7; December 7, 1915, p. 8; August 8, 1916, p. 2; September 19, 1918, p. 1; April 21, 1920, p. 6; March 20, 1923, p. 6; June 22, 1924, p. 2; September 4, 1928, p. 2.
48. *Ibid.*, January 28, 1916, p. 8. Since the fall of 1913, Dade County had been "dry" in regard to the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages.
49. *Ibid.*, October 14, 1916, p. 8.
50. *Miami Herald*, June 30, 1917, p. 3; *Miami Metropolis*, June 29, 1917, p. 1.
51. *Miami Herald*, February 15, 1922, p. 13; September 3, 1922, p. 14.
52. *Miami Metropolis*, November 23, 1906, p. 2.
53. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1908, p. 1.
54. *Miami Herald*, June 10, 1919, p. 2.
55. *Minutes of the City Council*, Volume Three, December 17, 1908, p. 313.
56. *Minutes of the City Council*, Volume Eight, March 15, 1917, p. 588.
57. *Miami Metropolis*, May 21, 1920, p. 12; May 26, 1920, p. 1.
58. *Miami Herald*, August 23, 1919, p. 8. Miami experienced a protracted labor strike in 1919, as well as several incidents of violence between whites and blacks.
59. *Minutes of the City Council*, Volume Two, January 4, 1906, p. 230; *Miami Metropolis*, July 2, 1924, p. 1.
60. *Minutes of the City Commission*, Volume Fourteen, June 1, 1924, p. 136; *Miami Herald*, July 2, 1924, p. 1. With the adoption of a commission-manager government in 1921, a city commission replaced the city council as the municipal legislature.
61. *Miami Metropolis*, March 22, 1907, p. 1; May 1, 1909, p. 1.
62. *Miami Herald*, May 12, 1926, p. 4.
63. *Miami Metropolis*, December 14, 1911, p. 1.
64. *Miami Herald*, November 2, 1911, p. 2.
65. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1919, p. 1.
66. *Miami Metropolis*, November 27, 1919, p. 7.
67. *Miami Herald*, October 20, 1923, p. 2; November 5, 1923, p. 2.

68. Department of Public Safety, *First Annual Report (Fiscal Year July 1, 1928-June 30, 1929)* (Miami, 1929), pp. 4 & 6; *Miami Herald*, May 31, 1929, p. 1.
69. *Miami Metropolis*, January 21, 1910, p. 1.
70. *Miami Herald*, April 27, 1917, p. 6; May 27, 1917, p. 4; *Minutes of the County Commission*, Volume One, December 2, 1919, p. 125.
71. *Miami Herald*, July 17, 1926, p. 2.
72. *Ibid.*, June 20, 1926, p. 5; July 16, 1926, p. 2; July 17, 1926, p. 2.
73. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1914, p. 2.
74. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1926, p. 2.
75. *Miami Metropolis*, June 13, 1920, p. 8, from the manuscript collection of Judge J. Emmett Wolfe (Silver Spring, Maryland).
76. *Miami Herald*, April 8, 1913, p. 8.
77. *Ibid.*, September 12, 1928, p. 6.
78. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1921, II, p. 1; November 19, 1922, p. 5A. The state reform school at Marianna, known officially as the Florida Industrial School for Boys, acquired much notoriety during this period owing to inadequate facilities and harsh treatment of its inmates.
79. H.F. Atkinson, husband of Edith Atkinson, had been judge of Dade County's Criminal Court of Record and the Circuit Court.
80. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1925, p. 2; July 24, 1927, p. ; September 8, 1928, p. 2; September 27, 1929, p. 2.

The Florida East Coast Steamship Company

By Edward A. Mueller*

Henry Morrison Flagler's relentless drive south on the East Coast of Florida in more than a decade had reached the southerly portions of what is now Brevard County. His luxurious hotels were the envy of all and during the winter resort season apparently did a capacity business.

Not content with just his Florida mainland railroad and hotel empire, Flagler embarked on a three-pronged effort to extend his holdings seaward. The three prongs were to Nassau, Havana and Key West. The sea-borne prong to Key West, however, was to be ultimately replaced by a most unique construction project, the Overseas Railroad extension to Key West. Getting to Nassau was the first objective, however, in point of time.

In the early 1890's, Flagler was thrusting his railroad ever further south. The immediate stopping place was Palm Beach and Flagler was extremely busy with both railroad and hotel projects there.

The spring of 1893 saw the Flagler purchase of a large tract of land on the body of water known as Lake Worth in what is now Palm Beach County but which was Dade County at the time. The tract of land was for a large hotel and the news of Flagler's interest in the area immediately stimulated property values and prices rose dramatically. Meanwhile railroad construction was proceeding southward to terminate for the moment at West Palm Beach.

After Flagler had given the go-ahead to build his hotel, an astonishing amount of construction activity commenced. The groundbreaking for the new hotel took place on May 1, 1893. Workmen and materials arrived overnight. Temporary tents and shacks to house the myriads sprang up and a thousand men were at work on what was to become the South's largest hotel, known as the Royal Poinciana. Before it was

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completed and opened on February 15, 1894, it had consumed five million feet of timber, 360 thousand shingles, half a million bricks, four thousand barrels of lime and 2,400 gallons of paint. Also 1,200 windows and 1,800 doors were installed in the Poinciana. Some 20 acres of walls were plastered. These figures would be formidable for almost any area today, one can imagine what the impact was on a sleepy pioneer settlement that was to be known as "The Queen of Winter Resorts."

A year later in the summer of 1895, construction was commenced on another large hotel in the area, this time one that faced the ocean. It was the Palm Beach Inn, later to be world renowned as "The Breakers."

The key to Flagler's plans was the linking of transportation and accommodations. He believed in close proximity and a relationship between them in terms of convenience to guests. Because his railroad was on the mainland at West Palm Beach, several miles away from the Royal Poinciana and Palm Beach Inn, a spur had to be built over to the ocean front from the mainland, across Lake Worth. This spur, built before the Inn opened, helped in the transfer of building supplies for the construction of the Inn. The spur was extended for over 1,000 feet into the ocean adjacent to the Inn, by construction of a pier capable of carrying trains. This would enable passengers to step from their train directly to the boat. Hotel guests needed only a short walk from their room to reach their vessel. Of course the pier had to be placed out a considerable distance to enable even the shallow draft vessels used at that time enough depth of water so as not to run aground.

The "immense pier" as it was described in promotional travel literature was built under contract by Captain J.D. Ross, a prominent marine contractor from Jacksonville. Captain Ross had constructed some of the St. John's River jetty work which was placed to make that river capable of carrying deeper draft vessels. Plans called for a timber trestle type pier, probably supported by piling (wooden) and a heavy bulkhead filled with rock at the far end of the pier, undoubtedly to hold against the expected hurricane-sized weather that occasionally developed. The pier had to be heavy enough also to carry the locomotives of the day and lighter coaches. Cost was put at \$100,000 in 1897. Then the pier was used for fishing and boating activities.

Flagler's dreams (dreams at the time, realities as events were to prove) included participation in the winter tourist trade with the Bahamas and to that purpose he acquired a brace of hotels in Nassau, the Royal Victoria and Colonial. And, of course, the next step would be to

provide the connecting link between Palm Beach and Nassau, an ocean-going vessel.

So, in mid-October, 1895, announcement was made of a steamship service to Nassau, such service to start in mid-January, 1896. The *Northumberland* was the initial vessel chosen for this purpose. This vessel was chartered and was about three years old at the time. She was a steel vessel, had twin screws, was of 1,300 tons and was 220 feet long and 33 feet wide. She had a single stack and two masts.

Flagler's steamship operations were organized under a general corporate entry known as the Florida East Coast Steamship Company. Two services were operated after the first year, the Florida-Bahamas Steamship Line and the Key West and Miami Steamship Line. Thus *Northumberland* was operated by the Florida-Bahamas Steamship Line.

The President of the Florida East Coast Steamship Company was Mr. Flagler and Vice-President was Joseph R. Parrott. These two principals were also the top officers in the parent Florida East Coast Railroad.

The *Northumberland* inaugurated service either on January 15 (Wednesday) or on the next day, January 16. One published schedule says the 16th and a later one indicates the 15th. It was just an overnight jaunt to Nassau on New Providence Island, the city of Nassau being reached just in time for breakfast. On Monday, January 20, *Northumberland* left Nassau for the first time and by February 11 had settled down to a tri-weekly Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday departure from Palm Beach and a Monday, Wednesday, Friday departure from Nassau. Service was discontinued by the first of April as the winter visitor season was over by then.

The Palm Beach Inn was open from December to April and the Royal Poinciana from January to April. The Royal Poinciana was six stories high, had 575 sleeping rooms, a ballroom, dining room, and sitting and parlor rooms. Two swimming pools were provided, one with sulphur water and one with salt water from the ocean. During the 1894-95 season, visitors were turned away for lack of space. The Palm Beach Inn By The Sea as it was termed, was of about five stories and had some 400 guest rooms. Later on it would gain fame when it became known as "The Breakers."

As Nassau was only 150 miles from the United States, the journey was a convenient half day trip from the mainland. Its climate was more tropical than any found in the U.S. at that time and winter sunshine seemed its chief selling point. Cycling was avidly resorted to, and the

beautifully-colored shallow coral-strewn waters around the area were also an attraction. The Royal Victoria Hotel had been built by the British Colonial government at a cost of \$125,000 and was four stories high, 200 feet long with wide verandahs around its lower three floors. The Florida East Coast publicity noted that the hotel manager was an American, no less.

The Key West operations also commenced in 1896. The *Shelter Island*, a sidewheeler was to start this service in mid-February from Miami. The schedule called for tri-weekly trips on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, leaving Miami at 8 A.M., Coral Gables at 9 A.M. with arrival at Key West at 6 P.M. The return trips were scheduled to have *Shelter Island* leave Key West on Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 8 A.M., arriving at Coral Gables at 5 P.M. and Miami at 6 P.M. The total trip distance was about 165 miles.

Shelter Island was an iron paddlewheeled vessel built in 1886 at Harlan and Hollingsworth's Delaware River shipyard. She was 176 feet long, 31 feet wide and of 10 foot draft. She had a vertical beam engine, 38 inches in diameter with an 108 inch stroke. She was of 648 gross tons, 484 net.

Shelter Island had the briefest career imaginable with the FEC. On February 20, 1896 she left Miami for Key West on her very first trip. Over 200 citizens of Key West came aboard her to have the honor of the first passage and many from Jacksonville were also among her passengers. Only two hours out of Miami she struck a rocky shoal or perhaps a coral-like protrusion between Grecian and Mosquito Shoals in six feet of water. She got free of the obstruction, turned on her pumps and started for Key West. Initially the pumping kept the water down but the leak became greater, the pumps became clogged and were thus unable to keep the water level from rising. Finally, the furnace fires went out due to the advancing water, steam pressure and motive power ceased, and *Shelter Island* settled to the bottom some 19 miles out of Key West. She had lost the 90 mile run to the supposed help at Key West in the form of a marine railway on which she had hoped to have her repairs effected.

No casualties resulted but *Shelter Island*, valued at \$80,000, was a total loss. She was insured for some \$60,000, however. Two Key West tugs, the *Clyde* and *Childs* came out to help and took off some of the passengers and cargo. Two wrecking schooners also arrived on the scene and "helped" with the cargo. Surprisingly enough the *Shelter Island* was in charge of a veteran pilot, Captain Cannte and the holing of the hull was a surprise to all.

Shelter Island had been chartered from the Montauk Steamboat Company for the winter run to Key West. In the summer she was on a run from New York city to the outer extremities of Long Island and had at least 50 staterooms as she was a night boat. She had cleared from New York only a week before on the 13th and had stopped off at Jacksonville on the 16th. The Miami-Key West Line immediately set out to find a suitable replacement (of which more later).

An intermediate service was also run at this time from Fort Lauderdale to Miami using *Biscayne*, a western-rivers type sternwheeler previously used by the Indian River Steamboat Line. Flagler's railroad had caused steamboat operations on the Indian River to dwindle away and surplus boats were accordingly available. *Biscayne* had previously been named (a) *J.W. Sweeney*. *Biscayne* scheduled a tri-weekly service leaving Fort Lauderdale at 9 A.M., arriving at Miami at 3 P.M., and went on to Coconut Grove, getting there at 4 P.M. The return trip left Coconut Grove at 9 A.M., Miami at 10 A.M. and reached Fort Lauderdale at 4 P.M. The southbound trip was made on Monday, Wednesday and Friday and the northbound one on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

Della alternated with *Biscayne* going southward on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday and returned on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. *Della*, #157384, was a small steel propeller vessel of 38 gross tons, 22 net. She was only 67.5 feet long and 18.1 feet wide but was a good shallow water vessel as her depth of hold was three feet. Her engine was of 30 indicated horsepower and she was built in Jacksonville in 1893.

Biscayne, #76769, was a wooden sternwheel vessel having been



Courtesy of the Mariners Museum
The ill-fated *Shelter Island*

built at Abbeville, Georgia in 1888. She was a comfortable 414 gross tons, 229 net, had an 80 (nominal) horsepower engine (120 indicated) and was 118.9 feet long, 34.4 feet wide and of 4.4 feet in depth.

Of course, Flagler was busily engaged in extending his railroad line to Miami but it was not until mid-April, 1896 that the railroad was completed, the first train bearing passengers arriving around April 22.

Flagler had had severe doubts about going further south than the Palm Beaches at this time but a severe freeze over the winter of 1894-95 in the Palm Beach area and the absence of such a condition in the Miami area convinced him to look southward, somewhat before he ordinarily would have done so. The Tuttle and Brickells, pioneer land holders in the Miami area, offered alternate lots from their holdings and Mrs. Julia Tuttle also gave 100 acres of land along Biscayne Bay and the Miami River for a hotel site. Flagler on his part was to extend his railroad, construct a large hotel and clear streets, finance waterworks and an electric light plant.

Surveys for the railroad started in June, 1895 track laying began by September. The usual bands of newcomers, settlers and workers made their way to Miami. In March, 1896, within two days, two steamboats (one of them the *St. Lucie*) arrived with building materials and some of Flagler's underlings. They started work on the hotel and announced that the railroad would be in Miami in about 30 days.

The Flagler hotel completed in time for the 1897 tourist season was the Royal Palm. This large hotel could accommodate 600 guests and stayed open from January to April. A smaller hotel, the Biscayne with quarters for 150 guests was also available.

Now that Miami was the obvious terminal, Palm Beach was abandoned as the departure point for Nassau and Miami took over. The *Northumberland* was not chartered for the 1897 season, the *Monticello* being instead obtained. This vessel was the old *City of Monticello*, #5339, a durable iron sidewheeler which had formerly plied from Charleston to Jacksonville in the mid-1880's after a respectable career with the Morgan Line.

Monticello or *City of Monticello* (her full name) was over 30 years old at the time of her service with Flagler. An iron hulled vessel she was a Harlan and Hollingsworth product (their hull #101) being built in 1866. She was a beam-engined craft with a 32 inch cylinder and a nine foot stroke for her piston. She was 892 tons, gross and 478, net. Her length was 224 feet and she was 32 feet wide with a nine foot hold depth. The

Florida East Coast Steamship Line chartered her from the Bay of Fundy Steamship Company.

Monticello was originally named (a) *City of Norfolk* and she had been sold to British interests in 1889 after her St. Johns service in the mid-1880's. Before that she had a long stint with the Morgan Steamship Line.

