

# Key Vaca, Part I

By FLORENCE S. BRIGHAM

The "New Era" in the life of Key Vaca, an island about two-thirds of the distance along Route U. S. 1 from the Florida mainland to Key West, has often been described as "spectacular", "incredible", "phenomenal", and "meteoric". It is said there is no equal anywhere in the world to Key Vaca's rapid development.

For the past ten years various kinds of construction have gone on at such a steady and rapid rate that upon inquiring of Mr. John W. Greenleaf, Jr., civil engineer, of the results of his study of the Keys made in 1952-1953, he cautioned, "You must remember that was back in 1953!" The 1940 census showed the population of the Keys to be no greater than it had been in 1885 and only two-thirds as great as it had been in 1910. The entire area was without potable water except rainfall and that was stored in cisterns. When the aqueduct began operating in 1942 the country was at war. Travel was severely restricted. Building of new homes and over-night lodges was forbidden, construction materials being reserved for military purposes.

To determine the present and the future need of water supply of the Florida Keys, Mr. Greenleaf considered such factors as: the opening in 1938 of the Overseas Highway; the aqueduct operating in 1942; World War II ending in 1945; statistics of school enrollment and of gasoline, electricity, and water consumption, toll highway traffic, population, meter installation, building permits, and the forecasts by the telephone company, the electric company, and the Chamber of Commerce. The result of this study confirmed that the year 1947 marked the beginning of a new era of steady and rapid growth. Although there were several established communities along the Keys, Mr. Greenleaf stated that the growth of Marathon on Key Vaca had been "spectacular". There were nearly as many dwelling units under construction in 1952 as previously existed in the entire community.

On November 6, 1955, the New York *Times* carried an article by R. F. Warner describing the "incredible growth of Marathon"; just eleven days later, Key Vaca's local weekly newspaper had the comment, "Could Mr. Warner see Marathon at the present time!" Actually this is not quite so strange as it may seem. Every hour of the day new acreage is being added

to Key Vaca and longer shore lines are being made on both the Gulf and Atlantic sides. On and between these shores are several crews of men operating huge hydraulic and suction dredges and bulldozers, in different locations and at the same time. It is almost unbelievable how quickly foundations for hundreds of new acres are being laid, and how rapidly mangrove swamps are being transformed into luxurious resort and home areas each having its own unique attractions.

Today, on Key Vaca there are wealthy sportsmen, business men, large scale developers, big hotel and restaurant interests, and by the first of next year (1958), a supermarket will be opened by the sixth largest chain store of its kind in the United States and the largest in Southern Florida. Also today, there are many beautiful homes, occupied, and for sale, and overnight accommodations and restaurants, whereas only twenty years ago there were but four "so-called" cabins and one "eating place" where family meals were served for fifty cents.

In the last few years land values have changed considerably. This spring (April) several acres of "raw" land were sold at \$10,000 an acre. William Allen Parrish, Marathon's first real-estate dealer, remembers the time when he bought the entire business district of Marathon for taxes for \$1800. Not so long ago he sold a lot for \$45,000 that originally had sold for \$450, whereas about twenty years ago he offered to give away property if people would promise to build homes but he "could find no takers".

Key Vaca has a long, long history, but much of the earliest part of it is yet to be known. John M. Goggin, a recognized authority on the early inhabitants of the Keys, wrote that Matecumbe "is the only place-name in South Florida which dates from the 16th century and is still used to designate the same or approximate location" and that it was first mentioned in 1573 (*Tequesta*, 1950, pp. 13, 17). That would be eight years after St. Augustine was founded. Arch C. Gerlach, Chief, Map Division, Library of Congress, advised, "It is unfortunately impossible to say at what date Key Vaca first appeared on a map, since the earliest maps of the area are not dated. The earliest map we find showing this Key is a photostat copy of a manuscript map. . . . It is without title, author, or date. Since it shows Havana but not St. Augustine, it was apparently made between 1519 and 1565." Upon further inquiry as to the identification of the Island, by name, the reply was: "The anonymous 16th century Portolan chart of the Gulf of Mexico . . . is a reduced photostat print and . . . the place names are a bit illegible. The spelling of Key Vaca, however, appears to be 'C. d bacas'." Thus, it

would seem that Key Vaca was known by its place-name before St. Augustine was founded.

In an unpublished manuscript titled, "*Maps, Florida Keys*", Carlton J. Corliss, author and lecturer, listed nineteen maps dated between 1733 and 1869 naming Key Vaca with a variety of spellings: Cayo Baca, Bacas, Cayos Vacas, Cow Keys, Vacas Islands, C<sup>o</sup> de Bacas, Vocas Keys, Cow Cays, Cayos De Vacas or Cow Keys. Other similar maps are in the P. K. Yonge Library at the University of Florida and in the University of Miami Library.

In tracing the origin of the naming of Key Vaca, the Library of Congress advised, "The United States Department of the Interior, Board on Geographic Names, informs us that their records include the following brief report on the naming of Key Vaca. The report was filed by a field officer of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey.

'Opinion is divided as to whether the Key was named Vaccas by the original owner, a Spanish Friar named Ferrera for a friend of his or Vacas for the cattle which local legend has grazing on the Key at an early date.'

In the Florida State Archives, the earliest document showing the ownership of Key Vaca by one man was, strangely enough, Francisco Lorenzo Ferreira, spelled variously in official records, as Ferrera, Ferrara, Ferrer, Ferreyra, of Portuguese parentage. Interestingly enough, Francisco's great, great grandson, Charles William Ferreira (Miami), recently purchased parcels of land on Key Vaca, because he thought it was a "sound investment", not knowing the whole island was once owned by his ancestor.

