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# Traffic Control in Early Miami

Paul S. George\*

Traffic congestion has been an intractable problem in urban American history. The narrow, garbage-strewn roads which hosted as many animals and pedestrians as vehicles during the early years of the republic became the site of epic traffic snarls in the bustling period following the Civil War. The advent of the automobile at the beginning of the twentieth century exacerbated traffic congestion while creating more difficult problems.

Miami's emergence as a city paralleled this revolution in urban transportation.<sup>1</sup> From the outset the fledgling city experienced acute traffic problems caused in part by the automobile. The response of the police and other municipal officials to these problems during Miami's first generation of corporate existence provides an interesting commentary on a function of municipal government which grew increasingly important in Florida and the nation as this century unfolded.

Miami's downtown sector, the city's business and traffic hub in its early years, is surrounded on three sides by the bluish-green waters of the Miami River and Biscayne Bay. Until the 1920's, persons entering this quarter from the east, west, and south, had to cross one of three narrow bridges. Additional obstacles to smooth vehicular access to downtown arose from the city's narrow, unpaved thoroughfares and slow moving trains which stopped on Twelfth Street, the chief east-west artery, causing tremendous congestion daily.<sup>2</sup>

Once a motorist entered downtown, he found his mobility further restricted by trolley cars on Twelfth Street, improperly parked vehicles, ubiquitous jaywalkers, and drivers who ignored the city's traffic ordinances.

These conditions, along with a spiraling population, caused Miami to become by the 1920's one of the nation's most congested cities. This problem reached its climax in 1925-1926 when, with the great South

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Florida land and construction boom at its peak, Miami contained upwards of 175,000 persons and 25,000 automobiles.<sup>3</sup> In many areas of the city traffic came to a standstill for long periods. "Everything was immovable," complained one visitor, who insisted that Miami's traffic jams "made the worse congestion of London or New York child's play by comparison."<sup>4</sup>

Although Miami's police possessed the authority to enforce traffic laws, they failed to manage this responsibility effectively. But the possibility of a complete breakdown in the city's transportation network in 1925 forced the Miami Police Department (MPD) to shift a major portion of its emphasis and resources to the problem of traffic control. For the remainder of the decade, therefore, a large percentage of the police force was engaged in traffic activities.<sup>5</sup>

The spectre of thousands of automobiles using Miami's streets would have startled the city fathers. A generation earlier, the first city council inserted articles governing traffic in the original city ordinances, but failed to mention the nascent automobile. These ordinances, instead, provided small fines or brief imprisonment for persons "racing any horse or horses upon the streets of Miami," "driving a (horse-drawn) vehicle in a disorderly or dangerous manner," and traveling "with a bicycle on the streets of Miami without having thereon a bell, gong, or whistle with which to warn pedestrians and drivers of vehicles at the street crossings."<sup>6</sup>

In 1896 and in ensuing years, Miami's dirt roads contained underbrush and even tree stumps in some places. Livery stables, water troughs, and "no hitching" signs hanging from kerosene lampposts lined the sides of many roads. Operators of bicycles, horses, mules, and horse-drawn carts used any part of these crude streets to reach their destination.

Traffic control was correspondingly primitive. City Marshal Young F. Gray and his immediate successors virtually ignored the traffic portion of the city ordinances, concentrating instead on violations of the criminal code.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, routine violations of traffic laws and a rash of accidents plagued early Miami, prompting the *Miami Metropolis*, the city's lone newspaper, to decry "scorching" (reckless bicycle riding), and horse racing.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, the *Metropolis* warned parents to keep their children off of the streets.<sup>9</sup>

After 1900, automobiles, trolley-cars, and motorcycles appeared in growing numbers. Not surprisingly, Miami's primitive roads were a poor medium for these faster and more dangerous vehicles; accidents became more prevalent, and congestion developed. At several downtown loca-



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The thoroughfares of early Miami were used by both vehicles and pedestrians. In this photograph of 1897, many Miamians were proceeding along Twelfth Street toward Biscayne Bay.



*Historical Association of Southern Florida*

The primitiveness of early Miami's streets is apparent in this photograph of Avenue D and Northwest First Street in 1898. Note the underbrush and tree stump in the road.

tions, particularly the busy intersection of Avenue D and Twelfth Street, traffic became prohibitively dense.<sup>10</sup>

Despite increasing traffic problems, police enforcement of the antiquated traffic code was sporadic because the tiny force continued to concentrate primarily on criminal activity. The city council, moreover, failed to update the traffic ordinances. Some officials, however, including Mayor John Sewell, the city's executive officer from 1903-1907, expressed increasing concern for the problems caused by automobiles. After receiving numerous complaints of reckless driving and reports of serious accidents, Sewell, in 1904, pressed the council for an ordinance regulating the speed of automobiles.<sup>11</sup> In the ensuing months, the council created Miami's first automobile ordinance, a comprehensive law establishing a speed limit of eight miles per hour, while requiring all automobiles to possess licenses, horns, and lights.<sup>12</sup>

Other automobile ordinances followed in the years immediately after the passage of this pioneer legislation. They provided for an increase in the speed limit to ten miles per hour, the relief of traffic congestion by prohibiting vehicles from stopping on main streets for more than a few minutes, and a reduction in the din created by noisy gasoline engines. But traffic problems continued, because traffic control remained near the bottom of police priorities.<sup>13</sup>

Speeding, reckless driving, a heavy reliance on horns in lieu of hand signals, U-turns at intersections and right turns across a portion of the sidewalk were additional practices characteristic of Miami's 300 automobile operators in 1911.<sup>14</sup> The situation clearly called for radical measures before a complete breakdown occurred.

The threat of this approaching crisis moved city officials in 1911 to institute the most ambitious effort up to that time to meet the vexing traffic problem. They were assisted by the fledgling Miami Auto and Good Roads Association, a small group of automobile enthusiasts deeply concerned over the deteriorating traffic situation. By November, 1911, the automobile association had presented the city council with a bill aimed at clearing downtown of unnecessary congestion and providing safer streets for drivers and pedestrians. The bill required all vehicles to proceed only on the right hand side of the road, refrain from turning around at the busiest intersections, and limited the period allowed for the discharge of passengers. In addition, this proposal provided for a speed limit of twelve miles per hour in the daytime and ten miles per hour at night.<sup>15</sup>

While the new council considered this bill, Mayor S. Rodman Smith appointed, in December, 1911, a special policeman for Saturday

duty (and at other times when necessary) at the teeming intersection of Twelfth Street and Avenue D. This official, the first policeman concerned solely with traffic, employed hand signals in directing traffic from the center of the intersection.<sup>16</sup>

At the same time, the new police chief, Robert Ferguson, followed up his promise to take "immediate action against the speed law villains" with the arrest of numerous traffic violators, particularly speeders.<sup>17</sup>

By the end of 1911, the council had passed an ordinance containing the majority of the Miami Auto and Good Road Association's proposals. The law established a speed limit of twelve miles per hour in the daytime and ten at night, banned U-turns at the busiest intersections, and restricted all vehicular movement to the right hand side of the road.<sup>18</sup>

If Miamians viewed the new traffic ordinance and the initial efforts by police to enforce it as evidence that the traffic problem was under control, subsequent events and trends during the remainder of the decade proved otherwise. Despite numerous laws that increased the speed limit, prohibited left turns and U-turns at busy intersections, limited engine noise, and restricted parking in downtown Miami, traffic conditions worsened.<sup>19</sup>

Many factors, including the rapid proliferation of automobiles, the myopia of the city council, the torpor of the police, and an egregious disregard of traffic laws by motorists and pedestrians contributed to this problem. Even if municipal authorities had been more diligent, smooth vehicular movement would have been hindered by the presence of several thousand automobiles, numerous bicycles, and ponderous horse-drawn carts on the city's narrow streets. Furthermore, the council waited until 1920 before prohibiting parking on the city's busiest thoroughfares, thereby maximizing space for moving vehicles. Unlimited diagonal parking, therefore, was the rule up to 1920. Twelfth Street, the city's busiest thoroughfare, even provided parking along a center lane! With trolley car tracks also present on Twelfth Street, east-west traffic was confined to narrow corridors on each side of it.<sup>20</sup>

The city council was guilty of faulty judgement in other ways too. By failing to abolish an old ordinance permitting trains to back up across Twelfth Street for up to five minutes at a time, the lawmakers contributed significantly to giant snarls.<sup>21</sup>

The police were equally irresponsible. After an initial display of enthusiasm for enforcing the new traffic code in 1912, the MPD quickly lapsed into its old ways. Accordingly, motorists began ignoring traffic regulations again. Periodic outcries against speeding and reckless driving from concerned citizens, the county grand jury, local newspapers,

and public officials, as well as the onset of new police leadership, led to a stringent police campaign to enforce the traffic laws. But this effort was quickly followed by a lengthy period of police lassitude which led to increasingly dangerous conditions for motorists and pedestrians.<sup>22</sup>

To be sure, the police were severely handicapped in enforcing the municipal traffic code by a dearth of personnel. The MPD had less than five men assigned to this detail until a departmental reorganization in 1918 provided a traffic squad of eight officers. Several policemen were assigned to direct traffic at the main downtown intersections and bridges, and two motorcycle officers were instructed to pursue speeders and reckless drivers.<sup>23</sup>

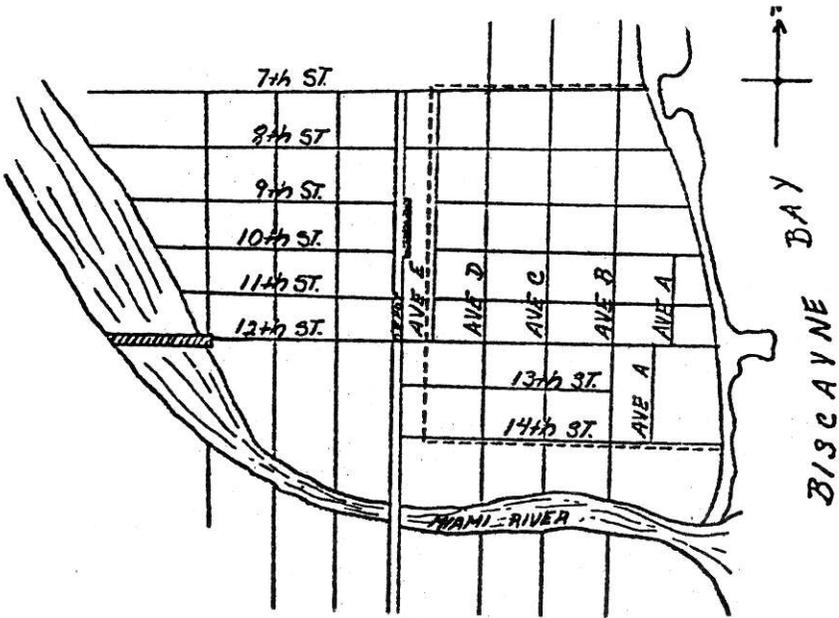
But new problems arose. Since the traffic squad was concentrated in the downtown sector, the police were unable to meet increasing demands for traffic supervision in other parts of the rapidly growing city. Furthermore, traffic policemen reduced their effectiveness by their tendency to engage in lengthy conversations with motorists over traffic laws.<sup>24</sup>

The MPD attempted periodically to modernize its approach to traffic problems. Pressure from Police Chiefs Robert Ferguson and Raymond Dillon led to council authorization in 1912 and 1918 of two motorcycles for the department.<sup>25</sup> In 1915, traffic policemen, now stationed under umbrellas in the center of an intersection, received white gloves to increase their visibility to oncoming motorists.<sup>26</sup> Two years later, the MPD equipped its traffic officers with semaphores which permitted them to direct traffic while seated by displaying a sign instructing traffic to "stop" or "go."<sup>27</sup> In 1919, the MPD began issuing booklets containing the municipal traffic ordinances to all motorists.<sup>28</sup>

Jaywalkers, as well as motorists, flagrantly disregarded traffic laws during this period. Despite the passage of an anti-jaywalking law in 1918, the practice continued.<sup>29</sup>

As mentioned earlier, Miami's traffic problems worsened as the 1920s unfolded. At the outset of the decade, the city contained nearly 10,000 automobiles, with almost 900 cars moving through its busiest intersection hourly.<sup>30</sup> With 25,000 automobiles in Miami in 1925 and traffic at an impasse, Police Chief H. Leslie Quigg lamented that "traffic is the most difficult problem for the police."<sup>31</sup> If land was the triumphant symbol of the boom, the automobile, with its ubiquitous traffic snarls, was its Achilles heel.

In addition to a great increase in automobiles, the exacerbation of earlier traffic problems, along with the appearance of new ones, led to this quagmire. The narrow streets became even more difficult to



Downtown Miami c. 1920.

negotiate during the boom owing to an ambitious paving program and the construction of new trolley car tracks. The installation of gas and water lines caused the closing of many streets to traffic. A massive building program created additional traffic obstacles as trucks blocked traffic while unloading building materials. In many instances, these materials remained on the side of the street for lengthy periods, causing additional congestion.<sup>32</sup>

Another factor contributing to the traffic snarl was the understaffed police department. Although the MPD continued to increase the size of its traffic detail, it was still too small to meet ever-increasing demands. The overwhelming majority of traffic policemen continued to operate downtown; other sections of Miami remained without traffic supervision. To bolster the traffic force, Quigg and City Manager Frank Wharton pleaded, throughout the early 1920s, for additional policemen. Their requests were only partially granted.<sup>33</sup>

Trains of the Florida East Coast Railroad (FEC), frequently switching tracks, continued to block Flagler Street daily. In the boom years this practice created massive daily bottlenecks that hampered the flow of traffic for lengthy periods.<sup>34</sup>

Like the FEC's trains, jaywalkers caused considerable problems for



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Heavy pedestrian and automobile traffic, along with segments of streets torn open for the installation of gas and water lines, exacerbated traffic congestion during the boom. This photograph of East Flagler Street and First Avenue in the summer of 1925 dramatizes each of these obstacles to easy vehicular flow.

motorists. Numerous accidents, near misses, and the constant din from automobile horns aimed at jaywalkers by exasperated motorists moved Wharton, in 1925, to characterize the former as “Miami’s greatest traffic problem.”<sup>35</sup> Joining jaywalkers in obstructing traffic were many real estate speculators who often operated in the streets.<sup>36</sup>

To overcome these problems, the city commission, the city manager, and the MPD devoted an increasing amount of time and resources to traffic. At the outset of the 1920s, the lawmakers passed a comprehensive traffic ordinance containing “rules of the road,” speed limits (now twenty miles per hour in all parts of the city except downtown, where it remained fifteen miles per hour), and parking regulations; this law also set standards for automotive equipment and established stringent penalties for traffic violations.<sup>37</sup>

During the first half of the 1920s, subsequent ordinances provided for information road signs, restricted downtown parking, while providing for parallel parking in some areas, and created additional space for

2,500 automobiles in Bayfront Park. The commission also limited the time that jitneys (a combination bus-taxicab) could stop to discharge and acquire passengers. As the problem of pedestrian traffic worsened, the commission prohibited street crossing anywhere except at an intersection. Initially, these measures were effective, but soon the appearance of thousands of additional automobiles mitigated their impact.<sup>38</sup>

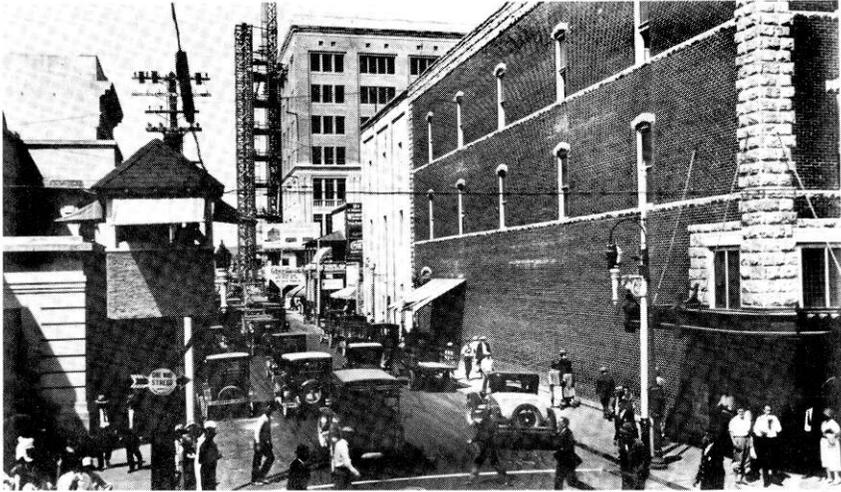
Officials also discussed but rejected proposals for a towing system to clear the streets of illegally parked vehicles, widening of the main thoroughfares, a system of one-way streets for downtown, construction of a viaduct at Flagler Street over the FEC tracks, and a significantly larger police traffic detail. Only radical innovations such as these, combined with the moderate steps that were actually taken, could have ameliorated significantly Miami's deteriorating traffic conditions.

In 1923, the commission authorized City Manager Wharton to take any actions he considered necessary for ameliorating traffic conditions. Wharton continued to work closely with Police Chief Quigg (who even undertook a lengthy examination in 1924 of traffic control systems in several other cities) and the MPD in this realm.<sup>39</sup>

Actually, since Quigg's appointment as chief of police in 1921, the MPD's involvement in traffic control had increased significantly. In addition to ambitious roundups of traffic violators, the police also distributed to motorists booklets containing the municipal traffic ordinances, and extended protection to children crossing the street at each of the city's public schools.<sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, the dramatic increase in automobiles led to the appearance of traffic officers at each of the major downtown intersections and bridges. Employing whistles as signal devices, traffic officers operated in alternate hourly shifts between 6:00 A.M. and 10:00 P.M. daily. During each hour away from his "station," a traffic policeman worked with the parking detail in enforcing parking regulations.<sup>41</sup>

Throughout this period, the MPD increased its traffic detail until, at the beginning of 1925, three-fourths of the eighty-man force was engaged in traffic operations.<sup>42</sup> By this time the police were eagerly awaiting the installation of traffic lights at each of the busiest downtown intersections. But numerous problems delayed their implementation until spring. By then the monthly influx of thousands of speculators, many of whom arrived by automobile, had virtually negated the energetic police effort to keep traffic moving. With downtown traffic at a standstill for lengthy periods daily, this sector faced the alarming prospect of drowning in a sea of automobiles. From this crisis came the most ambitious scheme yet for traffic control.<sup>43</sup>



*Historical Association of Southern Florida*

Electric traffic lights and one-way streets were operational by the latter half of 1925. Both of these features are evident in this photograph of the intersection of Miami Avenue and Flagler Street in 1925.

This program was the product of a desperate campaign by Wharton, Quigg, several civic organizations, and a blue-ribbon committee of one hundred prominent Miamians, during the early part of 1925, for a radically different approach to the deepening traffic crisis.<sup>44</sup> By April all parties involved in this project had agreed on a program featuring one-way streets in downtown Miami, zones for trucks discharging cargo, rigid enforcement of the anti-jaywalking ordinance, streetcar loading platforms, and a traffic bureau within the MPD to coordinate traffic operations.<sup>45</sup>

Wharton selected H. H. (Honk-Honk) Arnold as director of the traffic bureau which began operations on June 1, 1925. The new traffic chief, a member of the MPD since 1923, had distinguished himself as a motorcycle policeman, detective, and desk sergeant. For the duration of the 1920s, Arnold remained the chief traffic officer. During this time, Arnold gave Miami an efficient system of traffic control.<sup>46</sup>

The success of the traffic bureau, however, came only after a difficult inaugural period. The traffic bureau received authorization from the city commission to use any means at its disposal to overcome the traffic quagmire. The bureau, accordingly, quickly established traffic lights at eighteen intersections, converted twenty-nine thoroughfares into one-way streets and zealously enforced anti-jaywalking and parking ordinances through the arrest and impoundment of hundreds of persons

and automobiles. But traffic conditions worsened despite this effort, because the number of fortune seekers entering Miami increased significantly in the summer of 1925.<sup>47</sup>

Faced with the necessity for more radical traffic measures, Arnold, in the latter part of 1925, called for the immediate construction of additional bridges into downtown, a railroad trestle over Flagler Street, licensing of all automobile operators to remove incompetent drivers from the city's streets, construction of multi-story parking garages ("automobile hotels"), inspection of all motor vehicles for safety defects, and a vast increase in the number of traffic policemen. The commission eventually provided for the majority of these proposals, but, initially, assented only to the final demand.<sup>48</sup>

In spite of Arnold's failure to obtain the immediate enactment of all of these measures, the traffic situation had improved significantly by the beginning of 1927, owing primarily to a mass exodus of boomers following the abrupt collapse of the boom in 1926 and vigilant enforcement of the municipal traffic laws by a traffic bureau, whose rapid maturation gave Miami, by 1927, an integrated and highly functional traffic system. Now each policeman involved with traffic detail received rigorous training in all phases of traffic at the new police school; motorcycle policemen, as well as the foot patrol, kept the streets clear of illegally parked vehicles; the installation of automatic traffic signals in 1927 not only expedited the flow of traffic, but also freed many policemen for duty in sectors of the city which had not previously hosted a regular traffic officer. Signs informing motorists of everything from the speed limit (now twenty miles per hour throughout the city) to "no parking" zones graced the edges of every thoroughfare. Under Arnold's direction, the police also undertook periodic automobile inspections, and administered written and manual examinations to chauffeurs, as well as operators of buses and jitneys, before granting them operators' permits.<sup>49</sup>

Despite this overall improvement, the traffic squad soon encountered new problems, as speeding and reckless and drunken driving increased appreciably during 1927, causing a sharp rise in the number of automobile accidents and fatalities. By 1928, Miami found itself ranked second nationally in the number of fatal automobile accidents. The mounting gravity of this problem caused the traffic bureau and its successor, the traffic division, to devote greater attention to these evils.<sup>50</sup>

Accordingly, mass arrests of reckless and drunken drivers occurred frequently in 1928. But the number of automobile accidents remained high. After three persons died in separate automobile accidents during

one week in May, 1928, City Manager Welton Snow instructed Arnold to arrest all traffic violators. Soon the MPD, in conjunction with the Dade County Sheriff's Department, initiated a "drastic campaign" against traffic violators. These agencies received assistance from the area's judiciary after county and municipal authorities agreed in September, 1929, to try a traffic violator in both the municipal and county courts since the alleged violator, in almost every case, had broken a county as well as a city ordinance.<sup>51</sup>

This campaign was successful, leading to a sharp decrease in the number of traffic accidents by the end of 1928. But the indiscriminate arrest of all traffic violators, along with an overtaxing of police resources (the police were required to accompany each violator to headquarters, formally charge him with the offense and, subsequently, make bond), moved the city commission to authorize a new system in January, 1929. Hereafter, the police would issue a summons to a traffic violator to appear within forty-eight hours at the traffic division, where he could acknowledge his guilt through payment of a fine, or secure a hearing in Municipal Court and contest the charge.<sup>52</sup>

At the end of the decade, a reorganization of the department of public safety led to the removal of the traffic bureau from the MPD and its elevation to division status, along with fire and police, within this department. The traffic division, like its predecessor, oversaw the entire program of traffic control. Arnold remained as its head and also served as director of public safety.<sup>53</sup>

But Arnold's days as traffic chief were numbered, for his success brought with it a national reputation, and offers from other police departments to direct their traffic operations. After rejecting earlier offers from Akron, Ohio, Arnold agreed, in December, 1929, to become its director of public safety at an annual salary of \$10,000.<sup>54</sup>

Arnold left Miami with an efficient and progressive system of traffic control which contrasted sharply with the absence of a program in the city's early years and the chaos of the boom era. By 1930 Miami's traffic program compared favorably with the most advanced systems in the country. Periodic improvements and innovations, including additional one-way streets, experienced and carefully trained traffic policemen, written and manual tests for all drivers, automobile inspection, improved road surfaces and additional roads and bridges enabled it to serve Miami efficiently in the ensuing decades until a new and heavier influx of migrants settled in the area.

## NOTES

1. *Transcript of the Proceedings of the Meeting Held July 28, 1896, for the Incorporation of the City of Miami, Florida*. The office of the Clerk of the City of Miami at City Hall has a copy of this document. *Miami Metropolis*, July 31, 1896; Nixon Smiley, *Yesterday's Miami* (Miami, 1973), p. 24. Miami grew from a village numbering but a few families in 1895 to a burgeoning settlement of 3,000 in the following year. Henry Flagler's decision to bring his Florida East Coast Railroad to Miami was the reason for the meteoric growth. The railroad's arrival in April, 1896, ushered in a period of heavy migration and frenetic development for Miami. In July, 1896, an overwhelming majority of Miami's 502 registered voters decided to incorporate it as a city. At the same time, the electorate selected the first officials for the new city's government. Not surprisingly, the new government was dominated by representatives of the Flagler enterprises who were now building a city around the railroad.

2. *Miami Herald*, April 15, 1918. A city ordinance allowed Florida East Coast Railroad cars to switch tracks for up to five minutes at a time at the intersection of Twelfth Street and the railroad tracks near the western boundary of downtown Miami. Miami's downtown sector consisted of five blocks in an east-west direction and seven blocks in a north-south direction. Although this area is small, it comprised a major segment of early Miami, whose original boundaries included fourteen blocks between the Miami River on the south and First Street on the north, and five blocks between Avenue A, bordering Biscayne Bay on the east, and Avenue E, adjacent to the Florida East Coast Railroad tracks on the west. The city built two additional bridges in the 1920s, linking downtown with other parts of Miami.

3. Works Projects Administration, American Guide Series, *Guide to Miami and its Environs* (Northport, New York, 1941), pp. 88-89; *Miami City Directory for 1926* (Jacksonville, 1926), p. 9; *Miamian*, VII (August 1926): 26; *Miami Daily News*, July 26, 1925; *Miami Herald*, June 26, 1925; January 25, 1970; *Miami News*, November 10, 1957; *New York Times*, August 10, 1924; Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday, An Informal History of the 1920's* (New York, 1939), p. 226.

4. Theyre Weigall, *Boom in Paradise* (New York, 1932), p. 50.

5. The MPD varied dramatically in size in the 1920s. At the beginning of the decade, the police force contained thirty-seven members. By 1926, it consisted of 350 policemen. At that time over two-thirds of the force was engaged in traffic control. The collapse of the boom in 1926 caused a sharp decline in the city's population and, along with a concomitant deterioration of economic conditions, resulted in a police force of just 160 members in 1929.

6. City Council of Miami, Florida, *Ordinances of the City of Miami, 1896*, Article XVI, Sections 18, 19, 20, and 32, pp. 58-61. During the latter part of 1896, the city council distributed pamphlets containing the original city ordinances to the citizenry. The Florida Room of the Miami Public Library has a copy of this pamphlet. The office of the Clerk of the City of Miami possesses a copy of every city ordinance.

7. Gray was Miami's lone policeman until the summer of 1898.

8. *Miami Metropolis*, May 31, 1897. On one occasion, a "pretty girl" on a bicycle ran over a pedestrian at Twelfth Street and Avenue D. After the startled victim "picked himself up," he was "run over" by another bicycle.

9. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1897; June 18, 1897; July 23, 1897; December 3, 1897. During this period, the *Metropolis* reported that "Miami has bicycle fever" with over "one hundred wheels here."

10. *Minutes of the City Council* (hereafter cited as *MCC*), Vol. I, September 1, 1904, p. 424; John Kofoed, *Moon Over Miami* (New York, 1955), p. 8. Minutes of the city council and its successor, the city commission, are located in the office of the Clerk of the City of Miami.

11. *Miami Metropolis*, July 8, 1904; July 15, 1904.
12. *MCC*, Vol. I, September 1, 1904, p. 424; *Miami Metropolis*, September 9, 1904; January 6, 1905.
13. *MCC*, Vol. II, March 15, 1906, p. 259; April 5, 1906, p. 262; April 23, 1906, p. 283; Vol. IV, February 2, 1911, pp. 272-273; *Miami Herald*, March 4, 1912; *Miami Metropolis*, April 27, 1906; February 22, 1907; December 18, 1908; October 19, 1909; December 21, 1910. The city council passed several ordinances between 1911 and 1913, requiring engine mufflers for automobiles. The *Miami Herald* was very critical of the police for its failure to enforce the traffic code more effectively. In March, 1912, the *Herald* charged that the MPD had traditionally confined its "activities only to the running in and out of simple drunks, without attempting to enforce those very necessary regulations with regard to traffic on the street."
14. *Miami Herald*, April 11, 1911; June 30, 1911; July 17, 1911; August 26, 1911.
15. *MCC*, Vol. IV, December 11, 1911, p. 441; *Miami Herald*, October 8, 1911; January 27, 1912; *Miami Metropolis*, October 7, 1911; December 18, 1911.
16. *Miami Herald*, November 26, 1911; November 27, 1911; *Miami Metropolis*, November 24, 1911.
17. *Miami Herald*, November 24, 1911; *Miami Metropolis*, November 25, 1911.
18. *MCC*, Vol IV, December 11, 1911, p. 441.
19. *MCC*, Vol. V, September 18, 1913, p. 292; Vol. VII, October 15, 1914, p. 174; January 9, 1915, p. 304; Vol. VIII, March 23, 1916, p. 246; *Miami Herald*, April 17, 1912; June 10, 1912; December 14, 1912; July 29, 1913; July 28, 1914; April 14, 1915; May 21, 1916; January 14, 1917; October 31, 1917; August 6, 1918; December 21, 1918; May 8, 1919; *Miami Metropolis*, September 12, 1917; October 31, 1919.
20. *Miami Herald*, March 8, 1914; March 11, 1914; January 25, 1916. The proclivity of many tourists to ignore traffic laws exacerbated traffic problems.
21. *Ibid.*, December 22, 1916; April 5, 1918.
22. *Ibid.*, December 15, 1912; May 3, 1913; December 27, 1914; January 19, 1915; April 14, 1915; October 31, 1916; December 23, 1917; May 21, 1918; April 17, 1919. The periodic failure to enforce the traffic laws resulted in an epidemic of speeding. In 1915, some motorists reportedly were streaking north on Biscayne Drive (later Biscayne Boulevard) at speeds from eighty to one hundred miles per hour.
23. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1918. Traffic policemen were now stationed at the intersection of Twelfth Street and Avenue D and at the bridges which connected each of these arteries to other parts of Miami.
24. *MCC*, Vol. VII, April 15, 1915, p. 443; July 2, 1915, p. 539; *Miami Herald*, August 11, 1917; June 24, 1918.
25. *MCC*, Vol. V, August 15, 1912, p. 63; Vol. IX, September 26, 1918, p. 460; *Miami Herald*, September 12, 1912.
26. *Miami Herald*, August 11, 1915.
27. *Miami Metropolis*, August 11, 1917; September 12, 1917.
28. *Ibid.*, December 17, 1919.
29. *Miami Herald*, December 21, 1918; July 15, 1919.
30. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1921.
31. *Miami Herald*, August 20, 1925; *Miami Daily News*, July 26, 1925; American Guide Series, *Guide to Miami*, pp. 88-89; Weigall, *Boom*, p. 45.
32. Kenneth Ballinger, *Miami's Millions, The Dance of the Dollars in the Great Florida Land Boom of 1925* (Miami, 1936), p. 15; *Miami Herald*, October 29, 1924.
33. *Miami Herald*, July 23, 1920; December 20, 1922; November 21, 1924; February 13, 1925. By 1925, the MPD had sixty policemen on traffic detail.
34. *Ibid.*, January 29, 1925. Twelfth Street became Flagler Street in 1921, after the city adopted a new system for naming and numbering its streets.
35. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1925.