Miami was somewhat closer to Nassau than Key West and *Monticello* was placed on a Wednesday and Saturday departure schedule, leaving Miami from mid-January to mid-February and a Tuesday and Friday return schedule from the Bahamas. From February 15 to March 27 she sailed tri-weekly from Miami on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday and returned from Nassau on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. All sailings were at 2 P.M. with early morning arrivals at their destinations. Sailings went back to a twice-a-week basis in late March until the end of the season in mid-April. Nassau was some 155 miles from Miami.

For the Key West route, to replace the short-lived *Shelter Island*, the venerable *City of Richmond* was purchased and renamed (b) *City of Key West* in honor of her new home. This ancient wooden sidewheeler would give good service during the next several years as she threaded the "Inside" and "Outside" passages among the Florida Keys to and from Key West. She ran on a tri-weekly basis the entire season, leaving Miami on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday and Key West on Sunday, Wednesday and Friday. Departures from both ends were at 7 A.M. so the maximum amount of daylight could be employed in the navigational hazards of the shoals enroute.

City of Key West, #5020, first saw the light of day in 1865 at her building in Athens, New York, Nathan and Edmonds being the constructor. Her durability was attested to by the fact that she was to have over forty years of active life and perhaps several less active years afterwards. She was distinguished by a sort of sway-backed appearance, tending to indicate that her powerful vertical beam engine located amidships was just too heavy for her. After an initial few months on the James River between Richmond and Norfolk just after the Civil War she went north to Maine waters. From 1866 to 1893 she was a "down-easter" being operated by the Portland, Bangor, Mt. Desert and Machias Steamboat Company (or one of its earlier predecessors under a similar nomenclature.)

In 1893, still going by her original name of *City of Richmond*, she was sold to New London, Connecticut interests who had her for three

years until her purchase by a St. Augustine, Florida resident. She spent a few months in Florida as *City of Richmond* and was in some way involved in helping to land munitions and men in Cuba during the filibustering days that preceded the Spanish American War. She rendezvoused with many filibustering vessels such as the famed *Three Friends*. However, in 1896 the Florida East Coast purchased her as a replacement for the ill-fated *Shelter Island*.

City of Richmond's chief Maine route was from Portland to Bangor using the so-called inside sheltered passage. She was of 939 gross tons, 600 net and her dimensions were 227.5 x 30.6 x 10 feet. A beam-engined vessel, her cylinder was 36 inches in diameter and her stroke was 12 feet. Her paddle wheels were 36 feet in diameter.

City of Richmond while in Maine service had one very serious accident. She was a very fast boat, the fastest on her route in fact and on a foggy morning in August, 1881 she ran aground on a ledge off Mark Island on the Maine coast. No lives were lost and the passengers were all safely landed. Her hull was severely damaged and in the repair her walking beam engine, stack and boilers were removed. Some ten years later when laid up for the winter at Pier 24, East River, New York City, she burned early in 1891. When raised in mid-March, 1891 two bodies (probably hoboies caught in the fire) were found in the wreckage.

After two seasons of running chartered vessels to Nassau, the ordering of a specialized new vessel for that service took place. William Cramp and Sons of Philadelphia were commissioned to build the suitable vessel and the result was *Miami*, #92830, a steel twin screw vessel. She bore Cramp's hull number 292 and was launched on October 23, 1897.

Miami was 239.2 feet by 40.1 feet and was 21.8 feet in depth. She was of 1,741 gross and 1,311 net tons. She was powered by two engines, triple expansion ones with cylinders of 18", 27" and 42" diameter with 25 inch stroke. She had a usual speed of 13½ knots and had a reputed top speed of 16 knots. Features were electric lights and fans in every room. She could accommodate 125 passengers and was rated at 2,000 horsepower.

The FEC had signed the contract with Cramps on June 28, 1897, the keel was laid on July 3, the first frames were erected on July 31 and she was ready for sailing in December. At her October launching she was christened with a bottle of wine by Miss Julie Russell Parsons, daughter of R.M. Parsons, a Flagler vice-president. The guest list of those attend-

ing read like a who's who of Flagler's friends. Richard Harding Davis, the soon-to-be-famous Spanish American war correspondent was also among the gathering.

Construction of *Miami* took place between a new steamer yacht, *Dorothea*, and a Japanese cruiser, *Kasagi*. Also underway in the same yard was the new U.S. battleship *Alabama*. Three Japanese naval commanders, Narita, Aoki and Takakura, were on hand to supervise the building of their *Kasagi* and also as guests partook in the launching ceremonies.

The *Miami* started her Nassau run in early 1898, the first run being on the 17th of January. As was the prior pattern she ran semi-weekly from March 29 to April 12. She departed Miami at 4 P.M. and arrived at Nassau early the next morning. Undoubtedly the approximate time schedule was followed in reverse on the return from Nassau.

The interior decorations and furnishings of the three-decked, two-tiered stateroom vessel were most elaborate. Cabins and staterooms were to be finished in white mahogany and gold. The midships dining room was tiled with rubber interlocking tiling in three colors to go along with the white and gold trim. A vaulted dome over the center "diffuses the room with truly artistic effect."

The 1898 season for the Florida East Coast in addition to the new *Miami* going to Nassau from Miami saw the *City of Key West* still on her routing to Key West. The Flagler interests had seen to it that a suitable hotel for visitors was available there, the Hotel Key West being first opened on February 15, 1897. However it remained open all year round contrasted to the winter operations of the other Flagler hotels. Most conveniently, the Hotel Key West was about three minutes walk from the steamship piers. Key West in those days was a port of some consequence as steamers from the Plant Line, Morgan Steamship Company and Mallory Line touched there.

For the 1898 season *City of Key West* was apparently captained by Stephen Bravo, one of the famous captains of Florida's steamboat days. He had served on the DeBary Line on the *St. Johns*, as well as the Indian River Steamboat Company's craft and was to work further with Flagler on the Overseas Railroad extension to Key West after the turn of the century. He is usually associated with the *St. Lucie* being her captain most of the time. Bravo was well-regarded by Flagler, such as the available records indicate.

City of Key West usually operated year round except for overhauls

in the city she was named for. On one such occasion in November, 1898, *Miami* replaced *City of Key West* briefly on the Miami-Key West route when the latter had to be overhauled at Wilmington, Delaware.

The destruction of the *U.S.S. Maine* in Havana harbor in mid-February, 1898 and the resulting Spanish American War focused increased interest on Cuba. The tourist business could only increase after the short war was over and the Flagler interest resulted in the establishment of the third of the three prongs, the Miami to Havana route.

To establish this service another vessel, of course, was needed. So the third vessel in the Florida East Coast system became (c) *Cocoa*, #127271, an 1879 Neafie and Levy of Philadelphia product. She had been built originally for Spain as (a) *Cuba* and during the war she was captured as a prize of war by the *USS Nashville* off Cienfuegos, Cuba on April 29, 1898. She was named (b) *Argonauta* at the time and by fall had accrued to the Florida East Coast. Renamed by the FEC as *Cocoa*, she was of 1,214 gross tons, 941, net. She was 205.4 feet long, 36 feet wide and was an iron propeller vessel of 700 horsepower.

Cocoa was not enough for the demands of the three individual routes so another vessel was acquired for the 1899 season, this time by charter. She was the *Lincoln* and the Kennebec Steamboat Company was her owner. Her charter was from October 27, 1898 to May, 1899. Evidently she suited the FEC for they acquired her by purchase in November, 1899.

The Kennebec Steamboat Company had her built in 1897 as *Lincoln*, #141499, by the New England Shipbuilding Company of Bath, Maine. Kennebec offered *Lincoln* on their Boston to Maine route apparently not too successfully, however. She was 203.4 feet long, 37.9 feet wide and 12.6 feet in depth. Her tonnage was 996 gross and 532 net and she had 1,600 indicated horsepower. She was a wooden twin-screw vessel, her two engines were of the triple expansion type, 15" 26" and 39" diameter cylinders with 28 inch stroke.

Accordingly for 1899 the three runs were in effect. *City of Key West* still was on the route from Miami to Key West. Since trains now came to Miami the vessel left on a schedule of Monday, Wednesday and Friday departures at 11 P.M. after arrival of the trains from the north. Key West was reached at noon the following day. After a three hour layover, the *City* left at 3 P.M. for the return trip to Miami.

On the Miami-Havana routing, *Lincoln* originally ran a Sunday and Wednesday departure schedule, leaving at 11 P.M. from Miami after trains

arrived and got to Havana at 3 P.M. the next day. *Lincoln* left Havana at noon on Tuesday and Friday and arrived in Miami the next day at 5 A.M. (Wednesday and Saturday).

The Miami-Nassau Line still ran semi-weekly the first part of the season, tri-weekly February 6 to April 4 and back to semi-weekly from April 4 to closing on the 20th. In 1899 the "season" actually started on December 1, 1898 and the *Lincoln* took the run until *Miami* came on on January 10. *Cocoa* also ran between Miami and Nassau according to the *Nautical Gazette*.

The FEC bought *Lincoln* in 1899 and renamed her (*b*) *Martinique* after doing so.

The 1900 season saw the three separate lines being run much as in the preceding year. However, the Florida East Coast Steamship Company had run its last winter season after the April visitors had ceased. In July, 1900 the Flagler interests and the Plant Steamship service consolidated their positions by merging their Miami and Tampa-based services. On July 24, 1900 the FEC vessels were officially transferred to the new line, the *Peninsular* and Occidental Steamship Company, a service that was to last for six and a half decades.

(Note: Basic sources for this article consist of U.S. vessel records, information from informal records of the Mariners Museum, newspaper sources and schedules and timetables of the period. The Flagler Museum was especially helpful.)

Brighton Reservation, Florida 1935 - 1938

By James W. Covington*

If one travels along Florida State Highway 70 in a general eastwardly direction from Bradenton or in the opposite route from Fort Pierce, he will come to the hamlet of Brighton in Highlands County and then, if he turns southward for about ten miles, will move into one of the three Seminole Indian reservations in the state. The reservation is located in what might be called cattle range country interspaced with cabbage tree hammocks containing relatively good agricultural soil. With all of its problems stemming from remoteness, flooding, and poor pasture land, the reservation has developed into one of the best administered reservations in the United States and the cattle program has been a model. The following account relates how the Brighton Reservation was established and how a few problems were solved during the first several years of its existence.

The Seminole Indians of Florida, as known to the whites, were actually divided into two groups "speaking the related but not mutually intelligible, Muskogee (Creek) and Mikasuki (Hitchiti) languages."¹ During the post-Third Seminole War years, the Muskogee speaking Seminoles have tended to live north of Lake Okeechobee but the Mikasuki speakers have settled in the southeastern and southwestern areas below the lake. As a result of contacts made on visits from one camp to another and social interaction which occurred at the several Green Corn dances, some marriages took place between members of the two groups — thus neither could be called pure Muskogee or Mikasuki and the term Seminole fitted better.

The first two attempts to establish agencies for the Seminoles by the United States Government came on behalf of the Mikasukis. In 1891, the United States Government established an agency at present day Im-

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mokalee under the supervision of Industrial Teacher Dr. Jacob Brecht. Although Brecht had a store, school and sawmill erected for the Indians, few used the available services and when 23,040 acres were acquired to provide a reservation, none of the Indians would live on it and the agency was abandoned in 1900.² Almost at the same time the Missionary Jurisdiction of Southern Florida, Protestant Episcopal Church opened a mission which was sited in several different places during its duration from 1896 to 1914 but the mission proved to be almost as great a failure as the agency and eased operations by 1914.³

In the above two efforts the Muskogeas had been neglected but the Baptists paid attention to this group in their initial missionary efforts. In 1907, 1909, and 1912 A.J. Brown and W.L. Joseph, Seminole Baptist missionaries, and others travelled from Wewoka, Oklahoma to Jupiter, Florida on an enquiry trip to ascertain if missionary efforts would be productive. Although the Florida Seminoles regarded the visitors as outsiders with Indian features, the Creek, Seminole and Wichita Baptist Association decided to sponsor a mission and during the next thirty years some thirty missionaries visited the Muskogeas. Willie King, the best known and most vigorous of the missionaries who was a Creek from Oklahoma, became the first full time resident missionary and travelled about the various Muskogee camps and the Dania Reservation helping the Indians with their livestock, sickness, financial and legal problems. Nevertheless, little missionary progress was reported until 1935.⁴

During the 1885-1930 period the Muskogee speaking Seminoles had been forced from the Catfish Lake settlement (Lake Pierce) in Polk County and across the Kissimmee prairie to the area south of the headwaters of the St. John's River. Some camps were situated in St. Lucie County and others near Indian Town but none could be found in the region between Indian Town and the Atlantic Ocean. Although the Muskogee maintained permanent camps, they came and went about the countryside herding their hogs, gathering huckleberries to be sold in the towns, working in the vegetable fields owned by the whites during the spring and seeking medical aid from the medicine man or white doctor. Consequently, prior to the introduction of the automobile, their horse or oxen drawn wagons were commonplace along the sandy trails and the nearby towns. When they needed necessary products of civilization the Indians sold alligator skins and huckleberries at Joe Bowers Trading Post at Indian Town and the Bowers Trading Post at Indian Town and the Bowers Trading Post at Jupiter. They were not under white pressure to move for they were living on land undesired by the whites at this time.

In 1930, Roy Nash found three or four camps in the cabbage woods south of Brighton, some camps eight or ten miles northeast of Okeechobee City, several camps at Ten Mile Creek and the Blue Cypress; the camp of Billy Smith, the medicine man at a place six miles northeast of Fort Drum, several camps in western St. Lucie County and one family living between Indian Town and Lake Okeechobee in Martin County.⁵

The Seminole camps were usually erected on a high place within a grove of pine trees or a cluster of palm trees in a hammock. The camps, based on a general pattern, consisted of "a number of palm-thatched open-sided houses built around the outer zone of a clearing, with a cook house in the center."⁶ Each family in the camp had its own dwelling which served as sleeping quarters, a storage place for clothes, food, bedding and other items and as a site where the women could work on household tasks. Some of the equipment in the house included a Singer sewing machine, mosquito nets, lard cans and a portable phonograph and records. Other features found within the camp included pigs, chickens, mortar and pestle, various platforms and a pig pen.⁷ Since residence was based on matrilineal lineage, the camp included the woman, her daughters and their children and husbands and unmarried brothers. Should a divorce take place, the male would move back to his mother's or former camp.

Virtually all of the Seminoles lived on land which was owned by private parties, the State of Florida or the United States Government but only a handful on reservation land. Both the Federal and State governments had assigned a total of 125,000 acres to the Indians but the acreage was divided into many widely scattered tracts most of which was poor in nature and only suitable for limited cattle grazing. Of the tracts, the 2,000 acres lying in Martin County should have been of use to the Muskogees for it was the best of all land reserved for the Indians.⁸ Still, the bulk of the Indians would not move to Martin Reserve for they claimed that the land was not suitable for their hogs.⁹ However, Jim Gopher and Ada Tiger and her family had lived on the land near Indian Town and the children attended Indian Town school, but were forced to go to Dania Reservation when the agent refused to supply them with food.

At this time the only services provided by the Federal Government to the Muskogees were infrequent visits by the agent from Dania and a Health Program with the services of a contract physician at Okeechobee. In 1932-1933 Dr. C.L. Davis made 163 contacts with the Muskogees in

treating a variety of ailments which ranged from headaches to venereal disease.¹⁰

By 1935, the Seminoles seemed pressed against a hard economic wall. Cash income was derived from the sale of hides and furs, dolls and baskets, employment in the several exhibition Indian villages and seasonal work as field hands or guides. With the extension of roads into Southern Florida, white hunters were able to penetrate almost all of the area and their inroads, plus the canal development and drainage operations, greatly reduced the supply of wild life. Almost half of the Seminoles' food supply was purchased from white stores. The Seminoles needed land reserved for their own use which would provide hunting grounds, grazing area for stock and one which contained sufficient fertile soil capable of producing good crops.