If the field officer of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey had reference to Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca as the friend after whom Key Vaca was named, he would find today a divided opinion on that point. Carlton J. Corliss, in his unpublished "*Historical Notes on the Key Vaca Area and Marathon*", believed it was a plausible theory. However, a researcher in the New York Public Library reported, "A careful study was made of the works of Cabeza de Vaca to find whether he had any connection with the Key, but none could be found."

As for a local legend in naming the Key for cattle grazing there, no source-authority proving or disproving it appears to have been found. In *Florida, A Guide to the Southernmost State* (Federal Writers Project, p. 332) is the statement that Key Vaca was named for the cattle, however, Dr. Dorothy Dodd, State Librarian, advised: ". . . I can find nothing in the State Library that substantiated the statement that cattle once roamed our Key Vaca." Dr.

Charles W. Arnade, Florida State University, and an authority on Spanish Florida, in a letter of March 16, 1957, wrote, "I have looked for these cows at all available libraries in Tallahassee, without success." Several large libraries in the United States replied in like manner. In the P. K. Yonge Library was found the statement that Spanish manned ships on long trips made a practice of leaving some cattle on Key Vaca; then, three months later, on their return trips, the cattle were rounded up and those not used aboard ship for food were sold in Cuba.

Charles M. Brookfield, Tropical Florida Representative of the National Audubon Society, questions the naming of Key Vaca from the cattle on the basis of extremely limited grazing land in the early days and on the vast swarms of mosquitoes and other insects. Both he and Mr. Corliss say that to their knowledge, no one has ever reported seeing cattle nor have cited an instance of finding bones of cattle on Key Vaca. Mr. Brookfield believes a more likely explanation for the naming of Key Vaca "Cow Key" or "Cow Keys" would be from the number of the sea-cows or manatees once so prevalent in the area.

As early as the 16th century the Florida Keys, including Key Vaca, were known as Los Matires (David O. True, *Tequesta*, 1944), sometimes spelled "The Martyres". These islands when indicated on the early maps are often in wrong locations, — sometimes even closer to Cuba than to Florida.

Of the 16th and 17th century periods no records relating specifically to Key Vaca were found — with possibly one exception. John M. Goggin thought the Bayajondas tribe of Indians, mentioned by Bishop Calderon while on a mission inspection tour in Florida in 1674 and 1675 (*Smithsonian Collection*, Vol. 95, No. 16) might have been on Key Vaca. If this island was typical of the other Keys included in the Los Matires, then the Indians living there depended upon land and sea animals for food and on land plants for their scanty clothing. As for those Indians, "Anciently they came over from Cuba." (Fontaneda, *Memoir*, 1575).

In the next, the 18th century, which includes the twenty year period of English controlled Florida (1763-1783), Key Vaca fairly leaps out of the darkness and into the lime-light. In 1764, two nations, Spain and England, through their official representatives argued over the ownership of the Florida Keys.

Dr. Charles W. Arnade gives a lively description of Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente, a Floridian Creole, and spokesman of the Spanish interests,

meeting Florida's English Soldier Governor, Francis Ogilvie, and of their parleying positions (*Tequesta*, 1955). There was no doubt, even nearly two hundred years ago, as to the importance of "Cayo de Bacas". Of the many islands between "Cayo Viscayno" and "Hueso" Elixio listed by name only five, one of which was "Cayo de Bacas". This key was six leagues long, had land fit for cultivation, fresh water, and "never suffered inundations" by the sea. It also had "excellently sheltered" anchorage with good foundation "for frigates carrying forty cannons." This description gives us our first clues as to the importance of this Island to vessel-men of all sorts, and to the United States, in times of war.

Elixio was so concerned over his meeting with Ogilvie, that upon his return to Havana, he wrote a long letter on April 12, 1766, to Cuba's Governor in which he warned what would happen should the English get control of the Florida Keys. Their very location was of strategic importance to Cuba. In the light of later history, it seems significant that in numbering the presentation of his arguments in favor of Spanish controlled Keys, Elixio included under the first one: "If Cayo Bacas and Cayo Hueso were settled by the English, as they have made up their minds to, they will station armed frigates there in case of war, sufficient enough in their estimation, to capture all the Spanish vessels coming down through the channel."

Of interest too, is Elixio's implication that boats were coming from Spanish soil to the Keys "legally" and otherwise for he said, "This voyage can be undertaken without danger even by the boats of the wood cutters. Also those boats who legally go to engage in catching fish or turtles will be injured by the English . . ."

Elixio said the Florida Keys had always been inhabited by the Costa Indians, and by 1767, they would have settlers from Bermuda and from the "American north". There are records to the effect that people went to the Keys as early as 1767 and even earlier, but not as settlers. Early histories of the Bahama Islands make this very clear.

James Grant Forbes noted in 1750 ". . . came men from New Providence and other Bahama Islands for turtles and mahogany". "Sea cows" were so numerous Forbes saw fit to leave a record of them; and of Key Vaca, he left this comment: "Payo Vaca or Cow Key is remarkable for having been inhabited by the Caloosa Indians from Havana."

In 1769 Captain Bernard Romans ". . . with great labor, fatigue, and inconvenience from musquitos" explored the Keys and observed that long since the most valuable timber had been cut down, ". . . only very young

timber" was there then (Charles Vignoles, *Observations upon the Floridas*, New York, 1823). He was the "principal and best known assistant" to William Gerard de Brahm (Charles C. Mowat, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, (hereinafter cited *F.H.Q.*) Vol. 20, 1942), and he called the Keys "stations". After his notations about "Cayo Huiso" Romans went on to say, ". . . at Cayo Vacos and Cayo Huiso, we see the remains of some savage habitations, built, or rather piled up of stones; these were the last refuges of the Caloosa nation, but even here the water did not protect them against the inroads from the Creeks, and in 1763 the remnant of this people, consisting of about eighty families, left this last protection of their native land, and went to the Havannah."