36. Allen, *Only Yesterday*, p. 226. Allen contended that Miami contained 25,000 real estate agents during the frenetic summer of 1925.

37. *MCC*, Vol. X, January 15, 1920, pp. 213-218; *Miami Metropolis*, June 12, 1920. A city commission replaced the city council as the legislative branch of government shortly after Miami adopted a commission-manager government in 1921.

38. *MCC*, Vol. I, May 28, 1920, pp. 306-307; Vol. XI, January 28, 1921, p. 174; Vol. XII, February 7, 1922, p. 243; City Council and the City Commission of Miami, *Ordinances of the City of Miami*, Book One, February 7, 1922, p. 54; *Miami Herald*, October 12, 1920; September 1, 1921; August 30, 1922; December 12, 1924; *Miami Metropolis*, May 29, 1920.

39. *Minutes of the City Commission* (hereafter cited as CCOM), Vol. XVII, November 24, 1927, p. 398, from the manuscript collection of H. Leslie Quigg (Miami, Florida); *Miami Herald*, November 8, 1923; July 30, 1924.

40. *Miami Herald*, November 25, 1924; January 1, 1925. The city charter of 1921 authorized the city manager, with the consent of the city commission, to appoint a chief of police. Quigg was the first police chief under the new charter. He served in this capacity until his indictment for first degree murder in the death of a prisoner forced his dismissal in 1928. Quigg was later acquitted of this charge.

41. *Ibid.*, March 5, 1922. Traffic policemen continued to direct traffic from the center of an intersection beneath an umbrella.

42. Charles Fowler, "Detroit's Struggle with the Traffic Problem," *The American City Magazine*, XXX (June 1924): 612-615. The percentage of policemen in Miami assigned to traffic duty compared favorably with other cities. For example, Detroit had only seven percent of its 1,975 policemen on its traffic detail in the mid-1920s.

43. *Miami Herald*, January 1, 1925; March 23, 1925; Frederick S. Lawrie, "Mechanical Devices for Highway Traffic Regulation," *The American City Magazine*, XXIX (December 1923): 634; W. W. Brent, "Traffic Congestion and Accidents Greatly Reduced," *The American City Magazine*, XXXII (January 1925): 58; John Walrath, "Effective System of Traffic Control in Syracuse," *The American City Magazine*, XXXII (June 1925): 641-643; "Another Advantage of Traffic Signal Lights," *The American City Magazine*, XXXIII (August 1925): 149; D. H. Lilley, "A Gift of Control Devices," *The American City Magazine*, XXXIII (August 1925): 185-186; Fred Harper, "Signal Lights Handle Traffic Effectively," *The American City Magazine*, XXXIII (August 1925): 187. By the middle of the 1920s, several American cities possessed electric traffic lights. The majority of these systems were manually operated by a policeman in a tower at the side of an intersection or at street level. The style and location of traffic lights varied. Some were attached horizontally to poles, while others were attached vertically to a post. In a few cities, traffic lights hung from wires over the center of an intersection. All of them possessed red and green lights which then, as now, signaled the motorist to "stop" or "go."

44. Clarence Snethen, "Los Angeles Making Scientific Study to Relieve Traffic Congestion," *The American City Magazine*, XXXI (September 1924): 196-197. Los Angeles provided Miami with a precedent here. In 1922, Los Angeles civic and business leaders organized a traffic commission to study the city's rapidly deteriorating traffic situation, resulting from acute congestion in its downtown sector, and offer suggestions for its amelioration. In 1924, this commission completed its study and produced a comprehensive plan, calling for the construction of viaducts to carry automobiles over the downtown zone, opening of additional streets and the widening of many existing thoroughfares, synchronized traffic signals, and restrictions on downtown parking. The city adopted most of these proposals in January, 1925.

45. *Miami Herald*, January 1, 1925; March 4, 1925; April 8, 1925; May 22, 1925; *Miamian*, IX (April 1928): 7.

46. *Miami Herald*, December 12, 1929; "Traffic and Parking Regulation in the

Down-Town District of Cleveland," *The American City Magazine*, XXXIII (July 1925): 73; "Traffic Board Established in New York Police Department," *The American City Magazine*, XXXV (August 1926): 219; "Jaywalker Abolished; Traffic Facilitated; Pay as you Violate Traffic Bureau Established," *The American City Magazine*, XXXV (October 1926): 549. Other cities, including New York, Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio, had traffic bureaus by the middle of the 1920s.

Arnold visited several cities to study their traffic systems. Many of the patterns he observed were eventually incorporated into Miami's traffic system. Arnold's most ambitious tour occurred in July, 1926, when he visited twenty-eight municipalities and consulted with traffic officials in each of them.

47. Paul Wilcox (ed.), *City Manager's Report to the City Commission on Five Years of Commission-Manager Government for the City of Miami* (Miami, 1926), pp. 111-112. Policemen perched on observation towers at the edge of several intersections operated the traffic lights. Electric traffic lights, as well as one-way streets, yielded impressive results. Traffic officials attributed a sharp reduction in automobile accidents downtown to the operation of traffic lights. Prior to the establishment of one-way streets, 9,000 vehicles passed through Miami's busiest intersection in a ten hour period. Several months after their introduction, 22,000 vehicles passed through this intersection in the same ten hour period.

48. *CCOM*, Vol. XV, December 7, 1925, p. 139; *Miami Daily News*, July 26, 1925; *Miami Herald*, June 19, 1925; June 23, 1925; June 24, 1925; November 26, 1925; April 17, 1926; J. R. Bibbins, "The Function of One Way Streets," *The American City Magazine*, XXX (June 1924): 441; "Decreasing the Discontent of Traffic Officers," *The American City Magazine*, XXXII (May 1925): 494-496; Charles H. Spear, "Vehicular Tunnel Relieves Congestion at Ferry and Street Car Terminal," *The American City Magazine*, XXXIV (January 1926): 77-78; "Traffic Board Established in New York Police Department," *The American City Magazine*, XXXV (August 1926): 219; "Jaywalker Abolished; Traffic Facilitated; Pay as You Violate Traffic Bureau Established," *The American City Magazine*, XXXV (October 1926): 545. Ubiquitous traffic congestion led many American cities besides Miami to adopt innovative schemes for traffic control in the 1920s. Several municipalities adopted electric traffic lights, traffic schools for violators, one-way streets, loading zones for commercial vehicles, viaducts and tunnels, restrictions on left turns, parking prohibitions and traffic bureaus.

49. Wilcox, *City Manager's Report*, pp. 111-112; *Miami Herald*, April 17, 1926; September 2, 1926; October 6, 1927; *Miamian*, VIII (May 1927): 18; City Commission, *Ordinances*, Book One, June 21, 1926, pp. 425-458; July 23, 1927, pp. 448-489; Book Two, January 2, 1928, pp. 8-9.

50. *Miami Herald*, February 27, 1928; May 27, 1928; August 6, 1928; September 5, 1928.

51. *Ibid.*, May 30, 1928; September 8, 1928; December 25, 1928.

52. Department of Public Safety, *First Annual Report (Fiscal Year July 1, 1928-June 30, 1929)* (Miami, 1929), pp. 4-5; *CCOM*, Vol. XVIII, November 5, 1928, pp. 513-514; City Commission, *Ordinances*, Book Two, January 14, 1929, pp. 63-65.

53. Department of Public Safety, *First Annual Report*, pp. 6, 40; *Miami Herald*, July 3, 1928, p. 7.

54. *Miami Herald*, March 28, 1929; January 15, 1930.

# **Not a Shot Fired: Fort Chokonikla and the “Indian War” of 1849-1850**

By Michael G. Schene\*

As the Second Seminole War continued to drag on, draining the government treasury and alarmingly depleting the ranks of the regular army, officials in Washington reluctantly concluded that they could not force the red men to leave Florida and that their only course of action was to negotiate a treaty with the Indians that would confine them to the watery wilds of South Florida. Some of the Seminoles did agree to stop fighting at this time and consented to move on to a reservation – which was located in a desolate part of the peninsula.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the warring Indians did not recognize the treaty, however, and continued to attack whites whenever it was feasible. When a band of these warriors ambushed a detachment of soldiers on the banks of the Caloosahatchee River in 1839, the government decided to resume its efforts to drive the pernicious savages out of the territory.<sup>2</sup>

After three more years of ineffectual campaigning, the government decided to end the conflict and began to withdraw its troops from Florida. At the same time authorities told the Seminoles that they wanted them to join the rest of their tribe in Arkansas and gave each emigrating warrior a cash payment, a rifle, and rations for a year. Those Indians who were adamant about remaining were allowed to do so and were advised that they could live on the tract of land designated earlier for them.<sup>3</sup>

The land selected for the Indians was a swampy, piney-woods tract that was flooded for much of the year.<sup>4</sup> Most of the Seminoles had been residing in this area for several years and were inured to living in this

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inhospitable land – coping also with the harassing presence of the military until the end of the war. As soon as the Indians learned of the government agreement, they moved from the recesses of the Everglades and the Big Cypress Swamp to the banks of the Caloosahatchee River, establishing small villages at the latter point.<sup>5</sup> By the mid-1840s most of them had settled near the Lake Okeechobee side of this river.<sup>6</sup>

Captain John Sprague – an Indian agent serving in Florida – estimated that there were 360 Indians living on the reservation in 1847. Of this figure 120 were adult males. And besides the Seminoles, who were the most numerous, there were Muskogee-speaking Creeks, Uchees, and Choctaws.<sup>7</sup> They were led by Billy Bowlegs – known to the Indians as Holatter Micco – who was elected chief in 1842.<sup>8</sup>

People were beginning to settle near the reservation, encouraged by the government policy of granting land to anyone willing to live near the unpredictable red men.<sup>9</sup> Some hardy frontiersmen settled on both sides of the Manatee River, but in the first years after the war no one ventured beyond this point.<sup>10</sup> Gradually, though, land-hungry whites began to encroach on the fringes of the reservation – which the Indians would eventually resist with arms.<sup>11</sup> Whites, of course, would welcome the opportunity to annihilate the Seminoles and finally free themselves of the constant “fear of the scalping knife.”<sup>12</sup>

The increasingly volatile situation was rendered even more explosive by the presence of an unknown number of Spanish fishermen who regularly anchored in Charlotte Harbor. The Indians gave them access to the reservation and traded furs for contraband goods – principally whiskey. Besides this undesirable commerce the Spaniards probably encouraged the red men to kill their oppressors.<sup>13</sup>

To eliminate this trade the government decided to establish its own store for the Indians. Authorities also intended to use the post as a point where they could regularly meet the Indians and try to persuade them to leave the state. A trading outlet established within the reservation would also eliminate the necessity of the Seminoles having to bring their goods all the way to Fort Brooke (now the modern city of Tampa).<sup>14</sup>

By the fall of 1845 Captain John Sprague had completed a survey of the area around Charlotte Harbor and decided that the most advantageous spot for a store would be near the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River. So on the north bank of the river – a few miles from the Gulf of Mexico – Sprague and a few soldiers erected several rude structures, completing them some time before the end of the year.<sup>15</sup>

Somewhat before the buildings were finished, General William J. Worth – overall commander in Florida – notified the Indians that they

would not be permitted “to resort to Tampa for trade or other purposes, nor to approach the settlements” after the beginning of November.<sup>16</sup>

Selected to operate the Caloosahatchee River trading post was the Tampa merchant Thomas Pugh Kennedy. He arrived at Fort Brooke during the Second Seminole War and was appointed post sutler. Besides furnishing the soldiers with needed dry goods, Kennedy illegally sold **them** liquor. This latter enterprise eventually brought him into conflict with the post commander, Captain John H. Winder, who wanted the Kennedy store closed and the irascible merchant moved from the fort.<sup>17</sup>

The prospect of losing his store at Tampa and the possibility of profiting from the Indian trade probably convinced Kennedy to accept the government offer and move to the Caloosahatchee River, which was done by January 1846.<sup>18</sup> The new Indian trader knew that the Seminoles were most interested in manufactured goods, especially arms and ammunition, and so he kept his store well stocked with these items. The Seminoles, on their part, traded with valuable furs and food crops, both of which were transported to market in the twelve-ton sloop *Julia Ann*.<sup>19</sup> Kennedy soon acquired a partner, John Darling — a former army officer and veteran of the Second Seminole War — who contributed the thirty-two ton schooner *Rosella*.<sup>20</sup> Business was seemingly good and the firm prospered until a fire destroyed the trading post some time in 1848.<sup>21</sup>

After this holocaust, the partners met with government officials, and both agreed to reopen the store at some other point. The Indian agent, Major William W. Morris, apparently wanted the facility located closer to Tampa, probably because of the distance involved. He finally decided to place the new facility on the south bank of an unnamed tributary of the Peace River, which was near the western boundary of the reservation. There, in March 1849, he advised his superiors that he had “granted Messrs. Kennedy and Darling permission, under restrictions, to open an establishment for the purpose of trading with the Indians.”<sup>22</sup>

The firm seemingly erected its own buildings. There was one fairly large structure built to store the firm’s merchandise and used also as a dwelling by the people living on the site. Nearby there were probably several crude log huts, used to house excess goods. At the creek bank a wharf was constructed. A narrow, wooden bridge was erected across the stream later known as Payne Creek, which eliminated the unpleasant chore of fording this body of water.<sup>23</sup> The first months were peaceful and the Indians regularly came to trade. But as the warmth of summer descended on the trading post events were about to unfold that would irrevocably destroy this tranquility and bring the Seminoles to the precipice of disaster.

The crisis was precipitated by five disgruntled Indians – one of whom had recently been outlawed by the tribe – who attacked a small band of settlers living near Fort Pierce. With the whites clamoring for revenge and the Seminoles increasingly worried about the deteriorating situation, the sub-chief Assinwar was sent to capture the troublesome warriors.<sup>24</sup> Before he could find them, however, the renegades had crossed the peninsula and perpetrated another depredation.

On July 17, four of them arrived at the Kennedy and Darling trading post about one-half hour before sunset. They told the store employees – Captain George S. Payne, Dempsey Whiddon, and William McCollough – that they had a bundle of skins on the opposite side of the river. Since they did not intend to bring the skins to the store until the next morning, they asked if they could sleep in the store, but the proprietors declined this request. The Indians seemed to accept this decision with equanimity and retired to the front porch of the store. As the residents of the trading post were preparing to eat their evening meal a short time later, however, the murderous Seminoles directed a withering fusillade on them, immediately killing Captain Payne and Dempsey Whiddon. The other employee, William McCollough, was wounded in the shoulder, but managed to escape from the store with his wife and child. The Indians pursued them and wounded William again – this time in the leg – but he succeeded in hiding his family in some thick foliage and eventually made his way to the safety of a nearby settlement.<sup>25</sup>

A somewhat erroneous version of the incident was subsequently transmitted to authorities at Fort Brooke. The post commander, Major Morris, responded by sending Lieutenant John Gibbon to investigate the situation. The latter left Tampa on July 20 and later that same day met McCollough at the home of Jocky Wheedon. After his conversation with the still convalescing settler, Gibbon hastily rode back to Tampa and reported to his superior that an unknown number of Indians had destroyed the Peace River trading post.<sup>26</sup>

Morris immediately wrote his superiors about the infamous Indian raid and also dispatched infantry Lieutenant Robert Garland to the Peace River. At the site of the recent Indian massacre the young officer found that the “trading house with its out buildings” had been burned and a “small bridge, near by, partially destroyed.” The raiding seminoles, of course, took all valuable merchandise – including a number of guns and a substantial supply of ammunition. In a dreary ceremony, the bodies of Payne and Wheedon were interred in nearby graves.<sup>27</sup>

As news of the incident spread along the frontier, already worried settlers became convinced that the Indian had again taken to the warpath

and barricaded themselves in hastily constructed forts, demanding also that the government protect them from the scalping savages. Although authorities did not know how many Indians were involved in the recent depredations, they feared further massacres, and so to quell the rebellious red men they decided to send an experienced campaigner – along with a substantial number of soldiers – into Florida. General David Twiggs – a veteran of the earlier Seminole wars – was selected for this less than enviable assignment in early August and ordered to leave for the troubled state as soon as possible. Since officials did not know if a general Indian uprising had occurred, they gave Twiggs broad discretion in dealing with the still uncertain situation.<sup>28</sup>

Twiggs finally reached Tampa at the beginning of September and reported that much of Florida was an armed camp. “There seems,” he added, “a general determination not to return until the Indians are removed.” And he tended to agree with the beleaguered whites that the “outrages . . . had been perpetrated by the Indian nation.” The somewhat disgusted commander mentioned that he was trying to deploy his few available troops but had been frustrated because of the lack of “public transportation and the exorbitant prices asked for the country wagons and carts.”<sup>29</sup>

After some vacillation the government finally decided that the unpredictable red men could no longer be allowed to remain in Florida. Secretary of War George Crawford wrote Twiggs near the end of August that he should first try to persuade the Indians to leave their homes before using any force. Crawford hoped that western chiefs and the power of the purse would eventually convince the Seminoles to emigrate. But if these negotiations failed Twiggs was to begin the Indians “forcible removal from Florida, or what may be more disagreeable their partial or entire extermination.”<sup>30</sup>

The Indians, meanwhile, realized that their position was precarious and hastened to arrange a meeting with white leaders. The Seminole chief Bowlegs advised them of his wish to parley by fastening a specially decorated white flag on the door of John P. Bermudez – a Spaniard living at the still unfounded site of Sarasota. Bermudez found the flag, notified the military, and a message was left at the same location for Bowlegs. This communication advised the Indian leader that officials would meet him near Sarasota at the beginning of September.<sup>31</sup>

Captain John C. Casey, the current Indian agent, sailed for Sarasota at this time and anchored offshore to await the arrival of the Seminoles – who suddenly appeared on the third of the month. A meeting was arranged for the next day. At that time the Indians told Casey that the

recent depredations had been committed by five young warriors – “without the sanction or knowledge of the nation.” The tribe earnestly desired peace, the Seminole emissaries explained to the Indian agent, and their chief wanted to do everything necessary to reestablish “friendly relations.” It was agreed that the chiefs and the white commander would meet on the eighteenth of September at the site of the first trading post (located near Charlotte Harbor).<sup>32</sup>

Three days before the scheduled meeting, Twiggs, Casey, and a small guard left Tampa in the steamer *Colonel Clay* – arriving at Charlotte Harbor later that same day. As agreed, the Indians appeared on the eighteenth and somewhat reluctantly consented to hold the scheduled conference on board the white vessel. Bowlegs brought with him three of the culprits and the severed hand of a fourth – killed while trying to escape. The fifth outlaw had escaped but was being earnestly pursued by the tribe. Bowlegs told the white general that the “nation had nothing to complain of on the part of the whites – were desirous of peace, and [were] determined not to allow peaceful relations to be disturbed by the acts of individuals.” He returned the next day with the now decrepit sub-chief Sam Jones, who repeated what Bowlegs had said the day before.

Twiggs had earlier said that he would not mention Indian emigration at this meeting, but he seemingly changed his mind and told the assembled warriors that as long as they remained in Florida there would be no peace for them. He reminded them that “beyond the Mississippi, hunting grounds awaited them, and there the far greater portion of their people were anxious to receive them.”<sup>33</sup> Nothing was decided, however, and Twiggs returned to begin preparations for a possible campaign.

In early October Twiggs wrote his superiors a long letter detailing his campaign strategy.

I would propose a line of posts from the Manatee [River] to [the] Indian River, passing between [the] Kissimee [*sic*] on the south, and Cypress Lake on the North. On this line of 200 miles, posts, of 2 companies each, 10 miles apart, would be required, making 40 companies. Also Depôts at Miami, New and Indian Rivers, St. Johns on the east. Manatee, Charlotte Harbor and Caloosahatchee, on the western side of the Peninsula – with an aggregate garrison of 13 companies, and a mounted force of 300, to be drawn from the footmen to act as escorts, gather information, and to protect isolated settlements in the rear of the line from marauding parties. . . . With this line thus guarded, the settlements might be protected, and the Indians confined to the Southern portion of the Peninsula. With Depôts thus established, I should be prepared to penetrate this still large district:

200 miles in length and of an average width of 130. The Indians probably would at first be embodied and give battle, on advantageous ground, with their whole force, stated in my letter of Sept. 1st at 300 [warriors]. No party of less than 500 should then be thrust into their strongholds. It is not enough to beat them from their ground. To crush, or after battle to be strong enough to guard your wounded and still pursue, can alone produce good results. Two such bodies, making two regiments, is the smallest number with which in so large a country, I might hope, to find, pursue, and harass the enemy. After the first brush, if defeated, the Indians would break into smaller parties and seek safety in concealment. The number of the pursuing parties would then be increased, their strength diminished to increase the active force. In addition the everglades [*sic*] and lake [s] must be penetrated and swept by parties in boats.

Twiggs told the military hierarchy that 4,150 soldiers – almost one-half of the army – would be required for this assignment.<sup>34</sup> While military leaders pondered this astounding figure, Twiggs began to implement the first part of his plan.

One of the first points selected for a fort was the recently destroyed site of the Kennedy and Darling store – known now by a variant spelling of the Indian word for burned house, Chokonikla. The site had probably been selected because it could be used to supply troops campaigning in the upper sections of the reservation and, too, Indian agents could easily communicate with the Seminoles who were accustomed to visiting the site. Twiggs sent Captain Casey to Chokonikla about the middle of October and instructed him “to endeavor to open communications with the Indians.”<sup>35</sup> At the same time the commanding general ordered Major William Morris and three companies of the 4th Artillery Regiment to erect a fortification somewhere in the same vicinity.<sup>36</sup>

Morris arrived at the site on October 26 and immediately began surveying the tract for the most suitable spot to locate a fort. He finally selected some pinewoods, elevated land, which was about one-half mile due north of the burned trading post.<sup>37</sup> The 102 men of the command were quickly divided into work parties, guard details, and camp workers, and somewhat reluctantly set about accomplishing their assigned tasks.<sup>38</sup> In addition Morris hired several area carpenters to assist in the construction. Bartholomew Leonardi only worked for a few days and then quit, which greatly distressed Morris, and he was relieved when Arthur H. Morse agreed to work for him.<sup>39</sup>

The veteran campaigner probably chose to erect a square-shaped palisade, perhaps with blockhouses at opposing ends. In the construction of the picket work, thick, straight trees were selected and marked for

cutting. The most experienced woodsmen would then fell the tree and remove the bark and lower branches. Other men would then laboriously drag it back to camp. There the log would be split about in the middle, placed in a waiting post hole, and dirt packed around it. Next wooden braces were nailed to the flat inside surface of the log and gave it lateral support. The top of the unshaped timber was then hacked into a rough point and holes were cut through each piece about 7 or 8 feet from the ground. Construction was completed by fastening a wooden firing platform around the inside perimeter of the palisade.

One or more blockhouses were probably built along the palisade. The construction of these structures was comparatively easy and involved hewing a shallow cut in the timber at both ends. The logs were next placed on each other in a crisscross pattern, creating a sturdy joint. A pine-shingle roof was probably added when the timbers reached the required height. Supplemental work included installing floors, caulking the sizeable cracks, and hanging doors.

The officers of the command were always delighted when the blockhouses were completed and quickly began to transform them into comfortable quarters. The enlisted men naturally complained about this special privilege, especially when they were assigned to the cold, damp, second-story sentry post.

Just outside the emerging palisade other soldiers were busily engaged in erecting commodious storehouses. They were built like the blockhouses, but without the amenities and of considerably larger dimensions.<sup>40</sup> While all this activity was taking place at the fort site, other members of the command were struggling to construct a bridge and blockhouse near the confluence of the Peace River and the small stream subsequently known as Payne Creek.

Major Morris probably decided to erect a trestle bridge, which was well suited for a narrow, shallow body of water like the Peace River. Following the instructions of the first carpenter, Bartholomew Leonardi, and later Arthur Morse, troops labored in the emerging chill of November to build several trestles. When they were finished the trestles were ferried to designated points in the river and firmly planted in the bottom. They were held in place by anchors or by cables stretched across the river. Roughly finished planks were laid between the trestles and were supported underneath and on the sides by beams of varying thickness. The nailing of the railing into place signaled the end of construction and was a joyous moment for all concerned.<sup>41</sup> Nearby, a blockhouse was constructed at the same time, from which soldiers could fire upon any Indians trying to destroy the bridge.<sup>42</sup>

As the fort neared completion additional troops were sent there. On November 10, General Twiggs sent Colonel Edward Steptoe and Captain George Getty with two artillery companies – known in the field as “red-legged infantry” – to Fort Chokonikla.<sup>43</sup> The arrival of these forces increased the effective garrison to 166 troops. At the same time, though, some 153 of the soldiers assigned to the post were either under arrest, on detached duty, or sick.<sup>44</sup> Still, most of the expanded garrison had to camp outside the picket work, and parallel lines of tents rapidly became a regular feature around the fort.<sup>45</sup>

The damp, chilly weather soon produced an alarming amount of sickness, and during the first two months that the fort was in operation some 149 soldiers were ill. Many were incapacitated by a high, long-lasting fever – known as *Febris Intermittens Tertiana*. Their mounting numbers kept the post surgeon Lafayette Guild constantly occupied and he was grateful for the presence of Orsemus Bannor and his wife Catherine, both of whom were civilian employees assigned to Chokonikla when it was first established. Their combined skills were still unable to prevent the death of Private John Murphy, who became the first casualty at Fort Chokonikla. The hospital was a makeshift facility, consisting of several hospital tents, which were made slightly more comfortable by the addition of flooring and stoves.<sup>46</sup>

Other posts were established near Chokonikla. In the waning days of October, Captain Joseph Roberts and one company of the 4th Infantry Regiment were dispatched from the Manatee River toward Chokonikla. About ten miles from the former point the small force constructed some type of fortification, designated on completion Fort Crawford. At the same time the men hacked a primitive trail through the dense forest vegetation, which was subsequently extended into the interior.<sup>47</sup> In early November Twiggs ordered the erection of a fortified supply depot several miles up the Manatee River – calling it Fort Hamer.<sup>48</sup>

Meanwhile Major Gabriel Rains of the 7th Infantry Regiment had left Fort Brooke and was proceeding to Chokonikla, where he had been ordered to commence the construction of a road to Fort Hamer. Lieutenant George Meade, a topographical engineer, was to assist Rains by surveying the country between the two forts and then recommend the best route for the proposed road.<sup>49</sup>

Rains first marched into the interior – opening a narrow path on his line of travel – and at Myakka Creek he built the first of several bridges. A primitive log stockade – appropriately designated Fort Myakka – was erected on the east bank of the creek and was probably constructed to guard the bridge against a possible Indian attack.<sup>50</sup>

Work on the road continued into December and it was not until the middle of the month that the section between Fort Myakka and Crawford was completed. On this stretch of the route alone it was necessary to construct 11 bridges and 2 causeways. Near the end of the month Rains proudly advised his superiors at Tampa that he had completed the section between Chokonikla and Myakka, which opened communication between Fort Hamer and the Peace River post.<sup>51</sup>

Another road was built north from Chokonikla and intersected several miles from the fort with an already existing east-west road that terminated at Fort Brooke.<sup>52</sup> As soon as the former section was completed, heavily-laden supply wagons began to make regular trips to Chokonikla and by the end of November a wagon train was daily being sent to the Peace River.<sup>53</sup> Each train was handled by one of several wagonmasters, hired by the government for this job. The entire operation was handled by another government employee, Jesse Carter.<sup>54</sup> The vehicle used was either a spring or draft wagon – which had a light body and high wheels – and was pulled by a two- or four-animal team.<sup>55</sup>

In December the troops stationed at Chokonikla swelled to 223 men. Included in this figure were members of the 4th Artillery Regiment band, who arrived at the post on December 10.<sup>56</sup> The increase in forces and the presence of a regimental band were probably arranged for the benefit of the Indians, who were supposed to appear at Chokonikla for a scheduled conference on the fifteenth. About a week before the meeting, however, Kapiklsootsee – a sub-chief of the Mikasuki – appeared at the fort and told Indian agent Casey that he was sure that the other chiefs would not come to the fort. Kapiklsootsee did tell Casey that he was willing to emigrate and would try to persuade his followers to join him.<sup>57</sup>

General Twiggs apparently still decided to visit Chokonikla and had his headquarters there for at least part of December. By this time he had constructed a line of forts across the peninsula – which were connected by a network of roads – and had been sent some 1,736 soldiers.<sup>58</sup> Still, the experienced Indian fighter was unwilling to begin hostilities and again agreed to meet the Indians.