In 1933, a fresh new interpretation of Federal-Indian relations took place when John Collier was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Under Collier's prodding, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 which provided for the expansion of Indian reservations, development aid for Indian business ventures and encouragement of the Indian old way of life including religion and arts and crafts.

Accordingly in line with the new philosophy in January, 1934 Assistant to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, A.C. Monahan, visited South Florida and made a detailed examination of the Indian land requirements. A program was agreed upon to consolidate the land holdings and to acquire new tracts. Plans were set in motion to secure a re-settlement area near Miles City in Collier County by obtaining options on four sections of land and, in addition, options were taken on four sections near Brighton.

In 1935, on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the Second Seminole War (1835-1842) Superintendent James L. Glenn received a letter from Washington containing the news of a pending visit from Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes and Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier. In response, Glenn informed Ickes and Collier of several tracts of land desired by the Indians and their need for an additional benefit of an annuity of ten or fifteen dollars a month per family. When the two visitors from Washington and their staff came to West Palm Beach after visiting Johnny Buster's camp in Collier County, they were able to meet with some of the tribal leaders as part of the annual "Sun Dance"—a tourist attracting event sponsored by the West Palm Beach Chamber of Commerce. In a ceremony held at Bethesada Park on March 20, 1935, Sam Tommie and other Indians, after

removing their shoes, approached the officials in a respectful manner and presented the following petition:

“We a group of the Seminole Indians of Florida, assembled in conference on the one hundredth anniversary of the Seminole War, beg you to hear us:

The Seminole Indians have not been at war with the United States for one hundred years. The Seminole Indians live in peace and happiness in the Everglades and have pleasant relations with the United States government. The Seminole Indians want a better understanding with the United States government and want to hear no more about war.

We have learned from our forefathers of the losses of our people in the Seminole War, and during recent years have witnessed the coming of the white man into the last remnant of our homeland.

We have seen them drain our lakes and waterways, cultivate our fields, harvest our forests, kill our game, and take possession of our hunting grounds and homes. We have found that it now grows more and more difficult to provide food and clothing for our wives and children.

We request and petition you to use your influence with the Congress and the President of the United States to obtain for us the following lands and benefits:

I. All of the lands in the state of Florida as marked on the map attached hereto, including:

(a) Lands in Collier, Hendry, Broward, and Dade counties known as the Big Cypress.

(b) Lands in Glades County known as Indian Prairie.

(c) Lands in Martin and St. Lucie counties known as the Cow Creek country and the Blue Field section.

(d) Lands in Indian River and Okeechobee counties known as the Ft. Drum swamp.

II. For the loss of our other lands and our property an annuity of \$15 per capita per month.

III. The full time nursing services of Indian nurses.¹¹

After presenting the petition, the Seminoles including Sam Tommie, Willie Jumper, Billie Stuart, Josie Billie, Jimmie Gopher, Charley Billie and Amos Marks and Willie King missionary-interpreters from Oklahoma were able to express some views to Ickes and Collier. Jimmie Gopher said “I want land. My cattle have vanished.”¹² Charley Cypress, the last of the canoe makers, expressed the same views stating that he was happy but, since he had no hunting grounds, he wanted some land. After these conversations took place, a ceremony was held by the Florida National Guard unit in which the “end” of the Second Seminole War was proclaimed. Despite the tourist atmosphere and “grand standing,” the

message came through loud and clear that the Muskogee speaking Seminoles needed a reservation.

Orders came from Washington to Superintendent Glenn on May 10, 1935 to commence negotiations for the purchase of the tracts of land requested by the Indians. Since the Regional Director of the Resettlement Administration Dr. W.A. Hartman had control of the necessary funds to make the purchase, all recommended tracts had to be approved by the Resettlement Administration. After Glenn conferred with Hartman ten days later, he found that, of the several tracts proposed by his office and the Indians, only four sections of land in Indian Prairie was acceptable to Hartman. Such reasoning was not pleasant to Glenn for he believed the Fort Drum Swamp was "potentially fitted for handling all phases of the social and economic life of these Indians."¹³ Nevertheless he had to go along with Hartman's ideas for the Resettlement Administrator controlled the funds and believed other tracts were not suited for the Indians or "real estate promoter's schemes to make more money."¹⁴ Next, Glenn tried to persuade the Federal administrators to purchase land along the northwest shore of Lake Okeechobee for service as a game preserve or cattle range for the Indians and received some support from State of Florida officials but the Commissioner of Indian Affairs would not sanction the plan.¹⁵

The 2,500 acre tract of land known as Indian Prairie lying northwest of Lake Okeechobee, acquired for the Indians for a reservation became known as Brighton Reservation. Under the terms of the Appropriation Act of 1935, the sum of \$25,000 was set aside for the purchase of additional land and a comprehensive study of Seminole land needs was planned.¹⁶ With additional land purchases and exchanges by 1938 the Brighton Reservation included 27,081 acres purchased by Resettlement Administration funds, 6,278 acres acquired with Indian Reorganization Agency funds, and 1,920 acres obtained by exchange with the State of Florida.¹⁷ It would take many years for the land acquired by the Resettlement Administration to be transferred to the Office of Indian Affairs.¹⁸

The newly acquired reservation for the Muskogees seemed ideal for it contained a considerable number of palm hammocks ranging in size from one to twenty acres in area.¹⁹ Those Seminoles living in St. Lucie and Martin counties had used these fertile hammocks for agricultural sites during the Spring of each year to plant corn, pumpkins and potatoes. In addition, the heavy jungle-like undergrowth found in the uncleared hammocks served as a protective haven for wild hogs, rac-

coons, quail, turkeys and deer which could be hunted by the Indians. Since there was an abundance of high ground in the hammocks, family groups would be able to establish camp sites in separated areas as had been their custom. At the time of acquisition, there were ten Seminole families living on the tract and plans were made to invite thirty more families to settle there.²⁰

Within a short time several negative features became known concerning the newly acquired reservation. When development of lands about the reservation took place, the white owners resorted to the construction of dikes, flood water ditches and canals causing an excessive amount of water to flow into the Indian reserve. Consequently since most of the land was covered with water during the rainy season much water-control work was needed. The reservation land was not an intact area for the Lykes Brothers owned 480 acres and, during the Boom of the 1920's some forty or more persons acquired title to 11,640 acres all lying within the reservation.²¹

Brighton Reservation made remarkable progress during the next several years due to the combined efforts of six or more persons: Richard Osceola, James Glenn, Fred Montesdeoca, Mr. and Mrs. William Boehmer and Alice Marriott. Richard Osceola had paved the way for all when he appealed again and again for a reservation to be provided for the use of the Muskogeas and finally gained his objective. James Glenn, Superintendent of Seminole Indian agency, had as a master plan the establishment of a permanent reservation, a cattle industry and a community center for the Indians. It was Glenn who handled the negotiations with the Resettlement Administration, and had he been a little more successful in achieving his goals, the Seminoles would have obtained a much better reservation. The role of the others in making the reservation will be mentioned later in this narrative.

A livestock program was instituted among the Seminoles in a somewhat unusual manner. During the pre-Seminole War days the Seminoles possessed large herds of cattle and, as recently as 1925, Ada Tiger owned as many as forty head but the end of the open range forced her out of business. Dr. Philip Weltner, Regional Director of the Resettlement Administration, decided to save the lives of some cattle and help the Seminoles by transferring five hundred and forty-seven head of beef from the Southwestern "dust bowl" to the Brighton Reservation and planned to ship fifteen hundred more. On arrival, most of the initial shipment died because of a half-starved condition and lack of proper grazing lands but the survivors provided a nucleus for a growing herd.²²

It was Fred Montesdeoca, Agricultural Agent, Okeechobee County appointed January 1, 1937 to his position who did most to put the Muskogeas on the road to self-sufficiency.²³ He encouraged the Indians to take an interest in the proper care management and treatment of cattle and hogs and to assist them in proper range control and improvement. According to Fred, he found a few people who were trained to work as range hands and he was forced to teach the rest what was needed. Next, he had to get fertilizer, improve the grass and place the cattle in suitable ranges. Cattle raising techniques such as weaning yearlings, rotating pastures and use of good bulls had to be taught. Besides teaching almost all of the facts concerning modern ranching to those who knew very little, he had to overcome poor native grass, no drainage, high water and the winter drought.²⁴

From the beginning of the cattle program the Federal Government had assumed all of the expenses but on August 10, 1939 three trustees were elected by the Brighton Indians to supervise the program. Under the terms of this new procedure, the project was made self-sufficient and a promise was given to repay the Government in eighteen years for the past expenditures. In 1940, receipts from the sale of bull calves and steers amounted to nearly five thousand dollars: a sum sufficient to cover operating expenses and to provide for the purchase of forty-six head of yearling Hereford heifers from the Apaches at San Carlos, Arizona.²⁵ By 1953, the United States Government was paid back by the Seminoles \$95,900 for cattle appraised in 1936 at \$79,550 and the Indians realized an average net profit of \$19,000 a year; a sum from which the loan was repaid.²⁶ Still, the average income per Indian had climbed to only seven hundred dollars.

There were other interests at Brighton besides the ranch business. Each family was allotted a five acre fenced field where sugar cane, pumpkins, potatoes could be grown and, in addition, orange and grapefruit trees and banana plants were planted in the eighty acres of cleared rich soil in the hammocks scattered about the reservation. Some wild hogs were owned by almost every family—forage was based upon wild nuts and cabbage palm berries. When requested, the Glades County Agricultural Agent came to the reservation and for a small fee vaccinated the hogs against cholera. This sideline of hog raising became so profitable that in a two month time period, \$1,000 worth of hogs were sold to a packer from Tampa.²⁷ Close cooperation was maintained with the Everglades Experiment Station, Belle Glade, Florida and the Florida State Extension Service.

For the women the field of handicrafts provided a profitable venture. At first the handicraft done by the women was inferior and few attempts were made to sell any products at all. Finally the Indian Arts and Crafts Board at Washington, D.C. was contacted by Mrs. William Boehmer and in response Alice Marriott was assigned to the project rendering assistance in the form of advice and writing a constitution and by-laws for a proposed Muskogee Seminole group.²⁸ Within a short time, dolls, costumes, beadwork, small canoes, and basketry were made by the women and young girls according to standards established by the Seminole Arts Guild composed of thirty members and five elected trustees. Each article was inspected and, if passed, was given a tag issued by the Seminole Indian Agency and sold to tourists who visited Brighton School.²⁹ Those articles not meeting standards were exchanged for gas and groceries with neighboring stores or service stations. Arising from the high standards established by the Guild, high quality Seminole products were able to be sold to tourists at Indian villages, commercial camps and gift shops throughout Florida. After the guild had accumulated a revolving fund it was able to pay cash to the women when they had finished their products. As a result of this income, some single women became financially independent.

The Civilian Conservation Corps, Indian Division provided some needed income and employment during the early years of the reservation. Seminoles from all over southern Florida erected and repaired fences, improved the range grass, trees and scrubs, dug wells and installed windmills, laid out trails, erected a telephone line and built a garage and bridge.³⁰ Money for this work was not accepted by the Indians until they fully understood that it was not a dole but payment for work performed. Some, remembering frauds perpetrated one hundred years before, refused to make their mark on receipts.³¹

In 1938, the Muskogees requested that a day school be opened at the reservation. On May 25, 1938 a conference was held between the leaders of the Muskogee Seminoles and H.A. Zimmerman, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs. At this meeting, Richard Osceola stressed the Seminole need for a school, hospital, community building and better cattle and horses. Accordingly, a husband and wife team, Mr. and Mrs. William D. Boehmer, responsible for educational work and community development, was hired. When Mr. and Mrs. Boehmer arrived, they found the school being constructed by Indian labor, Civilian Conservation Corps, Indian Division, and of necessity lived in a small trailer until

construction of school and home was finished. During opening day on January 9, 1939, it was necessary for Boehmer to travel over sandy trails leading from one chickee to another picking up the children in a makeshift bus and taking them to school.³² Besides schooling in English and the usual studies, activities at the school included poultry husbandry, garden making and homemaking. Mrs. Boehmer, whose official title was school housekeeper, assisted the Seminole women and advised the crafts organization.³³ Although some progress had been made in the field of education, the overall picture was not favorable. Of the 165 young Seminoles eligible to attend school in 1942 only thirty percent were actually enrolled with an average daily attendance figure of seventy-five percent. Of the number enrolled in school, 46 students were at Brighton and Big Cypress, 3 at Cherokee and one at Haskell Institute in Kansas.

By 1940 the Muskogeese consisted of 175 persons living in twenty camps in the Brighton reservation and at scattered sites situated west of Fort Pierce or Vero Beach. The two times all of the various bands assembled were the Green Corn Dance in the Summer and the Hunting Dance in the Fall. Leadership especially in matters concerned with the Green Corn Dance rested in the hands of a small council of elderly medicine men with the chief medicine man being the acknowledged leader.³⁴ As the men became more and more active in ranch activities, the women worked as vegetable pickers in rancher owned fields or picked huckleberries to be sold in the nearby towns. Food included sofkee, fry bread, boiled meat, boiled vegetables, coffee, boiled turtle, and fresh citrus fruit.³⁵

The clan played an important role in the lives of the Muskogeese during this period. There were five matrilineal exogamous clans — Panther, Bird, Tallahassee, Deer and Snake. When the women worked picking vegetables in the fields near Fort Pierce, Vero Beach and Lake Istokpoga, they stayed in separate camps according to their clan and worked in clan groups. When a man and his wife visited for an overnight stay they stayed at one where women belonged to the wife's clan. Likewise, the clan played an important political and ceremonial role during the annual Green Corn Dance.³⁶

Through white contacts, the Seminoles developed wants for certain material products of civilization. Virtually all of the men wished to own an automobile and the young people listened to records and owned portable phonographs. Shopping trips were made to Okeechobee and Fort Pierce to buy dress goods for the women and Stetson hats and riding

boots for the young men. Every camp possessed a sewing machine, iron pots, pans and tools. The desire to possess these material things would bring about considerable change in Muskogee life. Perhaps these gains were made as one anthropologist put it because "they do not reject the outsider. Some of the women have children by white or Negro fathers. (Still), the Big Cypress (Indians) consider the Cow Creeks (Muskogees) to be lazy appeasers."³⁷ Yet, the cattle raising and handicraft guild projects spread from Brighton to Big Cypress and became successful there. Much more progress remained to be made for even with several years of the range cattle and handicraft industries, the one hundred and seventy-two Seminole families had attained by 1943 an income of less than five hundred dollars apiece.³⁸

NOTES

1. John M. Goggin "Source Materials for the Study of the Florida Indians" *Laboratory Notes* 3 Anthropology Laboratory, University of Florida (August, 1959), 1.
2. James W. Covington "Federal and State Relations with the Florida Seminoles, 1875-1901," *Tequesta* (1972) 17-27.
3. For details of the mission see James W. Covington "Florida Seminoles: 1900-1920," *Florida Historical Society LIII* (October, 1974) 181-197 and Harry A. Kersey and Donald E. Pullease "Bishop William Crane Gray's Mission to the Seminole Indians in Florida: 1893-1914," *The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church XLII* (September, 1973), 257-273.
4. James O. Buswell III "Florida Seminole Religious Ritual: Resistance and Change," unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1972, St. Louis University, 259-263.
5. Roy Nash "Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida" 71st Congress, 3rd Session, *Senate Document 314* (Washington, 1931), 21.
6. Alexander Spoehr "Camp Clan and Kin Among the Cow Creek Seminole of Florida," *Anthropological Series XXXIII*, no. 1, Field Museum of Natural History (August, 1941), 12.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Nash "Survey," 71.
9. Annual Narrative Report, 1933 Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letter Group 75, National Archives. Hereinafter referred to as BIA.
10. *Ibid.*, Dr. Anna Darrow of Okeechobee who treated the Seminoles on a private basis found their troubles to be hookworm, malaria, tonsillities, neuralgia and bad teeth. Lawrence Will, *Cracker History of Okeechobee* (St. Petersburg, 1964), 145.
11. Annual Narrative Report, 1935 BIA.
12. *The Palm Beach Post* March 21, 1935.
13. Annual Narrative Report, 1935 BIA.
14. J.W. Stewart, Director of Lands to Lawrence E. Lindley, Washington Representative, Indian Rights Association May 7, 1936 Central Files 1907-1937 17027-34-310 Seminole Part I, BIA.
15. Annual Narrative Report, 1935.
16. Stewart to Lindley.