The versatile, eccentric William Gerard de Brahm, a Swiss, was the first Surveyor General for British East Florida. In the library of Dr. Mark F. Boyd is a copy of de Brahm's unpublished manuscript, *The History of Three Provinces: South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida* (Original, Harvard University). De Brahm identified the Keys as forty-eight islands; he called twenty-six to thirty-six inclusive the Vacas, and attached to the manuscript was a note, "These Vacas are a cluster of islands, appearing as one island towards Hawke Channel." (Arnade, letter February 14, 1957).

In a letter dated May 6th, 1806, John McQueen told his family that "We have now some few settlers among the Keys", and "Twenty-eight to thirty Vessels annually came from Providence." In a manuscript, *The Development of Agriculture in Florida During the Second Spanish Period*, Marion F. Shambaugh, included this statement: "In 1807, some people were settling in the Florida Keys." (P. K. Yonge Library). Unfortunately, neither author specified which of the Keys had the settlers.

The vain and bombastic Andrew Ellicott (Hubert B. Fuller, *The Purchase of Florida* . . . Burrows Company, Cleveland, 1906, pp. 78, 84, 76, 137, 138), a United States Commissioner, was in charge of the surveying of the line between the United States and the Spanish Territory during the years 1796 and 1800. Beginning October 30th, 1799, he spent the greater part of six days close to and on Key Vaca but he left no record of seeing anyone living there. He recorded the taking of soundings, large turtles, fine fish, the tracing of a variety of plants, the killing of several deer "of that small species, common to some of these islands . . . less than the ordinary breed of goats", and the visit by Captain Burns of New Providence, who was on a turtling and wrecking voyage and whose vessel "lay at the east end of Key Vaccas." (*The Journal of Andrew Ellicott*, 1814, pp. 245-246).

Other historians of Florida, writing of the 1700's, have given space, directly or indirectly, to Key Vaca. William Roberts visited the coast of the "Country of Florida" in 1754. "The Cayo de Vacas", he observed, "are a cluster of small islands and banks which with the Vivora and Matacumbe extend quite to the Cayo Largo . . ." (*An Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida*, 1763, p. 20). Daniel G. Brinton in his *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula* (1859, p. 116) commented that in 1763, "Cayo Vaco" was depopulated. Vignoles said the same thing in 1825. Karl Squires observed, ". . . villages of the Tequestas were scattered about the lower East Coast [Florida] from Cape Canaveral to Key West." (*Tequesta*, Vol. I, 1941, p. 41).

Before the close of the 18th century the "American North" had won its independence from England and the southern frontier State of Georgia had joined (1788) the Union as had Tennessee (1796). Events taking place in or around Spanish Florida during the early part of the 19th century would eventually affect Key Vaca. In the first place, Florida's border lines had not been clearly determined to the satisfaction of all interested nations. France must have known that both the United States and England had their eyes on her Mississippi Valley region. By 1812, United States and England were again at war with each other, and England had established a base at Pensacola. Spain was having a lot of trouble with the American settlers whom she had invited into Florida to rebuild deserted English plantations or to establish new ones. Patriots from Georgia and Tennessee were causing disturbances. The Seminole Indians resented the tyrannical ruling Spaniards, especially so after their kindly treatment by the English. Adventurers from Georgia and Tennessee had encouraged the Indians to set upon both American and Spanish settlers. Property and livestock were being confiscated or destroyed and people were being horribly murdered. Spain had had her own civil war and her treasury was drained, business in St. Augustine for some time had come to a standstill, and the Spanish Government owed large amounts of money to her employees (Robert E. Rutherford, *F. H. Q.*, July, 1952). To those who remained loyal to her cause Spain would grant titles to land, and when possible, of their own choosing. Under these conditions Key Vaca became the possession of one man.

Prior to 1814, records show that Key Vaca had been any man's land and it was resorted to according to the needs of Indians, sea travelers, and sea rovers. These men were pirates, freebooters, and buccaneers and they were followed by the wreckers. Key Vaca's geographic situation attracted

some of all those treasure-grabbing men. The Calusa Indians may have been Key Vaca's first pirates and this Island may have sheltered the last of the pirates in the early 1800's. Mr. Edward Neff, Miami Beach's first civil engineer, and later engineer on the Keys for the Florida State Road Department, had this to say: "From my knowledge of the Keys, Vaca Cut and Pull-and-Be-Damned Creek, which runs out of it, are the only deep channels adjacent to high land that would meet all the implied conditions." In that area he had found, "shards of very old English china, squat, black, unsymmetrical (evidently hand made) bottles shiny with the patina of age; an iron cannon ball big as my fist; irons which have been identified by non-experts as leg-irons; and a mass of verdigris which proved to be a chest handle. No chest!" Also, on the north side of Key Vaca, in a dense hammock was an Indian well sometimes called Spongers' Well. "That was," he said, "ideally suited to their purpose."

There were other wells on the island. Charles M. Brookfield and John M. Goggin have examined them and Mr. Brookfield believes they are natural pot holes, also known as Spanish Wells. William A. Parrish, who holds the distinctive degree of F. F. M. (First Father of Marathon), mentioned one particular well as being twenty-five to thirty feet wide, at ground level, with steps leading down to the water. Geologists from Washington, D. C., believed they were made by the Calusa Indians. William Ackerman, author, and resident of Marathon, Key Vaca, stated, "There are hundreds of Indian wells in the Key Vaca area. I just recently carefully filled a very beautiful well that is approximately nine feet in diameter and eight feet deep and beautifully walled" (Letter, May 29, 1957).