On January 19, 1850, chief Bowlegs and the principal sub-chiefs of the tribe arrived at Chokonikla for a conference scheduled two days later. On the latter date (January 21), General Twiggs and the Seminole leaders discussed their possible emigration from Florida. As Twiggs advised his superior the next day, Bowlegs and the sub-chiefs had “finally expressed their willingness to emigrate, and their determination to use all efforts to persuade as many as possible of their people to accompany them.” The Indians departed, promising to meet Captain

Casey in two or three weeks at the Caloosahatchee River trading post.<sup>59</sup>

The soldiers at Chokonikla were probably somewhat amused by the Indians and they certainly relished an interruption in their otherwise monotonous routine. Yet, soon after the gaily-clad warriors had departed, the garrison was again struggling with the boring pattern of camp life. Drill, meals, and housekeeping chores consumed only a portion of the day, leaving the men idle for long periods of time. Some men used their free moments to fish and hunt, providing them with a welcome respite from the deadly regularity of army fare. Those who could write composed long, florid letters to friends or relatives. A few read available newspapers, magazines, or books. But many soldiers spent their free moments drinking or gambling, both of which usually resulted in some mischief. For all his hard work, deprivation, and sometimes danger, an army private received the small sum of \$7 a month. Thus it is not surprising that only chronic failures, foreigners, or adventurers were willing to join the army.<sup>60</sup>

Near the end of January the 88 soldiers at Chokonikla received the good news that some 48 Indians had appeared at Tampa and indicated that they were willing to leave the state.<sup>61</sup> In early February Twiggs wrote Secretary of War George Crawford that a band of 60 Indians had presented themselves to authorities at Fort Arbuckle—situated near Lake Arbuckle—and that 24 more were expected to arrive shortly. Twiggs then jubilantly related that Seminole leaders had met Captain Casey as promised and told the agent that they would emigrate. “It is believed by them,” Twiggs added, “that the rest of their people will in due time follow their example. Thus far, everything gives promise of good success.”<sup>62</sup>

Twiggs was further encouraged by the early March departure of 74 Indians, who sailed from Tampa in the steamer *Fashion*. He immediately notified the secretary of war of the Indians departure and also told his civilian superior that he was going to exert pressure on Bowlegs and his people to leave the state.<sup>63</sup>

Before Twiggs could take any action, however, the Seminoles began to melt into the dense forest vegetation. The Florida commander anxiously notified Crawford of this development in late March. “I look upon the flight of the Indians,” he said, “as an indefinite postponement of peaceable emigration, if not destruction of all hope of attaining this desirable result.”<sup>64</sup>

Indian agent Casey was immediately sent to confer with the Seminoles and determine their intentions. On April 11 Casey met Bowlegs at Fort Myers (situated several miles up the Caloosahatchee River).

The Seminole chief told the startled captain that “he could not go west, nor could he induce his people to go.” Casey asked Bowlegs why he had earlier expressed his willingness to emigrate. The latter responded that he was afraid that the whites would have seized him if he had raised an objection to removal. Casey returned to Tampa and reported to General Twiggs that he saw “no hope of inducing these people to go west in a body by any pecuniary temptation.”<sup>65</sup>

Twiggs agreed with his subordinate and notified the War Department in mid-April that “all hopes for the peaceful emigration of the Indians are at an end, and it is folly to talk with them any longer on the subject.” Without any hesitation Twiggs relinquished his command, and in his final report suggested that if the government decided to keep any troops in Florida that one company should be stationed at Chokonikla.<sup>66</sup>

The small command at Chokonikla – which had been reduced in February to just two artillery companies – received the disheartening news about the Indians and exchanged their blue-wool winter uniforms for white cotton jackets and trousers – preparing to remain in Florida for an indefinite period of time.<sup>67</sup> The soldiers at Chokonikla were also instructed to construct palmetto-thatched or shingle-covered sheds, which would afford them needed protection from the harsh sun and intermittent rain. Some of the more fortunate were probably able to secure some lumber and used it to build a platform, which relieved them of having to sleep on the damp ground.<sup>68</sup> The death of John Wilmot on April 7 saddened everyone and he was buried with full military honors in the nearby Payne Creek ceremony.<sup>69</sup>

After considerable delay a general court-martial was convened at Chokonikla on April 19 and several enlisted men were tried at that time. One minor case involved William H. Kendrick – a private in the 4th Artillery Regiment – who was charged with sleeping on duty. Kendrick readily admitted his guilt and his sentence involved forfeiture of pay and hard labor for two months.<sup>70</sup>

Several men were tried for desertion – a much more serious offense – found guilty, and sentenced to loss of pay and hard labor for three months. The court was extremely lenient, considering that the ultimate penalty for desertion was death and that many courts punished the culprit with bizarre forms of corporal punishment.<sup>71</sup>

The most interesting case involved Private Edward Parker. The delinquent soldier had been incarcerated for various offenses since he had arrived in Florida in June of the previous year. Parker was brought before the court on a charge of “utter worthlessness” – and even though

he offered a spirited defense – was found guilty and immediately discharged from the service.<sup>72</sup>

As the summer heat began to envelope the soldiers at Chokonikla, they began to wonder if they would ever leave this inhospitable land. Many of them were suffering from the debilitating effects of overexposure, poor food, inadequate sanitation facilities, and germ-infested drinking water. The number of troops hospitalized increased tremendously in the months of May and June. In the latter month about seventy percent of the command were ill, and the men were again saddened by the death of another one of their comrades, Private William Lowrey.<sup>73</sup>

The increasing sickness finally prompted the post surgeon, Jonathan Letterman, to write the commanding officer at Chokonikla a long letter on this subject on July 1.

The prevailing sickness is caused by malarious exhalations, and is chiefly in the form of Intermittent and Remittent fevers, which are in a majority of cases, irregular, and accompanied, frequently with excessive vomiting, owing to an inflammation of the inner coat of the stomach, which is often difficult to allay. There are but few men, among those that have been stationed here for any length of time, who have not been attacked with Intermittent or Remittent fever. And although none have died, yet, from constant exposure to the exciting cause of the diseases, they are continually relapsing – and, as a consequence thereof, there are but few of these men capable of performing duty requiring much exertion or exposure. From the situation of this post, surrounded on three sides by a marsh. . . it is my opinion that these fevers will increase with the progress of the season and terminate in congestive and severe Remittent fevers, and that the troops stationed here will be unfitted for active duty.

The worried physician ended his long letter with a request that Chokonikla “be abandoned, at least for the present, unless there be an urgent necessity for its occupation.”<sup>74</sup>

When his first letter seemingly went unheeded, Letterman again wrote the post commander, Major Francis Octavus Wyse.

The unhealthiness of this post continues to increase, both in the number of cases, and in the severity of attacks. Men are attacked at any and all hours of the day, whether on duty or not. And a day but seldom passes without some men, varying from one to four or five, being taken sick, who were, apparently, in perfect health in the morning. The health of the command is becoming seriously impaired by these renewed attacks of Intermittent and

Remittent fevers, for no cure is permanent, exposed as the command is to the causes of these diseases.

And as in his earlier correspondence, the increasingly agitated surgeon recommended the immediate evacuation of Chokonikla.<sup>75</sup> About a week after this letter, Major Wyse decided that he would have to remove his men from the Peace River site, and on July 18 he notified his superiors that the fort had been “broken up in consequence of sickness,” and the troops were being transferred to Fort Meade.<sup>76</sup> As known, the fort was never used again and gradually the forest reclaimed the site. Today, young pine trees cover what was once great activity and some hope.

### NOTES

1. Major General Alexander Macomb, General Orders, May 18, 1839, in John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1848; reprint ed., Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1964), pp. 228-229; John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1967), pp. 256-258.

2. Captain George H. Griffin to Lieutenant W. K. Hanson, July 29, 1839, in Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of Florida War*, pp. 223-234; Mahon, *History of Second Seminole War*, pp. 261-262.

3. Minutes of a Talk Held at Fort Brooke, Florida, July 21, 1842, by Colonel [William] Worth, with Fosse Hadjo. . . , *Florida Indians, Message from the President of the United States Transmitting Report of the Secretary of War, Relative to Indians Remaining in Florida, House Documents*, 28th Cong., 1st sess., no. 82, p. 8. In 1842 the reservation had the following boundaries: “From the mouth of . . . Peace Creek, up the left bank of that stream to the fork of the southern branch, and following that branch to the head, or northern edge of Lake Istakpga [*sic*]; thence down the eastern margin of that lake to the stream which empties from it, into the ‘Kissimmee’ river, following the left bank of said stream and river to where the latter empties into ‘Lake Okeechobee;’ thence due south through said lake, and the Everglades to Shark river, following the right bank of that river to the Gulf; thence along the Gulf-shore to the place of beginning, excluding all islands lying between ‘Punta Rassa’ and the head of Charlotte harbor.” Worth, Order 27, August 11, 1842, *Message from the President of the United States, Communicating Information in Answer to a Resolution of the Senate, Relative to Hostilities Committed by the Seminole Indians in Florida during the Past Year, Their Removal, & C., Senate Executive Documents*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., no. 49, p. 100. An additional 20 mile perimeter was added in May 1845. Sprague to St. Augustine Herald [*sic*], September 16, 1845, in Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of Florida War*, p. 509.

4. Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of Florida War*, p. 513.

5. *Ibid.*; Kenneth W. Porter, “Billy Bowlegs (Holata Micco) in the Seminole Wars,” Part I, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 45 (January 1967):226.

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7. Sprague to [General Roger] Jones, [adjutant general], January 11, 1847, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Roll 801.

8. Porter, "Billy Bowlegs," p. 228; Sprague to Jones, January 11, 1846, Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series), 1822-1860, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives Microfilm Publication M567, Roll 325 of 1846 (hereafter cited as Letters Received Adjutant General's Office).

9. James W. Covington, "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40 (July 1961):41-52. A list of the people claiming land under the "Armed Occupation Act" can be found in *Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, Communicating an Abstract of Permits Granted Under the Acts for the Armed Occupation of Florida, Senate Executive Documents, 30th Cong., 1st sess., no. 39*, following page 39.

10. General W. J. Worth to the Adjutant General, August 19, 1844, *Territorial Papers of the United States, Florida*, Vols. 22-26, ed. Clarence Carter (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1956-1962), 26:948 (hereafter cited as *Territorial Papers*).

11. Sprague to Jones, April 3, 1847, Letters Received Adjutant General's Office, Roll 358 of 1847.

12. Margaret O. Marshall to Mary E. W. Palmes, June 19, 1852, George Palmes Papers, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

13. Worth to Adjutant General, August 19, 1844, *Territorial Papers*, 26:948; Sprague to Jones, July 30, 1846, Letters Received Adjutant General's Office, Roll 330 of 1846; Sprague to Jones, October 19, 1846, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Roll 801.

14. Sprague to St. Augustine Herald [*sic*], September 16, 1845, Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of Florida War*, p. 511.

15. Sprague to T. H. Crawford, commissioner of Indian affairs, September 15, 1845, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Roll 289; Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Map of Florida, 1846, "North America, XIV, Florida," J. and C. Walker, cartographers, at Manning J. Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

16. General W. Worth, Special Order 17, September 1, 1845, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Roll 289.

17. Thomas P. Kennedy to Major Whiting, June 9, 1846, Captain [John] H. Winder to Jones, Letters Received Adjutant General's Office, Roll 329 of 1846; James W. Covington, "The Florida Seminoles in 1847," *Tequesta* 24(1964):51n; Anthony P. Pizzo, *Tampa Town, 1824-1886, Cracker Village with a Latin Accent* (Miami, Fla.: Hurricane House Publishers, Inc., 1968), p. 23.

18. Sprague to Winder, January 10, 1846, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Roll 801.

19. Sprague to Jones, January 11, 1847, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Roll 801; Works Progress Administration (Historical Records Survey), "Record Book of Hillsborough County, Territory of Florida, 1838-1846," Vol. 3, pp. 402-403, Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida (hereafter cited as "Record Book of Hillsborough County").

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21. Covington, "Seminoles in 1847," p. 51n.

22. [Major] W [illiam] W [alton] Morris, Indian agent, to Jones, March 10, 1849, Letters, Reports, and Orders Received and Other Records, 1848-1849, Letters, Reports, and Orders received and Other Records, 1848-1852, [5th Military Department], Records of United States Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National

Archives Building, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Letters, Reports, and Orders Received, 5th Military Department).

23. Deposition of William and Nancy McCollough, August 11, 1849, given to Judge Simon Turman, Hillsborough County, *Senate Executive Documents*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., no. 49, p. 161 (hereafter cited as McCollough Deposition); Plat and field notes of section survey of Township 33 South, Range 25 East, April 1855, Records of the Internal Improvement Fund, Elliott Building, Tallahassee, Florida (hereafter cited as Surveyor's Field Notes); Jacksonville *The News*, August 11, 1849.

24. Captain John Casey to Major William W. Mackall, assistant adjutant general, September 6, 1849, *Message From the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress*, *Senate Executive Documents*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., no. 1, p. 121; Porter, "Billy Bowlegs," Part I, p. 229; James W. Covington, "The Indian Scare of 1849," *Tequesta* 21(1961):54.

25. McCollough Deposition.

26. Morris, Order 105, July 20, 1849, Morris to Jones, July 21, 1849, Letters Received Adjutant General's Office Roll, 411 of 1849.

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28. Morris to Jones, July 25, 1849, Jones to Major General David Twiggs, Letters Received 1848 (Dec.) and 1849 (Jan.-July), Letters Received, Western Division and Department; Jacksonville *The News*, August 4, 1849.

29. Twiggs to Lieutenant Colonel [William G.] Freeman (assistant adjutant general), September 1, 1849, *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress*, *House Executive Documents*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., no. 5, pp. 119-120.

30. George Crawford, secretary of war, to Twiggs, August 31, September 21, 1849, Letters Received, 1849 (Aug.-Dec.), Letters Received, Western Division and Department.

31. Casey to Jones, August 20, 1849, Letters Received Adjutant General's Office, Roll 403 of 1849; Morris to Jones, August 20, 1849, Letters Received, 1849 (Aug.-Dec.), Letters Received, Western Division and Department.

32. Casey to MacKall, September 4, 6, 1849, Letters Received, 1849 (Aug.-Dec.), Letters Received, Western Division and Department; Casey to Jones, September 9, 1849, Letters Received Adjutant General's Office, Roll 403 of 1849.

33. Twiggs to Freeman, September 6, 23, October 19, 1849, Letters Sent by the Commanding General, July 1848-Dec. 1850, Western Division and Department, 1820-54, Records of United States Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Letters Sent by Commanding General, Western Division and Department); Colonel [John Lane] Gardner to Jones, September 17, 1849, Letters Sent, July-Aug. 1848 and Nov. 1848-Nov. 1852, [5th Military Department], Records of United States Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Letters Sent, 5th Military Department).

34. Twiggs to Freeman, October 3, 1849, Letters Sent by Commanding General, Western Division and Department, Russell F. Weigley, *History of the United States Army* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), p. 567.

35. J. Clarence Simpson, *A Provisional Gazetteer of Florida Place-Names of Indian Derivation*, ed. Mark F. Boyd, State of Florida, State Board of Conservation and

Florida Geological Survey Special Publication No. 1 (Tallahassee, Fla.: State of Florida, 1956), p. 46; MacKall, Order 32, October 19, 1849, Letters, Reports, and Orders Received and Other Records, 1848-1849, Letters, Reports, and Orders Received, 5th Military Department. The site name was also spelled Chokkonikla. Military Map of the Peninsula of Florida South of Tampa Bay, compiled by Lieutenant J. C. Ives, April 1856, "Headquarters Map File," Cartographic Records, 1790-1968, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Ives Map).

36. Morris to Jones, October 26, 1849, Letters Received Adjutant General's Office, Roll 412 of 1849.

37. Morris to MacKall, October 26, 1849, Letters, Reports and Orders Received and Other Records, 1848-1849, Letters, Reports, and Orders Received, 5th Military Department; Surveyor's Field Notes.

38. Post Returns for the month of October 1849, submitted by Major William W. Morris, U.S. Army Commands/Returns from United States Military Posts, 1800-1916, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives Microfilm Publication M617, Roll 1503 (hereafter cited as Post Returns).

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40. On the construction of Second Seminole War forts, see Michael G. Schene, "History of Fort Foster," mimeographed (Tallahassee, Fla.: Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, 1974), pp. 25-83, *passim*, copy on file at the Florida Department of State, Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, and *idem*, "Fort Foster: A Second Seminole War Fort," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 54(January 1976):319-339. For a general treatment on field fortifications by the outstanding authority at this time, see Denis Hart Mahan, *A Complete Treatise on Field Fortification* (New York: Wiley and Long, 1836; reprint ed., New York: Greenwood Press, 1968).

41. Mahan, *Complete Treatise on Field Fortification*, pp. 187-190.

42. Surveyor's Field Notes.

43. Twiggs, Order 42, November 10, 1849, Orders, July 1848-Nov. 1853, Orders and Special Orders Issued, Feb. 1820-Nov. 1853, [Western Division and Department], Records of United States Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Orders and Special Orders Issued, Western Division and Department). The term "red-legged infantry" is derived from the red stripe that was sewn on the outer seam of each trouser leg.

44. Post Returns for the month of November 1849, submitted by Morris, Post Returns.

45. Twiggs, Order 40, November 7, 1849, Orders and Special Orders Issued, Western Division and Department. This order provided that each company in the field was allowed to have 2 wall tents and 10 common tents.

46. Quarterly Report of the Sick and Wounded at Fort Chokkonikla, Florida, for the Quarter ending December 31, 1849, Medical Reports, "Mexican War-Florida," Fort Chokkonikla, Muster Roll of Stewards, Wardmasters, Cooks, Nurses, and Matrons Attached to the Hospital of the Army in Florida from the Thirty-First day of August 1849 . . . to the Thirty-First day of October 1949, Fort Chokkonikla, Muster Rolls, Hospital Corps, Florida, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.; Major J[ames] L. Donaldson to Magilton,

November 27, 1849, Letters Sent, April 1847-Nov. 29, 1849, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Letters sent – Quartermaster).

47. Lieutenant Colonel Richard H. Ross to “Major,” October 20, 1849, Captain Joseph Roberts to Lieutenant J[ohn] C. Booth, October 21, 1849, Letters Received, 1849 (Aug.-Dec.), Letters Received, Western Division and Department. Fort Crawford was apparently so designated to honor Secretary of War George Crawford.

48. Twiggs to Freeman, November 12, 1849, Letters Sent by Commanding General, Western Division and Department.

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50. Major [Gabriel J.] Rains to [Major William T. H.] Brooks, November 1849, Letters Received, 1849 (Aug.-Dec.), Letters Received, Western Division and Department.

51. Major W[illiam] P. Bainbridge to Booth, December 13, 1849, Rains to MacKall, December 15, 27, 1849, Letters Received, 1849 (Aug.-Dec.), Letters Received, Western Division and Department.

52. Twiggs, Order 43, November 17, 1849, Orders and Special Orders Issued, Western Division and Department; Morris to Brooks, November 24, 1849, Letters Received, 1849 (Aug.-Dec.), Letters Received, Western Division and Department; Major Theophilus H. Holmes to Howe, November 30, 1849, MacKall to Bainbridge, December 21, 1849, Letters, Reports, and Orders Received, 5th Military Department.

53. Instruction to Wagon Masters and Others in Charge of Trains, Donaldson, November 27, 1849, Letters Sent – Quartermaster.

54. *Ibid.*: “Orders,” Donaldson, December 5, 1849, Letters Sent – Quartermaster.

55. Major J[ames] A. Haskin to MacKall, October 31, 1849, [Report of Means of Transportation, Forage & C. on Hand at Fort Brooke, Florida, 31st October 1849], Letters Received, 1849 (Aug.-Dec.), Letters Received, Western Division and Department. General information on wagons of this period can be found in United States Quartermaster Department, *Specifications for Means of Transportation, Paulins, Stoves, and Ranges, . . . for use in the United States Army* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882). Pertinent chapters of this work are on file at the Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Tallahassee, Florida.

56. Post Returns for the month of December 1849, submitted by Major William W. Morris, Post Returns.

57. Casey, to Twiggs, December 8, 1849, Letters Received, 1849 (Aug.-Dec.), Letters Received, Western Division and Department.

58. Field Returns of United States Troops in the State of Florida, December 31, 1849, Expedition Returns, [Florida], “C-K,” Returns of “Expeditions,” 1806-1916, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, Record Group 94, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

59. Twiggs to Crawford, January 22, 1850, Letters Sent by Commanding General, Western Division and Department.

60. Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United Army and the Indian, 1848-1865* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 36, 46; Schene, “History of Fort Foster,” pp. 50n, 79n.

61. Post Returns for the month of January 1850, submitted by Morris, Post Returns; Twiggs to Crawford, *Senate Executive Documents*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., no. 49, p. 82.

62. Twiggs to Crawford, February 12, 1850, *Senate Executive Documents*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., no. 49, p. 83.

63. Twiggs to Crawford, March 1, 1850, Letters Sent by Commanding General, Western Division and Department.

64. Twiggs to Crawford, March 27, 1850, Letters Sent by Commanding General, Western Division and Department.

65. Casey to Twiggs, April 15, 1850, *Senate Executive Documents*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., no. 49, p. 96.

66. Twiggs to Crawford, April 15, 1850, Letters Sent to Commanding General, Western Division and Department.

67. Post Returns for the months of February, March, and April, 1850, submitted by Morris, Post Returns.

68. Twiggs, October 27, April 9, 1850, Orders and Special Orders Issued, Western Division and Department; Alexander S. Webb, "Campaigning in Florida, 1855," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* (November-December 1909):398.

69. Quarterly Report of the Sick and Wounded at Fort Chokkonikla, Florida, for the Period ending June 25, 1850, Medical Reports, "Mexican War-Florida," Fort Chokkonikla, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, Record Group 94, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Quarterly Report of Sick).

70. Court-Martial of William H. Kendrick, held at Fort Chokkonikla, Florida, April 12, 1850, pursuant to Order 28, Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Army), Record Group 153, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Records of Judge Advocate General).

71. Twiggs, Order 33, April 25, 1850, Orders and Special Orders Issued, Western Division and Department; Utey, *Frontiersmen in Blue*, pp. 38-39.

72. Court-Martial of Edward Parker, held at Fort Chokkonikla, Florida, April 12, 1850, pursuant to Order 28, Records of Judge Advocate General.

73. Post Returns for the months of May and June 1850, submitted by Morris and Major F. O. Wyse, Post Returns; Quarterly Report of Sick for Period ending June 25, 1850.

74. Assistant Surgeon [Jonathan] Letterman to Major F[rancis] O. Wyse, July 1, 1850, Letters Received, 1850 Letters Received, 1850 (A-W and Unentered), Letters Received, Western Division and Department.

75. Letterman to Wyse, July 12, 1850, Letters Received, 1850 (A-W and Unentered), Letters Received, Western Division and Department.

76. Wyse to Jones, July 18, 1850, Letters Received Adjutant General's Office, Roll 439 of 1850.

# **Richmond Naval Air Station, 1942-1961**

David Macfie\*

On September 15, 1942 a small cadre of service personnel assembled about the administration building of a partially constructed Naval Air Station in a remote wooded area of South Dade County. Its commission became official as a representative of Rear Admiral James L. Kauffman, U.S.N., Commandant of Seventh Naval District and Commander of Gulf Sea Frontiers, read the letter of the Secretary of Navy directing establishment of the base. Captain Charles Maguire read the orders placing him in command, made a brief address, and directed the raising of the colors. With this brief exercise in naval ritual, a colorful, inanimate character in Dade County history came into existence. Its 30 year legacy was destined to include the world's largest blimp base, a university campus and research center, CIA headquarters, and a cageless zoological park.

Richmond Naval Air Station's establishment marked the completion of a chain of Lighter Than Air (LTA) bases functioning in a supportive capacity along convoy lines of the entire Atlantic Seaboard. Sister bases of Richmond included the Glynco Naval Air Station near Brunswick, Georgia, and the main training center at Lakehurst Naval Air Station, New Jersey. The Department of the Navy later enlarged NAS Richmond's sphere of operation to encompass the Caribbean region, the Gulf of Mexico and South America.

The 2107 acre site, named for the small sawmill community of Richmond, which it displaced, lies 19 miles southwest of the central business district of Miami and several miles west of the Miami-Key West Highway (U.S. 1). In addition to its strategic location on the southern end of the continent and proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, the primary reasons for the site's selection, the excellent year-round flying

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weather and flat contours of the surrounding landscape of NAS Richmond enhanced its reputation as the Country Club of Lighter Than Air Bases.<sup>1</sup>

Though officially commissioned in September, 1942, construction actually began on the \$60,126 site on April 20, 1942, under the direction of the Smith, Jacob & Langston Construction Company of Jacksonville. Net cost as specified in the cost-plus contract for construction of base facilities was \$11,896,187, but climbed to slightly over \$13,000,000 with the addition of contracts for Public Works projects. Weekly payroll at the height of activity during this period exceeded \$125,000.<sup>2</sup>

Planners conceived Richmond NAS, like so many other bases, as a fully independent, self-sufficient entity; a city within a city. Among the facilities, fully functional on the date of commission, were the mess hall, officers' and enlisted men's quarters, recreational and administration building, firehouse, incinerator, main gate house, observation tower, storage and maintenance facilities and a three-well water system. Construction crews completed the sewage treatment plant several months later. A 30-bed dispensary, fully staffed and equipped, opened October 1. On the date of commission, the base was staffed by eight Naval officers, seven enlisted Navy men and the 71 enlisted marines who were to function as security personnel during the Navy's three-year tenure there. By the end of the month, seven more officers had joined the staff in time for Captain Maguire's first personnel inspection.

Although the basic operational directions set forth in a Pre-Commissioning Directive Memo on April 7, 1942 would not be altered during the war, specific operational objectives were in a state of seemingly perpetual flux. Although originally conceived as the home base for a six-unit squadron of blimps, as well as a center for all phases of maintenance including overhaul of air frames and engines, the Bureau of Aeronautics announced the projected maintenance operation would not include overhaul of air frames and engines. In October, 1942, however, the Board reversed its earlier decision and approved the construction of an additional hangar for the overhaul operations.

On October 14, 1942, the first LTA airship landed at Richmond, initiating the formation of Airship Squadron 21. Another airship arrived two weeks later and the squadron was officially commissioned under Commander Gerald D. Zurmuehlen. Use of the base for HTA (Heavier Than Air) craft began on December 8, 1942, with the landing of a PBY (Patrol Bomber Reconnaissance) from NAS Banana River. These craft continually used base facilities for the duration of the war.

As a recreational diversion in mid-December, the Base Athletic

Officer formed a basketball team for competition within the Seventh Naval District. The first practice held in the Redlands High School Gym was well attended by officers, enlisted men and marines. The following year, the program expanded with construction of a field house adjacent to the athletic field and installation of a boxing ring and a rowing machine. Since there was no swimming pool, the Base Athletic Department furnished transportation to Matheson Hammock. Early in 1943, a group of 17 Negro enlisted men, many of whom held musician's ratings, reported for duty along with Band Master H. W. Williams. According to official Navy documents, the band organized by Williams became very well known throughout the district.

By March, 1943, Richmond NAS embodied three separate commands, including Fleet Airship Group Two, Airship Squadron 21, and the station itself. Work on the large helium tanks with a combined capacity of 480,000 cu. ft. at 60 PSI had been completed, and an LTA school, staffed by Squadron 21 officers and station personnel, readied itself for the first contingent of trainees.

Work crews completed perhaps the most significant phase of the construction during March. Blimp Hangar No. 1, the first of three such hangars, took its place as the largest existing wooden structure in the world.<sup>3</sup> Built of Oregon Douglas fir, a wood compatible with the humid, subtropical south Florida climate, the hangars rose from the landing mat some 16.5 stories and measured over 1,000 feet in length. A railroad track ran the length of each of the 270-foot wide structures to aid in the maneuverability of the obstinately cumbersome blimps.

With the seven airships of Squadron 21, Richmond NAS quickly became the most active of the Navy's airship stations. Airships from Richmond flew both day and night missions, with many ships averaging only 2 hours on the ground for refueling and maintenance for every 24 hours in the air. According to a civilian employee of the base, German submarines downed an airship over the Caribbean, but available Navy documents do not confirm the incident.

On July 17, 1943, the airship K-30 experienced engine failure and the crew was forced to effect an emergency landing in a wooded area six miles east of the base. No serious injuries were reported. A similar incident involving a PBY occurred when ground crews, probably exhausted from the long shifts, neglected to fuel the plane scheduled for takeoff. It passed just beyond the boundaries of the base and had to make an emergency landing near what is now the intersection of Coral Reef Drive and S.W. 117 Avenue.<sup>4</sup>

The quality and speed of construction of the Richmond base, as

well as the incorporation of the latest tactical, technical and operational innovations, made the base somewhat of a showcase, of which the Navy made perpetual use. A pleasant diversion, enthusiastically received by any dignitary prominent enough to be offered it, included a short blimp ride and tour of the base. Among the visitors in August, 1943, was a party of more than 500 Mexicans headed by Airforce General Gustavo Salinas, but only the general enjoyed a blimp ride. The base command also extended a similar welcome to an important Brazilian aeronautics official.