17. J.E. Scott, Superintendent Seminole Indian Agency to Commissioner of Indian Affairs February 19, 1938 10581-1938 BIA.

18. Although some reports indicate that Brighton was acquired in 1936, it was purchased in 1935. See John Collier to Ruth Bryan Owen November 16, 1935 (no file number) BIA. As late as 1955 title to the land rested within the Department of Agriculture; not the Interior Department.

19. Preliminary Report, "Federal Indian Reorganizational Land Program, Seminole Indians in South Florida," Central Files 1907-1937, 17027-34-310 Seminole Part 2, BIA.

20. A description of Billie Stewart's and Billie Buster's camps in the cabbage palm region near Brighton in 1932 can be found in "Seminole Music" by Frances Densmore, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin No. 161*, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, 1956), 11-12.

21. George H. Dacy, Assistant Economist, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Report on the Seminole Indians of Florida for the National Resources Planning Board, Dania, Florida, BIA, hereafter cited as Dacy Report.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Fred Montesdeoca, a native of Keenansville, Fla., had a degree in animal husbandry from the University of Florida; owned a ranch at Lorida and had developed an interest in the Indians during his days as an University student. In 1955 he was given the unofficial title of "assistant county agent for Indian affairs." He stayed on his job until 1969 when he retired to work on his ranch. Montesdeoca died on December 11, 1974. *Tampa Tribune* December 15, 1974.

24. Merwyn S. Garbarino *Big Cypress: A Changing Seminole Community*, Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology (New York, 1972), 106.

25. Dacy Report.

26. *Termination of Federal Supervision over Certain Tribes of Indians, Joint Hearing before the Sub-Committee of the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs*, 83rd Congress, 1st session, on S 2747 and HR 7321, Part 8, Seminole Indian, Florida (Washington, 1954), 1105.

27. Dacy Report.

28. At this time Alice Marriott worked for the Indian Arts and Crafts Section, Department of the Interior.

29. *Ibid.*, Deaconess Bedell was doing the same type of work at this time among the Mikasukis.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Ethel C. Freeman "Our Unique Indians, the Seminoles of Florida," *the American Indian* II (Winter, 1944), 12.

32. Telephone conversation with William Boehmer February 22, 1976.

33. Dacy Report; Mr. and Mrs. Boehmer had come from educational work with the Sioux of South Dakota.

34. Spoehr "Camp, Clan and Kin," 10.

35. *Ibid.*, 15-16.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Ethel C. Freeman "Cultural Stability and Change Among the Seminoles of Florida," in *Men and Cultures* ed. by A.F.C. Wallace, Selected Papers of the 5th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956 (Philadelphia, 1960) 250.

38. Freeman, "Our Unique Indians," 12.

Yamato Colony: A Japanese Presence in South Florida

By George E. Pozzetta* and Harry A. Kersey, Jr.*

Florida has been most often identified in the popular mind with oranges, sunshine, and tourism. What is perhaps less well known is the fact that land development and settlement have also been prominent characteristics of the state's colorful history. Land promoters and colonizers of every stripe competed with each other throughout Florida's past in their efforts to dispose of millions of acres of land. Particularly at the turn of the present century was the peninsula state the scene of incredible diverse and widespread settlement activities. No colonizing venture during this period, however, was more ambitiously conceived or vigorously carried out than a 1904 effort to establish a Japanese colony in south Florida.

The impetus to bring Japanese settlers to Florida was supplied by Joseph Sakai, an American educated expatriate who dreamed of establishing agricultural colonies composed of his countrymen throughout the state. These centers were to serve not only as outlets for ambitious Japanese who were increasingly feeling the pressures of Japan's growing population and limited resources, but also were to provide, if successful, profit and investment opportunities for Sakai himself. To bring about these objectives the energetic developer arrived in Jacksonville in late November, 1903, bearing letters of introduction from the dean of the New York School of Finance and other prominent persons. He presented the Jacksonville Board of Trade with a scheme to import forty or fifty Japanese families and establish them in small colonies of ten or so apiece. These groups were to engage in agricultural experiments, emphasizing the growth of silk, tea, tobacco, pineapples and rice. Sakai

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further announced that he intended to purchase a total of 67,000 acres of land for these projects.¹

Floridians gave an enthusiastic welcome to Mr. Sakai and pledged substantial help for those to follow. Sakai received an official endorsement from Governor William Jennings, and, in a subsequent trip to Washington, he obtained similar encouragement from the U.S. Commissioner of Immigration and the Secretary of Agriculture. More substantially, the Florida East Coast Railway, along with several private investors, donated one thousand acres of land in Lee, Leon, and Manatee counties, with promises of more to come. One such speculator, retired Professor E. Warren Clark of Tallahassee, predicted that the Japanese would "revolutionize farming in this state."²

Sakai returned to Japan in January of 1904 to recruit the necessary agriculturists and make arrangements for passage. In this task he was aided by Count Okadaira, a member of the royal household. Like Sakai, the Count was a graduate of an American college and had a deep interest in efforts to colonize Japanese farmers.³ The Russo-Japanese War caused some unavoidable delays, but on November 14, 1904, an advance guard of five hardy souls landed in San Francisco from the decks of the steamer *Manchuria* and announced their intentions of proceeding to Florida.⁴

After reviewing several possible sites for his first settlement, Sakai chose a section of land just north of present day Boca Raton, near the

Joseph Sakai, founder of Yamato Colony. Original picture in possession of authors.



tracks of the Florida East Coast Railway.⁵ The inhabitants christened their new home “Yamato,” the ancient name for Japan itself. Sakai continued to talk of locating additional colonies elsewhere in the state, mentioning frequently a site near Delray to the north, but no other settlement was made. The settlers planted heavily in pineapples for the first season and devoted lesser acreages to experiments with other crops such as silk and tea.

Initial farming work was slow and exceedingly difficult. Virgin land had to be cleared laboriously by hand with grubbing hoe, rake and shovel — an acre or so per season was all that even the most working settler could reasonably expect to finish. The tropical climate added to the hardships that the Japanese endured, and many immigrants found their first experience with Florida to be a severe disappointment. Seventy years later, one of the original residents still spoke of the rain that each season flooded fields and ruined precious crops, of the mosquitoes and flies that forced everyone to wear head-nets before going out during the summer months, and, above all, of the heat that bore down upon everyone as they worked with heavy grub hoes to clear small plots.⁶

So disgruntled became one of the settlers, a man named G. Inchinose, that he wrote to the Georgia State Department of Agriculture for information regarding the silk industry in that state. Inchinose indicated that he would leave Florida and bring several expert silk culturists with him if proper arrangements could be made. In response Georgia’s Commissioner of Agriculture referred the matter to Mr. Louis B. Majid, the state’s largest silk processor. Majid replied to the unhappy Florida Japanese with an offer to supply them with homes, land, and “all the mulberry leaves they need” in return for one third the eventual crop.⁷ Presumably the details of the proposal failed to please the petitioners as there exists no record of their leaving.

In all probability Inchinose and his group remained in Yamato and gave over their lands to the production of pineapples. By 1906 “pines” were bringing upwards to \$5.50 a crate at produce markets and the colony’s future prosperity seemed assured.⁸ News of this prosperity flashed back across the Pacific and sparked a small but steady flow of Japanese adventurers who were willing to make the long trip to America. One of these travellers was a penniless, but ambitious twenty year-old man named George Morikami.

As with thousands of other young Japanese in 1906, Morikami was caught in the economic dislocation brought about by the war with Russia. Although Japan won the conflict, the nation was financially

prostrated by the war and economic growth virtually ceased. A friend told Morikami of the pineapple fields in America and asked if he would be interested in going there to make a fresh start. He quickly accepted the offer. Since he lacked the money to finance such a venture, Morikami accepted an indenture contract from his employer, a Mr. Oki. In return for transportation and living expenses (300 yen or approximately \$150.00) Morikami bound himself to work for three years. At the end of this term, he was to receive \$500.00 as a bonus and a small grant of land. His secret desire was work three years, obtain the cash bonus, and return to his homeland where he could buy land and raise fruit trees.⁹

Morikami arrived at a settlement that showed every sign of becoming a prosperous, permanent community. By 1907 the Florida East Coast Railway had established a rail station at Yamato where all but express trains stopped. The importance of this development would be hard to overestimate as it provided the Japanese with an easy access to outside markets for their products. In this same year Sakai commissioned regular agents in Japan to direct fresh immigrants to Yamato. Obviously with an eye to native American sensibilities, Sakai took special pains to point out that these agents selected "only the pick of the Japanese agriculturists." As a further indication of economic and social stability, Sakai received permission to open a branch of the United States Post Office at Yamato.¹⁰

Apparently all was not work at Yamato during these early years, for the residents were reported to have visited Miami and other communities to give exhibitions of judo and other Japanese arts. One such event was Miami's tenth anniversary celebration, held in 1906. By invitation of the managers of the anniversary celebration, Mr. Sakai brought a group of his countrymen to entertain the crowd. In return, the host committee paid all their expenses incurred in the trip from Yamato.¹¹

In a move to enhance his own personal power and to make the colony's operations more efficient, Sakai petitioned the state government in 1907 for permission to incorporate the settlement under the name of the Yamato Colony Association. The corporation charter stressed the mutual benefits that increased settlement could bring to Florida and the Japanese. In the words of the document, the Association would "improve local farm work, and . . . introduce Japanese industries which we can adapt to the place and which may tend to advance the industries of Florida." All members of the group had to be of Japanese ancestry and agree to be governed by the constitution and rules of the Association. Elected officials, who were chosen each year during an October ballot-

ing, ran Association affairs. Proceeds from a plot of land cleared by the membership and planted in pineapples provided an operating fund. Any violation of the constitution or “any act or acts contrary to the spirit of a true Japanese” were punished by expulsion from the Association and payment of damages “to be estimated at a meeting of the members.”¹²

Whether incorporation would have served to provide a firm and enduring organizational base for the Japanese settlement was never to be known. The Yamato pineapple fields were struck by a blight in 1908 and that year’s production was severely reduced. Before the colony’s fragile economic equilibrium could be reestablished, competition from Cuban pineapple plantations dealt a fatal blow to this cash crop.¹³ Many settlers grew disillusioned with farming in Florida and booked passage for a return to the homeland. Others found themselves financially prostrate and were forced to remain and seek whatever employ was available.¹⁴ Although Yamato survived for a number of years afterward, and many settlers stayed in the area, the dream of a flourishing agricultural community of Japanese did not survive the events of 1908.

Circumscribed economic opportunities alone cannot explain the diminished flow of Japanese immigration to Florida. Though Floridians accepted the first Japanese colonists with seemingly little overt discrimination, by 1912 an ugly strain of anti-Japanese sentiment became noticeable. The issue that engendered native misgivings centered on alien ownership of land. California had earlier passed a statute forbidding the purchase of land by non-citizens—a measure directed primarily against resident Japanese. The example of California, plus the highly publicized fact that the California law was allegedly causing numerous Japanese to leave that state for Florida, underwrote the outcry.¹⁵

The business dealings of former governor William Sherman Jennings gave concrete form to many latent fears. As head of a large land corporation, Jennings issued a public invitation to all Japanese in California to come and “till the Florida soil.”¹⁶ When a wealthy Japanese farmer from Los Angeles actually began recruiting his countrymen for the trip to Florida, the possibility of substantial Japanese settlement seemed imminent.¹⁷ At this juncture, deeper and potentially more disturbing concerns surfaced. Natives worried about the fact that Japanese were unable to become United States citizens, and hence would forever be an unassimilated group within the state. It was also an object of note that the newcomers manifested a deep reverence to their Emperor and many residents believed that they could never give loyalty to their new homeland. Miscegenation law prevented Japanese from intermarry-

ing with whites and excited further fears as to the ability of these people to ever move into the mainstream of American society.¹⁸

In a paraphrase of the immortal "Mr. Dooley," one Florida newspaper gave clear evidence of the weight of public opinion. Dooley's faithful friend, Mr. Hennessey, addressed him as follows:

"What do ye think ef th' Japs settlin in Floriday?" "Well, said Mr. Dooley, "I've nothin' again th' Japs in particular, and I'd loike to see Togo find th' place he wants, but I don't want to see any great hordes ef Japs comin' into Floriday, an' I thinks there is the greatest danger from et. Let me tell ye, Hennessey, th' Japs ez a smart people; they's good farmers, live on next to nuthin' and saves their money fer to buy lan'. Ef'course that's not again'em, except that they never makes good neighbors fer white payple, an' just as soon as a few ef them get settled in wan community, property in that section ez not worth as much as it was befoor they came, because no wan but a Jap will buy et.' Tis just th'same as ef th'niggers wuz thrifty, saved their money an'bought property. Ef ye had a farm an' twas surrounded by farms of niggers, how much could ye get fer et an'wouldn't you be tryin' to sell et? In Californay whole towns ez near spoilt be th' Japs; th'white farmers all wantin to get out, but no wan to buy their farms fer what they is worth. Bineby they'll be selling'to Japs but at th' Japs own price." "Ye've heard th'story ef the lad thet picked up a frozen snake an'warmed it, an'when et got thawed out et bit him. Ef we welcome th'Togos now they'll bring other Togos over here an'soon conditions will be loike they ez in Californay, an' I thinks the toime fer to stop et ez roight now... fet I belaves they ez comin'."¹⁹

For a time in 1913 Governor Park Trammell considered calling a special session of the Legislature to make laws that would prevent aliens from owning land. Throughout the discussion, anti-Japanese sentiment surfaced repeatedly and clearly underlay the move to pass such legislation. As one writer viewed the matter, "As workers they are valuable to the white growers who would employ them, but as property owners they are not desiriable."²⁰ Many residents felt that the answer to the problem rested in an agreement only to lease land to the Japanese. In this manner, land would bring in revenue and become developed, but the Japanese would still be subject to removal at the will of the native population. Once the land had been cleared and made productive, an uncommonly honest citizen explained, "and the industrious Japanese had demonstrated what can be done, then land can be sold to white colonizers."²¹

These developments had an immediate impact upon the Japanese

movement. Though no discriminatory laws were actually passed by the Florida government and Japanese continued to purchase land throughout the decade, new arrivals virtually stopped.²² Indicative of the declining fortunes of the colonization venture was the decision of the United States Post Office Department to close the Yamato post office on June 4, 1919, and reroute all mail through Bocaratone (not spelled "Boca Raton" until later).²³ Thereafter, families gradually drifted away from the area or died off and the group dwindled in numbers. By the 1930s there were about thirty remaining Japanese tilling their fields and living quiet lives.