M. J. Rorabaugh, District Engineer, Ground Water Branch, United States Department of the Interior, Tallahassee, Florida, advised, "Key Vaca is a part of a dead coral reef . . . and materials exposed at the surface are assigned to the Key Largo limestone. This limestone contains many solution holes and caverns which permit sea water to move freely in and out and rain water to dissipate quickly into the sea. The occurrence of fresh water on the Key would occur only in isolated areas after a rain and then for only a limited time. No permanent fresh-water wells have ever been developed on Key Vaca, although several attempts have been made at depths ranging from 100 to 700 feet. . . . The potable water occurs as a very thin lense floating on salt water and becomes brackish or salty if withdrawn too rapidly and during periods of drought." (Letter, March 2, 1956).

In 1837, John Lee Williams described the appearance of the Vacas Keys



as: “. . . some are covered with tall pines, some with hammock trees, and some almost entirely with grass.” Twelve years earlier, Charles Vignoles recorded: “Cayos Vacas or Cow Keys” had potable water, plenty of deer, and the quantity of fish around there was incredible.

With this background, it may not be difficult to imagine what Francisco Lorenzo Ferreira had in his mind when he petitioned, on January 4, 1814, for absolute title to “Key Bacas and four small islands.” The original document, now in the State Capitol Building, Field Note Division, Department of Agriculture, Tallahassee, Florida, has been translated into English and which F. J. Fatio, S.B.L.C. (Secretary, Board of Land Commissioners) certified to be “a true and correct translation from a document in the Spanish language.” The translated version reads:

To his Excellency the Governor

Don Francisco Ferreira of this City to your Excellency respectfully sheweth: that he is desirous of dedicating himself to the cultivation of the land, and with some slaves he possesses establish himself on some place that may be advantageous whenever he can collect funds for the purpose of obtaining hands, and as the services he has rendered, and is still rendering to the Country with his person and property are well known to Your Excellency as also the great losses he has suffered during the revolution of this province he therefore prays Your Excellency will be pleased grant him in absolute property a Key situated among those called the Florida Keys, and is known by the name of *Key Bacas* and also four small islands which are situated in the vicinity thereof, that he may as soon as possible collect funds sufficient for the purpose of forming an establishment thereon, which may at the same time be useful for those who may have the misfortune of being shipwrecked near said places, being a favor he hopes to receive from the goodness of your Excellency St. Augustine January 4th 1814

(Signed) Francisco Ferreira

On the following day, the then Spanish Governor, Sebastian Kindelan, acting under the authority of the Spanish Government, made the following notation in the left margin of Ferreira's petition:

St. Augustine January 5th 1814

As the services rendered by the petitioner are well known, and in consideration of the great losses which he has suffered by the Revolution which took place in the year 1812, grant him in absolute property the Key named Bacas and the small islands adjacent without injury to a third

(Signed) Kindelan

In the Duff Green Edition of the *American State Papers*, Vol. 3, p. 658, in the "Minutes of the Board of Florida Land Commissioners", under date of November 17, 1823, is recorded: "Francisco Ferreira presented his memorial to this board, praying confirmation of title to an island by the name of Bacas and four small islands adjoining, situated to the south of Cape Florida, and known as one of the Florida Keys with a concession to memorialist made by Governor Kindelan and dated the 5th of January, 1814; which are ordered to be filed."

Although Ferreira filed his claim, action could not be taken, since he was not a settler on Key Vaca at the time of the cession. The Act of February 28, 1824 extending the time for filing claims till January 1, 1825, had limitations whereby Ferreira's claim would not come within its provisions. However, in *American State Papers*, Gales and Seaton Edition (Vol. 4, p. 403), is the statement: "Saturday, June 12, 1824 . . . Francis Ferreira, by his attorney, George Murray, obtained permission and presented his claim to the board . . ." On the same day Jose Bernardo Reyes testified that he was in Governor Kindelan's office when the Governor signed the grant of Key Bacas.

On the 19th of June, 1824, the board examined Gabriel W. Perpall and Ede Van Evour. In the *Record Book*, No. 6-A, (p. 250) Board of Land Commissioners, Tallahassee, Florida, is the "Decree" in which the Board stated it was not authorized to decide finally on claims where the quantity was undefined "but conceiving that the claimant has made an equitable title for the lands which he claims — It is therefore recommended to Congress for confirmation."

Later, it will be noticed that this lack of definite information as to the character and condition of "the four small islands adjacent to Key Bacas" created many difficulties for the Surveyor General and for the future owners of the Ferreira Grant.

While no biographical record could be found, there is enough to piece together a picture of the man Ferreira. Scattered official glimpses of his attitude and conduct toward his country and his association with governmental and civic leaders and with his neighbors are found in the records of *Spanish Land Grants of East Florida* (Vols. I, III, IV), and in *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (1956); an inkling of his early family life is gleaned from the records in the Church Archives, St. Augustine Parish, Spanish census lists, tax and land ownership records, and finally, the personal qualities of the man are known as remembered by his descendants.

William S. Ferreira (Miami), a great grandson, has a Prayer Book, titled, "The Ursuline Manual or a Collection of Prayers, Spiritual Exercises, Etc. Interspersed with the Various Instructions necessary for Forming Youth to the Practise of Solid Piety" — printed in 1841. Of the several entries on the fly leaves of this Prayer Book are: William S. Ferreira, b. October 11, 1878; his father, Ramon (Raymond) Lorenzo Ferreira, b. June 18, 1848 (Fernandina); and his grandfather, Juan B. Ferreira, b. November 14, 1813.

Mr. William S. Ferreira, now a retired contractor-builder, recalls clearly, though he was very young, that his grandfather told him of his own father (Francisco Lorenzo Ferreira) being lost at sea. He will "never forget" that his grandfather paid fifty dollars in gold to the Indians for a "petrified hickory oil stone." (Now in his possession). If Juan B. Ferreira was patterned after his father, then we know, through Mr. William S. Ferreira, that Francisco was usually a jolly man, strict in matters of honesty, devoted to his family and loyal to his country. From a tin-type picture of the son of Key Vaca's first known white man owner he appears as a serious yet kindly man, of average size, wearing a goatee beard, and conservatively dressed.