Princes Amir Feisal and Mair Kahlid of Saudi Arabia and their royal entourages made what would be the most colorfully unusual visit paid Richmond NAS by visiting dignitaries during the war. The princes, splendidly bedecked in native costume and accompanied by two heavily armed bodyguards, conducted an inspection of base facilities and, not surprisingly, completed their visit with a blimp ride.

During the NAS's first year of operation a major obstacle in the attainment of the original goal of self-sufficiency had been lack of helium processing and purification facilities. By August, 1943, three compressors had been installed for this purpose and had an operative rating. That month, a Helium Plant Operators School opened for the purpose of training officers and enlisted men in the use of portable helium processing equipment. Personnel trained at the Richmond school worked primarily at airship bases outside the limits of the Continental United States.

Near the end of August, Captain Maguire received orders transferring him to the Navy Department in Washington, D.C. Captain Maurice Bradley of Airship Fleet Two assumed temporary command until the arrival of Captain Frank Worden, who would command the base until its deactivation in 1946.

In January, 1944, as workers completed the last of the structural facilities included in the original conception of the base (including three hangars), base officers welcomed more trainees who filled the Helium Operators Training School to capacity. In accordance with the Navy Manpower Survey, the commanding officer formally promulgated the "mission" of NAS Richmond. New objectives alluded to by the captain established the base as one of three serving the 55 to 60 airships in the Gulf-Caribbean region, and as a major point of supply for LTA material.

The following month saw the establishment of the WAVES barracks when workmen received a contract authorizing the removal of the contractor's building from the southeast corner of the landing mat to a site adjacent to the Mess Hall and Recreational Building. Workmen

followed all recommendations set out by the Women's Reserve bulletin for conversion, making the most complete set of barracks on the base. A small contingent of WAVES, consisting of 12 enlisted WAVES and one officer, reported for duty the next month.

Though the Richmond NAS was, in one sense, a showcase to foreign emissaries, it catered to domestic curiosity as well. In October, 1944, a Richmond contingent played an integral role in the observance of Navy Day in Miami. A blimp, platoons of WAVES and marines, and an exhibition of carrier pigeons participated in the commemorative activities.

One of the problems inherent in structural design in the Caribbean area is the probable incidence of hurricanes. As an extension of research conducted at the University of St. Louis in 1938 regarding the purported relationship between microseisms (minute oscillations representing movement of the earth's crust) and varying degrees of atmospheric pressure, NAS Richmond became one member of a triangular network of seismographic stations. Prior studies established a marked correlation between microseisms and hurricanes in the area of Puerto Rico. A public works contract for \$9,467 initiated the construction of six subterranean instrument vaults for the studies.

Although the course of the conflict in the Atlantic theatre had reached a point of eminent predictability by the spring of 1945, escalation of base activities is perhaps indicative of the Navy's permanent regard for the base. An intensive training program for nocturnal torpedo bomber teams had reached the height of its operational capacity in the spring. Also, in March, 1945, the House Naval Affairs Committee opted for Navy Housing projects for Richmond NAS. The original conception of the project included 40 low cost housing units and 10 trailer units (later expanded to 30 units). The first of the trailer units (part of 200-unit allotment for Florida) arrived in early May. NAS Richmond also received consideration as the site of a missile center. The Committee's post inspection recommendations for the project, however, are not available.

From the initial inception in 1942, during the frantic though meticulous construction period and throughout subsequent phases of expansion, engineers and contractors at Richmond continually made concessions to the reality of tropical hurricanes. Each structural unit comprising the totality of Richmond, particularly the hangars, was conceived and maintained with this as the primal force to be reckoned with. Hangars, theoretically capable of retaining structural integrity in the face of winds exceeding 100 mph, lost their skylights to preceptive structural revisions. The intricate automatic sprinkling system served, no doubt, as a striking example of technical overkill.<sup>5</sup>

During the second week of September, 1945, 1,500 base personnel braced themselves for the probable land contact of a storm moving northerly through the Caribbean, the third such storm since 1942. As the possibility of deviation in the storm's course grew increasingly remote, officials of the Opa Locka airfield in North Dade and private aircraft owners fervently sought refuge for their equipment. Civilian planes stored in the hangars numbered 153, including 40 from Chapman Field and 12 owned by the Embry Riddle Co. of Miami. Sixty-one torpedo bombers arrived on September 14 from Opa Locka, bringing the total of military aircraft stored within the hangars to 313. All HTA craft, both civilian and military, competed for space with the 25 k-type blimps (11 dismantled) moored inside the purportedly hurricane-proof structure. Space for 150 private and military automobiles soon vanished.<sup>6</sup>

On September 14, the violent periphery of the storm passed over the South Florida coast as personnel made the last frantic efforts to secure the base. Sustained wind velocity reached 94 mph at 5:00 P.M., ripping the tarpaper from the roofs of the hangars. Steadfastly true to Navy regulations in the face of all collective opinion to the contrary, Captain Worden ordered all "hatches" tightly battened. "Without an opening on the lee side of the hangars to equalize the tremendous pressure exerted by the storm, the structure could theoretically burst," the Captain was warned. At 5:30 the roof of Hangar #1 blew off, only to be followed by the automatic drenching by the sprinkler system a minute later. No sign of fire had been observed. Fifteen minutes later, however, Hangar #1 was ablaze, as were its sister hangars. Base personnel made a laudable but vain attempt to squelch flames fanned by 126 mph gusts. A civilian witness to the catastrophe who lived just beyond the west gate of the base later reported, "A long, tapering sheet of flame reached from the hangars for more than a quarter mile to my house, so hot I couldn't hold my hand against the windowpane I was peeping out." Debris blown from the hangars by the wind and explosions lay scattered blocks from the site of the blaze. Employees of University of Miami facilities at the base in the 50's recall the charred skeleton of a blimp gondola resting peacefully just outside the main entrance of the base. The two mobile pumpers of the base fire department and the individual hangar pumps dependent on the storm-damaged water system of the base functioned only at partial capacity. Blocked and flooded roads prevented fire equipment and medical aid from arriving until 9:40 P.M., in time to administer a token dousing to thousand-foot piles of smoldering wreckage.

Where hours before had stood the largest wooden structures in the world, worth an estimated \$30,000,000, lay piles of debris. The fire was categorically claimed to be the worst within the Continental United

States in 1945 and unequivocally asserted to be one of the most cataclysmic blazes in the nation's history. Officials declared the hangars and equipment stored within them a total loss. The K-type Navy blimps valued at \$250,000 each and the \$125,000 loss incurred by the Embry Riddle Co. amounted to \$7,000,000 of the total loss. While initial estimates of injuries ranged as high as 100, the official account later lists 50, all of them minor.<sup>7</sup> Investigators found the body of Fire Chief Harry Shulze, the only fatality of the disaster, amid the wreckage of some small trucks where timbers had fallen on him.<sup>8</sup>

Naturally, witnesses and investigators advanced a variety of seemingly plausible explanations for the disaster. According to some, static electricity ignited the fires, though officials dismissed this theory as untenable. Dade County Patrolman R. E. Ivo attributed the cause of the blaze to an explosion that occurred as a strong gust broke the mooring ties of a small private plane on the runway, hurling it into the side of one of the hangars. Navy and Fire Department officials summarily dismissed this theory as a viable cause. The hurricane's obvious intensification of the severity of the blaze banished hopes for the discovery of an officially acknowledged cause. F. W. Wiggins, operations manager for Embry Riddle, succinctly phrased the most popular theory for Miami Herald reporters the following day. "As the structures collapsed from the 126 mph winds," said Wiggins, "sparks from falling debris and severed powerlines ignited the gasoline from ruptured fuel tanks."<sup>9</sup>

Thus ended the active strategic and tactical role played by Richmond NAS in the Navy's elaborate defense system. Despite the emphatic exhortations of Naval Affairs Committee member Sen. C. O. Andrews for the refurbishing and preservation of the base in light of its strategic importance, the systematic clean-up and deactivation of the base began at once. The damage to the base created by a sequence of events as unusual as those of the September 15 hurricane and fire could be expected to manifest itself in an unusual way. As the structures exploded, burned and were blown about by the winds, the tons of nails that affixed tarpaper to roofs and wooden support struts to their main members littered almost the entire base. So immediate were the problems caused by this, that large make-shift electromagnets mounted on Navy trucks slowly scoured the roads and runways to make travel through the base possible. As late as 1958, University personnel had to rake these rusty remnants from the roadways after a hard rain.<sup>10</sup>

As the Navy's intentions regarding the relegation of NAS Richmond to the status of deactivated surplus property became apparent, administrative officials of the small but ebullient University of Miami

began to ponder the feasibility of a satellite campus at Richmond. The expected flood of discharged servicemen seeking higher education and the Navy's expected termination of the Miami International Air Depot, then housing male students, made the decision to seek transfer on the base to the University an extremely judicious one.<sup>11</sup> A committee appointed by university president Dr. Bowman F. Ashe began preliminary negotiations for the base before its official deactivation in February, 1946. The negotiations continued through the summer and concluded on October 4, 1946, when Dr. Ashe formally accepted NAS Richmond.

Terms of the 50-year lease placed not only the base, but responsibility of base maintenance under university control. The degree of necessary maintenance would, for several years following the transfer, be a point of contention between university and Navy officials. The well-constructed runways were in excellent repair at the time of transfer, and Navy planes landed occasionally, often bringing the Naval inspector, who insisted the grass adjacent to the runways be mowed regularly. The university quite naturally demurred, such a requirement falling well outside the budget.<sup>12</sup>

Classes on the new satellite campus opened November 1, under the direction of Dean Elmer V. Hjort, who was succeeded by his associate Dr. J. Ralph Murray when Dr. Hjort's health failed. The campus offered a wide variety of freshman level courses, and complete housing and recreational facilities for 1,100 first-year students. Male students occupied the enlisted men's barracks, women occupying the more affable bachelor officers' quarters.<sup>13</sup> Facilities at the campus had been well-maintained during the Navy's tenure and were fully adequate to fill the needs placed upon them. The water and sewage systems, laundry facilities, incinerator and dispensary remained in operation throughout the two years the university used the "South" Campus for freshmen classes. The cafeteria continued service as did the snack bar in the Recreation Hall, which boasted a hardwood floor gymnasium and a four-lane bowling alley. Freshmen attended most classes on the South Campus, but regularly scheduled transportation to and from the main campus existed in the form of a fleet of surplus Navy buses.

Despite the rather unique nature of Richmond as a university campus, students disliked it from the beginning, considering it too remote and inaccessible.<sup>14</sup> Many of the students came from northern families in urban communities and found university life in the midst of an undeveloped farming area antithetic. Students at the remote campus of course discovered a variety of ways to amuse themselves. One of the more unusual diversions was that of a female student who found inciner-

ation of the closets of her classmates to be an intensely thrilling pastime. University firemen extinguished more than half a dozen such fires before officials apprehended the girl.<sup>15</sup>

During this period, the university established a series of research programs on the base which would soon encompass a wide spectrum of scientific disciplines. These programs constituted the first real research undertaken by the university. In response to a directive from university president Dr. Ashe, John Lynch and Dr. Arthur Stahl selected 350 acres in the southeast corner of the base and, after the termination of freshmen classes, the dispensary for what was to be the most extensive and versatile of the research programs undertaken: Tropical Food Research. In addition to the 350-acre experimental farm and laboratory, the program, at the height of activity, included two large greenhouses, two slat sheds, each over 150 feet in length, and a miniature, though fully functional commercial fruit and vegetable packaging facility. Dr. F. Gray Butcher directed an entomology research program as a corollary to work conducted by the Tropical Food Research team.

Project directors established the farm for the study of the horticulture of tropical and subtropical fruits and to supply samples to the Tropical Food Laboratory for analysis and commercial processing. Project personnel grew and bred most varieties of common subtropical fruits such as mangoes, avocados and all varieties of citrus including shattuck, a primitive grapefruit, and rough lemon, a preferred root stock. Researchers also maintained a small grove of lychee trees for study. The propagation of barbados cherries, however, resulted in perhaps the most successful experiment undertaken at the farm in both a scientific and commercial respect. The barbados cherry is a small, moderately sweet fruit with a much higher vitamin C content than oranges. Researchers kept complete records on the growth and breeding of each of the 500 to 1,000 barbados seedlings planted, eventually culminating in the development of the Florida Sweet, the most common commercial variety of barbados cherry. Guavas received extensive attention, ultimately directed toward the development of a type of guava suitable for eating as picked from the tree. Success, however, eluded those efforts.

In the mid-fifties the farm assumed an autonomous position of sorts, its efforts directed solely at tropical and subtropical horticulture. The staffs of both farm and laboratory, however, maintained an informal cooperative research arrangement.

One of the most significant bits of applied research and development came as a result of a collaborative effort between the university staff and local lime growers. The project concluded with the production

of the first commercially feasible frozen limeade concentrate. Growers supplied limes for research in the Tropical Food Laboratory and converted the laundry building into a juice processing plant. Once underway, university personnel acted in a supervisory capacity to ensure proper quality control.

By this time, a complete soil analysis laboratory had begun to assist the farm and food laboratory and a complete machine shop worked to produce the specialized equipment needed for agricultural experimentation now supervised by farm manager Roy Nelson.

Extensive as the work conducted on the farm grew to be, however, the Tropical Food Laboratory did not limit its activities strictly to specimens grown on the farm. Though established simultaneously, the farm took several years to mature to a point where it became an important source of supply to laboratory work. Activities independent of the farm included the study of packaging, handling and preservation of tropical foods, resulting in development of numerous recipes and formulas, such as those for orange jelly. An enticing variety of tropical fruit wines grew from some of the laboratory work, including citrus wine. Few were ever commercially successful. The corollation between this work and the consistently pleasant disposition of South Campus staff suggests that these efforts held some promise.

The Tropical Food Laboratory made a major contribution to the budding field of Food Technology with the development of frozen, fully-cooked portion-packed foods. This work involved courtesy agreements between the university, DuPont and Alcoa, who sent the most recently developed samples of plastic and aluminum packaging material for research. The development of mylar plastic, a transparent, heat resistant material, proved to be a boon for the project. The laboratory also had to its credit the development of several highly-specialized pieces of miniature research equipment. A complete high-vacuum, low-temperature juice concentrator, which enabled the original research on frozen pineapple juice, and the only laboratory size homogenizer in the South are among them.

As in any large research program, not all the directions followed can be even remotely considered to lead to success. Several experiments with the preservation of ripe tomatoes proved disappointing, as did an experiment involving ripe bananas dipped in a wax-like preservative solution. Another project involving the use of calamondin juice as a substitute for bitters had a similar fate.

The type of refrigeration that researchers used so extensively was consistent with many of the projects in its unique form and applications.

Laboratory personnel, working in what had been the base dispensary, found the surplus mortuary boxes to be ideal for storage of samples and specimens. Student research assistants found them an ideal place to lie peacefully in repose for the "amusement" of unwary visitors inspecting laboratory facilities.

In 1961 the university eliminated the work of the Tropical Food Laboratory and that of the experimental farm rather suddenly, a fate shared by all South Campus research programs not externally funded and self-sufficient. The laboratory and experimental farm remained intact for one year, the university hoping industrial interests would provide the funds needed for reactivation.

The work conducted at the farm and Tropical Food Laboratory in no way overshadowed the other research programs being conducted simultaneously at the South Campus. In addition to the entomology research of Dr. F. Gray Butcher, private entomological research conducted on the upper floor of the administration building intrigued many university personnel. The project's director, known to university staff as the "Mad Russian," experimented with the electronic decimation of insects at a distance.

Biomedical research became an important item in the university's research budget. The cancer research team of Dr. Wilhemina Dunning and Dr. Maymie Curtis, the first scientists to produce cancer cells in embryonic chicks, handled their experiments in what had been the base brig. These experiments successfully produced cancer *in vitro* (laboratory conditions under glass). Dr. Dunning is currently involved in cancer research at the University of Miami Medical School.

The South Campus also served as the home of two independent polio research projects in the early 1950's. Dr. Donald Butz's program concerned itself with different types of blood as they reacted with the polio virus. His frequent requests for blood samples from campus personnel earned him the affectionately intended nickname of Vampire. At the same time, Dr. Murray Sanders became involved with therapeutic research, shocking nerves deadened by polio back to sensitivity through the use of toxic reptile and insect venom. When the school terminated all polio research programs with the discovery of the Salk vaccine, Dr. Sanders and his staff were faced with the problem of disposal of the large assortment of venom samples accumulated, including minute vials of black widow spider venom. The staff finally burned the dangerous specimens.<sup>16</sup>

One facet of Dr. Sanders' work unintentionally provided South

Campus personnel with a comic though costly display of animal ingenuity. A shipment of 28 rhesus monkeys for Dr. Sanders' research invaded the campus when one of the prodigious primates opened the cages containing them. George Macfie, a research professor, recalls an instance when it seemed that all the monkeys staged an organized raid on the Tropical Food Laboratory, no doubt in search of food. Nine of them were seated on the roof and hood of his car when he left one afternoon. In their search for food, however, the monkeys wreaked havoc on the Experimental Farm, their practice being to taste one fruit, discard it and taste another. Campus personnel eventually caught most of the marauding monkeys.

The Industrial Research program, begun in 1950 and directed by Dr. W. O. Walker, and the Housing Research Laboratory, begun in the same year and directed until 1955 by Dr. H. Horton Shelton, take their places at the opposite extremity of the university's spectrum of research. Concerned primarily with the chemistry of the interior of a sealed refrigeration system, Dr. Walker's research found numerous sponsors in manufacturers of refrigeration components. Aaron Sakhnovsky, formerly of Dr. Walker's laboratory, assumed the directorship of the Housing Research Laboratory from Dr. Shelton in 1955. Also externally funded, this laboratory conducted tests of windows required by the Dade County Building Codes. The laboratory's scope later enlarged to include tests for wall systems of multi-story buildings.<sup>17</sup>

Though the University of Miami assumed control of Richmond NAS in the 1946 lease, the government maintained a portion of the tract for military purposes. Token military presence had been maintained since 1946 through the rather inconspicuous Naval Observatory. The Air Force 644 Radar Unit established a tracking station at Richmond in 1957-58,<sup>18</sup> which was modified in April, 1960 for SAGE, low altitude radar. Air Force technicians made these modifications to guard against low altitude, mid-air collisions and to track missiles from Eglin Air Force Base.<sup>19</sup> Two months later, the House Armed Services Committee in Washington approved a plan to apportion 474 acres of Richmond among the four branches of the service.<sup>20</sup>

During the years following 1961, the various tenants of the base maintained its unusual and controversial character. It hosted the largest CIA nerve center outside the agency's headquarters in Langley, Virginia under the name Zenith Technological Services.<sup>21</sup> It received consideration as a private airport,<sup>22</sup> automobile test track and race track,<sup>23</sup> and highway patrol headquarters.<sup>24</sup> Upon revocation of the lease from the

University of Miami in 1970, Dade County acquired the property from the General Services Administration for use as a cageless zoological park.<sup>25</sup>

## NOTES

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7. *Miami Herald*, September 16, 1945.
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9. *Miami Daily News*, September 16, 1945.
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11. Interview with Eugene Cohen, University of Miami Administrator.
12. Cohen interview.
13. Tebeau, Charlton W., *The University of Miami: A Golden Anniversary History - 1926-1976*, Coral Gables, Fla., University of Miami Press, 1976, p. 120.
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15. Tripp interview.
16. Macfie interview.
17. Interview with Aaron Sakhnovsky, Director of Housing Research, University of Miami.
18. Tripp interview.
19. *Miami Herald*, April 3, 1960.
20. *Miami Herald*, June 10, 1960.
21. *Miami Herald*, March 9, 1975.
22. *Miami Herald*, February 6, 1973.
23. *Miami Herald*, April 13, 1971.
24. *Miami Herald*, August 28, 1971.
25. *Miami Herald*, March 9, 1975.

# Notes on South Florida Place Names: Norris Cut<sup>1</sup>

By Roland Chardon\*

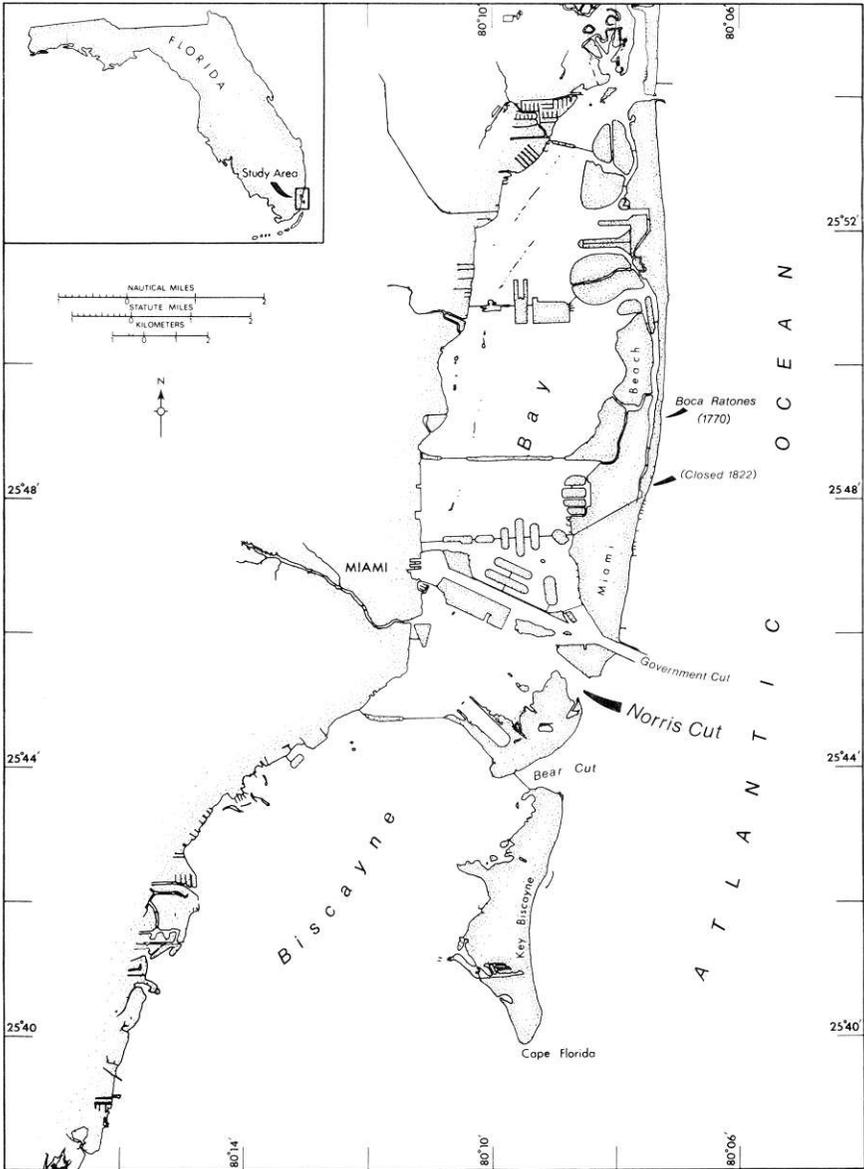
South Florida is liberally sprinkled with exotic place names. They recall past scenes ranging from spots of haunting natural beauty to the most ordinary of geographical features. Visions are evoked of the struggles and imprints of humans as they settled on the land or were wrecked on reefs, and of the sweeps of history which caught the region changing hands frequently among Indians, Spaniards, Englishmen, and Americans. Captiva Island and Immokalee in the west, the Everglades and Cape Sable in the center, and Fort Lauderdale, Perrine, and Black Caesar's Creek in the east all have a special meaning to those who know about them.

If Norris Cut sounds a little drab in comparison with these and other, more artful place names, at least it is not without its historic and cultural interest. For this presently rather obscure tidal inlet (illustration) got its name not, as might be expected, due to someone's exploratory, pioneering, or building activities, but because of the way varying local pronunciations were eventually resolved into one written place name. The naming of Norris Cut thus reflects both specific cultural influences in the Biscayne Bay area at the time the inlet was formed, as well as what can happen linguistically when outsiders transcribe a piece of folk terminology onto a map.

Historical maps persuasively suggest that Norris Cut was created sometime between 1829 and 1838 A.D. due to natural causes,<sup>2</sup> and quite possibly by the South Florida Hurricane of September 14-16, 1835.<sup>3</sup> As settlement expanded along upper Biscayne Bay in the latter 1800s, boats coming from the north and heading for the Miami River often entered the Bay through Norris Cut. Once Government Cut was opened in 1905, however, it became the preferred entry route, and, though Norris Cut has

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Location of Norris Cut today. Also shown are Government Cut and Bear Cut, as well as where Boca Ratones opened into the Atlantic Ocean in 1770, and the outlet of Boca Ratones when it closed in 1822.

been considerably widened and part of its channel deepened by human activity in the 20th century, it is rarely used as a water passage today.

Just how or when Norris Cut received its name is not known with

certainty. This may be partly because, due to an error, Boca Ratones (or Rattones) was the first name given the Cut in the mid-1800s, soon after its creation. And part of the mystery may be due to the various other names for Norris Cut which have been recorded in several documents. During the 19th century, Norris Cut was also called Narrows Cut, Narrow Cut, Narres's Cut, and Norez Cut. As it happens, the first recorded instance of the name "Norris Cut" is on a U.S. Coast Survey map of northern Biscayne Bay, drawn in 1867.<sup>4</sup> Since then, this is the name which has been consistently used on official nautical charts to this day.

On the Coast Survey's first reconnaissance chart of southeastern Florida, however, Norris Cut was called "Narrows Cut."<sup>5</sup> This sketch map, drawn in 1849, carries the same place name in a contemporary Coast Survey report, which reads:<sup>6</sup>

The mainland of Florida, above said cape [i.e., Cape Florida], runs down into a sharp point, from the head of Key Biscayne bay to Narrows cut, which separates it from Virginia Key, the most northern of the Florida islands.

But the U.S. Coast Survey was not the first to identify Norris Cut as Narrows Cut, for this latter name had already been given to a Biscayne Bay inlet north of Bear Cut, on the 1841 and 1845 editions of Blunt's famous charts.<sup>7</sup> In 1852, the U.S. Coast Survey also identified the Cut as "Narrow Cut,"<sup>8</sup> and either Narrow, or, more generally, Narrows Cut was used for Norris Cut by several people writing for years afterward.<sup>9</sup>

That the name "Norris" may have evolved from "Norez" is possibly implied in a report, written in 1883, relating Coast Survey activities along the coast. The official surveyor writes:<sup>10</sup>

On Monday the 19th we left Biscayne Bay going out through Norris Cut (originally Norez Cut) and shortly after noon we reached New River Inlet. . . .

And even later, a traveller, describing Biscayne Bay in 1894, gave Norris Cut the name Narres's Cut, saying:<sup>11</sup>

The eastern boundaries of the bay are the narrow spur of the mainland which ends at Narres's Cut and Virginia Key, and Key Biscayne lying just below in the same line, . . .

We therefore have no less than six recorded names applied to Norris Cut; there may have been more. It is of course difficult to say when each

of these names (or variations) was first introduced for the new inlet, but the sequence by which each appears to have been first recorded is:

Boca Ratonnes	1839
Narrows Cut	1841 (Blunt); 1849 (U.S. Coast Survey)
Narrow Cut	1852
Norris Cut	1867
Norez Cut	1883 (but specifically referring to earlier years)
Narres's Cut	1894

I have seen no document which explains the naming of Norris Cut, though several suggestions for its toponymic origin have been offered by interested Miami area residents, during informal discussions with this writer. One is that the Cut may have been named for an individual, presumably a Mr. Norris, who might either have lived in the Biscayne Bay area, or first reported the inlet to others. The cut was once identified as Norris' Cut on an 1883 Coast and Geodetic map,<sup>12</sup> but I cannot find references to such a person for the 1860s, the general period in which Norris Cut is recorded for the first time.<sup>13</sup>

A second suggestion has been that Norris may have developed as a corruption of a Spanish "Nariz Cut," implying that the Spaniards were the first to give the inlet a name. One reason for this may lie in the references to Norez Cut and Narres's Cut already noted. These would, to those who do not know Spanish well, appear similar to "Nariz" and, with other obviously Spanish place names common in the area, provide a plausible rationale for a Spanish origin for "Norris."

It is true that a Spanish name — Boca Ratonnes — was the first name I have seen given to Norris Cut, in 1839.<sup>14</sup> The practice of so naming the Cut persisted for some years, but it was largely limited to military maps or others derived from them.<sup>15</sup> However, calling Norris Cut "Boca Ratonnes" very probably resulted from a confusion between two geographically quite distinct tidal inlets several miles apart. Further, when one of the inlets (Boca Ratonnes) existed, the other (Norris Cut) did not. And after Norris Cut was formed in the 1830s, the old inlet at Boca Ratonnes was almost always closed. It is a somewhat confusing story, but can be sorted out by careful inspection of the maps of the times.

This inspection shows that Boca Ratonnes, legitimately named by Spanish navigators and sometimes known by the English as White River Inlet, at one time connected northern Biscayne Bay with the ocean. The location of Boca Ratonnes, however, was some miles north of present Norris Cut; in the 1770s, for example, Boca Ratonnes entered the Atlantic Ocean somewhere near present 46th Street in Miami Beach (illustra-

tion).<sup>16</sup> Due to prevailing currents, Boca Ratones moved progressively south, until sand accumulation closed it off by 1822, at about 25th Street (illustration);<sup>17</sup> today, Indian Creek is what remains of Boca Ratones. Not until several years later (between 1829 and 1838) was Norris Cut formed as a separate natural feature, almost 3½ miles south of and totally distinct from Boca Ratones. The two inlets should not, therefore, be associated with each other in a physical sense.