Perhaps archetypical of those hardy Japanese farmers who remained was George Morikami, the last survivor of the Yamato experiment.²⁴ At age 90 he still operated a farm west of Delray Beach, not far from the site of the original Japanese colony where he came in 1906. Unfortunately, shortly after he arrived in Florida a typhoid epidemic swept Yamato, and the silk merchant Mr. Oki who was his sponsor died. Young Morikami never did receive the \$500.00 bonus that he had counted on for his return to Japan. At the end of three years he had no money, spoke no English, and there was little choice but to remain at Yamato and work as best he could.

It soon became apparent to Morikami that he would have to learn English to survive and prosper in this country, and he believed the best way to acquire the language was to hire out to an American family. He placed an advertisement in local newspapers offering his services, and was hired by an Eau Gallie family for room and board plus \$10.00 per month. After moving to Brevard County he worked for the family just one month, finding that they wanted long hours, hard work, and offered little opportunity to learn English. Thus at age 24, George decided to seek a formal education.²⁵ To support himself during this time Morikami rented a small piece of land and began growing vegetables. He vividly recalls carrying 200 lb. sacks of fertilizer on his back and walking the miles of sandy road out to his garden plot. On Saturdays he would fill the sacks with produce which he sold door to door around town. Throughout 1910 he attended the local elementary school in order to learn to read and write English. The year of classes which he attended with children of the community was the extent of his formal education, but it was enough to give him the rudiments of the language.

Following the disastrous 1908 season the remaining farmers at Yamato turned to a trade in tomatoes and other vegetable crops for northern markets. Morikami returned to the settlement in 1911 and lived

with the Sakai family in their big two story house. A friend let him clear a half-acre of land and keep the proceeds from that year's harvest. The local storekeeper loaned Morikami tools, seed, fertilizer, as well as groceries on credit until he could bring in a tomato crop. As it turned out, there was a bumper yield that year and he sold his tomatoes for \$4.00 a bushel-and-a-half at the Yamato packing house. At the end of the season he had erased his debts and made a \$1,000.00 clear profit for his labors. With this capital the young Japanese began to buy land in the south end of Palm Beach County, primarily in the area between Boca Raton and Delray Beach.²⁶ With his own land, Morikami began to plant larger crops and took on five or six Negro sharecroppers. He also continued to acquire parcels of land, and at one point held title to about a thousand acres, though non-contiguous, in the area. Some of it he bought for as little as \$15 to \$17 per acre from the Lake Worth Drainage District, although he paid an "exorbitant" \$31 per acre for his last farm in 1941. Much of his land was lost for taxes during the depression years of the 1930s, but the resilient farmer's spirit never broke.

George Morikami, last survivor of Yamato Colony, taken one year after arrival in Florida (1907). Picture given to authors by Mr. Morikami.



One of the most interesting aspects of Morikami's ventures was his foray into the mail order produce business. In the 1920s he noticed that many farmers were selling their crops to "commission men" who handled the shipping and marketing for a percentage. Some farmers had shipped their crops north on consignment, but they were never sure what they would make. However, the "commission men" began to send out weekly quotations to their northern customers; they would then buy produce from local farmers to fill orders at the quoted prices, often reaping handsome profits in the process. Morikami, always an astute businessman, saw no reason why he could not enter this business also—especially after he figured out that the "commission men" were making approximately \$1.00 on each basket of produce! He went to a local bank and borrowed their Blue Book of individuals and firms who were preferred credit risks, and made a list of 300 names throughout the southeastern states. He then had a double perforated card printed, one side quoting produce prices and the other serving as an order form, and mailed them each week for 1c each. His first order was for five crates of tomatoes, part of which he bought from a neighbor and shipped out by railroad. As his mail order business grew he was shipping to such distant points as Washington, California, and once even to Alaska. Within three or four years he had become a wealthy man and by his own admission "I stayed in a hotel, best hotel in town. And live there and eat there." Yet the tensions of success also took their toll: "... trouble was can't sleep when you want to, see? And I got so much responsibility." His health broke and Morikami was hospitalized for ulcers. Nevertheless, during the "Boom Years" of the 1920s he amassed a fortune of close to \$250,000, but this was lost when the banks failed during the depression. Morikami philosophically recalled, "I lost everything. Every cent I had in the bank. So had to start all over again."²⁷

When war broke out with Japan in 1941 those few residents still left at Yamato came under suspicion. Rumors of alleged espionage activities circulated about the community, but, unlike their brothers on the West Coast, the Japanese at Yamato were not removed to relocation camps in the country's interior. They were, nevertheless, subject to restrictions on their movement. During the war years, for example, the Japanese were not allowed to leave the borders of their home county. Their success as farmers evidently served to reduce excessive discrimination as the United States needed all its agricultural production to support the war effort. Indeed, the state agricultural extension bureau regularly assigned migrant Bahamian workers to the Japanese to aid them in their farm

work.²⁸ Yamato aided in the fight against Japan in other ways. In the early years of the struggle, the War Department purchased the remaining Japanese holdings in the area and used part of the land to complete a United States Army Air Force complex. The old homes and barns that still stood were razed and the wreckage was used as a training site for soldiers.²⁹ When the war ended, all physical evidence of the Yamato colony vanished. The name, however, survives in Yamato Road which runs through the original settlement area.

During World War II the government had placed Morikami "on parole," and he remained on his farm throughout the hostilities. After the war he acquired additional parcels of land until his farm reached 150 acres. As Florida began to grow and develop in the post war years the value of his holdings soared, although the old Japanese continued to live a frugal existence. His financial future was secure and Morikami, after 61 years of residency in this country, turned his thoughts to becoming a United States citizen. The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 made it possible for orientals to become naturalized citizens. With the assistance of Ms. Virginia Snyder, a local newspaper reporter who became his close friend, he learned that he was automatically eligible for citizenship under provisions of the Act. On December 15, 1967, George Morikami at 82 years of age, took the oath which made him a citizen of the United States. This event did not go unnoticed by the citizens of Delray Beach. At a City Council Meeting on January 2, 1968, Mr. Morikami was presented a plaque designating him Honorary Mayor of Delray Beach.³⁰

Several years earlier Morikami had determined to try to repay this country for the opportunity that it afforded a penniless immigrant. He donated 40 acres of land to the State of Florida for use as an Agricultural Experiment Station, and when authorities were slow in taking action he offered \$30,000.00 to get the enterprise going. He made a similar offer of acreage for a city park in Delray Beach, but the city failed to accept due to lack of funds for development. After three years of delay, Morikami withdrew his offer to the city. However, in 1974 the commissioners of Palm Beach County accepted a 35 acre tract for a south county park. On March 15, 1974, official dedication ceremonies were held for Morikami Park, with numerous city and county dignitaries in attendance.³¹ George Morikami was so pleased that he went down after the festivities and deeded an additional five acres. The beneficence of the last survivor of Yamato had insured a lasting memorial to the Japanese role in the settlement of the southeast coast of Florida.

NOTES

1. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, December 31, 1903. Also see, Walter L. Fleming, "Immigration to the Southern States," *Political Science Quarterly*, XX (June, 1905), 285.

2. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, December 31, 1903, January 9, 1904; West Palm Beach *Tropical Sun*, June 10, 1905.

3. "Yamato — A Japanese Colony," *Florida East Coast Homeseeker*, X (November, 1908), 363; Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, March 9, 1906.

4. *New York Herald Tribune*, November 14, 1904, clipping found in Florida East Coast Railway Records, St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida.

5. The colony was located on the extreme northern edge of present day Boca Raton, near NorthWest 51st Street. As with earlier grants of land, this section was provided by the Florida East Coast Railway. See Henry M. Flagler to Parrott, August 15, 1905, Florida East Coast Railway Records, St. Augustine Historical Society, for evidence of Flagler's interest in the venture.

6. Interview with Mr. George Morikami, the sole Japanese survivor of Yamato, June 11, 1974. Transcript in University of Florida Oral History Archives, Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

7. West Palm Beach *Tropical Sun*, September 20, 1905.

8. West Palm Beach *Tropical Sun*, October 17, 1906, November 28, 1906.

9. Morikami Interview.

10. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, November 2, 1906; "Yamato," *Florida East Coast Homeseeker*, X (July, 1908), 225; A.G. Bradbury, *A Chronology of Florida Post Offices* (Florida Federation of Stamp Clubs, 1962), 91.

11. Hawkins Diary, 1905-1906, July 10, 1906, Henry M. Flagler Museum, Palm Beach, Florida. In 1911 the Miami Board of Trade and the Merchant's Association united for a program celebrating the 15th anniversary of the city. Again, the Japanese were invited and part of the proceedings included "Jiu-Jitsu exhibitions (the Japanese performers came from Yamato, an agricultural settlement between Miami and West Palm Beach)." See, Isidor Cohen, *Historical Sketches and Sidelights of Miami* (Miami, 1925), 83.

12. West Palm Beach *Tropical Sun*, November 3, 1906.

13. Morikami Interview.

14. *Ibid.* Morikami himself was forced to accept a variety of job situations. At first he went to Eau Gallie and worked for a shipbuilder. After one year Morikami returned to the Boca Raton area where he took up farming. Another Japanese, E. M. Ohi, moved his family to Eau Gallie and bought land—eventually he called over his family and several cousins to work with him. He even imported a Japanese carpenter to build his home. See, *Facts About Florida That You Should Know* (Land Department of the Florida East Coast Railway, ca. 1911), 15.

15. The *Miami Metropolis*, October 17, 1912; Jacksonville *Florida Grower*, October 11, 1913; March 21, 1914.

16. Jacksonville *Florida Grower*, October 11, 1913; *Fort Myers Daily Press*, July 31, 1913. A small group of California Japanese did respond to Jennings' promotions. They purchased land in Clay County and made plans to move families and belongings to Florida. When they demanded to make on-site inspections of the property before making final payments, the real estate agents resisted their appeals. Most of the prospective settlers then withdrew their offers and remained in California. Those few that came were not successful in their agricultural pursuits and within three years, all had left Florida. For more information see, Arch Fred Blakey, *Parade of Memories: A History of Clay County, Florida* (Jacksonville: Drummond Press, forthcoming).

17. Numerous reports also surfaced indicating that a Seattle lawyer had purchased 80,000 acres of land in Florida and was planning to sell this land to Japanese. Editorials theorized that this amount of land would provide sufficient space for 100,000 Japanese settlers. See, *Kissimmie Valley Gazette*, July 11, October 13, 1913; *Fort Myers Daily Press*, July 21, 30, November 6, 1913.

18. Jacksonville *Florida Grower*, October 11, 1913. During these years it was widely assumed that Japanese could not become naturalized citizens. Several test cases worked their way to the Supreme Court until the Ozawa Decision in 1922 confirmed that Japanese were not eligible for citizenship.

19. Jacksonville *Florida Grower*, September 27, 1913.

20. Jacksonville *Florida Grower*, October 18, 1913, November 15, 1913.

21. Jacksonville *Florida Grower*, November 22, 1913.

22. The Plat Book records of the Model Land Company, the principal land sales agency of the Florida East Coast Railway, clearly show that Japanese continued to buy considerable acreages of land throughout the second and third decades of the present century. These records are located at the Henry M. Flagler Museum, Palm Beach, Florida. See in particular Plat Book 6, Sec. 33/Tp 46s/R 43E and Sec. 5/Tp 47s/R 43E.

23. Bradbury, 91.

24. In December, 1974, Shiboh Kamikami died at his home in Boca Raton. He was the last survivor of the Yamato colony who actually remained within the boundaries of the original settlement. Kamikami was a brother of Joseph Sakai, but had been adopted by another family during his youth. The two were reunited briefly at Yamato. Following Sakai's death his wife and family returned to Japan, and one of his daughters still lives in Kyoto. Morikami, Sakai, and Kamikami all came from the town of Miyazu, a seaport on the northern coast of the island of Honshu, Japan.

25. There were apparently few educational opportunities available to the Japanese settlers of Yamato during the early years. A public school was not established at Boca Raton until 1915. However, a Professor Rehbinder is reported to have "inaugurated a private evening English language school for the Japanese colonists at Yamato" in 1908. See "Boca Raton," *Florida East Coast Homeseeker*, X (November, 1908), 360. One of the families at Yamato was the Kamiya's who owned a grocery and gas station. In 1936 a Frank T. Kamiya was in the first graduating class at Palm Beach Junior College but records do not reveal if he was related to the Yamato family. *Palm Beach Post*, December 30, 1973.

26. Morikami Interview.

27. Morikami Interview.

28. Interview with Mr. Norman Rose, retired agricultural extension officer, January 16, 1975. Notes in the possession of the authors.

29. *Miami Herald*, February 6, 1964; *Palm Beach Post Times*, December 30, 1973. Army officials gave the training site the colorful name of "Blitz Village."

30. *Fort Lauderdale News*, December 17, 1967. *Delray Beach News Journal*, January 4, 1968.

31. *Delray Beach News Journal*, March 21, 1974. *Palm Beach Post*, March 16, 1974.

I Remember the Everglades Mail Boat

By Gordon L. Williams*

Every Monday, Wednesday and Friday morning at 7:00 o'clock the Mail Boat tooted two blasts and chugged across the West Palm Beach Basin, its exhaust fumes and cooling water sputtering from its stern. Its dock was on the south side of Okeechobee Road, about where the Seaboard tracks now cross it. The boat would be back about 5 p.m. the following day (Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday) with passengers, farm produce and news of happenings along the southeast shores of Lake Okeechobee. For many living along that route it was the only communication with their county seat at West Palm Beach or the outside world.

One morsel of such news that impressed me was the story of a Pahokee youth who had been murdered by a gun shot one moonlight night near a settler's chicken coop.

The year was 1920; I was nine years of age. We lived in the big white house on top of the hill at 623 Jessamine Street, West Palm Beach, only a couple of blocks from the Basin. I walked by the Mail Boat dock twice a day, leading our family cow to and from bits of pasture in the vicinity of the Basin, where I habitually tethered her to graze. Our house (named "The Washington") still stands at what was then the edge of town.

I also used to fish from the docks at the City Warehouse on the south side of the Basin. The Basin itself is now almost completely filled in, the exception being a small, deep duck pond at the corner of Okeechobee Road and Lake Avenue. The water table in that pond is now much lower than it was then. That open air warehouse sheltered some farm produce, but mostly farm supplies, plows, and several kinds of tractors, including Cletrac, Happy Farmers (a 3-wheel tractor) and Fordsons, made by

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Henry Ford and Son, and sold by G.C. Barco: Ford, Lincoln, and Fordson Dealer.

We had moved to West Palm Beach in September 1918, near the close of World War I. We were the first of about a dozen disillusioned American families who had had enough of Cuba. A Mr. and Mrs. Hose of La Gloria, Cuba, had recommended West Palm Beach to us. They had once lived there and returned soon after we did. La Gloria (meaning heaven) and Omaja were the largest of several colonies of Americans established in eastern Cuba shortly after the Spanish American War. They had come from many parts of the United States in expectation that Cuba would be a part of the United States. A few hundred people had gone to Cuba with their living and farming equipment and some livestock to settle in a fertile land with a mild climate. After the United States backed away from the acquisition of the territory, if, indeed, there ever was any real purpose to do so, and after several revolutions between competing Cuban factions, plus the isolation suffered during the First World War, they were ready to give up and return to the States. During their twenty-year venture these settlers had become very closely associated. Many of them had intermarried and brought up their children in a distinctly American community. Most of the children learned to speak Spanish, but many of the older generation resisted anything that threatened their United States culture.