Francisco Ferreira was born in St. Augustine on September 5, 1791, the fourth of seven children, of "Juan Bautista Ferrer [Ferreira], native of Villa de Murcia de Panoya, Reyno de Portugal, son of Antonio and Gracia Maria Fonseca; and Isabel Bently Nixon, native of Charleston, Estado Unedos de America, daughter of Juan and Ana Ursula Andrade." He was baptized on November 20, 1791, by the Priest, Miguel O'Reilly.

Evidently his parents came to Florida between 1786 and 1788, as on July 17, 1788, Ferreira's mother, Isabel Nixon, Charleston, 23 years old, of Lutheran Protestant parents; his brother, Juan B. Ferreira, Charleston, 5 years old; and his sister, Maria Ferreira, Charleston, 2 years old, were baptized in St. Augustine, Florida. (Letter, August 28, 1956, Dr. John W. Griffin, Executive Historian, Saint Augustine Historical Society).

When Francisco was eight years old his father bought a wooden house from Juan de Acosta and a year later sold it to Juan Hero. The tax list of 1803 shows this house as No. 107, situated on the north side of Cuna Street, between Spanish and St. George Streets. This site is now owned by the St. Augustine Historical Society and is used as a parking lot. The same tax list gives Juan Ferreira's property as two lots, Nos. 117 and 118. No. 117 was vacant but the No. 118 lot, on the corner of Treasury and St. George Streets, diagonally from the Old Spanish Treasury Building, had an undescribed

house, — so it would seem that Francisco spent his youth close to the seat of Government. Also in 1803, his father was granted 300 acres at Denegal, 20 miles from the Matanzas River, and two years later 75 acres “since he had bought more slaves.” Both parents were frequently sponsors of baptisms of babies who apparently were named in honor of Francisco’s mother. Even though “times were hard” the family had money for purchasing a home and an extra lot next to it right in the heart of the capitol city and for “more slaves.” It seems fair to assume that Francisco grew up in a home of comfortable circumstances. The first born child of this home became a mariner and a merchant. Francisco, himself, must have been a familiar figure in the Government House and wherever public spirited men met. He was often called upon by some of St. Augustine’s wealthiest families to testify that the law had been carried out (land cultivation and improvements made). Tomas de Aguilar, brevet lieutenant of the army, serving as secretary to four of East Florida’s Spanish Governors and having had charge of the archives, “had a habit of telling him [Ferreira] what happened in his office”, so stated Honorable David Floyd. On occasion, after Francisco had testified that what other witnesses had said was true, the Governor signed the documents. In his testimony Francisco made a clear distinction between “first hand knowledge” and what he had been told, — even by Aguilar. On the witness stand, Ferreira would sometimes declare himself a planter, sometimes a neighbor, and on one occasion, when testifying for a wealthy merchant, he gave his occupation as “bustling around” in the country. He was in Tampa a few times and once he went to examine a 10,000 acre tract; he noticed that the “45-50 slaves were lodged in good houses.” Further evidence of his absence from St. Augustine are the listings of unclaimed mail, published in the East Florida Herald.

Ferreira seems to have been interested and active in the civic and political affairs of his city. His name appears frequently in the early 1820’s, in memorials, petitions, and other papers calling for group action. One memorial was addressed to Congress suggesting a better mail route; another expressed objections to the prejudiced attitude of Alexander Hamilton, son of Washington’s famous Cabinet member; and there were two documents designed to protect the interests of “lot holders” and slave owners.

In a letter dated October 6, 1876, addressed to the Commissioner, General Land Office, Washington, D. C., John Friend, attorney, quoted Francisco’s son as saying his father “with the papers had become lost at sea in a voyage from St. Augustine to Cuba in March 1822.” When that letter was

written, about fifty years had elapsed since his father's death (between 1824 and 1827) and such an error seems understandable. By December 8, 1827, Mrs. Francisco Ferreira had become a widow (Plat of Key Vaccas, No. 5, p. 4).

Arthur L. Ferreira of Jacksonville has a record of Francisco's marriage of February 21, 1811, to Josepha Ferdinanda Martha Estefanopoly, daughter of Nicholas and Juana Marin Estefanopoly and of the birth of their son, Juan Bautista Serapis Francisco Ferreira, born November 13, 1813, in St. Augustine. This date of Juan's birth is one day earlier than that recorded in William S. Ferreira's Prayer Book. The United States Census for St. Johns County, in 1840, lists a Francis P. Ferreira, 33, City Marshall and a John Ferreira, 35 years, and a farmer.

The Ferreriras and the Estefanopolys were neighbors in St. Augustine, the latter also living on St. George Street. For his services as a carpenter and militiaman, Nicholas petitioned on May 19, 1815 for 2500 acres through his son-in-law, Francisco, and it was granted.

Ferreira must have had some money because he bought slaves; he owned a plantation close to Robert McHardy, surveyor, who owned one of the most valuable plantations in all Florida (*East Florida Herald*, January 4, 1823); and when he needed the services of an attorney he engaged no less a person than George Murray. So we have some idea of the man who probably could have had any unclaimed parcel of land just for the asking and he chose Key Vaca.

Undoubtedly Ferreira was familiar with the Keys. One of his witnesses, Ede Van Evour, who later settled in Key West, testified before the Board of Land Commissioners that he had often gone to the Keys and it seems likely Francisco went with him. The published lists of unclaimed mail would suggest it. Francisco must have known Solomon Snyder of New York who had navigated among the Keys and knew them so well that Charles Vignoles consulted him for information about them. On June 11, 1823, Ferreira sold Duck Key to Solomon Snyder. (Letter L, No. 13827, National Archives).