On the other hand, placing the name Boca Ratones where Norris Cut is located, as the military cartographers of the times did, is an understandable error, since Boca Ratones had closed and Norris Cut was open. But it was an error just the same, and Norris Cut was not called Boca Ratones for very long, nor by many people. In any case, the name Norris Cut could not have evolved linguistically from Boca Ratones, and in fact no one makes that claim. As we have seen, what is often suggested is that Norris is a corruption of “Nariz.” In Spanish, “nariz” means “nose,” and Norris Cut does, with some imagination, appear to look like a nose on some of the maps of the latter half of the 1800s.

But, spelling and cartographic similarities notwithstanding, the evidence against a Spanish origin for the name Norris Cut is considerably stronger than the evidence for it. First, the inlet was created several years after Florida had been transferred from Spain to the United States in 1821. It does not seem likely that a new Spanish name would have been given to a natural feature which appeared “ex post facto,” as it were, and especially in a foreign region already being settled by English-speaking people. As noted above, a Spanish name was initially given to Norris Cut, but that name was Boca Ratones (or Rattones), in recognition of the prior existence of the original Boca Ratones during Spanish times. Thus, had a Spanish place name been retained for Norris Cut, it almost certainly would have been Boca Ratones.

A second argument against a close linguistic connection between Norris and Nariz concerns syllable stress. In the English word “Norris,” the stress is heavier on the first syllable (Nórris), whereas the opposite occurs in the Spanish word “nariz” (naríz). These syllabic stress differences make it quite unlikely that “Nariz” could have been a possible source for “Norris.”

A third reason why Norris Cut is probably not of Spanish derivation focuses on the accompanying use of the term “Cut” in the place name. “Nariz Cut” sounds strange indeed, and even if an uncharacteristic (for the Spaniards) name like Nariz had been given to an inlet, the full place name would have included the word “Boca.” There is, however, no suggestion that Norris Cut was ever named Boca Nariz. “Cut,” in this

connotation, is an English Caribbean term used to describe certain narrow water passages – in particular tidal inlets (such as, for example, Bear Cut, between Virginia Key and Key Biscayne). This implies that Bahamian seamen or wreckers, who for perhaps a century had been frequenting this part of Florida, introduced the word “cut” to apply to the narrow inlet at Norris Cut. Again, this raises the possibility that Norris Cut was named for a presently unknown Bahamian, and this may be so; but, as has been mentioned, no such person is recorded and, as we shall see, another simple explanation can also be advanced.

In view of all this, and given the added factors of American and Bahamian settlement on the mainland opposite Norris Cut and an American lighthouse on Key Biscayne,<sup>18</sup> it seems one should look for a non-Spanish, and probably American or Bahamian, origin for the naming of Norris Cut. And indeed, a more likely alternative is that Norris Cut is a modification, not of a Spanish Nariz Cut, but of Narrows Cut, and there is documentary and linguistic evidence to support this view.

The first English name for Norris Cut was Narrows Cut, identified on the 1841 and 1845 Blunt charts and on the first U.S. Coast Survey map – a preliminary reconnaissance map – of south Florida.<sup>19</sup> The application of the name ‘Narrows’ to some tidal inlets crossing the long barrier beaches along the east coast of Florida was not unknown, and certainly Norris Cut was narrow at the time. But there may be an additional reason why this particular opening was named Narrows Cut.

Before Boca Ratones closed in 1822, and prior to the creation of Norris Cut a few years later, the land on which Miami Beach is presently located was one long, narrow island, ending at Bear Cut to the south.<sup>20</sup> This island was very accurately surveyed in the 1760s by William Gerard DeBrahm, a British surveyor who appropriately enough gave it the name of “Narrow Island.”<sup>21</sup> Since Gauld’s *Observations* (footnote 21), and therefore DeBrahm’s place name, were available to at least some people sailing along the coast, it is quite possible that Narrows Cut was a logical name to give to the new inlet, based on the Narrow Island through which the inlet had been created. It is, however, equally possible that Narrows Cut, like so many others, was named due to its narrowness.

In either case, an American, Bahamian, or even a Britisher could have coined the name. At present I happen to lean toward a Bahamian origin, partly because Bahamian settlers lived around Biscayne Bay, partly because of the association of “Narrows” with “Cut,” partly because the first use of the name Narrows Cut is on an 1841 chart derived from British surveys (cf. footnote 7), and partly because American army

cartographers at first used “Boca Ratonés” to identify the Cut in 1839 (implying that “Narrows Cut” was not an American innovation).

Regardless of how Narrows Cut was initially named, this was the official name first given to Norris Cut by the U.S. Coast Survey in 1849, and it was used frequently in later descriptions of the inlet.<sup>22</sup> There is also no doubt that, for some reason, the name had been changed, on later Coast Survey maps, to Norris Cut—officially retained to the present day. The question then becomes: Why and how was Narrows Cut changed to Norris Cut? The answer is not yet known, but I suggest a linguistic modification, whereby “Narrows” was orally pronounced, by certain English-speaking groups around Biscayne Bay, so that “Norris” was heard by others, even though the meaning was still “Narrows.”

The most numerous and dominant settlers in the Biscayne Bay area in the early and mid-1800s apparently came from the Bahamas, or from Bahamian-descended people from the keys.<sup>23</sup> Later, possibly in the 1850s and certainly in the 1870s, others came from sections of the United States, such as Tennessee and Georgia, sometimes described as “Upland South” culture areas.<sup>24</sup> Both groups, as well as those coming from elsewhere, pronounce the word “narrows” somewhat differently from each other. For example, my own experiences, and those with whom I’ve discussed the question, indicate that people from the “Upland South” tend to pronounce “narrows” in such a way that someone like myself, coming from the northeastern United States, would transcribe the word as “nares” (nárez, phonetically).

Even more interestingly, many English-speaking Caribbean peoples, including many from the Bahamas and probably the Florida Keys, tended to pronounce “narrows” almost as “norruz” or “norez” (nárez, phonetically). This, according to Dr. F. G. Cassidy, noted authority on American English and folk etymology, is because the sounds of “o” in “hot” and “a” in “hat” are identical: a vowel in between the two.<sup>25</sup> Thus, “Narrows Cut,” pronounced by Bahamian folk people, comes very close to being heard as “Norris Cut” by someone not from that culture. In this way, I suggest that the words “Narrows Cut,” originally and correctly transcribed by the Blunts in 1841, and by the U.S. Coast Surveyors in 1849, either on the basis of their understanding that “norruz” meant “narrows,” or for some other reason, were retranscribed by later U.S. Coast Surveyors, working in the field in the 1860s and without benefit of the 1849 chart. These latter surveyors heard “Norris Cut,” and wrote it thus to conform more closely with local pronunciation at that time, as they understood it.

In later years, the Upland South added its contribution to the pronunciation of “narrows.” I do not know just when the first rendering of “Narrows Cut” as “Narres’s Cut” occurred, but it seems to have taken place later than “Norris Cut” – perhaps as late as the 1880s, for I have not yet found any reference to “Narres’s Cut” prior to the early 1890s.

Following the hypothesis suggested, the original Narrows Cut was recognized as the true name of the inlet by all three human groups involved – that is, by Bahamians, Upland South folk, and Northerners. But Narrows Cut was pronounced differently by each group, and the variations were heard and dutifully recorded by several Northern writers. In this way Narrows Cut became variously Norez Cut (Bahamian pronunciation), Norris Cut (also Bahamian), and Narres’s Cut (Upland South), depending on who talked to whom.

Indeed, Dr. Cassidy says that these pronunciations are in fact closer than they appear, to those who later try to reconstruct their sounds from printed words, as I am doing here.<sup>26</sup> There could, for that matter, have been many other variations in pronunciation of “Narrows,” which in turn might have been transcribed differently. But the three transcriptions outlined here seem to have “stuck,” at least for some years. Noted accordingly (mostly by Northerners) in the various written records naming the Cut, the divergence continued through the latter half of the 19th century and into the 20th. Ultimately, the place name Norris Cut emerged, partly because this became its official name on charts and maps, and partly because the 19th century settlers were soon culturally overwhelmed by the great 20th century influx of Miami immigrants, unaware of the original “Narrows Cut,” and exposed to the official “Norris Cut.”

In summary, while it is not yet possible to prove how Norris Cut got its name, it is highly unlikely to have been a corruption of a Spanish “Nariz Cut,” nor to have been named after an individual. Norris Cut presently appears rather to have derived from a transformation by surveyors of a Bahamian oral rendition of Narrows Cut, pronounced very much like Norris Cut to outsiders, and so transcribed. The surveyors’ local contacts for their transformation may have been Bahamian settlers on the shores of Biscayne Bay, or Bahamian seamen who visited the area during or shortly after the Cut was formed, or the Keeper of the Cape Florida Light House at the time the 1867 detailed Coast Survey was made.<sup>27</sup> What is somewhat surprising is that the U.S. Coast Survey itself, having left Norris Cut unnamed on its maps and charts for 18 years after 1849, did not check back to its own initial place name of Narrows Cut. But, whatever the reason, once the name Norris Cut was officially

adopted by the Coast Survey, and thus also by Miami residents who looked at the Coast Survey maps in later years, Narrows Cut permanently became Norris Cut. In truth, however, it remains Narrows Cut—only now it is spelled differently.

## NOTES

1. The author expresses grateful appreciation to Dr. F. G. Cassidy, Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin (Madison), for his help and critical evaluation. I am also indebted to Drs. Jay Edwards and Miles Richardson, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University (Baton Rouge), for their assistance and comments, as well as for the phonetic spellings, provided by Dr. Edwards, identified in this paper.

2. Chardon, R., 1977, "Cartographic analysis of coastal change: natural and urban," in H. J. Walker, ed., *Research techniques in coastal environments*. Geoscience and Man Series, vol. 18 (Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge) (in press).

3. Chardon, R., 1976, "The Formation of Norris Cut," Ms.

4. U.S. Coast Survey, 1867, "Head of Key Biscayne Bay, Florida." Surveyed June, 1867, by C. T. Iardella. Register No. 1049. Ms. topographic map, Archives of the National Ocean Survey, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Rockville, Maryland.

See also: *Report of the Superintendent of the U.S. Coast Survey, showing the progress of the Survey during the year 1867*. House of Representatives, Executive Document No. 275, 40th Congress, 2nd Session (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1869), p. 31. In this report, Norris Cut, due to a typographical error, is misspelled "Morris Cut." On the map, however, it is correctly spelled.

5. "Sketch F, showing the progress in Section no. VI, U.S. Coast Survey, in 1849 & 50: Reconnaissance of Florida Keys, Biscayne Bay & Card's Sound," accompanying the *Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey for the years 1849-50*. U.S. Senate, Exec. Doc. No. 5, 31st Congress, 1st Session.

6. "Extract from the report of assistant F. G. Gerdes to the U.S. Coast Survey Superintendent, on the reconnaissance of the Florida Keys &c. II. The Florida Keys," p. 107, Appendix 23, *Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, showing the progress of that work during the year ending November, 1850*. U.S. Senate, Exec. Doc. No. 7, 31st Cong., 2nd Sess.

7. "Blunt's new chart of the West Indies, and Gulf of Mexico from the Spanish, English, French, & Danish surveys," corrected to 1841 (E. & G. W. Blunt, New York, 1841). Also, "Chart of the Gulf of Mexico, West Indies, and Spanish Main" (E. & G. W. Blunt, New York, 1845).

The "Narrows Cut" identified on these two Blunt charts is actually misplaced. It is located where the former Boca Raton had existed in the late 1700s and early 1800s (see p. 54 below). But there is no doubt that the Narrows Cut referred to applied to the then recently created Norris Cut. Both the 1841 and the 1845 Blunt charts also erred with respect to the location of Fort Dallas, which was placed a few miles north of the Miami River on these two charts (to bring the fort in line opposite Norris Cut), instead of on the river's north bank. What concerns us specifically here, however, is the Blunt charts' designation for the only inlet shown opening into Biscayne Bay north of Bear Cut.

8. *Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, showing the progress of the Survey during the year 1852*. Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 58, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess. (Robert Clarke, Washington, 1853), p. 10.

9. Henshall, James A., 1884, *Camping and cruising in Florida* (Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati), p. 168. He also writes, on p. 104 (while describing Biscayne Bay): "The bay is entered through channels running between the keys, the principal ones being Bear Cut and Narrows Cut, opposite Miami, ..." Henshall's map of the Peninsula of Florida (frontispiece) shows Narrows Cut where Norris cut is presently located.

See also Hugh M. Smith, 1895, who refers to "... Norris or Narrow Cut, ..." on p. 170 of his "Notes on Biscayne Bay, Florida, with reference to its adaptability as the site of a marine hatching and experiment station," Appendix 2, *Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries for 1895* (Washington).

See also Henry J. Wagner, 1949, "Early pioneers of South Florida," *Tequesta* 9, p. 69.

10. Letter O. H. Tittman to J. E. Hilgard, Superintendent of the U.S. Coast Survey, March 29, 1883. National Archives and Records Service (NARS), Record Group (RG) 23: Records of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington.

11. Dodge, Charles Richard, 1894. "Subtropical Florida," *Scribner's* 15(3), p. 360.

12. U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1883, "Additional Soundings off Miami River, Key Biscayne Bay, Florida." Register No. 1545. NARS, RG 23.

13. There is no record of a person named Norris living in the Biscayne Bay area in the middle of the 19th century (Arva Moore Parks, 1976, personal communication). Nor is anyone named Norris mentioned in Thelma Peters, 1976, *Lemon City: Pioneering on Biscayne Bay, 1850-1925* (Banyan Books, Inc., Miami). Concerning the possibility that a Mr. Norris might have been a Bahamian, the author checked the Nassau (Bahamas) telephone directory to see how many Norrises would be listed there; only one was listed. While certainly not conclusive, this indicates that there is very little evidence for the existence of a man named Norris anywhere near Norris Cut when it was first so named.

14. Mackay, Capt. John, and Lieut. J. E. Blake, 1839, "Map of the Seat of War in Florida," NARS, RG 77: Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers.

15. Several maps drawn in the 1850s, including the famous "Ives Map," show Norris Cut as Boca Ratonnes or Rattones (e.g. Lieut. J. C. Ives, 1856, "Military Map of the Peninsula of Florida south of Tampa Bay," in U.S. Senate Doc. No. 89, 62nd Cong., 1st Sess.). Even the U.S. Coast Survey, on one of its general coastal charts, once named Norris Cut "Boca Rattones" ("Atlantic Coast of the United States (in four sheets); Sheet No. IV; Mosquito Inlet to Key West; 1863." Sketch 21, accompanying the *Report... of the Coast Survey... during the year 1863*). Also, the 1852 edition of Blunt's 1845 "Chart of the Gulf of Mexico..." (*op. cit.*) shows Norris Cut correctly located, but it is called "Boca Ratonnes."

16. Chardon, R., 1975, "Northern Biscayne Bay in 1776," *Tequesta* 35, pp. 51-54.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

18. Parks, Arva Moore, 1975, "Miami in 1876," *Tequesta* 35, pp. 91-92.

19. See footnotes 5 and 7 above.

20. Chardon, R., 1975, "Northern Biscayne Bay in 1776," *Tequesta* 35, pp. 51-53.

21. Gauld, George, 1796. *Observations on the Florida Keys, Reefs and Gulf; ...*, printed for W. Faden (London), p. 18.

22. See footnotes 5, 7, and 9 above.

23. Parks, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 110-111; see also George E. Merrick, 1941, "Pre-Flagler influences on the Lower Florida East Coast," *Tequesta* 1: 1-10.

24. Merrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 and 10. On the other hand, Arva Parks, after careful analysis, has so far found no documentation for Upland South, or "Cracker," settlers until the 1870s (Parks, 1976, personal communication). Similarly, in the area of upper Biscayne Bay, no Upland South settlers are identified until at least the mid-1870s—a time

when descendants of Bahamians were relatively numerous (Thelma Peters, 1976, *Lemon City, op. cit.*, pp. 1-51 *passim*). Henry J. Wagner states that many homesteaders apparently "lived on sowbelly and grits" (Wagner, 1949, "Early pioneers of South Florida," *Tequesta* 9, p. 61); however, this diet could point to either a Bahamian or Upland South cultural origin.

25. F. G. Cassidy, 1976, personal communication. See also F. G. Cassidy and R. B. LePage (editors), 1967, *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (University Press, Cambridge), p. xlix.

26. F. G. Cassidy, 1976, personal communication.

27. It is interesting to note that there were different Keepers of the Cape Florida Lighthouse when Coast Surveyors made their initial Key Biscayne surveys in 1849-50 and 1855, to establish a triangulation base line. But in the years 1866-68, Temple Pent, a Bahamian, was Keeper of the Light (Parks, 1975, "Miami in 1876," *Tequesta* 35, p. 135). It was in 1867 that the first detailed survey of northern Biscayne Bay was made by the U.S. Coast Survey. In its records, as we have seen, Norris Cut was "Narrows Cut" in 1849, but "Norris Cut" in 1867. The connection may be coincidental, but it is also provocative.

# Aftermath of the Brown Decision: The Politics of Interposition in Florida

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Southern reaction to the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the *Brown* case [347 U.S. 483 (1954)] was generally swift and angry. With the exception of Florida, public officials in most of the states of the deep South reacted with indignation and hostility to the Court's ruling that ended the tradition of legally sanctioned school segregation. For example, Georgia's Governor Herman Talmadge declared that the Court "by its decision had reduced our constitution to a mere scrap of paper." Mississippi's Senator James Eastland was scarcely less vitriolic when he said: "The South will not abide by nor obey this legislative decision by a political court." South Carolina's Governor James Byrnes said he was "shocked," although he counseled the South to "exercise restraint."<sup>1</sup>

In Florida, however, reaction was substantially different, and by comparison with other southern states it was mild. Most newspaper editors and the few pronouncements issued by public officials urged calm and restraint. For example, Florida's senior Senator Spessard Holland said he hoped the decision would be met with "patience and moderation," and that there would not be any "violent repercussions" in the state.<sup>2</sup> State School Superintendent Thomas Bailey felt the Court's action called for "sober and careful thinking together with planning untainted by hysteria."<sup>3</sup> In an editorial the *Tampa Morning Tribune* held that the *Brown* decision was inevitable and should be accepted, even while calling it "deplorable" because it overturned law, custom, and social order in states maintaining segregation.<sup>4</sup> By and large, however, Floridians seemed to have relatively little to say about the decision in the days and weeks immediately following it.

The reasons for this mild response are to be found in the state's

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social and economic structure. Florida had a relatively small percentage of blacks (21.8% in 1950) when compared to its southern neighbors.<sup>5</sup> As V. O. Key, Jr., pointed out in *Southern Politics in State and Nation* the smaller the percentage of blacks in a state's population the less chance there was for intense racial animosity. In addition, the diversity of Florida's population, with many immigrants from the northeast and midwest settling in the urbanized, southern region of the state, tended to moderate racial hostility. Florida's heavy economic dependence on tourism also provided a steadying influence that helped explain the mild response to the Court's decision.

But this is not to say that the *Brown* decision had little impact in Florida. Indeed, in the spring of 1954 Florida was one of only four states with no school integration whatsoever, and thus the decision had grave implications for the state's traditional pattern of public education.<sup>6</sup> Not surprisingly, therefore, Floridians joined with their southern neighbors in searching for alternatives to the *Brown* decision.<sup>7</sup>

By early 1956, southern criticism of the *Brown* edict had been supplemented by direct political action. Two old, tradition- and time-honored southern tactics called "interposition" and "nullification," last seen in the days prior to the Civil War, were removed from their dusty corners in the South's political arsenal. They became, for a brief period, important weapons in what Virginia Senator Harry Byrd was to characterize as the South's "massive resistance" against the *Brown* decision.<sup>8</sup>

Events moved rapidly in the South during the next few months. On February 1, the Virginia legislature passed an interposition resolution. South Carolina followed shortly thereafter. Governor Marvin Griffin and the legislature of Georgia were not content with interposition; Griffin requested and the legislature passed a nullification resolution in mid-February. At the same time Governor Luther Hodges of North Carolina said he would recommend that the legislature pass a resolution "protesting" the Supreme Court decisions. By the end of February the Mississippi legislature had unanimously adopted an interposition resolution. Early in March Governor Allan Shivers of Texas said he was planning a national campaign designed to have an interposition plank written into the Democratic National Platform during the following summer. In a significant move at the national level, on March 11, 1956, 96 members of Congress — 19 senators and 77 representatives — signed a "Declaration of Constitutional Principles," frequently referred to as the "Southern Manifesto," which pledged them to use "all lawful means" to reverse the Court's decisions on school segregation. Late in the spring, the Louisiana legislature adopted an interposition resolution.<sup>9</sup>

Florida was the last southern state to pass a resolution condemning the *Brown* decision. In large measure, Florida's delayed response was due to the progressive, farsighted leadership of Governor LeRoy Collins. Through his direction, Florida avoided the "massive resistance" and inflammatory rhetoric which characterized much of the South's response to the *Brown* decision. In addition, he pursued a program which helped erode a dual school system without disrupting the state's traditional values and culture, and without generating intense racial animosities.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, Collins was one of the few southern governors who was committed to improving race relations in his state.<sup>11</sup> He was also one of the few public leaders who realized that whites throughout the South would have to adapt to a new way of life. The interposition resolution passed by the Florida legislature in 1957 was his only major defeat on racial issues during his six year administration.

Although LeRoy Collins ran as a moderate segregationist candidate in his gubernatorial campaigns of 1954 and 1956, his emphasis on upholding the law suggested that he was far more flexible on racial issues than were many of his political opponents. Beginning in the spring of 1956, Collins tried to establish a different climate of race relations in Florida than existed elsewhere in the South. It was precisely at this time that other southern states were embracing interposition and nullification. While Collins sought to reassure white Floridians that he would do his best to maintain segregation, he also was determined not to pursue policies which would further polarize the races in Florida.

On March 21, 1956, Collins called a meeting of the state cabinet, the Board of Control, legislative leaders, and the presidents of the State Universities ostensibly to discuss means of preventing Virgil Hawkins, a black, from enrolling in the University of Florida's College of Law. The United States Supreme Court had ordered that Hawkins be admitted. Collins renewed his commitment to appeal Hawkins' admission and to retain segregated schools. While deploring what he perceived to be a worsening of race relations in Florida, Collins promised to call a special session of the legislature, if necessary, to preserve school segregation. More importantly, however, he refused to support either interposition, nullification, or militant segregationist legislation. Instead, he said he was appointing a blue-ribbon committee, later called the Fabisinski Committee, after its chairman, Judge J. L. Fabisinski of Pensacola, to study ways of legally maintaining segregation in Florida.<sup>12</sup>

It was in conjunction with the report of the Fabisinski Committee that Collins had his first brush with an interposition resolution. In July, 1956, the Committee issued its recommendations, which Collins en-

dorsed completely. It suggested a four-point program to deal with school segregation: permitting county school boards to assign pupils to schools on the basis of individual needs; regulating the assignment of teachers; giving the governor power to promulgate and enforce rules relating to the use of public parks, buildings, and other facilities needed to maintain law and order, and to prevent domestic violence; and clarification of the governor's power to declare an emergency.<sup>13</sup> It was the first of these proposals that was the most crucial for preserving school segregation; it would permit local school officials to maintain segregation on the basis of intellectual ability, scholastic achievement, or psychological factors, any one of which might simply serve as a surrogate for racial discrimination.

Collins called a special legislative session in mid-July, 1956, to take up the Fabisinski recommendations. He made it clear to the legislature that he would not accept any laws on segregation except those which the Committee, and he were proposing.<sup>14</sup> Some legislators, such as Representative Prentice Pruitt, wanted to follow in the path of other southern states and pass stronger anti-integration laws. Pruitt, and others, felt Collins' proposals were only half-hearted and would ultimately prove ineffectual in maintaining segregation. Furthermore, a number of legislators, including Pruitt, and Representatives Kenneth Bollinger and Frank Allen, strongly resented the idea that they could consider and debate only those bills which Collins proposed during the session.<sup>15</sup>

The bills on segregation which Collins requested were quickly passed, but such legislators as Pruitt, Marion Knight, and Fred Petersen persisted in considering more stringent measures. Collins feared that the legislative debates would increase racial polarization in the state. He felt that if the debates went unchecked the legislature might adopt stronger segregation measures than he was prepared to accept. Accordingly, on August 1, he notified legislative leaders that he was planning to adjourn the session immediately. He used as his justification a little-known constitutional provision empowering the governor to adjourn the legislature when both houses could not agree on a time for adjournment.<sup>16</sup>

Collins' decision to end the session came at the best possible moment from his point of view. When news of his action reached the floor of the legislature, Representative C. Farris Bryant of Ocala, later governor of Florida, was in the middle of a speech in the House introducing an interposition resolution similar to those passed in other southern states. It was precisely this kind of measure Collins wanted to avoid. The prosegregationist legislators bitterly denounced Collins' action; Representative Knight even accused him of being "dictatorial."<sup>17</sup>

During the fall of 1956 Collins expanded his efforts to maintain a moderate course on race relations in the state. His inaugural address on January 8, 1957, established a new tone in Florida, and, perhaps, throughout the South, on racial issues. Collins told Floridians that integration was coming, and the state would do well to accept it gracefully. He said he was committed to preserving segregation as long as possible, but "The Supreme Court decisions are the law of the land." He stated that whites must "face up to the fact that the Negro does not now have equal opportunity" and that blacks are "morally and legally entitled to progress more rapidly." Collins admitted that he did not have all the answers to racial questions, but said "Haughtiness, arrogance, the forcing of issues will not produce the answer. Above all, hate is not the answer." Collins appealed to the rest of the nation not to judge the South harshly as it struggled with its race problems. It is unreasonable, he argued, to expect generations of attitudes to change overnight.<sup>18</sup>

The speech met with a mixed reaction. Many legislators such as Senators Harry Stratton and Tom Adams, registered immediate disapproval of Collins' address. On the other hand, the speech was well received outside the South after being televised on the national news. Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, for example, congratulated Collins for his "extremely courageous" message. In addition, even newspapers in Florida, such as the *Tampa Tribune*, as well as outside the state, applauded Collins for the high quality of his "moral leadership."<sup>19</sup>

Collins continued his theme of racial moderation when he opened the regular session of the legislature in April, 1957. In his speech he called for the establishment of a biracial advisory group to ease racial tensions in the state. He also urged the legislature not to consider any other bills on segregation or race. He argued that the laws adopted the previous summer, especially the pupil placement law, provided Florida with sufficient legal resources to deal with segregation.<sup>20</sup>

Members of the legislature, however, had other ideas. When the session was barely three days old, on April 5, 54 representatives introduced into the House an interposition resolution similar to the one which Bryant had submitted the previous summer. Through a motion the rules were suspended and House Concurrent Resolution No. 174 was read a second time. Opponents of the measure attempted to delay further consideration, but their efforts were in vain. A motion to defer lost on a roll call vote by 29 to 59. A final voice vote on the concurrent resolution was then taken on the same day that it was introduced; it passed by an overwhelming margin.<sup>21</sup>

The interposition resolution adopted by the House was a lengthy

document, the full text of which can be found in Appendix A. It condemned not only the Supreme Court decisions on race, but also subsequent decisions concerning labor unions and right to work laws, criminal proceedings, teacher loyalty, and espionage and subversive activities among public employees. In invoking the doctrine of interposition, the resolution stated that Florida had "... at no time surrendered to the General Government its right to exercise its powers in the field of labor, criminal procedure, and public education, and to maintain racially separate public schools and other public facilities. . . ." <sup>22</sup> The Supreme Court, however, had taken upon itself the power to regulate in these areas which rightfully belonged to the states. Thus, "... a question of contested power has arisen; the Supreme Court of the United States asserts. . . that the States did in fact prohibit unto themselves the power to regulate . . . public education and to maintain racially separate public institutions and the State of Florida. . . asserts that it and its sister States have never surrendered such rights. . . ." <sup>23</sup> Accordingly, "... the Legislature of Florida asserts that whenever the General Government attempts to engage in the deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of powers not granted to it, the States. . . have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them. . . ." <sup>24</sup>

While the House resolution called the Supreme Court decisions "null, void, and of no effect," <sup>25</sup> it did not refer to them as illegal. The resolution viewed the Court's action as much in political as in legal terms. Thus, there is considerable emphasis on delineating the struggle between the states and the Court regarding these powers "reserved to the States respectively, or to the people"; <sup>26</sup> the resolution actually quotes the 10th Amendment on this point. The Florida resolution was as much concerned with redressing the balance of power within the traditional view of the American federal system of shared powers and overlapping functions and jurisdictions as it was in decrying what the Court did. <sup>27</sup> It is doubtful, however, that at the time the proposal was debated either its proponents or its opponents stopped to consider the political philosophy inherent in the measure. Feelings and emotions were running too high to allow for such subtle, academic discussions.

Action in the Senate on interposition took more time, and the politics involved were more complicated than they were in the House. At the same moment that the House was considering its resolution, Senate President William A. Shands of Alachua County and Senator Joe Eaton of Dade County introduced a strongly worded resolution which recog-

nized the rulings of the Supreme Court as legally binding on Florida, but asked the Court for more time to solve Florida's racial problems without federal interference.<sup>28</sup>

Three days later opponents of the House resolution in the Senate scored a minor victory when the Senators voted 22-15 against immediate consideration of the measure. Instead, they sent it to the Committee on Governmental Reorganization, which was examining two other resolutions, including the one prepared by Shands and Eaton. Senator Doyle Carlton, one of Collins' allies in the Senate, argued persuasively that "... the best interests of this body could be served if this committee would be given an opportunity to study these three documents. I don't see why only this measure should be given preferential treatment."<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, in spite of this victory, both supporters and opponents saw that it was at best a holding action. Senator Verle Pope, another of Collins' allies, noted that "Many who voted to refer it to Committee will vote for it on the floor."<sup>30</sup> Pope realized that the public wanted action on this matter and the senators were not going to jeopardize their positions by opposing the measure. Moreover, Shands, who opposed the House version of the resolution, refused to allow it to become a test of his Senate leadership; he was content to work quietly against it behind the scenes.<sup>31</sup> Even Governor Collins failed to take vigorous action opposing the House version. He and his aides regarded its passage as inevitable. As one aide later explained, "It would be foolish to burn up all our energy on that [issue] right at the start of the session."<sup>32</sup> Collins had presented an ambitious, multifaceted program to the legislature, and he was unwilling to jeopardize all or major parts of it over the interposition resolution. Clearly it was simply a matter of time before the House version also passed the Senate.