They had sailed to Cuba from ports as far apart as New York and New Orleans. When the time came to return to the States, they sold out their Cuban properties, and with only personal belongings, rode to Havana on the American-built Cuba Central Railway. From there, they rode the Florida East Coast Railway Company's car ferries to Key West, then over the FEC railroad to West Palm Beach or points north. Many of them knocked at our door for a visit, some advice, and lodging.

The Mail Boat first came to my attention early in 1920, when the Palm Beach Canal was new, and two of my uncles, retired Indiana farmers, rode the boat to Canal Point and back stopping over at the Custard Apple Inn. Yes, Virginia, northern farmers could save their money, retire and winter in Florida long before Santa Claus moved to Washington. Anyway, they got a picture of some of Florida farming at its best while blizzards were howling in Indiana.

In the fall of that same year, my parents and the three younger children rode the Mail Boat to visit our good friends, the Bartlett family, at Bacoms Point, three miles south of Pahokee. My oldest sister,

Elizabeth, and I stayed with the Newsomes on Evernia Street just west of Rosemary Street (now Florida Avenue). The Newsomes, their daughter Lena, and Lena's in-laws, the Griffiths, had all been friends of ours in Cuba before coming to Florida. One of the Griffiths, John, shortly after 1920, became a co-founder of the now famous Halsey and Griffith Stationery Store in West Palm Beach.

Having many American friends coming from Cuba — some of whom moved to the Everglades — and living in a large house near the Basin, we saw lots of people who travelled on that Mail Boat. I also, with a little red wagon, peddled a fair amount of farm produce — vegetables, honey, eggs, etc. The largest watermelons brought 60c to 75c, and eggs once got as high as \$1.20 per dozen. Tourists, who could afford it, paid dearly for fresh Florida produce.

My first ride on the Mail Boat was in May of 1921. My father had promised me that if I passed the 6th grade — by no means a sure thing — he would buy me a .22 caliber rifle and let me spend the summer with Amza H. Price, a friend from Cuba who was farming at South Bay. Many boys had .22s in those days. In fact, mine, a Stevens Little Scout, was bought from another boy who wanted to “trade-up” to a new Winchester. By so doing, he received free instructions and practice permission at a rifle range on the Okeechobee Road near the Military Trail. My rifle cost \$3.00. New ones of that model were \$5.00. The Boy Scout magazines carried advertisements of several makes. So, at the age of ten, travelling alone, with my rifle strapped to my suitcase and 100 cartridges to last all summer, I boarded the Mail Boat, and we shoved off toward the Everglades. There were other guns aboard, most unattended.

The boat had a capacity of about thirty passengers, but carried about half that many in the off season. It carried many kinds of cargo, including bottled pop and ice, both for sale on the boat and for delivery at different stops en route. It was driven by a six-cylinder gasoline engine, a bit larger than those of the Hudson Super Six or the Stutz Bearcat. This was after the heyday of small steamboats, but before the development of Diesel engines of this size and weight. As the weather was hot, the passengers sat in folding chairs on the top deck, shaded by a canvas canopy.

We chugged out the West Palm Beach Stub Canal, then up the Palm Beach Canal toward Canal Point, some 40 miles away. The scenery was completely desolate — not a house, bridge, car, road, or any signs of civilization other than the canal, our Mail Boat and docks at Loxahatchee

and Conners Farm. For wildlife, we saw a turkey and two alligators a bit above the water level, sunning themselves, their mouths wide open.

At the lock at Canal Point, I was surprised to see little shops belonging to the Palm Beach Mercantile Co. and Hector Supply, both being prominent merchandisers in West Palm Beach. Back some distance to the right of the canal, as it entered the Lake, was the Custard Apple Inn, amongst big trees that were covered with Spanish moss. It was unique in the Everglades as it had both electric lights and running water from its own little utility plants. There was no bridge at Canal Point, except a foot route over the closed lock gates.

We entered the lake and turned left, stopping momentarily at the docks of Connersville, Pahokee and Bacoms Point—some two or three miles apart. At Bacoms Point I saw the Bartlett children, whom I knew well, there to see the boat dock but surprised to see me on it.

We then stopped at Kreamer Island and perhaps another island or two before I was told to transfer to a small motor boat that would take me to South Bay. I was its only passenger. That boat also served Okeelanta on the New River Canal, a couple of miles beyond the South Bay locks. Another boat went down the Hillsborough Canal to Chosen and Belle Glade. The Mail Boat continued on to Clewiston and Moore Haven.

Shortly after embarking, the operator of the little boat asked me to take the wheel for a short spell while he tinkered with the motor. My landmark was a flat-topped tree on the horizon. If the boat had a compass, I didn't see it.

We reached South Bay at dusk. I had traveled from West Palm Beach to South Bay during the daylight hours of one summer day. The 2-element Coleman gasoline lantern was burning brightly in the little general store and post office, throwing out lots of light and heat and attracting bugs. The boat operator unloaded me and some cargo as fast as he could as he had yet to pass the locks and continue on to Okeelanta before dark.

Amza was at the general store to meet me. It stood on the west canal bank, about where the present post office stands. Amza had his little cut-down Ford. There were probably a half-dozen such vehicles around South Bay then. It was a pre-self-starter Model T Ford with the touring body removed and replaced by a seat over the gas tank and a small flat bed behind. I once weighed one at 1000 pounds. They were the forerunner of pickups and jeeps and about the only car that could successfully travel those muck roads. From South Bay these Fords could travel along

the New River Canal bank to Okeelanta, and in very dry weather could reach the Miami Canal some seven miles west of South Bay. That was the limit of land travel at that time.

The automobile service station consisted of a few drums of gasoline, kerosene and oil at the general store, from which the contents were dispensed by measuring cans—20c per quart for oil and the same per gallon for kerosene and gasoline. This was non-leaded white gas but probably of a very low octane, if anybody had ever heard that word. People were complaining of the high prices and commenting about a recent forecast that in twenty years the world would be out of petroleum!

Amza's place was about one-fourth mile from the lake and two miles west of South Bay. The area close to the lake was too muddy for any purpose other than a pasture for a few hogs and two milch cows (Amza was a Pennsylvania Dutchman). He had a house and a blacksmith shop all under one corrugated iron roof, from which he caught rainwater for domestic purposes as he had previously done in Cuba. He had a one-ton Commerce truck that was almost useless in that area, a Cletrac tractor with widened tracks (to help stay above ground), two mules, a wagon, a wooden sled, and blacksmith forge and anvil. The sled, or "stoneboat," was his principal conveyor, going where even the wagon would bog down.

It was my main job while there to churn, cut wood for the stove, and help his wife mind their one child, a crawling baby. It wasn't the life that I had expected to enjoy that summer.

Community life at South Bay consisted of a Sunday school at the school house, perhaps 100 yards back of the store, preaching on some Sundays, and an occasional gathering, such as the Fourth of July fish fry. For that, the men and boys fished all day, then brought their catches to a big iron kettle, filled with lard, located at the school house yard. The entire fish catch consisted of one or two small fish. Fortunately, somebody suspected as much so had plenty of chicken on hand. It was a complete success!

About my second week there I accepted an invitation to go swimming in the canal just above the lock with some boys I had met in Sunday school. I assured them I could swim. I had learned the previous summer in a course given at Gus's Bath in Palm Beach by the American Red Cross and the *Palm Beach Post*, Joe Earman, Editor. However, this was my first plunge into fresh water. The lack of buoyancy frightened me and there was no way to get out, the canal bank at the lock being very steep.

There was nothing to do but swim across the canal and the length of the needle dam. When I recently looked at that spot, I still wonder how I made it.

A week or two later, playing where water was being released through the needle dam, I got caught in the current and, was thankful for the help of a young man who pulled me to safety.

Early one morning, there at the lock, I had the good fortune to see three or four canoe loads of Seminole Indians going fishing. The lead canoe was powered by a one-cylinder Evinrude outboard motor, about the only type built at that time. It traveled forward but pulled the others in reverse. Apparently, the flat sterns of those hollowed-out canoes pulled better over the water than did the sharpened bows.

That summer the villagers including Amza built a muck road the four miles from South Bay to Belle Glade. They used several tractors, all with widened wheels or tracks, scrapers, teams, etc. When it was finished we celebrated by having a Sunday school picnic at Belle Glade. The women rode in wagons, but the men and we children walked that eight-mile round trip. That was a big occasion. It included ferrying the New River Canal at South Bay, using a barge that had recently been furnished by Palm Beach County. The users of the ferry had to operate it themselves.

A couple of weeks later Amza drove his cutdown Ford clear to West Palm Beach. He went by way of Belle Glade, then along canal banks where U.S. Highway 441 now runs. He had to cross the New River, Hillsborough and Palm Beach Canals by ferries that he had to operate. It was quite a trip, but several hours faster than the Mail Boat.

Shortly thereafter, I received a letter from my mother saying I could spend the rest of the summer with the Bartletts at Bacoms Point if I wished. Well, I did so wish and, with my suitcase, rifle and still most of my 100 bullets, I proceeded to Bacoms Point via the Mail Boat. That was before there was a road from Belle Glade to Pahokee. Incidentally, as a young man several years later, I worked on the survey of the Belle Glade-Pahokee road.

On that summer day of 1920, upon boarding the Mail Boat at the island rendezvous I learned that it had not reached Clewiston and Moore Haven on its previous day's run. It had passengers for there also. Where they spent the night I don't know, but if it was beyond Canal Point I'm sure it was in quite primitive accommodations. A half-century later, Mrs. Williams and I had the pleasure of a week's cruise on the Amazon River.

The scenery on the Amazon and the great expanse of fresh water reminded me very much of my boyhood rides on the Mail Boat across Lake Okeechobee.

The sand ridge that runs along the east shore of Lake Okeechobee ran out into the water and ended right in front of Bartletts' house. That gave them a good sandy beach and lake bottom. Besides adding to the swimming pleasure this made it possible to drive the mules and wagon out into the water for the house's water supply. We'd put two or three barrels on the wagon and fill them with a bucket on a short rope. If the mules felt a call of nature, we'd have to quit bailing and drive ahead several yards before resuming it. Most people drank water from shallow wells, but that had a sulphur taste and the Bartletts preferred lake water a-la-mule-wagon.

In swimming we frequently saw alligators also swimming in the lake. If we thought they were a bit close, we'd go toward them and they'd swim on away — no problem.

The Bartletts were in the cane syrup business. One brother made the syrup at Bacoms Point and the other sold it in and around West Palm Beach, staying at our house quite a bit. The syrup mill was a bit of Yankee ingenuity. The cane mill was on piles some ten or fifteen feet above ground, so the juice flowed by gravity from there to successive evaporating pans and on to the barrel that held the finished product. The mill was turned by a Fairbanks-Morse gasoline engine and long belt. The two evaporating pans each had a labyrinth of partitions about four inches high, so the juice would gradually thicken as it ran the course of those labyrinths. They were placed over a furnace some twenty-five feet long and four feet wide that was fired with sizable logs — preferably custard apple wood. The furnace had a big iron door of about four feet by four feet at one end and a steel-pipe smokestack, some 30 feet high, at the other. It was a hot place to work on a hot summer day in the Everglades. On the days we made syrup everybody worked at feeding the mill, keeping the engine running, firing the furnace and skimming the impurities off of the liquid as we worked it toward the syrup barrel. Between syrup-making days there was about a week of gathering cane, gathering fire wood, and a general cleanup for the next run.

In the evenings we would frequently sit around the dining table and play some card game. Rook was a favorite, but some of our elders frowned on that because it involved bidding and that smacked of gambling. Sometimes, especially on Saturday nights, we would play until we heard an occasional rooster crow.

Mrs. Bartlett had what may have been the only privately owned piano in the Everglades, and she was very adept at playing it. Some evenings she would place a kerosene lamp on the flat spot at the end of the keyboard and we would gather around for a songfest. My favorite was *Let the Rest of the World Go By*.

On Sundays everything was quiet. We were not supposed to play—not even checkers or chess—and our only reading should be our Sunday school papers or the Bible. The owner of the general store at Pahokee was kind enough to send his worm-drive Ford light truck to take us to Sunday school at Pahokee. We awaited this vehicle at Todds' front porch, a few hundred yards from the Bartletts. The car was due about the time the house's shadow reached the base of a tree in their yard. No clock or watch was necessary. One of the Todd teenage girls thought she was supposed to sit in the middle of the front seat and steer the car. The young man driver didn't seem to mind, so he held on to her—perhaps to keep from falling out—while we all held on in the back. Dear girl, if she is still living, doubtless is sitting in a rocking chair, drawing Social Security, and criticizing the younger generation.

Bacoms Point (located at what is now Pahokee State Park) got its name from old Dad Bacom, a man apparently in his sixties when I knew him. He had lived there for many years and had children and grandchildren in that area. His abandoned vegetable packing plant located on the end of the point was tumbling down, and a newer one being operated by others. He was retired except for possible cane juice moonshining that was prevalent around there during those prohibition years. He was a frequent passenger to West Palm Beach on the Mail Boat. On one trip when my father happened to be on board, the boat left West Palm Beach on schedule but had progressed only a couple of hours when Dad Bacom suddenly died on the boat. There was nothing to do but turn the boat around and take his body back to West Palm Beach—without consulting his family or anybody else. The mail was a bit late that day.

The settlers along the shore of the lake, between Canal Point and Bacoms Point, lived in small unpainted frame houses on the sand ridge but farmed claims that they had staked out in the muck lands behind the ridge. During the summer of 1922, I helped my father locate and plat those claims for homesteading purposes. I, standing on a Coca Cola case, learned to run a surveyor's transit that summer, starting me off on an engineering career that took me to all parts of the world. To do his survey work that summer, my father bought a cut-down Ford from a settler there. A few weeks later when he was having trouble navigating some

deep sand ruts along that ridge, he discovered that he had bought a wide-gauge Ford. In those days, Ford made cars of two different gauges to fit the wagon roads of different areas — narrow gauge for the South and wide gauge for the mid-West. Let the buyer beware!

Farming, even on that rich soil, was a heart-breaking gamble. With the lake level uncontrolled, in some years the crops would be flooded and in others it would be scorched. Then, after a crop was harvested, it was generally shipped to the rail-head at Okeechobee, thence on to some northern city that was selected at random with no knowledge of the prevailing prices in that city at that time. It was not uncommon, after all the work of growing and shipping a crop, to get a bill for part of the freight, the selling price being less than the freight charges.

Much of the farm land was too soft for the employment of horses or mules. I once saw a set of four steel mud-shoes to buckle onto a mule's hoofs. They were about eight inches square and one-fourth inch thick but were too clumsy for the mules to learn to walk with.

One day in late 1921 my mother suddenly decided that she must drive from West Palm Beach to Bacoms Point. It was too urgent a matter to wait for the next Mail Boat. That's where she was wrong! She had a 1920 Ford touring car, the first model with a self-starter. She loaded the five of us children, plus two extra teenagers, into that car and we took off. She was the only driver, and it was her first venture off of the pavements in the proximity of West Palm Beach. Unlike the developing road to Belle Glade and South Bay, the route to Canal Point, Pahokee and Bacoms Point was via Jupiter and Indiantown, following the sand country that skirted the deep muck land. This was some years before the Seaboard Railroad was built through Indiantown.