Whether or not Francisco Ferreira ever actually lived on Key Vaca has not been established. Vignoles said, "In making the grants for services, it was not contemplated either by the authorities or by the individuals that these lands were to be actually occupied" (*Observations upon the Floridas*, p. 141).

Four years after the Vaca Islands were granted to Ferreira, an economic

revolution was taking place in the New England State of Connecticut. The coastal towns' "carying trade" was cut off by the Jefferson embargoes so many of the inhabitants had to find new ways of making a living or move on to other places. For long years, Mystic, Connecticut, had been the home of shipbuilders, daring mariners, and fishermen, and some of those men chose the latter course (*Connecticut, American Guide Series*, 1938, pp. 33, 347).

In J. J. O'Donnel's article, *Florida Sponges* which first appeared in the *Florida Times Union*, probably in April of 1890, and reprinted May 2, 1890, in the *Scientific American* is this: "The first settlement in this archipelego of the Gulf was made on Key Vaca about the year 1818 by fishermen from Mystic, Connecticut. In their fishing excursions they found that Key West, from its deep, spacious harbor and easy access, afforded them a better situation. So they abandoned their primitive settlement and roughly constructed homes and betook themselves to Key West, fifty miles farther southwest . . . where they erected new homes and plied their vocations. . . ."

Apparently Key Vaca's first settlers had carried on their fish business, but with whom? Key West was still a wilderness and so was Miami. St. Augustine had the responsibility of protecting the waters along the Bahama Channel and Francisco's oldest brother was a mariner, so perhaps the Mystic fishermen found a market there, or maybe they wanted to be nearer Tortugas where fisheries had been set up before and where Spaniards from Havana came to trade European goods for fish. Being expert mariners, they could have sold their sea food directly to the Havana market.

When Key West was sold on the 20th of December, 1821, it ". . . wore the same wild aspect that it had worn for ages." (Walter C. Maloney, *A Sketch of the History of Key West*, Newark, 1876, p. 6). Possession of that island by the new owner took place in April of 1822; however, on the occasion of raising the United States Flag on March 25, 1822, it was witnessed by the few residents then there. They must have been the fishermen from Key Vaca, for it is a matter of record that the earliest settlers of Key West were from Connecticut. (Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West, The Old and the New*. St. Augustine, 1912). It would seem, then, that Key Vaca had a settlement for about four years, beginning with the year 1818.

Some of these Connecticut fishermen may have turned to wrecking on the Keys. On March 25, 1831, a shipwrecked passenger, John P. Decatur, praised Captains Smith and Place of Sloops *Splendid* and *Hyder Ali* for having "so much honor and fine feelings". Five of the twenty wrecking

vessels on the Keys in 1835 were from Connecticut; two of the five were from Mystic and they operated out of Key Vaca, and *Hyder Ali* was a Connecticut vessel.

The period between the time when the Connecticut mariners settled on Key Vaca and the 1830's when Bahamians came to farm there, the Island became a wrecking center of foreign vessels. As early as December 6, 1821, the government was advised to "station a military and naval force in the neighborhood." Matthew C. Perry, in March of 1822, suggested to the Secretary of the Navy the need of a lighthouse and a gun boat. John Du Bose, the Inspector of Customs, in St. Augustine, reported on May 21, 1823, that the coast from Cape Florida to Tortugas needed governmental attention more than any other area. The following September 23, 1823, Governor DuVal wrote to the Secretary of War about the Negroes from Tampa Bay and Charlotte Harbor going in boats to the Florida Keys and thence to the Bahamas by Providence wreckers. Captain Winslow Foster, Nassau, N. P., of the Revenue Cutter *Alabama*, with two British sloops, was captured along the Keys and found to have slaves aboard. The American Sloop *Sailor's Rights*, on "piratical and outrageous activities against the law" was also captured. (*The Territorial Papers of the United States*, 1956, Vol. XXII, p. 404.)

On board the *Sea Gull*, Allenton, [Key West] Commodore David Porter, on June 24, 1823, informed the Secretary of the Navy, "I am under the impression that the practice of wrecking Spanish vessels on our coast by Colombian cruisers . . . has for a long time past been pursued to a considerable extent . . . that the establishment at Key Vaca was made with this object in view." He would remove "all cause of suspicion and complaint from the authorities of Cuba." He wanted instructions on "the disposal of the property" and what he should do if the cruiser claiming to be a Government vessel "should be detected and the individuals (aiders and abettors), residents at Key Vaca." He had been told that the goods from Key Vaca were sent to Norfolk.

Commodore Porter wrote again, six days later, to the Secretary of the Navy that he had "the Goods" of the schooner which he detained at Key Vaca, under guard at Key West. The situation at Key Vaca must have been very serious otherwise David Porter would not have stated so emphatically, "There is a necessity for a Lieutenant's Guard of Marines to be stationed at Key Vacas with two pieces of cannon to preserve order among the numerous Wreckers Fishermen from Havana . . . totally unrestrained by any law,

Who are in the habit of visiting that place . . . I can only spare a guard of Six men. The Guns and ammunition I can send . . . I have just ordered a field piece with its equipments to be taken on board the *Wild Cat* to be left at Key Vacas." He also reported that a "murder of a most atrocious character" had been committed here by a Spanish fisherman on one of the inhabitants.