On April 15 the Senate Committee on Governmental Reorganization held afternoon and evening hearings on the interposition resolutions. Judge J. L. Fabisinski and John T. Wigginton, two men who had helped draw up the legislation on segregation passed the previous summer and who apparently represented Governor Collins' position on interposition, spoke in opposition to the House version. Fabisinski argued that an interposition resolution might seriously jeopardize the constitutionality of the pupil placement law. He noted that a suit had already been filed against the law, but that in preliminary remarks the presiding judge had indicated that he felt the law was constitutional; Fabisinski thought the resolution might persuade the judge to change his mind. Wigginton, a prominent Tallahassee attorney, claimed that proponents of interposition were only deluding themselves by their faith in the

“magical powers” of the resolution, and he expressed other concerns similar to those of Judge Fabisinski. During his appearance Wigginton antagonized several of the senators when he remarked that many would vote for interposition on the theory that “. . . it is better to be a live politician in Tallahassee than a dead statesman back home.”<sup>33</sup>

Attorney General Richard Ervin spoke in favor of the measure before the Committee. He argued that an interposition resolution would not hurt the state’s position on segregation in any way; nor, he felt, would it jeopardize the constitutionality of the pupil placement law. Also testifying in support of the House measure was Sumter Lowry, Collins’ principal opponent in the 1956 gubernatorial election and an ardent segregationist from Tampa. He held that Collins view of interposition was “not legally sound” and “not fair” for the state.<sup>34</sup> Assisting Lowry in his lobbying efforts on behalf of the resolution was Ed Ball, an influential figure in Florida politics.<sup>35</sup> Ball was head of the DuPont interests in Florida, and had been an active supporter of Lowry in the 1956 campaign. He had sent several aides to Tallahassee to help Lowry secure passage of the resolution.

After hearing and considering this testimony the Senate committee voted 11-2 in favor of the House version. Only Senators Pope and Carlton voted against it. In a second vote, the committee killed the other resolutions, including the one prepared by Shands and Eaton.<sup>36</sup>

On April 18 the resolution came to the Senate floor for final debate and a vote. Collins, who continued to exercise restraint in opposing the resolution, and his Senate allies made one final effort to prevent or stall further Senate action on it. A plan was devised in which the whole Senate would consider a motion to refer the resolution to another committee, where it would be subject to additional hearings, and perhaps killed altogether. However, on April 18, when the Senate opened debate on the resolution, the strategem failed; a motion to recommit lost by two votes. A last ditch attempt was made to stall further action until the following week. When this move also failed, opposition to the resolution collapsed. As Senator Pope later noted, “It would have been futile to fight futher. It would only have created more bitterness.”<sup>37</sup> Perhaps he also recognized that unless Collins had been willing to use all of his resources to stop the measure, it was impossible for the opponents to match the strength of its supporters in the Senate and among the lobbyists. In action lasting less than a minute, the Senate by voice vote passed the House version of the interposition resolution. Only a handful of nays could be heard when the vote was taken.<sup>38</sup> Florida had thus taken its place beside its southern neighbors in opposing the *Brown* decision.

Attorney General Ervin immediately praised the Senate's action, remarking that it reflected the majority of Floridians' thinking on race.<sup>39</sup> Governor Collins, however, denounced the decision. He said the resolution "stultifies our state. . . It will do no good whatever and those who say it can perpetrate a cruel hoax on the people."<sup>40</sup>

The next day, April 19, Collins released a lengthy statement on the interposition resolution. It is worth quoting in part because it denoted Collins' realization that interposition was a misguided step which would certainly not rescind the *Brown* decision and would only serve to embarrass Florida publicly.

This resolution of interposition is meaningless, and yet it means everything.

It means nothing in that it has absolutely no legal efficacy, and this was brought out repeatedly by the finest legal minds in this State.

It means everything, for it is an expression before the nation, before the entire world, of the sense of the Florida Legislature which can only cause it to be held up to ridicule by men who know the law and in disrepute by all citizens who know better in their hearts.

As I stated in my second inaugural address, the United States Supreme Court decisions are the law of the land. This nation's strength — and Florida's strength — are bottomed upon the basic reverse premise that ours is a land of the law.

It is a preposterous hoax, almost laughable, to suggest that any State can remain in the Union and yet, as if by some alchemy, isolate and quarantine itself against the effect of a decision of the United States Supreme Court.<sup>41</sup>

As strong as this statement was, Collins' most significant act of protest against the interposition resolution came on May 2, 1957, when the measure finally reached his desk for his signature. Under the terms of the resolution, copies had to be mailed to members of Congress, the President, Justices of the Supreme Court, and all governors and state legislatures. As Collins noted in his earlier statement, he had no power to veto a concurrent resolution. However, he wrote the following message across the face of the resolution:

This concurrent resolution of "Interposition" crosses the Governors [sic] desk as a matter of routine. I have no authority to veto it. I take this means however to advise the student of government, who may examine this document in the archives of the State in the years to come, that the Governor of Florida expressed open and vigorous opposition thereto. I feel that the U.S. Supreme Court has improperly usurped powers reserved to the States under the Constitution. I have joined in protesting such and in seeking legal means of avoidance. But if this resolution declaring deci-

sions of the Court to be "null and void" is to be taken seriously, it is anarchy and rebellion against the nation which must remain "indivisible, under God" if it is to survive. Not only will I not condone "Interposition" as so many have sought me to do, I decry it as an evil thing, whipped up by the demagogues and carried on the hot and erratic winds of passion, prejudice, and hysteria. If history judges me right this day, I want it known that I did my best to avert this blot. If I am judged wrong, then here in my own handwriting and over my signature is the proof of guilt to support my conviction.<sup>42</sup>

In the end, of course, Collins was vindicated. In late June, 1958, he observed that the order of a federal court to the University of Florida to admit black students at the graduate level demonstrated that the interposition resolution had been a failure.<sup>43</sup> At a press conference in May, 1960, he again noted that he still considered the interposition resolution a "lie and a hoax," and his principal regret was that he did not have the power to veto it.<sup>4</sup>

LeRoy Collins' administration was notable for the moderate, sensible leadership he provided on race at a time when demagogery and "massive resistance" were common courses of action by southern politicians. While the passage of the interposition resolution was a major defeat for his racial policies, it was his only one, and he never allowed it to deter him from his efforts to lead Florida in the direction which he thought best promoted the interest of the entire state, and all of its citizens.

Collins' efforts to improve race relations in Florida and to promote greater equality for blacks appear to have come from his own personal feelings and values. He began his governorship as a moderate segregationist, but came to realize that traditional attitudes were no longer appropriate to changes taking place in Florida and throughout the South.<sup>45</sup> Politically, Collins' position on race relations was far ahead of most of his constituents'. While he received considerable national attention and praise for his leadership on race, and was even considered a possible Democratic nominee for the Vice-Presidency in 1960, he encountered severe criticism in his own state. Collins was in the vanguard of the southern part of the growing civil rights movement during the late 1950's, but his leadership in this cause won him few, if any, additional admirers in Florida, and, in fact, probably undercut some of his support among state officials and the general population. His racial policies cost him the United States senatorial contest in 1968.

It was the force of his own convictions and his desire to do what he felt was morally right that caused him to protest so dramatically the interposition resolution in 1957. For these same reasons he consistently

sought to improve race relations during the remainder of his administration. He himself was fully conscious of the political costs he paid for his leadership. But he was also aware of the gains made in Florida. Perhaps Collins' own assessment, written shortly before leaving office in 1961, best expresses his accomplishments in this area:

No state ever "arrives" or comes to full maturity. But I feel that the years just past in Florida will always deserve to be known as maturing years—a time when our state crossed the threshold and got a good view of a much-broadened horizon of greatness.

The barriers of provincialism and defeatism, the suffocating cloak of prejudice and greed were pushed back. And I believe Floridians became better aware of their own strength, and more deeply committed to higher goals, and concerned with rewards far more ennobling and enduring than the usual products of pork-an-pie politics.<sup>46</sup>

## NOTES

1. Florida *Times-Union*, May 18, 1954, p. 1.
2. *The Congressional Quarterly*, May 21, 1954, p. 637.
3. Joseph Tomberlin, "Florida Whites and the *Brown* Decision of 1954," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (July, 1972), p. 33.
4. *Tampa Tribune*, May 19, 1954, p. 10.
5. Florida's southern neighbors had a much larger black population in 1954. For instance, blacks made up 32% of the population in Alabama, 39% in South Carolina, 46% in Mississippi, and 31% in Georgia. *Census of Population: 1950*. Vol. II (Washington, 1952). Volumes on Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, and South Carolina.
6. Helen L. Jacobstein, *The Segregation Factor in the Florida Democratic Primary of 1956*, University of Florida Social Sciences Monograph Series, Number 47 (Gainesville, 1972), p. 8.
7. The federal government actually facilitated Florida's efforts to buy time because it made no immediate effort to force dismantling of dual school systems. Even after the second *Brown* decision in 1955 [349 US 294 (1955)], virtually no pressure was applied by the Eisenhower administration to enforce the decree. As a result, no desegregation occurred in Florida or in other states of the deep South. See Harrell R. Rodgers, Jr., "The Supreme Court and School Desegregation," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXXIX, (Winter, 1974-75), pp. 751-756.
8. *New York Times*, February 26, 1956, p. 1.
9. *New York Times*, February 2, 1956, p. 17; *Ibid.*, February 14, 1956, p. 16; *Ibid.*, February 19, 1956, IV, p. 7; *Ibid.*, March 1, 1956, p. 67; *Ibid.*, March 6, 1956, p. 25; *Ibid.*, March 12, 1956, p. 1; *Ibid.*, May 24, 1956, p. 23; *Ibid.*, July 13, 1956, p. 20.
10. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1957, p. 7; *Ibid.*, May 5, 1957, p. 46; *Southern School News*, Vol. III, No. 11, May, 1957, p. 1.
11. For an analysis of the campaign rhetoric of southern governors on race in the years following the 1954 *Brown* decision, see Earl Black, "Southern Governors and Political Change: Campaign Stances on Racial Segregation and Economic Development," *Journal of Politics*, XXXIX (August, 1971), pp. 703-734.

12. LeRoy Collins Papers, 1955-1961; University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida. Statement of LeRoy Collins to Conference on Segregation, March 21, 1956, Box (8d) 3; *Tampa Tribune*, March 22, 1956, p. 1; *Miami Herald*, March 22, 1956, p. 1-a.

13. *Tampa Tribune*, July 17, 1956, p. 1; *Miami Herald*, July 17, 1956, pp. 1-a and 12-a.

14. Interview with Governor LeRoy Collins, Tallahassee, February 11, 1975; *Tampa Tribune*, July 19, 1956, p. 1; *Miami Herald*, July 19, 1956, p. 1-a; *Tampa Tribune*, July 21, 1956, p. 1; Collins Papers, 1955-1961; Speeches, Message to Legislature – Extraordinary Session, July 23, 1956, pp. 33-34, Box (8d) 3; *Miami Herald*, July 23, 1956, p. 1-c.

15. *Tampa Tribune*, July 22, 1956, pp. 1 and 2; *Miami Herald*, July 22, 1956, p. 1-a. Under the Florida constitution at that time, Collins had the exclusive right to determine the agenda for special legislative sessions, and the legislature could deal only with issues of his choosing except by a  $\frac{2}{3}$  vote of each House.

16. *Tampa Tribune*, July 24, 1956, p. 1; *Miami Herald*, July 24, 1956, p. 1-a; *Tampa Tribune*, July 25, 1956, p. 1; *Miami Herald*, July 25, 1956, p. 1-a; *Tampa Tribune*, July 27, 1956, p. 1; *Miami Herald*, July 27, 1956, p. 9a; *Tampa Tribune*, July 28, 1956, p. 1; *Miami Herald*, July 28, 1956, p. 1-b; *Tampa Tribune*, August 2, 1956, p. 1; *Miami Herald*, August 2, 1956, p. 1-a; interview with Governor LeRoy Collins, Tallahassee, February 11, 1975.

17. *Tampa Tribune*, August 2, 1956, p. 1.

18. Collins Papers, 1955-1961; Speeches, January 8-April 2, 1956, Box 1, Inaugural Address, January 8, 1957, pp. 10 and 12.

19. *Tampa Tribune*, January 9, 1957, pp. 1 and 12; *Miami Herald*, January 9, 1957, p. 6-a; *Tampa Tribune*, January 10, 1957, p. 1.

20. Collins Papers, 1955-1961; Speeches, January 8-April 2, 1957; Box 1, Message to the Legislature, April 2, 1957, p. 14.

21. *St. Petersburg Times*, April 5, 1957, p. 9-a; *Miami Herald*, April 5, 1957, p. 10-a; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, April 5, 1957, pp. 69 and 70; *Tampa Tribune*, April 6, 1957, p. 1; *St. Petersburg Times*, April 6, 1957, p. 9.

22. House Concurrent Resolution No. 174, *Journal of the House of Representatives*, p. 69 (hereafter cited as HCR).

23. HCR, p. 69.

24. HCR, p. 69.

25. HCR, p. 70.

26. HCR, p. 69.

27. Two important statements on this conception of American federalism can be found in Morton Grodzins, "The Federal System," in Aaron Wildavsky, *American Federalism in Perspective* (Boston: Little-Brown and Company, 1967), pp. 256-277; and Daniel J. Elazor, *American Federalism: A View from the States* (New York: Thomas T. Crowell Company, 1966).

28. *St. Petersburg Times*, April 6, 1957, p. 9; *Ibid.*, April 9, 1957, pp. 1 and 19.

29. *St. Petersburg Times*, April 9, 1957, pp. 1 and 19; *Miami Herald*, April 9, 1957, p. 10-a.

30. *St. Petersburg Times*, April 9, 1957, p. 1.

31. *Ibid.*, April 19, 1957, p. 1.

32. *Ibid.*, April 9, 1957, p. 1.

33. *Ibid.*, April 16, 1957, p. 17; *Miami Herald*, April 16, 1957, p. 2-a.

34. *St. Petersburg Times*, April 16, 1957, p. 17; *Miami Herald*, April 16, 1957, p. 2-a.

35. *St. Petersburg Times*, April 19, 1957, p. 1.

36. *Ibid.*, April 16, 1957, p. 17; *Miami Herald*, April 16, 1957, p. 2-a.

37. *St. Petersburg Times*, April 19, 1957, p. 1.

38. *Ibid.*, April 19, 1957, p. 1; *Miami Herald*, April 19, 1957, p. 1-a; *Journal of the Senate*, April 18, 1957, pp. 184-185.

39. *New York Times*, April 19, 1957, p. 15.

40. *Tampa Tribune*, April 19, 1957, p. 1; *New York Times*, April 19, 1957, p. 15; *Miami Herald*, April 19, 1957, p. 1-a.

41. Typescript Statement, Florida State Archives, Accession 68-02, Part 9, Box 336.

42. House Concurrent Resolution No. 174, April 5, 1957: From the records of the Bureau of Laws, Florida Department of State.

43. *Tampa Tribune*, June 20, 1957, p. 1; *St. Petersburg Times*, June 20, 1958, p. 7-a.

44. *Tampa Tribune*, May 18, 1960, p. 15; Collins Papers, 1955-1961; Speeches, Box No. 4, Speeches April 20-June 20, 1960; Transcript of New Conference, May 20, 1960, pp. 6-8.

45. Interview with Governor LeRoy Collins, Tallahassee, February 11, 1975.

46. *Tampa Tribune*, January 1, 1961, p. 10-a; see also *Miami Herald*, January 1, 1961, p. 6-a.

## APPENDIX

### **The Interposition Resolution of the Florida House of Representatives, April 5, 1957**

H. C. R. No. 174 — A resolution to declare the United States Supreme Court decisions usurping the powers reserved to the States and relating to education, labor, criminal procedure, treason and subversion to be null, void and of no effect; to declare that a contest of powers has arisen between the State of Florida and the Supreme Court of the United States; to invoke the doctrine of interposition; and for other purposes.

*Be It Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Florida, the Senate Concurring:*

That the Legislature of Florida doth hereby unequivocally express a firm and determined resolution to maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of this State against every attempt, whether foreign or domestic, to undermine and destroy the fundamental principles, embodied in our basic law, by which the liberty of the people and the sovereignty of the States, in their proper spheres, have been long protected and assured;

That the Legislature of Florida doth explicitly and preemptorily declare that it views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting solely from the compact, to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument creating that compact;

That the Legislature of Florida asserts that the powers of the Federal Government are valid only to the extent that these powers have been enumerated in the compact to which the various States assented originally and to which the States have assented in subsequent amendments validly adopted and ratified;

That the very nature of this basic compact, apparent upon its face, is that the ratifying States, parties thereto, have agreed voluntarily to surrender certain of their sovereign rights, but only certain of these sovereign rights, to a Federal Government thus constituted; and that all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, have been reserved to the States respectively, or to the people;

That the State of Florida has at no time surrendered to the General Government its right to exercise its powers in the field of labor, criminal procedure, and public education, and to maintain racially separate public schools and other public facilities;

That the State of Florida, in ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, did not agree, nor did the other States ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment agree, that the power to regulate labor, criminal proceedings, public education, and to operate racially separate public schools and other facilities was to be prohibited to them thereby;

And as evidence of such understanding as to the inherent power and authority of the States to regulate public education and the maintenance of racially separate public schools, the Legislature of Florida notes that the very Congress that submitted the Fourteenth Amendment for ratification established separate schools in the District of Columbia and that in more than one instance the same State Legislatures that ratified the Fourteenth Amendment also provided for systems of racially separate public schools;

That the Legislature of Florida denies that the Supreme Court of the United States had the right which it asserted in the school cases decided by it on May 17, 1954, the labor union case decided on May 21, 1956, the cases relating to criminal proceedings decided on April 23, 1956, and January 16, 1956, the anti-sedition case decided on April 2, 1956, and the case relating to teacher requirements decided on April 9, 1956, to enlarge the language and meaning of the compact by the States in an effort to withdraw from the States powers reserved to them and as daily exercised by them for almost a century;

That a question of contested power has arisen; the Supreme Court of the United States asserts, for its part, that the States did in fact prohibit unto themselves the power to regulate labor matters, criminal proceedings and public education and to maintain racially separate public institutions and the State of Florida, for its part, asserts that it and its sister States have never surrendered such rights;

That these assertions upon the part of the Supreme Court of the United States, accompanied by threats of coercion and compulsion against the sovereign States of this Union, constitute a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous attempt by the Court to prohibit to the States certain rights and powers never surrendered by them;

That the Legislature of Florida asserts that whenever the General Government attempts to engage in the deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of powers not granted to it, the States who are parties to the compact have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting

the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them;

That failure on the part of this State thus to assert its clear rights would be construed as acquiescence in the surrender thereof; and that such submissive acquiescence to the seizure of one right would in the end lead to the surrender of all rights, and inevitably to the consolidation of the States into one sovereignty, contrary to the sacred compact by which this Union of States was created;

That the question of contested power asserted in this resolution is not within the province of the Court to determine because the Court itself seeks to usurp the powers which have been reserved to the States, and, therefore, under these circumstances, the judgment of all of the parties to the compact must be sought to resolve the question. The Supreme Court is not a party to the compact, but a creature of the compact and the question of contested power should not be settled by the creature seeking to usurp the power, but by the parties to the compact who are the people of the respective States in whom ultimate sovereignty finally reposes;

That the Constitution of the State of Florida provides for full benefits to all its citizens with reference to educational facilities and under the Laws of Florida enacted by the Legislature through the Minimum Foundation Program its citizens under states' rights, all are being educated under the same general law and all teachers are being employed under identical educational qualifications and all are certified by the State Board of Education alike, which enables the people, themselves, in Florida to provide an educational establishment serviceable and satisfactory and in keeping with the social structure of the state. The people of Florida do not consent to changing state precedents and their rights by having doctrines thrust upon them by naked force alone, as promulgated in the school cases of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955;

That the doctrines of said decisions and other decisions denying to the States the right to have laws of their own dealing with subversion or espionage, and criminal proceedings, and denying the States the right to dismiss individuals from public employment who refuse to answer questions concerning their connections with communism by invoking the Fifth Amendment, and denying the States the right to provide for protective "right to work" laws, should not be forced upon the citizens of this State for the Court was without jurisdiction, power or authority to interfere with the sovereign powers of the State in such spheres of activity.

That the Court in its decisions relating to public education was without jurisdiction because (1) the jurisdiction of the Court granted by

the Constitution is limited to judicial cases in law and equity, and said cases were not of a judicial nature and character, nor did they involve controversies in law or equity, but, on the contrary, the great subjects of the controversy are of a legislative character, and not a judicial character, and are determinable only by the people themselves speaking through their legislative bodies; (2) the essential nature and effect of the proceedings relating exclusively to public schools operated by and under the authority of States, and pursuant to State laws and regulations, said cases were suits against the States, and the Supreme Court was without power or authority to try said cases, brought by individuals against States, because the Constitution forbids the Court to entertain suits by individuals against a State unless the State has consented to be sued;

That if said Court had had jurisdiction and authority to try and determine said cases, it was powerless to interfere with the operation of the public schools of States, because the Constitution of the United States does not confer upon the General Government any power or authority over such schools or over the subject of education, jurisdiction over these matters being reserved to the States, nor did the States by the Fourteenth Amendment authorize any interference on the part of the Judicial Department or any other department of the Federal Government with the operation by the States of such public schools as they might in their discretion see fit to establish and operate;

That by said cases the Court announces its power to adjudge State laws unconstitutional upon the basis of the Court's opinion of such laws as tested by rules of the inexact and speculative theories of psychological knowledge, which power and authority is beyond the jurisdiction of said Court;

That if the Court is permitted to exercise the power to judge the nature and effect of a law by supposed principles of psychological theory, and to hold the statute or Constitution of a State unconstitutional because of the opinions of the Judges as to its suitability, the States will have been destroyed, and the indestructible Union of Indestructible States established by the Constitution of the United States will have ceased to exist, and in its stead the Court will have created, without jurisdiction or authority from the people, one central government of total power;

That implementing its decision relating to public education of May 17, 1954, said Court on May 31, 1955 upon further consideration of said cases, said: "All provisions of Federal, State, or local law... must yield" to said decision of May 17, 1954; said Court thereby presuming arrogantly to give orders to the State of Florida;

That it is clear that said Court has deliberately resolved to disobey the Constitution of the United States, and to flout and defy the Supreme Law of the Land;

That the State of Florida, as is also true of the other sovereign states of the Union, has the right to enact laws relating to subversion or espionage, criminal proceedings, dismissing public employees who refuse to answer questions concerning their connections with communism and “right to work” protection, and has the right to operate and maintain a public school system utilizing such educational methods therein as in her judgment are conducive to the welfare of those to be educated and the people of the State generally, this being a governmental responsibility which the State has assumed lawfully, and her rights in this respect have not in any wise been delegated to the Central Government, but, on the contrary, she and the other States have reserved such matters to themselves by the terms of the Tenth Amendment. Being possessed of this lawful right, the State of Florida is possessed of power to repel every unlawful interference therewith;

That the duty and responsibility of protecting life, property and the priceless possessions of freedom rests upon the Government of Florida as to all those within her territorial limits. The State alone has this responsibility. Laboring under this high obligation she is possessed of the means to effectuate it. It is the duty of the State in flagrant cases such as this to interpose its powers between its people and the effort of said Court to assert an unlawful dominion over them; THEREFORE,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA, THE SENATE CONCURRING:

Section 1. That said decisions and orders of the Supreme Court of the United States denying the individual sovereign states the power to enact laws relating to espionage or subversion, criminal proceedings, the dismissal of public employees for refusal to answer questions concerning their connections with communism, “right to work” protection, and relating to separation of the races in the public institutions of a State, are null, void and of no force or effect.

Section 2. That the elected representatives of the people of Florida do now seriously declare that it is the intent and duty of all officials, state and local, to observe, honorably, legally and constitutionally, all appropriate measures available to resist these illegal encroachments upon the sovereign powers of this State.

Section 3. That we urge firm and deliberate efforts to check these and further encroachments on the part of the Federal Government, and

on the part of said Court through judicial legislation, upon the reserved powers of all the States' powers never surrendered by the remotest implication but expressly reserved and vitally essential to the separate and independent autonomy of the States in order that by united efforts the States may be preserved.

Section 4. That a copy of this Resolution be transmitted by His Excellency The Governor to the Governor and Legislature of each of the other States, to the President of the United States, to each of the Houses of Congress, to Florida's Representatives and Senators in the Congress, and to the Supreme Court of the United States for its information.

– was read the first time in full.

Mr. Daniel moved that the rules be waived and House Concurrent Resolution No. 174 be read the second time in full.

The motion was agreed to by a two-thirds vote and House Concurrent Resolution No. 174 was read the second time in full.

Mr. Daniel moved the adoption of the concurrent resolution.

Pending consideration thereof—

Mr. Herrell moved that further consideration of House Concurrent Resolution No. 174 be temporarily deferred.

A roll call was demanded.

When the vote was taken on the motion the result was:

Yeas:

Askins	Hollahan	Orr	Turlington
Barron	Hopkins	Papy	Weinstein
Beasley	Karl	Patton	Westberry
Carney	Land	Porter	Youngberg
Crews	Livingston	Ryan	Zelmenovitz
Gibbons	Maness	Shaffer	
Harris	Mann	Smith, R.J.	
Herrell	Musselman	Sweeney	

Nays:

Alexander	Griffin, J.J., Jr.	Muldrew	Smith, S.C.
Anderson	Grimes	O'Neill	Stewart, C.D.
Arrington	Hathaway	Peacock	Stead, E.L.
Ayres	Horne	Peavy	Stone
Beck	Inman	Peters	Strickland
Blank	Jones	Petersen	Surles
Chaires	Kimbrough	Pratt	Sutton
Chappell	Lancaster	Putnal	Usina
Cleveland	Manning	Roberts, C.A.	Wadsworth

Costin	Marshburn	Roberts, E.S.	Walker
Cross	Mathews	Roberts, H.W.	Williams, B.D.
Daniel	Mattox	Rowell, E.C.	Williams, G.W.
Duncan	Mitchell, R.O.	Rowell, M.H.	Williams, J.R. A.
Frederick	Mitchell, Sam	Russ	Wise
Griffin, B.H., Jr.	Moody	Saunders	

Yeas – 29

Nays – 59

The motion that further consideration of House Concurrent Resolution No. 174 be temporarily deferred was not agreed to.

The question recurred on the adoption of the concurrent resolution.

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## LIST OF MEMBERS

Members of the Historical Association of Southern Florida enjoy the ongoing program of the Association, the special events, meetings, program series and two publications, the bi-monthly *Update* and the annual *Tequesta*. They have the use of the research library and the archives located in the Historical Museum.

Membership revenues benefit the public service and educational programs and projects of the Association.

The roster below is made up of the names of those persons and institutions that have paid dues since September 30, 1976. Those joining after September 30, 1977 will have their names on the 1978 roster.

Sustaining members, (Ss) paid ten dollars annually, this category has been discontinued.

“Patron,” single, (P), pay fifteen dollars per year, “Subscriber,” (Sb), pay a minimum of fifteen dollars, “Donor,” (D), twenty-five, “Contributor,” (C), fifty, “Sponsor,” (Sp), one hundred, “Benefactor,” (B), two hundred and fifty or more, “Life,” (L), one thousand. Honorary Life Membership (HL), is voted by the Board of Directors to recognize special services to the Association. The symbol \*\* indicates Founding Member and the symbol \* indicates Charter Member.