The Dixie Highway provided us with a paved route as far as Jupiter. It had been paved from Miami to Jacksonville for a few years, but there were no paved roads inland. The sand road west from Jupiter was quite passable until we reached the deep sand workings of the newly dug St. Lucie Canal. There we got stuck, managed to get across the canal on a county-operated ferry, and got stuck again. That time we burned out a clutch band. We got towed the short distance to Indiantown, but its only auto repair shop was a shade-tree operation of a couple of young men named Gillespie. Their mother was kind enough to put us up for the night while her sons undertook to remove the radiator and pull the motor to get to the three planetary-transmission bands. (In later models, Old Henry provided a simpler method of band replacements.) Even then, the whole

of Indiantown had only enough band lining to replace two of the three bands needed for one Ford car—by far the most popular car in the world. So the car had to be reassembled with only two new bands.

About mid-morning we were on our way again. However, in the above reassembly, a timer wire was left against the fan belt so that by noon it was cut in two, reducing our already under-powered, over-loaded vehicle to three cylinders, way out in the middle of the flat pine woods. Fortunately, the driver of the only car we'd seen in several hours observed our trouble, spliced the wire for us and sent us on our way. We reached Bacoms Point late in the afternoon — some thirty hours after leaving West Palm Beach — a tired, dirty, hungry, disheveled car load, but ready for a swim. My mother didn't drive the car back!

In the late summer of 1922 my father took my younger brother and me over that same road in his cut-down Ford without mishap — except the loss of my highly-prized rifle. Traffic was so scarce and the water in the road ruts was so clear that it was drinkable. We proved that point by doing just that!

In 1922 water hyacinths became so thick in the West Palm Beach Stub Canal that boats could no longer reach the Basin. By frequent flushing of the main canal, it was still navigable. In addition, the Okeechobee Road had been pushed westward as far as Loxahatchee by then, so that the operators of the Mail Boat could dock it there and use a bus to transport passengers between that dock and West Palm Beach. With the completion of the Conners Toll Road across the deep sawgrass glades, along the canal bank between Twenty-Mile-Bend and Canal Point, about 1923, the Mail Boat's saga came to an end.

Upon graduation from high school in 1927, I started work with a survey party under Jake M. Boyd, County Engineer, locating roads throughout Palm Beach County. That included the survey of a proposed road from Belle Glade to Ritta Island and some improvements on the Belle Glade-Pahokee road. For that work we stayed at the Belle Glade Hotel, run by a Mrs. Lang. By that time there were roads to all of the towns from South Bay to Okeechobee City and a railroad to Pahokee. In the Mail Boat days, I knew many children at Pahokee that had never seen a train! Now it had come to see them — that's progress.

There was just one radio in Belle Glade at the time of the second Dempsey-Tunney fight. Its owner set it up in the hotel lobby so we could all listen to that broadcast. It was not clear, but we got the gist of the fight. So did Jack Dempsey!

In recent years, I have encountered considerable confusion between the hurricanes of 1926 and 1928. Those of us who lived through them remember them very well. Actually, there were two each year, smaller ones preceding the devastating ones by a few weeks. The first one of 1926 was bad enough weather to shut down construction work for a day on a bridge where I was working near old Juno. The big one of that year leveled much of Miami. It floated a ship into Biscayne Park that stayed there for many years. In 1928, the first one blew the roof off the porch at my father's dairy, where the present Florida Turnpike crosses the Jupiter-Indiantown Road. The second one did much damage in West Palm Beach and flattened all the buildings at our dairy. I had been to college at Gainesville just one week.

This second hurricane of 1928 continued west across the Everglades, blowing the water of Lake Okeechobee out across the glades to the south, where the lake had essentially no rim. It swept everything before it. One friend of ours, John McAllister, of Okeelanta, drove his Oakland sedan to the highest point he could find — the canal bank at South Bay—where he and his wife planned to ride out the storm. (I don't know where their three sons were.) The water, waves and driftwood pounded against the car so hard that John was afraid it would roll off the canal bank, so he got out to push the driftwood aside. One timber must have hit him. He was never seen again. Mrs. McAllister didn't know how she survived. When she was picked up the next day by a rescue boat, she was far out in the glades clinging to some driftwood.

The tragedy of that 1928 hurricane brought about the construction of the Hoover Dike to contain Lake Okeechobee in case of another such hurricane. There have so far been no more like it. In bringing about this protection, this dike sort of cut off the settlers from the lake — like cutting a vine loose from its roots. Those inhabitants now think in terms of roads and cars instead of boats and docks. In a way it's sad.

Sometimes I now drive through the Everglades on paved roads, in cars with glass windows and self-starters, and reminisce about the places I used to know so well. It's been a very long time since the Mail Boat docked at Pahokee!

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. Honorary Life Memberships are voted by the Board of Directors to recognize special services to the Association.

This printed roster is made up of the names of those persons and institutions that have paid dues since September 30, 1975. Those joining after September 30, 1976 will have their names in the 1977 roster. The symbol ** indicates founding member and the symbol * indicates charter member.

SUSTAINING

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90 TEQUESTA

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 Lopez, Conchita, Coral Gables

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 Martin County Public Library, Stuart
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 Parks, Merle, Miami
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 Peacock, Arthur, Miami
 Peacock, R. A., Miami
 Peacock, R.C., Miami
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 Peeler, Miss Elizabeth, Coral Gables
 Peeples, Vernon, Punta Gorda
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- Rappaport, Edward, Miami
 Rash, Mrs. Harold H., Coral Gables

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 Reed, Miss Elizabeth Ann,
 Ocean Ridge
 Reed, Richard, Miami
 Reese, T.T., Palm Beach
 Reiger, Dr. John F., Coral
 Gables
 Renick, Ralph, Miami
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 Rosborough, Dr. Melanie R.,
 Coral Gables
 Ross, Helen, Benton Harbor,
 MI
 Ross, Mrs. Richard F., Delray
 Beach
 Ross, Rosita, Miami
 Rothra, Mrs. Elizabeth, Miami
 Rummel, Virginia C., Goulds
 Ryan, Mrs. J.H., Miami Beach

St. Lucie County Museum,
 Fort Pierce
 Samet, Alvin M., Miami
 Sands, Harry B., Nassau,
 Bahamas
 Satin, David, Bay Harbor
 Islands
 Scarborough, Mrs. Chaffee,
 Miami
 Schelberg, Mrs. Richard,
 Miami
 Schwartz, Elsa, Miami
 Seemann, Ernest A., Miami
 Segal, Natalie, Miami
 Selby Public Library, Sarasota
 Seley, Ray B., Jr., Miami
 Serkin, Manuel, Coral Gables
 Shenandoah Jr. High School,
 Miami
 Sherman, Mrs. Ethel
 Weatherly, Miami
 Shipley, Zannie May, Coral
 Gables
 Shiver, Otis W., Miami

Shiverick, Mrs. Thomas T.,
 Miami
 Sibert, J.D., Miami
 Simms, John G., Jr., Miami
 Siviter, John E., Coral Gables
 Skelly, Charles W., Cocoa
 Smathers, Frank, Jr., Miami
 Smiley, Nixon, Miami
 Smith, Mary Ellen, Miami
 Smith, Nell B., Miami
 Smith, Mrs. Sheldon, Miami
 Smith, Walter P., Miami
 Smith, Mrs. William Buford,
 Miami
 Snodgrass, Miss Dena,
 Jacksonville
 Southern Illinois University
 Library, Carbondale, IL
 Stafford, Robert C., Miami
 Stanford University Library,
 Stanford, CA
 Stark, Mrs. Betty A., Miami
 Beach
 State Historical Society of
 Wisconsin, Madison, WI
 Stearns, Frank A., Miami
 Stearns, Mrs. R.M., Miami
 Stetson University, DeLand
 Stevens, Mrs. Elizabeth,
 Miami
 Stillam Charitable Trust, New
 York, NY
 Stimson, Mrs. Miriam M.,
 Miami
 Stone, Mrs. A.J., Miami
 Straight, Dr. William M.,
 Miami
 Stripling Insurance Agency,
 Hialeah
 Sullivan, Catherine B., Bal
 Harbour
 Sutcliffe, William H., Coral
 Gables
 Sutton, Mrs. Norman E.,
 Goulds
 Swilley, Mrs. Thomas, Miami

Tampa Public Library, Tampa
 Taylor, Mrs. Nina, Coral
 Gables
 Teasley, T.H., Coral Gables
 Tebbets, Mrs. Betty, Miami
 Ten Eick, Mrs. M. Nuñez,
 Tampa
 Tennessee State Library and
 Archives, Nashville, TN
 Tennis, Ann, Miami

Thomas Jefferson Jr. High
 School, Miami
 Thomas, Wayne, Tampa
 Thomas, W. Donald, Coral
 Gables
 Thompson, Roberta C., Miami
 Thomson, Guilda, Gainesville
 Thomson, Parker D., Miami
 Thorpe, Fran Hutchings,
 Miami
 Thrift, Dr. Charles D.,
 Lakeland
 Tillotson, Mrs. John, Coral
 Gables
 Tomlinson, Dixie, Coral
 Gables
 Tinsley, Mrs. W.C., Miami
 Shores
 Tongay, Mrs. Betty, Miami
 Tottenhoff, Mrs. J.R., Coral
 Gables
 Town, Miss Eleanor, Coral
 Gables
 Trachida, Michael, Miami
 Tradiff, Robert G., Miami

University of Florida,
 Gainesville
 University of Miami, Coral
 Gables
 University of South Florida,
 Tampa
 University of West Florida,
 Pensacola
 Upshaw, Florence Akin,
 Miami
 Utset, Bernardo B., Miami

Van Beuren, Michael,
 Marathon
 Vanneman, Mrs. Theo, Miami

Wakeman, Mrs. Charles, Jr.,
 Miami
 Walker, Evan B., Miami
 Walsh, Mrs. James R., Coral
 Gables
 Ware, Mrs. John D., Tampa
 Ware, Mrs. Willard M., Miami
 Beach
 Warner, Susan, Miami
 Warren, C. Rhea, Miami
 Watson, Amber, Fort Myers
 Watson, Hattie, Miami
 Wegerdt, Mrs. Theodore,
 Miami

Weiner, Mrs. Donald, Coral Gables
 West Palm Beach Public Library, West Palm Beach
 Wheeler, Mrs. S. O'Donnell, Miami Beach
 Whigham, Florence R., Miami
 Whitner, Dr. Kenneth S., Miami
 Whittelsey, Katherine, Miami
 Williams, Gordon L., Miami

Williams, John B., Miami
 Wililams, L.T., Fort Myers
 Williams, Mrs. L.T., Fort Myers
 Willis, Mrs. John B., St. Petersburg
 Windhorn, Stan, Key West
 Winkelman, Nikola J., Miami
 Winkelman, Mrs. Nikola J., Miami
 Woodmansee, Mrs. R.B., Miami

Wright, Mrs. Edward H., Miami
 Wright, Dr. Ione S., Miami Shores
 Wrigley, Mrs. Fran, Miami
 Young, Mary E., Jupiter
 Zeller, Mrs. Leila, Miami
 Zwerner, Mrs. Carl, Miami

PATRON

Adams, Adam G., Coral Gables. Deceased*
 Adams, Mr. & Mrs. Alto, Jr., Fort Pierce
 Adams, Wilton L., Miami
 Albury, Mrs. Calvin, Key Largo
 Aldrich, Mr. & Mrs. Roy L., Jr., Miami
 Allen, Mrs. Eugenia, Miami
 Allen, Raymond F., Miami
 Allston, Mrs. William, Miami
 Altmayer, M.S., Miami
 Ames, Mrs. Theron, Coral Gables
 Anderson, Philip, Miami
 Andrews, Mrs. Carmele L., Miami
 Angus, Mrs. Evalene K., Miami
 Ansbaugh, Mrs. Fay X., Fort Lauderdale
 Archer, Ben, Homestead
 Arel, Mr. & Mrs. Armand G., Coral Gables
 Atwood, Mrs. Charles F., Miami
 Aufort, Mrs. Nina P., Coral Gables
 Avery, Beatrice P., Islamorada. Deceased
 Ayers, Earling E., Coral Gables
 Bachmann, Dr. & Mrs. Albert E.J., Coral Gables

Bacon, Mrs. Jones, Miami
 Badgett, H. Sue, North Miami
 Baggs, Mr. & Mrs. L., Jr., Coral Gables
 Baker, Charles H., Jr., Naples
 Ball, Mr. & Mrs. Ivan E., Miami Shores
 Battles, Mr. & Mrs. Nicholas, Miami
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 Beem, Mr. & Mrs. William, Miami
 Berkowitz, Dr. & Mrs. Samuel, Coral Gables
 Bielawa, R.A., Miami
 Biggane, Dr. & Mrs. C.F., Jr., Miami
 Bills, Mrs. John T., Miami
 Bodley, Lena, Coral Gables
 Bohan, Alan Brent, Boynton Beach
 Bonavia, Mr. & Mrs. Paul, Miami
 Bonawit, O.J., Miami
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 Broadway, Dr. & Mrs. Rufus, Miami
 Brody, Dr. & Mrs. Simon, Miami Beach
 Brogan, Mr. & Mrs. Frank D., Miami

Brown, Miss Betty A., Plantation
 Brown, Mr. & Mrs. Bowman, Coral Gables
 Brown, Maida, Miami
 Brunelle, Mrs. Gaylord, Coral Gables
 Burkhart, David P., Coral Gables
 Burns, Edward B., Las Cruces, NM
 Burrus, E. Carter, Jr., Miami
 Burton, Mrs. Robert A., Jr., Miami
 Cameron, D. Pierre G., Miami
 Carr, Robert, Tallahassee
 Carr, Mrs. Marvin A., Miami
 Carroll, Mrs. J. Lawrence, Miami
 Cartee, Mrs. Horace L., Coral Gables
 Casey, Mrs. Margarette, Miami
 Cassano, Mrs. Patricia, Miami
 Cayton, Leona Peacock, Miami
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 Cheatham, Mr. & Mrs. Ralph, Coral Gables
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 Cole, R.B., Miami
 Colsky, Dr. Jacob & Family, Miami
 Combs, Walter H., Miami*