The Guard of Marines was placed on Key Vaca as evidenced by the report of July 12th, 1823, by Francis H. Gregory, Lt. Commandant, U. S. Navy to Commodore David Porter. Lt. Gregory had had a "communication of July 10th from Lt. Stephen M. Rogers, commanding the Marine encampment on Key Vacas . . . with enclosures concerning affairs at that place." According to orders, Lt. Gregory "proceeded towards Key Vaccas . . . beating up inside the reef . . . came in sight of an Armed Schooner [believed to be the *Centilla*] with two other Small Vessels." Not being able to cross the reef at the location he was in, Lt. Gregory went directly to Key Vaca where he had hoped to meet the vessel. He waited from the 7th to the 11th of July and not sighting her he "Supplied Lieut. Rogers' Guard with Provisions for one month", and returned to Key West, — on his U. S. Schooner *Grampus*. By request of Lt. Rogers, Lt. Gregory took back a man, Amos Bean, from Key Vaca, who had been on board the *Centilla*.

The prisoner, Nicholas Goulindo, a "spanyard" was sent from Key West to St. Augustine to be tried for murder but as U. S. District Attorney, Edgar Macom, explained in his letter of December 31, 1823, to "Hon. Rich Call" the case had not been presented at the last court owing to the absence of the witnesses. He had no hope of procuring them since they lived in Key West unless the U. S. Navy could bring them. Under his signature and apparently in "Call's hand" was the statement, "The Witnesses are at Key Vaccus insted of Key West."

On February 20, 1824, Samuel Ayers, acting Collector, in "Allenton, Thompson's Island", informed the Hon. W. H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, that ". . . it appears very necessary that an Inspector should be appointed to reside at Key Vacus, owing to the great number of English wreckers that cruise and rendezvous in that neighborhood . . ."; again, on April 10th, he brought up the same need to Hon. Joseph Anderson, Comptroller of the Treasury, "Washington City". In this letter he thought the Inspector should have power to enter and clear vessels, as "That place Serves a general rendezvous for all vessels to winward."



Whether or not an inspector was assigned to Key Vaca is not known to this writer. Possibly the need became less acute after Commodore Porter's activities along the coast and after the Congressional Act of March 3, 1825, determining the method of disposal of salvaged goods taken from vessels in American waters and still later the Act requiring the licensing of vessels and of captains.

Francisco Ferreira must have known about those illegal activities on and around his property, in fact, he could have been at court when the man from Key Vaca was tried for murder. Ferreira knew Edgar Macom and it seems possible that Macom's suggestion of having the U. S. Navy transport the witnesses to St. Augustine was carried out sometime during January through April of 1824 and the case brought to trial in May while Francisco was serving as juror.

In December of 1821, when the Government's attention was being focused on the pirating and wrecking pursuits around the Keys, Juan Pablo Salas sold Key West, and on September 4, 1824, only a few months after Ayres' report was sent to the Comptroller of the Treasury, Francisco Ferreira sold Key Vaca for \$3,000 (*Deed Book E*, pp. 121-122, St. Johns County, Florida), which amount was \$1,000 more than the sale price of Key West.

Key Vaca's new owner, Isaac Newton Cox, an outstanding attorney and later a Judge of St. Johns' County Court, in St. Augustine, was also an acquaintance of Ferreira's. Cox had petitioned for 2500 acres of land for Francisco's father-in-law on the same day that Nicholas Estefanopoly had also petitioned for similar acreage through Ferreira. The wealthy merchant, F. M. Arredondo, had Cox represent him in a claim of 256,000 acres and in this case the lawyer called upon Francisco as a witness.

Records have yet to be found showing why Cox, formerly of Philadelphia, was interested in Key Vaca to the extent of paying \$3,000 for it and for Boot Key, Viper Key, and Knights Key, only to sell them a little over three years later (December 8, 1827) to Charles Howe for \$1,500.

According to the "Plat of Key Vaccas and Adjacent Islands" this conveyance of title by Cox to Howe included, ". . . all those five certain Islands or Keys . . . known . . . by the name of Key Vacas, Boot Key, Viper Key, Duck Key, and Knights Key . . . being the same Islands or Keys which were granted to one Francisco Ferreira . . ."; however, Edward C. Howe, son of Charles Howe, advised the Honorable Commissioner of Public Lands in Washington, D. C., in a letter dated July 25, 1874, that,

“on the 11th of June, 1823, Francisco Ferreira sold one of the islands called Duck Key to Solomon Snyder. On the 4th of September, 1824, Francisco Ferreira sold the other Islands, consisting of Key Vacas, Boot Key, Viper Key, and Knights Key to Isaac N. Cox, on the 8th of December, 1827 — all of these Islands were purchased by Charles Howe and Silas Howe.” Horatio Crain, Howe’s son-in-law, in a letter dated April 10, 1885, also informed the same Commissioner that “Ferreira conveyed Duck Key, June 11, 1823, to ‘Sol Snyder’, who dying, his heirs sold to Hon. William Marvin, formerly U. S. District Judge here [Key West] who conveyed the same to my father-in-law, Charles Howe, who had salt works there and who subsequently sold to William C. Dennis whose heirs hold the title. Key Vacas and the remaining Keys were by Ferreira conveyed to one Cox Sept. 4, 1824 — Cox conveyed to Mr. C. Howe . . .”

In the Plat of Key Vaccas and Adjacent Islands and in the above quoted letters, there is agreement that Isaac N. Cox purchased from Francisco Key Vaca and three small Islands (Boot, Viper, and Knights Keys), but neither the Plat nor the letters indicate that Cox ever acquired Duck Key, yet, the Plat (No. 4, p. 3) shows that Isaac N. Cox conveyed to Charles Howe “All those five . . . Keys.”