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Adams Mrs. Flagner, Homestead (D)	Albury, Dr. Paul, Nassau, Bahamas (D)	Ames, Mrs. Theron W., Coral Gables (P)
Adams, Eugene C., Miami (P)	Aldrich, Mr. & Mrs. Roy L., Jr., Miami (P)	Anania, Mr. & Mrs. Francis, Miami (D)
Adams, Mr. & Mrs. Nate L. II, Coral Gables (D)	Alexander, David L., Sidney, OH (D)	Anderson, Marie, Miami (C)
Adams, Mrs. Richard B., Miami (Ss)	Alexander, Dr. & Mrs. Julius, Miami (Sp)	Anderson, Phillip R., Miami (P)
Adams, Wilton L., Miami (P)	Allen, Mrs. Eugenia, Miami (P)	Anderson, Mrs. W. R., Miami (Ss)
Adderly, Mrs. Elaine, Miami (Ss)	Allen, Mrs. Leffler, Coral Gables (Ss)	Andrews, Mrs. Carmele L., Miami (P)
Admire, Jack G., Coral Gables (D)	Allen, Raymond, Miami (P)	Angus, Mrs. W. S., Miami (P)
Admire, Mrs. Jack G., Coral Gables (D)	Allston, Mrs. William F., Miami (P)	Ansbaugh, Mrs. Fay X., Jonesboro, TN (P)

- Ansin, Mr. & Mrs. Edmund,  
 Coral Gables (D)  
 Apthorp, Mr. & Mrs. James,  
 Miami (D)  
 Archer, Ben, Homestead (P)  
 Arel, Mr. & Mrs. Armand G.,  
 Coral Gables (P)  
 Aschman, David C., Coral  
 Gables (P)  
 Ashe, Miss Barbara Rose,  
 Coral Gables (P)  
 Atherton, Laurine E., Coral  
 Gables (Ss)  
 Atkinson, Judge Edith M.,  
 Miami (Ss)  
 Atwood, Mrs. Charles F.,  
 Miami (P)  
 Aurfurt, Mrs. Nina P., Coral  
 Gables (P)  
 Aurell, Mrs. John K., Coral  
 Gables (Ss)  
 Averbrook, Daniel Z., Miami  
 (Ss)  
 Ayars, Erling E., Coral Gables  
 (P)  
 Ayer, John H., Miami (Ss)  
  
 Bachmann, Dr. & Mrs. Albert  
 E. J., Coral Gables (P)  
 Bacon, Mrs. Jones, Miami (P)  
 Baden, Mrs. Thomas, Miami  
 Shores (P)  
 Badgett, H. Sue, North Miami  
 (P)  
 Baggs, Mrs. L., Jr., Coral  
 Gables (D)  
 Bagley, Mrs. G. W., Miami (P)  
 Baker, Charles H., Jr., Naples  
 (P)  
 Baldwin, C. Jackson, Miami  
 (Ss)  
 Balfe, Mrs. E. Hutchins,  
 Miami (P)  
 Ball, Mrs. Ivan E., Miami  
 Shores (P)  
 Banks, Charlotte, Miami  
 Springs (P)  
 Banks, Col. & Mrs. Richard,  
 Miami (P)  
 Barkdull, Thoms H. Jr., Miami  
 (Ss)  
 Barnes, Col. Francis H.,  
 Miami (P)  
 Barrett, Sue, Miami (P)  
 Bartow, Nevett S., Miami (P)  
 Bates, Franklin W., Miami  
 (Ss)  
 Battle, Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin,  
 Miami (D)  
  
 Battles, Mr. & Mrs. Nicholas,  
 Miami (P)  
 Baucom, Mrs. Ruth Kaune, Ft.  
 Myers (P)  
 \*Baxter, John M., Miami (Ss)  
 Baya, George J., Esq., Miami  
 (P)  
 Beal, Mrs. K. Malcolm,  
 Miami (P)  
 Beare, Mrs. Richard, Miami  
 (P)  
 Beauor, Ralph, Miami (P)  
 Beckham, W. H., Jr., Coral  
 Gables (D)  
 Beddall, Mrs. James J., Miami  
 (D)  
 Beem, Mr. & Mrs. William,  
 Miami (P)  
 Beeman, Mrs. Charles, Coral  
 Gables (P)  
 Beilinson, Les D., Miami  
 Beach (P)  
 Bell, Liselle A., Miami (P)  
 Bell-Thomson, Rosanna,  
 Miami (P)  
 Beriault, John G., Naples (P)  
 Berkowitz, Dr. & Mrs.  
 Samuel, Coral Gables (P)  
 Berndt, Mrs. Charles F.,  
 Miami (P)  
 Biedron, Mrs. Stanley, Coral  
 Gables (D)  
 Biewala, R. A., Miami (P)  
 Biggane, Dr. & Mrs. Charles  
 F., Jr., (P)  
 Biggs, V. Jean, Miami (Ss)  
 Biglin, Mrs. W. A., Ft.  
 Lauderdale (D)  
 Bills, Mrs. John T., Miami (D)  
 Black, George Robison,  
 Miami (D)  
 Black, Mr. & Mrs. Leon, Jr.,  
 Coral Gables (D)  
 Black, Mrs. Martha Miami (D)  
 Blackburn, Elmer E., Miami  
 (D)  
 Blanc, Lodovico, Miami (P)  
 Blanch, Dr. & Mrs. William,  
 Miami (P)  
 Blankenship, Gerry, Miami (P)  
 Bloomberg, Robert L. Miami  
 (P)  
 Blue, Mrs. R.L., Miami  
 Shores (D)  
 Blue Lakes Elementary  
 P.T.A., Miami (Sb)  
 Blumberg, Mr. & Mrs. David,  
 Coral Gables (D)  
  
 Boccard, Mrs. Mathew L.,  
 Miami (Ss)  
 Bohan, Brent Alan, Boynton  
 Beach (P)  
 Bolderick, Samuel J., Miami  
 (P)  
 Bonovia, Patricia & Paul,  
 Miami (P)  
 Bonowit, O. J., Miami (P)  
 Botta, Vincent J., South  
 Miami (P)  
 Bouterse, Donald, Miami (P)  
 Bowen, Forest, Miami (P)  
 Bower, Robert S., North  
 Miami Beach (P)  
 Bowker, Mrs. Gordon, Miami  
 (P)  
 Braddock, Mrs. G. Holmes,  
 Miami (P)  
 Bradford, Mrs. S. A., Coral  
 Gables (P)  
 Brandt, Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth,  
 Miami (P)  
 Brannen, H. S., Miami Springs  
 (P)  
 Breeze, Mrs. K. W., Miami  
 Shores (P)  
 Bremer, Barbara, Miami (Ss)  
 Brickman, Richard, Miami  
 (Ss)  
 Brimson, Mr. & Mrs. W.G.,  
 Sr., Coral Gables (D)  
 Brinker, Richard, Miami (D)  
 Brogan, Mr. & Mrs. Frank D.,  
 Miami (P)  
 \*Brookfield, Charles, Miami  
 (P)  
 Brooks, J. R., Tavernier (P)  
 Broward County  
 Archeological Society,  
 Hollywood (Sb)  
 Broward County Historical  
 Commission, Ft.  
 Lauderdale (Sp)  
 Brown, Mrs. Andrew G.,  
 Miami (P)  
 Brown, Mr. & Mrs. Bowman,  
 Coral Gables (P)  
 Brown, Maida F., Miami (P)  
 Brown, Mrs. Sylvia G., Miami  
 (Ss)  
 Brown University Library,  
 Providence, RI (Sb)  
 Browne, Jefferson L., Coral  
 Gables (Ss)  
 Bruce, Betty M., Key West (P)  
 Brunelle, Mrs. Gaylord, A.,  
 Coral Gables (P)

- Brunstetter, Mrs. Roscoe,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Budenz, Mrs. Margaret R.,  
Miami (Ss)
- Buhler, Mr. & Mrs. Jean E.,  
Vero Beach (P)
- Buhler, Sylvia, Coral Gables  
(Ss)
- Buker, Charles E., Sr., Miami  
(D)
- Burkart, David P., Coral  
Gables (P)
- Burkett, Mrs. Charles W., Jr.,  
Miami Beach (D)
- Burkhardt, Sue Pope, West  
Palm Beach (P)
- Burnett, Mrs. Robert L., Jr.,  
Miami Lakes (P)
- Burns, Edward B., Las Cruces,  
NM (P)
- Burr, Mrs. Raymond O.,  
Miami (P)
- Burrus, E. Carter, Jr., Miami  
(P)
- Burt, Al, Hawthorne (P)
- Burton, Mrs. Robert A., Jr.,  
Miami (P)
- Byrd, Mrs. David T., Miami  
(C)
- Cadwallader, Florence H.,  
Miami (P)
- Callahan, Mrs. K. W., Coral  
Gables (Ss)
- Cameron, D. Pierre G., Miami  
(P)
- Cameron, Joanna M., Miami  
(P)
- Campbell, Jack, Miami (Sp)
- Carden, Marguerite, Miami  
(P)
- Carlton, Mrs. Patricia P., Ft.  
Lauderdale (P)
- Carman, Carol L., Miami (Ss)
- Carney, Mr. & Mrs. Harry K.,  
North Miami (P)
- Carr, Mrs. A. Marvin, Miami  
(P)
- Carrol, Mrs. J. Lawrence,  
Miami (P)
- Cartee, Mrs. Horace L., Coral  
Gables (P)
- Casanave, Charles L., Miami  
(P)
- Cassano, Mrs. E. F., Miami (P)
- Cassidy, Owen J., Miami (D)
- Caster, Mrs. George B., Coral  
Gables (D)
- Castillo, Robert, Miami (P)
- \*Catlow, Mr. & Mrs. William  
R., Jr., (D)
- Cayton, Leona Peacock (P)
- Chandler, Mrs. Winifred,  
Miami (P)
- Chaille, Joseph H. North  
Miami (D)
- Chaille, Mrs. Josiah, Miami  
(P)
- Chalfant, Helen C., Miami (P)
- Chaplin, Mrs. Katherine D.,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Chapman, Arthur A., Miami  
(P)
- Chapman, Stella Tuttle,  
Homestead (P)
- Chardon, Roland E., Baton  
Rouge, LA (C)
- Chase, C. W., Jr., Miami Beach  
(Ss)
- Chastain, Dixie, Miami (P)
- Chastain, R. B., Miami (P)
- Cheatham, Mrs. John H., Jr.,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Childress, L. C., Coral Gables  
(P)
- Chilliss, Mrs. J. Aranha, Miami  
(P)
- Chowning, John S., Coral  
Gables (D)
- Christensen, Mrs. Charlotte  
C., Miami (P)
- Clarendon, David P., Miami  
(Ss)
- Clark, Bernal E., Miami (P)
- Clark, Betty Carman, Goulds  
(P)
- Clark, Mrs. H. L., Miami  
Shores (C)
- Clark, Mrs. Mae Knight, Coral  
Gables (C)
- Clay, Dana, Coral Gables (P)
- Clearwater Public Library,  
Clearwater (Sb)
- Coates, Miss Beatrice, Coral  
Gables (P)
- Cobb, Lillian S., Miami (P)
- Coconut Grove Library,  
Miami (Sb)
- Cogswell, Mr. & Mrs. T. J.,  
Coral Gables (D)
- Cole, R. B., Miami (P)
- Coleman, Mrs. Florence B.,  
Miami (Ss)
- Coleman, Hannah P., Miami  
(P)
- Collier County Historical  
Society, Naples (Sb)
- Collier County Museum &  
Archives, Naples (Sb)
- Collier Free Public Library,  
Naples (Sb)
- Colsky, Dr. & Mrs. Jacob &  
Family, Miami (P)
- Colson, Bill, Miami (D)
- Combs, Walter, Miami (P)
- Compton, Mrs. Lucretia C.,  
Miami (Ss)
- Conklin, Miss Dallas M.,  
Long Beach, CA (L)
- Conlon, Frank C., Hollywood  
(P)
- Conlon, Lyndon C.,  
Hollywood (P)
- Cook, Miss Mary C.,  
Crownpoint, NM (Ss)
- Cool, Stephen E., Cooper City  
(Ss)
- Cooney, Mrs. Robert, Miami  
Shores (P)
- Cooper, Mr. & Mrs. W. Worth,  
Miami (P)
- Coplan, Dr. Milton M., Coral  
Gables (Ss)
- \*Coral Gables Public Library,  
Coral Gables (Sb)
- Corliss, Carlton J., Tallahassee  
(P)
- Cormack, Elroy Calvin, El  
Portal (P)
- Corson, Dr. & Mrs. Richard,  
Miami (P)
- Corwin, Dr. William, Coral  
Gables (P)
- Costello, Mrs. Gertrude,  
Miami (P)
- Costello, Mr. James, Miami  
(P)
- Cothron, Pat, Goulds (P)
- Covington, Dr. James W.,  
Tampa (P)
- Cox, Harold P., Miami (D)
- Cox, Dr. William E., Jr.,  
Chagrin Falls, OH (P)
- Crane, Mrs. Francis V., Center  
Lovell, ME (P)
- Crane, Raymond E. & Ellen F.  
Foundation, Miami (B)
- Cranshaw, Mr. & Mrs.  
George, Islamorada (Ss)
- Criswell, Col. Grover C., Citra  
(P)
- Creel, Earl M., Melbourne (P)
- Creel, Joe, Coral Gables (P)
- Cross, J. Alan, Miami (P)
- Crow, Lon Worth, Jr., Coral  
Gables (D)

- Crow, Mrs. Mary Graham,  
Palos Verdes Estates, CA  
(D)
- Crowder, Mrs. James F. Jr.,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Crum, Mary Cooney, Fort  
Lauderdale (P)
- Cuevas, Elba J., Key Biscayne  
(P)
- Culburtson, Mr. & Mrs. W. W.,  
Miami (P)
- Cullom, Mrs. Caryl J., Miami  
(P)
- Culmer, Mrs. John E., Miami  
(Ss)
- Culpepper, Mrs. Kay M.,  
Miami (P)
- Cunningham, Doty, Miami  
(Ss)
- Curry, Miss Lamar Louise,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Curwood, Mr. & Mrs. W. J.,  
Miami (P)
- \*Cushman, Dr. Laura, Miami  
(P)
- Dager, H. J., Jr., Miami (Sp)
- Dade Heritage Trust, Miami  
(Sp)
- D'Alemberte, Mrs. Sandy,  
Miami (D)
- Daly, Mrs. John P., South  
Miami (Ss)
- Daniel, Mr. & Mrs. W. A., Jr.,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Danielson, J. Deering, Coral  
Gables (C)
- D.A.R., Coral Gables Chapter  
(C)
- Davenport, Dr. & Mrs. O. W.,  
Miami (D)
- Davidson, Mrs. Robert M.,  
Miami (P)
- Davis, Mrs. Carl H., Miami  
(P)
- Davis, Mr. & Mrs. Frank C.,  
Miami (D)
- Davis, Rubie Thigpen, Miami  
Shores (P)
- Davis, Hal D., Coral Gables  
(D)
- Davis, Jean McArthur  
(McArthur Foundation),  
Miami (B)
- Dean, Kate Stirrup, Miami (D)
- DeBoe, Mrs. M. P., Coral  
Gables (Ss)
- DeCarion, George H., Miami  
(D)
- Decker, Elroy L., Miami (D)
- Dee, Mr. & Mrs. William E.,  
Miami Springs (P)
- Dekle, Linda N., Miami (Ss)
- DeNies, Charles F., Hudson,  
MI (D)
- Detroit Public Library,  
Detroit, MI (Sb)
- Dibble, Dr. Ernest, Coral  
Gables (P)
- Dickey, Dr. Robert, Coral  
Gables (D)
- \*Dismukes, William Paul,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Donovan, James Maitland, Jr.,  
Miami (P)
- Dorn, Mrs. Robert, Miami (P)
- \*Dorothy, Mrs. Caroline,  
Miami (P)
- Dorsey, Mrs. Mary C., Coral  
Gables (P)
- Dotson, Mary Jo, Miami (D)
- Dougherty, Mr. & Mrs. Jas. C.,  
Miami (P)
- Douglas, Marjory Stoneman,  
Miami (P)
- Dupuch, Sir Etienne, OBE,  
Nassau, Bahamas (D)
- DuPuis, John G., Jr., Miami  
(D)
- Dusman, Gilbert, Coral  
Gables (P)
- Dusman, Florence R., Coral  
Gables (Ss)
- Douns, Mrs. Dorothy, Miami  
(P)
- Duvall, Mrs. John E., Miami  
(Ss)
- Dowlen, Dr. L. W., Jr., Coral  
Gables (D)
- DuBois, Bessie Wilson,  
Jupiter (D)
- Duffy, Mr. & Mrs. E. Hugh,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Dugas, Mrs. Faye, Coral  
Gables (D)
- Dumas, Ernest M., Jupiter (Ss)
- Dunan, Mrs. G. V. R., Miami  
(D)
- Dunan, Mrs. Otis F., Coral  
Gables (D)
- Duncan, Marvin L., Miami  
(Ss)
- Duncan, Norman, Coral  
Gables (Ss)
- Dunlop, Mrs. Donald D.,  
Miami (P)
- Dunn, Hampton, Tampa (P)
- Dunty, R. P., Jr., Lake Placid  
(P)
- Dunwody, Atwood, Miami (D)
- Durkatz, Miss Deya, Miami  
Beach (P)
- Edelen, Ellen, Miami (P)
- Edelson, Michele, Miami (P)
- Edward, Jim, Boynton Beach  
(D)
- Edwards, Robert V., M.D.,  
Coral Gables (D)
- Eggert, Jim C., Miami (Ss)
- Ellenburg, Mr. & Mrs. James,  
Miami (D)
- Elliot, Donald L., Miami (P)
- Ellis, Mrs. Howard N., Miami  
(P)
- El Portal Womens Club,  
Miami (P)
- Engel, Mrs. Anne P., Miami  
(D)
- Eppes, William D., Coral  
Gables/New York City (P)
- Erickson, Douglas, Miami (P)
- Erickson, Mrs. Melville A.,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Errera, Mrs. Dorothy, Miami  
(P)
- Essner, Mrs. & Mrs. Gene,  
Miami (D)
- Everglades Natural History  
Assn., Homestead (P)
- Ewell, Mrs. A. Travers, South  
Miami (Ss)
- Eyster, J. R., Islamorada (Ss)
- Ezell, Mr. & Mrs. Boyce F. III,  
Miami (Sp)
- Fagin, Judith Eve, Miami (D)
- Farina, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph P.,  
Miami Shores (C)
- Fascell, Dante B.,  
Washington, DC (P)
- Fenner, Patricia Larkins,  
Miami (P)
- Ferentino, Andrew J., Coral  
Gables (D)
- Ferguson, Mrs. Milton,  
Boynton Beach (P)
- Ferre, Mayor & Mrs. Maurice,  
Miami (P)
- Field, Captain & Mrs.  
Benjamin P., Lantana (P)
- Fields, Mrs. Eddie, Miami (Ss)
- Filer, Mrs. Frank E., Miami  
(Ss)
- Finlay, James N., Miami (P)

- Firestone, Senator George,  
Miami (D)
- Fischer, Mr. & Mrs. E. F.,  
Miami (P)
- Fitzgerald, Dr. Joseph H.,  
Miami (Sp)
- Fitzgerald-Bush, Frank S.,  
OpaLocka (P)
- Fleeger, Don R., North Miami  
(P)
- Fleming, Joseph Z., Miami (P)
- Flinn, Mrs. Gene, Miami (D)
- Florence, Robert S., Miami (P)
- Florida Atlantic University,  
Boca Raton (Sb)
- Florida International  
University, Miami (Sb)
- Florida Southern College,  
Lakeland (Sb)
- Florida Technical University,  
Orlando (Sb)
- Floyd, Shirley P., Jupiter (Ss)
- Fogg, Mrs. A. S. Jr., Coral  
Gables (P)
- Forde, Nicholas Clive deB,  
Barbados, W.I. (Ss)
- Ft. Lauderdale Historical  
Society, Ft. Lauderdale  
(Sb)
- Fortner, Ed, Ocala (P)
- Foss, George B., Jr., Esq.,  
Miami (D)
- Foundation of Jewish  
Philanthropies, Miami (B)
- Fowler, Mrs. Walter H., North  
Miami (P)
- Fox, Chief & Mrs. Kenneth,  
Miami (D)
- Franklin, Mitchell, New  
Brunswick, Canada (P)
- Franklin, Mrs. Sandra, Miami  
(P)
- Frates, Mr. & Mrs. William,  
Coral Gables (D)
- Frazer, Col. Fred J., USMC  
(ret), Miami (D)
- Frazier, James C., Miami (D)
- Frederick Mr. John M.,  
Homestead (Ss)
- Freed, Mr. & Mrs. Owen,  
Coral Gables (D)
- Freiden, Ms. Ellen, Miami (D)
- Fricke, Mr. & Mrs. W. F.,  
Miami (P)
- Friend, The Reverend Wm. B.,  
Mobile, AL (Ss)
- Frisbie, Mr. & Mrs. Loyal,  
Bartow (D)
- Frohock, Mrs. Jack, North  
Miami (P)
- Frohring, Mr. & Mrs. Paul,  
Key Biscayne (D)
- Fuchs, Richard W., Naranja  
(P)
- Fullerton, Mr. & Mrs. John P.,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Furman, Rose Mary, Miami  
(Ss)
- Fussell, Mr. & Mrs. J. E.,  
Miami (P)
- Gabler, Mrs. George E.,  
Miami (D)
- Gaby, Donald C., Miami (C)
- Gallogly, Ms. Vera, Coral  
Gables (P)
- Gannaway, Mrs. K. C., Key  
Largo (P)
- Gardner, Mrs. Dick B., Miami  
(P)
- Gardner, Mr. & Mrs. Robert J.,  
Coral Gables (C)
- Garrison, Martha Gatti, Miami  
(Ss)
- Gart Urban Associates, Coral  
Gables (C)
- Gautier, Redmond Bunn,  
Miami (P)
- Gentle, Edgar, Birmingham,  
AL (P)
- George, Paul S., Tallhassee  
(Ss)
- Gerace, Mrs. Terence, Coral  
Gables (D)
- German, Mr. & Mrs. Trent,  
Miami (D)
- Gibson, John N., Pearsall, TX  
(Ss)
- \*Gifford, Mrs. John C., Miami  
(P)
- Godown, Marian B., Ft. Myers  
(Ss)
- Goldman, Sue S., Miami (P)
- Goldstein, Charles, Miami (P)
- Goldstein, Harvey L., Miami  
(P)
- Goldweber, S., Perrine (P)
- Gooding, Naomi Cornell,  
Miami (P)
- Goodlett, Mr. & Mrs. R. O.,  
Miami (D)
- Goodlove, Mrs. William,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Gordon, Mr. & Mrs. Howard,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Gorman, Ms. Sharon,  
Pompano Beach (D)
- Gorman, Mr. & Mrs. William  
C., Coral Gables (D)
- Gottlieb, Julie, Miami (Ss)
- Gowin, Dr. & Mrs. Thomas  
Skaggs, Miami (Sp)
- Goza, William M., Clearwater  
(P)
- Grafton, Mr. & Mrs. Edward,  
Coral Gables (C)
- Graham, D. Robert, Miami  
(Sp)
- Graham, Dorothy W., Miami  
(P)
- Graham, Mr. & Mrs. William  
C., Miami Lakes (D)
- Grant, Hazel Reeves, Miami  
(Ss)
- Green, Mrs. Lonsdale B.,  
Miami Beach (P)
- Greenan, Mr. & Mrs. Gary,  
Miami (P)
- Greer, Mr. & Mrs. Alan, Coral  
Gables (D)
- Griley, Victor P., Miami (Ss)
- Griley, Mr. & Mrs. Victor P.,  
Jr., Miami (Ss)
- Grose, Esther N., Miami (P)
- Gross, Dr. Zade Bernard,  
Largo (P)
- Gubbins, John M., North  
Miami (P)
- Gulfstream Park, Hallandale  
(B)
- Guthrie, J. Michael, Miami (P)
- Haas, Mr. & Mrs. Ronald,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Hamilton, Mr. & Mrs. Clinton,  
Miami (D)
- Hamlin, Miss Betsy Belle,  
Miami (Ss)
- Hampton, Mrs. John,  
Baltimore, MD (P)
- Han, Marilyn, Key Biscayne  
(Ss)
- Hance, Nancy V., Miami (P)
- Hancock, Eleanor Stone,  
Miami (D)
- Hancock, Eugene A., Jr.,  
Miami (D)
- Hancock, Mrs. James T.,  
Jacksonville Beach (P)
- Hannau, Dr. Hans & Ilse,  
Miami Beach (D)
- Hardie, George B., Jr., South  
Miami (D)
- Hardin, Henry C., Jr., M.D.,  
Coral Gables (D)

- Harding, Mrs. Henry K.,  
Boynton Beach (Ss)
- Harper, Florence F., Miami  
(Ss)
- Harrington, Frederick H.,  
Hialeah (P)
- Harris, Robert, Miami (P)
- Harrison, Mrs. A. D., Miami  
(Ss)
- Harrison, Mrs. Crutcher Field,  
Miami (P)
- Harrison, John C., Miami (L)
- Harrison, Mr. & Mrs. John C.,  
Jr., Coral Gables (D)
- Harrison, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph  
R., Jr., Miami (D)
- Harrison, Mr. & Mrs. M. R.,  
Jr., Miami (P)
- Harvard College Library,  
Cambridge, MA (Sb)
- Harwood, Mrs. Manton E.,  
Coral Gables (Ss)
- Hatfield, Bruce, Miami (Ss)
- Hatfield, Mr. & Mrs. M. H.,  
North Miami (D)
- Hauser, Mr. & Mrs. Leo A.,  
Carrollton, GA (P)
- Hayes, Emmie S., Miami (P)
- Rutherford B. Hayes Library,  
Freemont, OH (Sb)
- Head-Beckham Insurance  
Agency Inc., Miami (P)
- Heatley, Mrs. Timothy K.,  
South Miami (P)
- Hector, Louis J., Miami (D)
- Hector, Mr. & Mrs. Robert C.,  
Miami (P)
- Hector, Mrs. Robert C., Jr.,  
Miami (Ss)
- Heinl, Mrs. J. L., III, Miami  
(P)
- Helmke, Ms. Wilma, Miami  
(D)
- Hendry, Judge Norman,  
Miami (P)
- \*Herin, Thomas D., Miami  
(Ss)
- Herin, Judge William A.,  
Miami (P)
- Herreshoff, Mrs. Rebecca,  
Miami (P)
- Hialeah, Library Division,  
Hialeah (Sb)
- Hibbard, R. W., Miami (P)
- Hicks, William M., Miami (D)
- Hiers, J. B., Jr., Miami (P)
- Highleyman, Daly, Miami (D)
- Highleyman, Katherine D.,  
Miami (P)
- Hildreth, Robert R., Coral  
Gables (D)
- Hill, Herbert, Miami (P)
- Hillbauer, Mrs. William C.,  
Sr., Miami (P)
- Hills, Lee, Miami (D)
- Hinkley, Mrs. Edward, Miami  
(Ss)
- Historical Society of Palm  
Beach County, Palm  
Beach (Sb)
- Historic Key West  
Preservation Board, Key  
West (Sb)
- Hobbs, J. C., Coral Gables (P)
- Hodges, Mr. T. K., Miami (P)
- Hodsden, Mrs. Harry E.,  
Miami (P)
- Hoeffel, Mrs. Kenneth, Chevy  
Chase, MD (D)
- Hoffman, Nancy, Miami (P)
- Hofstetter, Mrs. Ronald,  
Miami (Ss)
- Hogan, Mrs. Thomas D., III,  
Miami (P)
- Holcomb, Lyle D., Jr., Coral  
Gables (P)
- Holland, George Russell,  
Miami (P)
- Holmberg, Rowland, Miami  
(P)
- Holsenbeck, Mrs. J. M.,  
Marathon (D)
- Hoskins, Mrs. Eddie, Miami  
(P)
- Houser, Roosevelt C., Coral  
Gables (P)
- Howard, Emily P., Miami (Ss)
- Howe, Mrs. Elden L., Coral  
Gables (D)
- Howell, Mrs. Roland M.,  
Miami (P)
- Hoyt, Robert L., Miami (P)
- Hudson, Mr. & Mrs. James A.,  
Asheville, NC (P)
- Hughes, Kenneth, Miami (P)
- Hume, Mrs. Charles Lea,  
Coral Gables (S)
- Hume, David, Miami (D)
- Hunter, Duncan, Tavernier  
(Sb)
- Henry E. Huntington Library  
& Art Gallery, San  
Marino, CA (Sb)
- Huston, Mrs. Tom, Coral  
Gables (P)
- Hutchens, Paul, Boca Raton  
(P)
- Hutchinson, Mrs. Robert,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Indian River Community  
College, Fort Pierce (Sb)
- Jackson, Mrs. Nan, Miami (P)
- Jacobstein, Dr. Helen L., Coral  
Gables (P)
- James, Mary Crofts, Miami  
(P)
- Johnson, Cookie, Miami (Ss)
- Johnson, Frederick L., Miami  
(P)
- Johnson, Jane M., Miami (P)
- Johnson, Kay, Coral Gables  
(Ss)
- Johnson, Mrs. Myron A., C.,  
Miami (D)
- Johnson, S. H., M.D., Miami  
(D)
- Johnson, Mrs. Westerdahl,  
Miami (P)
- Johnson, Whittington B.,  
Miami (P)
- Johnston, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas  
McE., Coral Gables (D)
- Jones, A. Tillman, Naranja (P)
- Jones, Mr. & Mrs. Clarke,  
Miami (P)
- Jones, Mrs. Edgar Jr., Coral  
Gables (P)
- Jones, Susan, Miami (D)
- Jones, Thompson V., Miami  
(P)
- Jordan, Mrs. B. B., Miami (P)
- Joyce, Hortense H., Coral  
Gables (P)
- Jude, Dr. James R., Coral  
Gables (P)
- Junkin, Mr. & Mrs. John E.,  
III, Coral Gables (Sp)
- Junkin, Mrs. Stella B.,  
Micanopy (P)
- Jureit, Mrs. L. E., Coral  
Gables (D)
- Kammer, Mrs. Barbara,  
Miami (P)
- Kanner, Mr. & Mrs. Lewis M.,  
Coral Gables (C)
- Karcher, Mr. & Mrs. David P.,  
Miami (P)
- Kassewitz, Jack, Jr., Coral  
Gables (P)