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- Corwin, Dr. William, Coral
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- Costello, Mrs. Gertrude,
Miami
- Cothron, Pat, Goulds
- Crowell, Baron H., Miami
- Culbertson, Mr. & Mrs. W.W.,
Miami
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Brooklyn, NY
- Curwood, Mr. & Mrs. W.J.,
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- Dabney, Mrs. Joan C., Miami
- Davidson, Mr. & Mrs. Robert,
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- Davis, Reverend & Mrs.
David J., Coral Gables
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- DeGroff, Robert F., Key
Biscayne
- Dismukes, William Paul,
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Gables
- Dunan, Mrs. G.V.R., Miami
- Dunan, Mrs. Otis E., Coral
Gables
- Dusman, Gilbert, Coral
Gables
- Elliot, Donald L., Miami
- Engel, Mrs. Anne P., Miami
- Erickson, Douglas, Miami
- Erickson, Mrs. Melville A.,
Coral Gables
- Errera, Mrs. Dorothy, Miami
- Ezell, Boyce F., III, Miami
- Fascell, Dante B., Washington,
D.C.
- Ferendino, Andrew J., Coral
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Lakeland
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Miami
- Fowler, Mrs. Walter H., North
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- Fox, Chief & Mrs. Kenneth,
Miami
- Fricke, Mr. & Mrs. W.F.,
Miami
- Frohock, Mrs. Jack, North
Miami
- Fuchs, Richard W., Naranja
- Fussell, Mr. & Mrs. J.E.,
Miami
- Gardner, Mrs. Dick B., Miami
- Gifford, Mrs. John C., Miami
- Gladstone, Mr. & Mrs.
William, Miami
- Glaser, Mrs. G., Pres.
D.C.A.E.C.P., Miami
- Goldstein, Charles, Miami
- Goldweber, S., Perrine
- Gordon, Mr. & Mrs. Howard,
Coral Gables
- Gray, Mr. & Mrs. William L.,
III, Coral Gables
- Greenan, Mr. & Mrs. Gary,
Miami
- Griffin, L.J., Coral Gables
- Gubbins, John M., North
Miami
- Hancock, Mrs. Eleanore
Stone, Miami
- Harrison, Mr. & Mrs. M.R., Jr.,
Miami
- Harrison, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph
R., Jr., Miami
- Harvard College, Cambridge,
MA
- Head Beckham Insurance,
Miami
- Heatley, Mrs. Timothy K.,
South Miami
- Hector, Mr. & Mrs. Robert,
Miami
- Highleyman, Mrs. Katherine,
Miami
- Houser, Roosevelt C., Coral
Gables
- Howell, Mrs. Roland M.,
Miami
- Hubbell, Willard, Miami
- Hudson, Mr. & Mrs. James A.,
Ashville, NC
- Hume, David, Miami
- Johnston, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas
McE., Coral Gables
- Jones, Mrs. Edgar, Jr., Coral
Gables
- Jude, Dr. & Mrs. James, Coral
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- Junkin, Mr. & Mrs. John E., III,
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- Jureit, Mrs. L.E., Coral Gables
- Karcher, Mr. & Mrs. David P.,
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- Kellum, Mrs. Laura Joiner,
Miami Springs
- Kendrick, Mr. & Mrs. J.P.,
Miami
- Kent, Mrs. Frederick A., Coral
Gables
- Key West Art & Historical
Society, Key West
- Kimmen, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas,
Jr., Key Biscayne
- Kolish, Mrs. Joseph, Miami
- Kunde, Mr. & Mrs. George,
Miami
- Larkin, Mrs. Daniel F., Coral
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- Larabee, Charles, Jr., Miami
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Coral Gables
- Licht, Dr. & Mrs. Sidney, Coral
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- Liebman, Mr. & Mrs.
Seymour, Miami
- Linehan, Mrs. John, Lantana
- Lipp, Morris N., Miami Beach
- Lippert, W.K., Miami
- Livingston, Mr. & Mrs.
Robert, Miami
- Lloyd, J. Harlan, Miami
- Ludington, Dr. & Mrs. F.W.,
Miami
- Lunsford, Dr. & Mrs. E.C.,
Coral Gables
- Mahoney, L.T., Miami
- Malcomb, Mr. & Mrs. John,
Coral Gables
- Mangels, Dr. Celia, Miami
Shores
- Mank, Mr. & Mrs. Layton,
Coral Gables
- Matheson, Mr. & Mrs.
Michael, Miami
- Mathews, Janet, Sarasota
- Mathews, Lucinda Nowlan,
Springfield, VA
- McAliley, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas
W., Miami

- McCravey, Mr. & Mrs. Wesley,
Miami Shores
- McCreary, Ms. Jane, Coral
Gables
- McKee, Mr. & Mrs. William,
Miami
- McKey, Mrs. R. M., Coral
Gables
- McNaughton, Dr. Robert,
Miami
- McNeill, Robert E.,
Windemere
- Mercer, Mattie J., Miami
- Merrick, Mrs. Eunice
Peacock, Coral Gables*
- Miami Beach Public Library,
Miami Beach
- Mordaunt, Hal, Coral Gables
- Morris, Mr. & Mrs. C. C.,
Miami
- Mueller, Edward A.,
Jacksonville
- Muir, Mr. & Mrs. William
Whalley, Miami
- Munroe, Mary J., Coral Gables
- Myers, Mr. & Mrs. Phillip D.,
Coral Gables
- Nabutovsky, Barbara, Miami
- Napier, Mr. & Mrs. Harvey,
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- Nelson, Theodore R., Miami
Beach
- Nettleton, Danforth H., Miami
- Nims, Mr. & Mrs. Rufus,
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- Nolan, Mr. & Mrs. Vincent,
Miami
- Norman, Dr. & Mrs. Harold
G., Jr., Coral Gables
- O'Kell, Mr. & Mrs. George S.,
Sr., Coral Gables
- Old Island Restoration
Foundation, Key West
- Oliver, Dr. & Mrs. Robert, Key
Biscayne
- Oran, Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin
G., Miami
- Oswald, Mrs. J.J., Miami
- Overstreet, Estelle C., Miami
- Padgett, Inman, Coral Gables
- Pardue, Leonard G., Miami
Springs
- Park, Dabney, Jr., Miami
- Parks, Mr. & Mrs. Tom,
Boynton Beach
- Pearce, Mrs. A. Dixon, Miami
- Pearson, Mr. & Mrs. Wilbur,
Miami
- Pepper, Hon. Claude, Miami
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- Peterson, Mr. & Mrs. Albert,
Coral Gables
- Peterson, Lee & James W.,
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Gables
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- Rasmussen, Geraldine D., Fort
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- Reider, W. Thomas, Miami
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Miami
- Rice, Sister Eileen, OP, Miami
Shores
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- Rider, Mr. & Mrs. Eugene,
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- Riley, Paul, Miami
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William, Miami
- St. Augustine Historical
Society, St. Augustine
- Schober, Warren, Miami
- Schreffler, Mrs. Forrest R.,
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- Shank, H. W., Coral Gables
- Shapiro, Mr. & Mrs. Robert,
Coral Gables
- Shaw, Henry Overstreet,
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- Shaw, Mrs. W.F., South Miami
- Shearston, Evelyn, Miami
- Sherman, Mrs. John Scott,
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- Simmonite, Col. Henry G.,
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- Smith, Mr. & Mrs. Robert L.,
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- Smyser, Michael L., Miami
- Snyder, Mrs. Frederick R.,
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- South Florida Fruit Growers
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- Spector, Mr. & Mrs. J. Bernard,
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Coral Gables
- Statewide Appraisal Services,
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Coral Gables
- Stewart, Dr. Harris B., Jr.,
Coral Gables
- Stiles, Wade, Palm City**
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- Sweet, George N., Miami
- Swensen, Edward F., Jr.,
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- Swords, J. Kenneth & Family,
Miami
- Syskind, Mr. & Mrs. Eric,
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- Telleria, John Michael, III,
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- Thomas, Mr. & Mrs. Lowell,
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Thorn, Dale A., Miami
Traeger, Mr. & Mrs. Joe,
Miami
Tribble, Byrd B., Miami
Trybus, Mr. & Mrs. John B.,
Key Biscayne
Turner, Judge & Mrs. Jack,
Coral Gables
Turner, Mrs. Lawrence O.,
Miami
Twing, G.S., Coral Gables

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Miami
Weintraub, Mrs. Sidney,
Miami
Weller, Mr. & Mrs. Arthur,
Coral Gables
Wenck, James H., Miami
West, Mr. & Mrs. Richard,
Coral Gables
White, Major Louise V., Key
West
White, Richard M., Miami
Whitten, George E., Miami
Beach
Willey, Reverend & Mrs.
Seaver, Miami
Wilson, Peyton L., Miami*

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Winebrenner, L.M., Opa
Locka
Wolfe, Miss Rosalie L., Miami
Woods, Dr. & Mrs. Frank M.,
Miami
Woore, Mrs. Meredith,
Miami*
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Wooten, James S., Miami

Young, Montgomery L.,
Miami

Zimmerman, Mr. & Mrs.
Louis, Miami Shores

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Admire, Jack G., Coral Gables
Admire, Mrs. Jack G., Coral
Gables
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Bahamas
Alexander, David T., Sidney,
OH
Alexander, Dr. & Mrs. Julius,
Miami
Ansin, Mr. & Mrs. Edmund,
Coral Gables

Battle, Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin,
Miami
Bell, Mrs. Jack W., Miami
Biedron, Mrs. Stanley, Coral
Gables
Biglin, Mrs. W.A., Fort
Lauderdale
Black, George Robinson,
Miami
Black, Mr. & Mrs. Leon, Jr.,
Coral Gables
Black, Mrs. Martha, Miami
Blackburn, Elmer E., Miami
Blanc, Lodvico, Miami

Bloom, Mr. & Mrs. Phillip,
Miami
Blue, Mrs. R.L., Miami Shores
Blumberg, Mr. & Mrs. David,
Coral Gables
Bowen, Forrest H., Miami
Brandt, Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth
G., Miami
Brinker, Richard, Miami
Buker, Charles E., Sr., Miami
Burkett, Mrs. Charles W., Jr.,
Miami Beach

Cameron, Joanna, Miami
Cassidy, Owen, J., Miami
Caster, Mrs. George B., Coral
Gables
Catlow, Mr. & Mrs. William
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Miami
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Rouge, LA
Chowning, John S., Coral
Gables
Clay, Dana, Coral Gables
Cogswell, Mr. & Mrs. T.J.,
Coral Gables
Colson, Bill, Miami

Crow, Lon Worth, Coral
Gables
Crow, Mrs. Mary Graham,
Palos Verde Estates, CA
Crudup, Georgann, Coral
Gables
Cullom, Mrs. Caryl J., Miami

D'Alemberte, Mrs. Sandy,
Miami
Danielson, Mrs. R.E., Boston,
MA
Davis, Mr. & Mrs. Frank C.,
Miami
Davis, Hal D., Coral Gables
DeNies, Charles F., Hudson,
MI
Dickey, Dr. Robert, Miami
Dohrman, Howard I., Miami
Dougherty, Mr. & Mrs. J.C.,
Miami
DuBois, Mrs. Bessie Wilson,
Jupiter
Duffy, Mr. & Mrs. E. Hugh,
Coral Gables
Dunlop, Mrs. Donald D.,
Miami
Dunty, R.P., Jr., Lake Placid
Dunwoody, Atwood, Miami

98 TEQUESTA

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- Duran, Alfredo, Miami
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- Ellenburg, Mr. & Mrs. James,
Miami
- Essner, Mr. & Mrs. Gene,
Miami
- Firestone, Senator George,
Miami
- Flinn, Mrs. Gene, Miami
- Foss, George B., Jr., Esq.,
Miami
- Franklin, Mrs. Sandra, Miami
- Frates, Mr. & Mrs. William,
Coral Gables
- Frazer, Col. Fred J., Miami
- Frazier, James, Miami
- Freed, Mr. & Mrs. Owen,
Coral Gables
- Freiden, Ellen, Miami
- Gabler, Mrs. George E., Miami
- Gautier, Redmond Bunn,
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- German, Mr. & Mrs. Trent,
Miami
- Goerke, Mrs. Joyce, Miami
- Gorman, Ms. Sharon,
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Gables
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Miami Beach
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Miami
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North Miami
- Hector, Louis J., Miami
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- Hicks, William M., Miami
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Gables
- Hilbauer, Dr. & Mrs. William,
Jr., Miami
- Hoskins, Mrs. Eddie, Miami
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Coral Gables
- Johnson, S.H., M.D., Miami
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Gables
- Kanner, Mr. & Mrs. Lewis M.,
Coral Gables
- Kellner, Mr. & Mrs. Stuart,
Coral Gables
- Kelley, Mr. & Mrs. J. Terrance,
Coral Gables
- Kincaid, Gretchen Hand,
Miami
- Kislak, Jay I., Miami
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- Knight, John S., Miami
- Kniskern, Kenneth F., Miami
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Gables
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North Miami
- Lewin, Robert, Miami
- Lindgren, Mrs. M.E., Miami
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Miami
- Martin, Mrs. Kirby A., New
York, NY
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B., Miami
- Maxted, F.J., Jr., Coral Gables
- McAdam, Joanne F., Bal
Harbour
- McCabe, Dr. Robert H., Coral
Gables
- McCabe, Mrs. Robert H.,
Coral Gables
- McCrimmon, C.T., South
Miami
- McKenna, Mrs. R.A., Coral
Gables
- Mead, D. Richard, Miami
- Mesnekoff, Mr. & Mrs. David,
Miami
- Metz, Martha J., North Miami
- Milledge, Sarah F., Miami
- Miller, Mr. & Mrs. Dean R.,
Miami
- Miller, Mrs. Gavin S., Key
Biscayne
- Mitman, Earl, Miami
- Mizrach, Mr. & Mrs. Larry,
Miami
- Montague, Mrs. Charles H.,
North Miami
- Munroe, Mrs. Wirth M.,
Miami
- Muraro, Mr. & Mrs. Robert,
Miami
- Murray, Miss Mary Ruth,
Coral Gables
- National Railway Historical
Society, Hialeah
- Nordt, Mrs. John C., Miami.
Deceased
- Otto, Mrs. Thomas Osgood,
Miami Beach
- Pagano, Mr. & Mrs. Jules,
Miami
- Pancoast, Katherine French,
Miami
- Parker, Alfred B., Miami
- Pawley, Miss Anita, Coral
Gables
- Payne, Mrs. R.W., Jr., Coral
Gables
- Peacock, Mr. & Mrs. Larry,
Miami
- Perry, Dr. Charles E., New
York, NY
- Peters, Gordon H., Miami
Shores
- Peters, Dr. Thelma, Miami
Shores*
- Pettigrew, Richard A., Miami
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- Pierce, J.E., Miami
- Plumer, Richard B., Miami
- Pruitt, Peter T., Miami
- Prunty, Mr. & Mrs. John W.,
Miami
- Quinton, Mr. & Mrs. A.E., Jr.,
Miami
- Ransom-Everglades School,
Miami
- Rast, J. Lawton, Miami

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Coral Gables
- Rice, Mr. & Mrs. Ralph E.,
Key Biscayne
- Robbins, Mrs. Lawrence J.,
Miami
- Robinson, Mrs. Bruce, Miami
Springs
- Rollins, Mrs. Wilbur C.,
Miami
- Rowell, Donald, Miami
- Sadler, Margaret A., Miami
- Schaltenbrand, Mrs. R.J.,
Hialeah
- Scher, Mr. & Mrs. Frederick
R., Coral Gables
- Schwartz, Judge & Mrs. Alan,
Miami
- Sheldon, Mr. & Mrs. John O.,
Miami
- Shenstone, Tiffany
Highleyman, Princeton, NJ
- Simon, Edwin O., Miami
- Smith, Fred Shannon, Miami
- Smith, Mr. & Mrs. John E.,
Miami
- Smith, McGregor, Miami
- Souviron, Dr. R.R., Coral
Gables
- Stamey, Ernest M., Hialeah
- Stearns, Eugene, Key
Biscayne
- Steel, William G., Miami
- Stevens, Mr. & Mrs. Jack,
Miami
- Stewart, Mr. & Mrs. Chester
B., Miami
- Straight, Dr. & Mrs. Jacob
Miami
- Sweeny, Mrs. Edward C.,
Miami
- Swenson, Dr. & Mrs. F.C.,
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- Taffer, Mr. & Mrs. Jack, Miami
- Thomson, Mrs. Parker, Coral
Gables
- VanOrsdel, C.D., Coral
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