- Kattel, G. Edward, Key Biscayne (P)
- Kaufman, Mrs. James M., Coral Gables (Ss)
- Keep, Oscar J., Key Largo (P)
- Keith, Mr. William V., Ft. Lauderdale (Ss)
- Kellner, Mr. & Mrs. Stewart, Coral Gables (D)
- Kelly, Mr. & Mrs. J. Terrance, Coral Gables (D)
- Kelly, Mr. & Mrs. Loyd G., Miami (Sp)
- Kelly, Minnie Pierce, Miami (P)
- Kemper, Marlyn, Ft. Lauderdale (P)
- Kent, Mrs. Frederick A., Coral Gables (D)
- Kent, Olga, Coral Gables (P)
- Key West Art & Historical Society, Key West (P)
- Kimen, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas, Jr., Key Biscayne (P)
- Kincaid, Gretchen Hand, Miami (D)
- Kinsman, George, Miami (P)
- Kislak, Jay I., Miami (D)
- Kistler, Robert S., Miami (C)
- Knight, Mrs. Annie, Miami (D)
- Knight, John S., Miami (D)
- Kniskern, Kenneth F., Miami (C)
- Knott, Judge James R., West Palm Beach (P)
- Kobelin, Joel, Miami (P)
- Knotts, Tom, Yanketown (P)
- Koger, Grace D., Miami (P)
- Kollish, Mrs. Joseph M., Miami (P)
- Korray, Mary E., North Miami (P)
- Kunde, Mr. & Mrs. George, Miami (P)
- La Croix, Mrs. Aerial C., Miami (P)
- LaGodna, Martin M., Tampa (Ss)
- Lake Worth Public Library, Lake Worth (Sb)
- Langley, Wright, Key West (P)
- Larrabee, Charles, Jr., Miami (P)
- LaRoue, Samuel D., Jr. Miami (P)
- Lassman, Mrs. Harold, Miami (Ss)
- Lawrence, Mary Winton, Miami (Ss)
- Larkin, Mrs. Daniel F., Coral Gables (P)
- Laxson, Dan D., Hialeah (P)
- \*\*Leary, Lewis, Chapel Hill, NC (Ss)
- Leenhouts, Laura N., Miami (P)
- \*\*Leffler, Miss Cornelia, Miami (Ss)
- Lehman, Ms. Joan, Dania (P)
- Lehman, Richard L., Dania (P)
- Leigh, Mrs. Charles N., Coral Gables (D)
- Leonardy, Dr. Herberta, Miami (P)
- Leslie, Mr. & Mrs. Richard M., Coral Gables (D)
- Levin, Mr. & Mrs. Robert B., North Miami (P)
- Lewin, Robert, Miami (D)
- Licht, Dr. & Mrs. Sidney, Coral Gables (D)
- Liles, Debra J., Coral Gables (P)
- Lindgren, Mrs. M. E., Miami Shores (P)
- Lindsey, James B., Miami (P)
- Lindsley, Mrs. A. R., Miami Beach (P)
- Linehan, Mrs. John, Lantana (P)
- Link, E. A., Ft. Pierce (C)
- Lipsky, Bernie & Terry, Miami (D)
- Lipp, Morris N., Miami Beach (P)
- Lippert, W. K., Miami (Ss)
- Livingston, Mr. & Mrs. Robert, Miami (P)
- Lloyd, J. Harlan, Miami (P)
- Locke, R. R., Miami (P)
- Longshore, Frank, Miami (D)
- Lopaz, Conchita, Coral Gables (Ss)
- Ludington, Mr. & Mrs. F. W., Miami (P)
- Loxahatchee Historical Society, Jupiter (Sb)
- Lumms, J. N., Jr., Miami (D)
- Lunsford, Dr. & Mrs. E. C., Coral Gables (P)
- Lynch, Mr. & Mrs. Stephen A., III, Coral Gables (P)
- Lyons, Eugene, Vero Beach (P)
- Mac Intyre, Mr. & Mrs. A. C., Miami (C)
- McAliley, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas W., Miami (P)
- McAdam, Joanne F., Bal Harbour (P)
- McArthur, Mrs. J. N., Miami (P)
- McCabe, Dr. Robert H., Coral Gables (D)
- McCabe, Mrs. Robert H., Coral Gables (D)
- McCall, Mrs. Howard, Boca Raton (P)
- McCormick, Mr. & Mrs. C. Deering, Miami (C)
- McCorquodale, Mrs. Donald, Jr., Miami (P)
- McCreary, Ms. Jane, Coral Gables (D)
- McCrimmon, C. T., South Miami (D)
- McDonough, John C., Miami (P)
- McIver, Stuart, Lighthouse Point (P)
- McKay, John G., Jr., Key Biscayne (P)
- McKeller, Mrs. James D., Miami (Ss)
- McKenna, Mrs. R. A., Coral Gables (D)
- McKey, Mrs. R. M., Coral Gables (P)
- McLean, Lenore, Miami (P)
- McNaughton, M. D., Miami (P)
- McNaughton, Dr. Robert A., Miami (P)
- McNeill, Robert E., Jr., Windemere (D)
- Machin, Lynn C., Coral Gables (D)
- Malafronte, Anthony F., Miami (Ss)
- Malcomb, Mr. & Mrs. John, Coral Gables (P)
- Malone, Randolph A., Coral Gables (P)
- Maltby, Mr. & Mrs. L. A., Miami (P)
- Mangels, Dr. Celia C., Miami Shores (P)

- Mank, Mr. & Mrs. Philip J., Sr., Little Switzerland, NC (D)
- Mank, Mr. Philip J., Jr., Vero Beach (P)
- Mank, Mr. & Mrs. R. Layton, Coral Gables (C)
- Manley, Miss Marion I, Miami (P)
- Manley, Mr. & Mrs. Robert, Miami (D)
- Manly, Grace, Miami (P)
- Marathon Public Library, Marathon (Sb)
- March, Mrs. John, Miami (P)
- Marks, Henry S., Huntsville, AL (P)
- Marks, Mr. & Mrs. Paul, Coral Gables (D)
- Martin County Public Library, Stuart (Sb)
- Martin, James O., Miami (P)
- Martin, Mrs. Kirby A., New York, NY (D)
- Martin, Mrs. Sylva G., South Miami (P)
- Martinez-Ramos, Alberto, Miami (P)
- Matheson, Mr. & Mrs. Finlay, Miami (D)
- Matheson, Mr. & Mrs. Finlay L., South Miami (C)
- Matheson, Mr. & Mrs. Michael, Miami (P)
- Matheson, R. Hardy, Coral Gables (D)
- Mathews, Janet, Sarasota (P)
- Mathews, Lucinda Nowland, Springfield, VA (P)
- Mattucci, Mr. Donald, Hialeah (P)
- Matusek, Mrs. Virginia G., Miami (Ss)
- Moure, Mrs. Edwin P., Coral Gables (P)
- Maxted, F. J., Jr., Coral Gables (D)
- Maxwell, Mrs. Arline, Miami (Ss)
- Mead, D. Richard, Miami (D)
- Megee, Mrs. B. L., Miami (D)
- Mercer, Mr. & Mrs. John H., Jr., Miami (D)
- Mercer, Mattie J., Miami (P)
- Merrick, Mrs. Eunice P., Coral Gables (P)
- Merritt, Mrs. Leslie R., Fairfax, VA (P)
- Merritt, Mrs. Ward, Miami (P)
- Mesnekoff, Mr. & Mrs. David, Miami (D)
- Metz, Martha J., North Miami (C)
- Miami Beach Public Library, Miami Beach (Sb)
- Miami Central Sr. High School, Miami (Sb)
- Miami Dade Community College South, Miami (Sb)
- Miami Jackson High School, Miami (Sb)
- \*Miami Public Library, Miami (Sb)
- The Miami Times, Miami (Sb)
- Millar, Mrs. Gavin S., Key Biscayne (D)
- Millege, Sarah F., Miami (D)
- Miller, Miss Bessie, South Miami (P)
- Miller, Mr. & Mrs. Dale, Hialeah (D)
- Miller, Mr. & Mrs. Dean R., Miami (D)
- Miller, Irving E., Miami (Ss)
- Miller, Mr. William Jay, Key Biscayne (P)
- Minear, Mrs. L. V., Jupiter (P)
- Mincy, Mrs. Evlyne, Miami (P)
- Mitman, Earl T., Miami (D)
- Mizrach, Mr. Larry, Miami (D)
- Molinari, Dr. & Mrs. Robert L., Key Biscayne (P)
- Monk, J. Floyd, Miami (P)
- Monroe County Public Library, Key West (Sb)
- Montague, Mrs. Charles H., North Miami (D)
- Monticno, Mrs. Alma, Miami (P)
- Moore, Mrs. Jack, North Miami (Ss)
- Mordant, Hal, Coral Gables (P)
- Morris, Mr. & Mrs. C. C., Miami (P)
- Mosely, William H., Delray Beach (P)
- Mott, Carol C., Ph.D., Miami (P)
- Moylan, E. B., Jr., Miami (P)
- Mudd, Dr. Richard D., Saginaw, MI (P)
- Mueller, Edward A., Jacksonville
- Muir, Mr. & Mrs. William Whalley, Miami (P)
- Muller, David, Miami (P)
- Mullins, Joann, Key Biscayne (D)
- Munroe, Mr. & Mrs. Charles P., Coral Gables (D)
- Munroe, Mrs. Wirth M., Miami (D)
- Muraro, Mr. & Mrs. Robert, Miami (P)
- Murray, Miss Mary Ruth, Coral Gables (D)
- Mustard, Alice Isabel, Coral Gables (P)
- Mustard, Margaret Jean, Coral Gables (P)
- Nance, Judge Clayton, Ft. Lauderdale (P)
- Napier, Mr. & Mrs. Harvey, Coral Gables (P)
- Nathan, Calvin & Marva, Miami (P)
- National Railroad Historical Society, Miami Chapter (D)
- Nelson, Theodore R., Miami Beach (P)
- Nettleton, Danforth H., Miami (D)
- Newberry Library, Chicago, IL (Sb)
- Newell, Ms. Barbara T., Miami (P)
- Nicholson, Mr. & Mrs. Don G., Miami (C)
- Nicolet, Mrs. Robert A., Key Biscayne (D)
- Nimnicht, Mary Jo, Miami (Ss)
- Nolan, Mr. & Mrs. Vincent, Miami (P)
- Nordt, Mr. & Mrs. John C., Miami (D)
- Norman, Dr. & Mrs. Harold G., Jr., Coral Gables (P)
- O'Kell, Mrs. George S., Coral Gables (D)
- Old Island Restoration Foundation, Key West (D)
- Oliver, Dr. & Mrs. Robert M., Jr., Key Biscayne (P)
- Oren, Dr. & Mrs. Benjamin G., Miami (P)
- Orlando Public Library, Orlando (Sb)

- Orseck, Robert, North Miami Beach (P)
- O'Steen, Mrs. Edna, Miami (P)
- Ostrenko, Witold, Jr., Miami (P)
- Oswald, Mrs. M. J., Miami (P)
- Otto, Mrs. Thomas Osgood, Miami Beach (P)
- Outlaw, Mrs. Grace, Miami (Ss)
- Overstreet, Estelle C., Miami (D)
- Owens, Mrs. Bradley, Miami Shores (P)
- Padgett, Inman, Coral Gables (P)
- Pancoast, Alice A., Miami (Ss)
- Pancoast, John Arthur, Pompano Beach (Ss)
- Pancoast, Katherine French, Miami (D)
- Pancoast, Mr. & Mrs. Lester C., Miami (D)
- Pancoast, Peter Russell, Miami (Ss)
- Pappas, Ted & Cal, Miami (Sp)
- Pardo, Mrs. Ramiro V., Miami (HL)
- Pardue, Leonard G., Miami (P)
- Park, Dabney, Jr., Miami (P)
- Parker, Alfred B., Miami (P)
- Parker, Robin E., Miami (P)
- Parks, Merle, Miami (P)
- Parks, Mr. & Mrs. Robert L., Coral Gables (B)
- Parnes, Dr. & Mrs. Edmund I., Miami (D)
- Patton, Dan O., Miami (P)
- Pawley, Miss Anita, Coral Gables (D)
- Payne, Mrs. R. W., Jr., Coral Gables (D)
- Peacock, Mrs. Albert, Jr., Miami (P)
- Peacock, Arthur, Jr., Miami (P)
- Peacock, Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence, Miami (D)
- Peacock, Mr. R. C., Miami (Ss)
- Pearce, Mrs. A. Dixon, Miami (P)
- Pearce, Dr. Frank H., Coral Gables (P)
- Pearson, Mr. & Mrs. Wilbur, Miami (P)
- Peckham, Mr. & Mrs. George, Miami (D)
- Pederson, Phillip F., Miami (P)
- Peeler, Miss Elizabeth, Coral Gables (Ss)
- Peeples, Vernon, Punta Gorda (Sb)
- Pepper, Senator Claude, Miami Beach (D)
- Perkins, Mr. & Mrs. Daniel L., Miami (P)
- Perner, Mrs. Henry, Hialeah (P)
- Pero, Jos. H., Miami (Sp)
- Perry, Roy A., Miami (P)
- Peters, Gordon H., Miami Shores (P)
- Peters, John S., Orlando (P)
- \*Peters, Dr. Thelma, Coral Gables (D)
- Peters, Mrs. Wirt, Coral Gables (D)
- Peterson, Mr. & Mrs. Albert, Coral Gables (D)
- Peterson, Stuart J., Biscayne Park (P)
- Pettigrew, Richard, Miami (D)
- Pfaff, Robert M., Miami (P)
- Pfleger, Mr. & Mrs. H. S., Jr., Miami (P)
- Phifer, John, Miami (D)
- Philbrick, W. L. Coral Gables (P)
- Pierce, Harvey F., Miami (P)
- Pierce, Mrs. J. B., Jr., Miami (P)
- Pierce, J. E., Miami (D)
- Pimm, Mr. & Mrs. Gordon, Coral Gables (P)
- Pinellas County Historical Museum, Largo (Sb)
- Pirie, Mrs. L. M., Miami (P)
- Pizzo, Tony, Tampa (Ss)
- Plimpton, Colonel John A., Juno Beach (Ss)
- Plummer, Richard B., Miami (D)
- Polk County Historical Library, Bartow (Sb)
- Poole, John Lindsley, Miami (Ss)
- Post, Howard M., Miami Springs (D)
- Potter, Robert E., Hialeah (S)
- Potts, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph, Miami (D)
- Prahl, William, Miami (P)
- Preston, J. E., Coral Gables (P)
- Proby, Mrs. Lucien, Jr., Miami (P)
- Proenza, Mrs. Morris, Miami (P)
- Provenza, Dr. Eugene, Miami (P)
- Pruitt, Mr. Peter, Miami (D)
- Prunty, Mr. & Mrs. John, Miami (P)
- Purvis, Mrs. Hugh F., Coral Gables (P)
- Quarles, Julian, South Miami (Ss)
- Quentel, Mr. & Mrs. Albert D., Key Biscayne (D)
- Quesenberry, William F., Coral Gables (D)
- Quillian, Dr. Warren II, Coral Gables (P)
- Quinan, Edward B., Coral Gables (P)
- Quinton, Mr. & Mrs. A. E., Jr., Miami (P)
- Ransom Everglades School, Miami (Sb)
- Rappaport, Edward, Coral Gables (P)
- Rash, Mrs. Harold H., Coral Gables (P)
- Rasmussen, Geraldine, Ft. Lauderdale (P)
- \*Rast, Mrs. J. Lawton, Miami (HL)
- Rast, J. Lawton, Miami (D)
- Ratner, Mr. Nat, Miami Beach (P)
- Read, Mrs. Albert Cushing, Miami (Sp)
- Reed, Miss Elizabeth Ann, Ocean Ridge (P)
- Reed, Richard, Miami (P)
- Reid, Frances York, Coral Gables (D)
- Reiger, Dr. John, Coral Gables (Ss)
- Reinhardt, Miss Blanche E., Miami (Ss)
- Renick, Ralph, Miami (P)
- Rennell, Dr. & Mrs. Phillip, Miami (P)
- Reno, Mrs. Jane, Miami (P)
- Reno, Attorney Janet, Miami (C)
- Resnick, Larry, Miami (P)

- Rice, Sister Eileen, O.P.,  
Miami (P)
- Rice, Mr. & Mrs. Ralph E.,  
Key Biscayne (D)
- Rice, R. H., Jr., South Miami  
(Ss)
- Rich, Louise, Miami (D)
- Richmond Heights Junior  
High School, Miami (Sb)
- Rider, Mr. & Mrs. Eugene,  
Miami Beach (P)
- Rieder, W. Thomas, Miami  
(Ss)
- Riley, Paul, Miami Springs (D)
- Riley, Sandra, South Miami  
(Ss)
- Rivas, Mrs. Mary Jane Tigert,  
Miami (P)
- Rivera, Leslie, Miami (P)
- Riviera Beach Public Library,  
Riviera Beach (Sb)
- Robbins, Mrs. Lawrence J.,  
Miami (D)
- Robbins, Charlene, Coral  
Gables (Ss)
- Robbins, Mr. & Mrs. William  
R., Jr., Miami (P)
- Robinson, Mrs. Bruce R.,  
Miami Springs (D)
- Rogers, Mrs. Charles O.,  
Miami (P)
- Rogers, Mrs. Walter S. C.,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Roller, Mrs. Phillip, Coral  
Gables (P)
- Rollins College, Winter Park  
(Sb)
- Rosborough, Dr. Melanie R.,  
Miami (P)
- Rosendorf, Mr. & Mrs.  
Howard S., Coral Gables  
(P)
- Rosinek, Jeff, Miami (Ss)
- Ross, Helen, Benton Harbor,  
MI (Ss)
- Ross, Mrs. Richard F., Delray  
Beach (P)
- Ross, Rosita, Miami (P)
- Ross, Mrs. Stanley E., Coral  
Gables (C)
- Rothra, Mrs. Elizabeth, Miami  
(P)
- Rowell, Donald, Miami (P)
- Rozynes, Stephen, Miami (P)
- Russell, Sabrina, Miami (P)
- Russell, T. Trip, Miami (P)
- Ryan, Mrs. J. H., Miami  
Beach (D)
- Sacher, Mr. & Mrs. Charles P.,  
Miami (D)
- Sadler, Margaret A., Miami  
(D)
- St. Augustine Historical  
Society, St. Augustine (Sb)
- St. Lucie County Museum, Ft.  
Pierce (Sb)
- Samet, Alvin M., Miami (P)
- Sands, Harry B., Nassau,  
Bahamas (P)
- Satin, David, Bay Harbor  
Islands (P)
- Scarborough, Mrs. Chaffee,  
Miami (P)
- Schafer, Mr. & Mrs. George,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Schelberg, Mrs. Richard,  
Miami (P)
- Scher, Mr. & Mrs. Frederick  
R., Coral Gables (P)
- Schliefer, Mrs. Elizabeth, Va  
Gardens (P)
- Schober, Warren, Miami (P)
- Schreffler, Mrs. Forrest R.,  
Miami (P)
- Schwartz, Judge & Mrs. Alan,  
Miami (D)
- Schwartz, Elsa, Miami (P)
- Segal, Mrs. Natalie, Miami (P)
- Seitz, Patricia, Miami (D)
- Selby Public Library, Sarasota  
(Sb)
- Seley, Ray B., Miami (P)
- Serkin, Manuel, Coral Gables  
(P)
- Shank, H. W., Coral Gables (P)
- Shapiro, Mr. & Mrs. Robert,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Sharer, Cyrus J., Rosemont,  
PA (Ss)
- Sharp, Harry Carter, Miami  
(C)
- Shaw, Henry Overstreet, Coral  
Gables (P)
- Shaw, Dr. Luelle, Coral Gables  
(D)
- Shaw, Mrs. W. F., South Miami  
(P)
- Shearston, Evelyn R., Miami  
(P)
- Shenandoah Jr. High School,  
Miami (Sb)
- Shenstone, Tiffin  
Highleyman, Princeton,  
NJ (P)
- Sherman, Mrs. Ethel  
Weatherly, Miami (P)
- Sherman, Virginia C., Coral  
Gables (D)
- Shipley, Zannie May, Coral  
Gables (P)
- Shiver, Otis W., Miami (P)
- Shiverick, Mrs. Thomas  
Tobey, Miami (P)
- Sibert, Mr. J. D., Miami (Ss)
- Siegal, Loretta, Miami (Ss)
- Simmonite, Col. Henry G.,  
Coral Gables (P)
- Simmons, Mr. & Mrs. Glen,  
Homestead (P)
- Simms, John G., Jr., Miami (P)
- Simon, Mr. & Mrs. Edwin O.,  
Miami (C)
- Simpson, Richard D.,  
Pompano Beach (P)
- Sisselman, Mr. & Mrs.  
Murray, North Miami  
Beach (P)
- Skelly, Charles W., Cocoa (Ss)
- Skigen, Dr. & Mrs. Jack,  
Miami (Sp)
- Smather, Frank, Jr., Miami  
(Ss)
- Smiley, Dr. & Mrs. Karl,  
Miami (P)
- Smiley, Nixon, Miami (P)
- Smith, Mrs. Avery C., Jr.,  
Miami (P)
- Smith, Mr. & Mrs. John E.,  
Miami (D)
- Smith, Mr. & Mrs. Luton,  
Miami (P)
- Smith, McGregor, Miami (D)
- Smith, Mr. & Mrs. Robert L.,  
Miami (P)
- Smith, Walter P., Miami (Ss)
- Smith, Mrs. William Burford,  
Miami (P)
- Smyser, Michael L., Miami  
(P)
- Snare, Rose Tower, Miami (P)
- Snodgrass, Miss Dena,  
Jacksonville (Ss)
- Snyder, Mrs. Frederick R.,  
Miami (P)
- Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co.,  
Miami (C)
- Southern Illinois University,  
Carbondale, IL (Sb)
- South Florida Growers  
Association, Goulds (D)
- Souvion, Dr. R. R., Coral  
Gables (D)
- Spector, Mr. & Mrs. J.  
Bernard, Miami Beach (P)

- Spinks, Mrs. Elizabeth, Miami (P)
- Stafford, Robert C., Miami (P)
- Stamey, Ernest M., Hialeah (D)
- Stanbach, James C., Alexandria, VA (P)
- Stanford, Dr. Henry King, Coral Gables (D)
- Stanford University Library, Stanford, CA (Sb)
- Statewide Appraisal Services, Miami (P)
- Stearns, Frank F., Miami (Ss)
- Stearns, Mrs. R. M., Miami (P)
- Steel, William C., Miami (D)
- Stempler, Mrs. William, Coral Gables (P)
- Stephens, RADM I. J. (ret), Miami (B)
- Stephens, Mr. & Mrs. William, Coral Gables (Sp)
- Stetson University, Deland (Sb)
- Stevens, Mrs. Elizabeth, Miami (P)
- Stevens, Mr. & Mrs. Jack, Miami (D)
- Stewart, Mr. & Mrs. Chester B., Miami (D)
- Stewart, Dr. Harris B., Jr., Coral Gables (P)
- Stiles, Wade, Palm City (P)
- Stimson, Mrs. Miriam M., Miami (P)
- Stokes, Thomas J., Miami (P)
- Stone, Mrs. A. J., Miami (P)
- Stoneage Antiques, Miami (P)
- Straight, Dr. & Mrs. Jacob, Miami (D)
- Straight, Dr. William M., Miami (P)
- Stripling Insurance Agency, Hialeah (D)
- Sullivan, Catherine B., Bal Harbour (Ss)
- Sutcliffe, William H., Coral Gables (Ss)
- Sutton, Mrs. Norman E., Goulds (Ss)
- Swan, Dr. John D., Miami (Ss)
- Sweeney, Mrs. Edward C., Miami (Sp)
- Sweet, George H., Miami (P)
- Swenson, Dr. & Mrs. F. C., Coral Gables (P)
- Syskind, Mr. & Mrs. Eric, Hallandale (P)
- Tampa Public Library, Tampa (Sb)
- Tardif, Robert G., Miami (P)
- Tartak, Mr. & Mrs. N., Coral Gables (P)
- Tashiro, Joe, North Miami Beach (P)
- Taylor, Mrs. F. A. S., Miami (D)
- Taylor, Henry H., Miami (P)
- Taylor, Mrs. Nina, Coral Gables (Ss)
- Teasley, T. H., Coral Gables (P)
- \*Tebeau, Dr. Charlton W., Springfield, GA (HL)
- Tebeau, Mrs. Violet H., Springfield, GA (D)
- Telleria, John Michael, III, Miami (P)
- Tennessee State Library & Archives, Nashville, TN (Sb)
- Tennis, Mrs. Ann, Miami (Ss)
- \*Tharp, Dr. Charles Doren, South Miami (P)
- Thatcher, John, Miami (P)
- Thomas, Mr. & Mrs. Lowell, Miami (P)
- Thomas, Wayne, Tampa (P)
- Thompson, Mr. & Mrs. Jon, Miami (D)
- Thompson, Kit, Coral Gables (Ss)
- Thompson, Mrs. Roberta, Miami (P)
- Thomson, Mrs. Parker, Coral Gables (D)
- Thorn, Dale A., Miami (P)
- Thorpe, Fran Hutchings, Miami (P)
- Thrift, Dr. Charles T., Lakeland (P)
- Tillotson, Mrs. John, Coral Gables (P)
- Todd, Eva, Miami (Ss)
- Tongay, Mrs. Betty, Miami (P)
- Tottenhoff, Mrs. J. R., Coral Gables (D)
- Town, Miss Eleanor E., Coral Gables (D)
- Trager, Mr. & Mrs. Joe, Miami (P)
- Traer, Mrs. Zilla P., Miami (P)
- Tralins, Robert, North Bay Village (Ss)
- Trammell, Mr. & Mrs. Wilson, Miami (D)
- Tranchida, Michael A., North Miami (P)
- Traubig, Robert, Miami (B)
- Tribble, Byrd B., Miami (P)
- The Tribune, Nassau, Bahamas (C)
- Trybug, Mr. & Mrs. John B., Key Biscayne (P)
- Turner, Mr. & Mrs. Jack, Coral Gables (P)
- Turner, Mrs. Lawrence O., Jr., Miami (P)
- Tweed, Mrs. Carleton, Coral Gables (Ss)
- Twing, G. S., Coral Gables (D)
- University of South Florida, Tampa (Sb)
- University of Florida, Gainesville (Sb)
- University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA (Sb)
- University of Miami, Coral Gables (Sb)
- University of West Florida, Pensacola (Sb)
- University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA (Sb)
- Upshaw, Mrs. Florence Akin, Miami (P)
- Van Buren, Michael, Marathon (P)
- Vance, Mrs. Herbert O., Coral Gables (Sp)
- Van Denend, Mrs. Herbert, Hawthorne, NJ (P)
- Van Orsdel, C. D., Coral Gables (D)
- Vaughn, Bonnie, Coral Gables (Ss)
- Venney, Mr. & Mrs. R. E., Coral Gables (D)
- Vergara, Dr. & Mrs. George, Miami (P)
- The Villagers, Coral Gables (Sp)
- Wakeman, Mrs. Charles H., Jr., Miami (P)
- Waldberg, Mr. & Mrs. Abbott, Miami (P)
- Waldron, Mr. & Mrs. Edward J., Coral Gables (D)
- Walker, Evan B., Miami (P)
- Walker, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas, Coral Gables (D)
- Wallace, George R., Miami Beach (D)

- Ware, Mrs. John D., Tampa (P)  
 Ware, Mrs. Willard M., Miami Beach (P)  
 Warner, Susan, Miami (P)  
 Washington Federal Savings & Loan Association, Miami Beach (C)  
 Waters, Fred M., Jr., Coral Gables (HL)  
 Watson, Ms. Amber, Fort Myers Beach (Ss)  
 Watson, Miss Hattie, Miami (P)  
 Wegerdt, Mrs. Theodore, Miami (P)  
 Weinkle, Julian T., Coral Gables (D)  
 Weintraub, Mrs. Sidncy, Miami (P)  
 Weinreb, Ann Henry, Miami (D)  
 Weller, Mr. & Mrs. Arthur B., Coral Gables (P)  
 Wenck, James H., Miami (D)  
 Wepman, Warren S., Miami (D)  
 Werblow, Dr. & Mrs. S. C., Miami Beach (P)  
 West, Mr. & Mrs. Everett G., Ft. Lauderdale (D)  
 West, Ms. Patsy, Ft. Lauderdale (P)  
 West Palm Beach Public Library, West Palm Beach (Sb)  
 Whigham, Mrs. Florence R., Miami (P)  
 White, Richard M., Miami (P)  
 Whitlock, Mary, Coral Gables (D)  
 Whitmer, Dr. Kenneth S., Miami (P)  
 Whittelsey, Katharine, Miami (Ss)  
 Whitten, George E., Miami Beach (P)  
 Wilkins, Woodrow Wilson, Miami (D)  
 Wilkinson, Lawrence S., Miami Beach (D)  
 Willey, Reverend Seaver A., Miami (P)  
 Williams, Gordon L., Miami (P)  
 Wilson, Mrs. Gaines R., Miami (P)  
 Wilson, Nell G., Black Mountain, NC (C)  
 \*Wilson, Peyton L., Miami (P)  
 Wilson, Robert L., Miami (P)  
 Wimbush, Paul, Miami Beach (P)  
 Winebrenner, L. M., Opa Locka (P)  
 Winkelmann, Mr. Nikola, Miami (P)  
 Wipprecht, Mrs. Marion, Coral Gables (D)  
 Wirkus, Mr. & Mrs. Leonard V., Miami (D)  
 Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, WI (Sb)  
 Withers, James G., Coral Gables (HL)  
 Withers Van Line of Miami, Miami (C)  
 Withers, Wayne E., Coral Gables (HL)  
 Wolf, Mr. & Mrs. Gerald L., Miami (P)  
 Wolfe, Miss Rosalie, Miami (P)  
 Wolfe, Thomas L., Coral Gables (C)  
 Wolfson, Col. Mitchell, Miami (C)  
 Woodmansee, Mrs. R. B., Miami (P)  
 Woods, Dr. & Mrs. Frank M., Miami (D)  
 \*Woore, Mrs. A. Meredith, Miami (P)  
 Wooten, Eudora Lyell, Miami (D)  
 Wooten, James S., Miami (D)  
 Wright, Mrs. Edward, Miami (P)  
 Wright, Dr. Ione S., Miami Shores (D)  
 Wulf, Karlina, Miami (D)  
 Young, Mr. & Mrs. J. H., Coral Gables (P)  
 Young, Mary E., Jupiter (P)  
 Young, Montgomery L., Miami (D)  
 Zeller, Mrs. Leila, Miami (P)  
 Zimmerman, Mr. & Mrs. Louis, Miami Shores (P)  
 Zwerner, Mrs. Carl, Miami (P)