Charles Howe, a native of Massachusetts, and Key Vaca’s third owner, is listed in the 1850 U. S. Census (Monroe County) as being forty-six years old so he must have been about twenty-three years old when he purchased the Ferreira Grant. The next year, he had a wife, Ann C. Howe. Judge William Marvin recalled that Howe settled first on Indian Key; when that Island was purchased (supposedly) in 1825, he was not one of the two squatters then there. When the 1830 U. S. Census was taken Howe had thirteen slaves and he had been described as a “strong Union man”. By 1850, his wife was Eliza Howe of Connecticut and their household contained five children, from twenty to nine years. A review of his activities reveals him to have been an honest, fair and likeable man. He served as postmaster and inspector of customs (Nelson Klose. *F. H. Q.*, 1948, No. 2, pp. 189-202) and for thirty years as a Deputy Collector (Letter, April 10, 1885, Horatio Crain to Hon. W. A. J. Sparks).

Mr. Howe received seeds and plants from Dr. Henry Perrine who was serving as Consul at Campeche (1827-1837), for experimental plantings and later the two of them enjoyed their trips to Key Vaca, remitting “valuable plants and seeds” to the settlers there. Judge James Webb of Key West agreed with Dr. Perrine that Mr. Howe was the only man on the Keys

“entirely suitable to be our official associate” (Perrine, *Tequesta*, 1951). Horatio Crain told the Commissioner, General Land Office, Washington, D. C., that Charles Howe “was the first Collector of Customs appointed by Mr. Lincoln in 1861 in the South. . . .”

The Howes' home was the only one on Indian Key where the Perrine children were allowed to visit (Hester Perrine Walker, *F. H. Q.*, July, 1926). Even the Indians, before the massacre, warned him to leave Indian Key immediately and his house was the only one not destroyed (*Welch Collection*, Vol. I, August 9, 1925). Either he heeded the warning and left with his family, or they were already off the Island. No mention was found of their escape. The last time his name was found in the tax list of Monroe County was for the year 1870. In his will, dated January 21, 1873, made in Hadley, Massachusetts, Mr. Howe mentioned his real and personal estate in Key West but not of his Key Vaca property. At the time of his will, his wife was Julia A. Howe.

After his death in January of 1873, his children and grandchildren and particularly his first daughter's husband, Horatio Crain, spent much time and long years of struggle against errors made by the United States Government and the State of Florida in order to secure official recognition of title of ownership of Key Vaca by Patent. It seems almost impossible that so many mistakes could have been made by so many people in high official positions, and at so many different times, for such a long period, all over the ownership of the original Ferreira Grant. At one time two owners had no doubt as to their owning certain parcels of the land, the same parcels, while Horatio Crain knew that those sections were his property. The fact is, the matter has not yet been settled to the satisfaction of some people.

Two separate business transactions took place on March 12, 1828, between Charles Howe, his wife, Ann C. Howe, and Charles Edmonston. The first one was a mortgage of \$5,000 which encumbered an undivided three-fourths part of all five Keys (Key Vacas, Boot Key, Viper Key, Duck Key, and Knights Key), and the other one was a conveyance by warranty deed of an undivided one-fourth part of the above Keys to Charles Edmonston for \$75.00 (*Deed Book A*, Monroe County, p. 104). Nearly a year later, on February 16, 1829, two more conveyances were made by Charles Howe and his wife; an undivided one-third part of the Ferreira Grant went to Silas Howe and an undivided one-twelfth to Charles Edmonston.

Charles Howe, his brother, Silas, and Charles Edmonston, each owned one third share of the original Ferreira Grant. In order to take advantage

of the Act of May 23, 1828, they would first have to comply with Section II of that Act which says that no confirmation of grants over one league square would be made; however, claimants could make a full release to the U. S. Government of all claims of land over and above that amount and then apply for confirmation of their claims. This is exactly what they did. First, they filed a petition for the right to release excess land, then they gave power of attorney to John Drysdale to effect the release; after that the land had to be surveyed, and finally the report of the Register and Receiver of the Land Office at St. Augustine of January 20, 1829 was referred to Congress on January 14, 1830. The Ferreira Grant was confirmed by the Act of Congress, May 26, 1830 (*American State Papers*, Gales and Seaton Edition Vol. 6, p. 120).

For a consideration of \$11,576.89 Charles and Silas Howe transferred to Charles Edmonston, on June 1, 1832, their shares of ownership of Key Vaca and the four adjacent Keys. He was a wealthy man from Charleston, South Carolina, but failing in the panic of 1837 (Weymouth T. Jordan, *F. H. Q.*, January 1957, re panic) he made a deed of assignment on June 3rd of that year of all his property, including these Keys, to Daniel Ravenal and C. G. Memminger for the benefit of his creditors. The entire original Ferreira Grant which was later determined to embrace 4,135.05 acres was sold at public auction in Charleston on January 7, 1944 to William Patton for \$108.00 (*Deed Book E*, p. 325, Monroe County).

For the second and last time in the history of the Vacas Islands and the four adjacent Keys they would be owned in equal shares by three men; Patton, on September 17, 1844, conveyed an undivided one-third part of all the "Tract of Land" to Charles Howe for \$36.00 (*Deed Book Q*, p. 572); and on February 27, 1852, a one-third part was purchased by M. C. Mordecai of Baltimore, Md., (*Book A*, p. 61, Dade County). These owners wanted a patent on their lands but they were helpless until the Keys were surveyed, the contract for which was not made until November 20, 1872. After the survey was made in February, 1873, there was a waiting period of sixteen months before it was approved (June 30, 1874) by the U. S. Surveyor General.

In spite of the facts: (1) that the Private Land Claim of Ferreira had been confirmed by Congress; (2) that a survey had been made by the United States Government; (3) that taxes on the same lands had been paid to the State of Florida; (4) that a patent had been applied for under the provisions of the Act of June 22, 1860; (5) that a number of letters, often

containing enclosures as proof of ownership sent by Charles Howe and/or his heirs and by their several attorneys, during the 1870's, inquiring into the reasons for delay of issuance of Patent, had been sent to the Commissioner, General Land Office, Washington, D. C.; and (6) that there had been considerable correspondence concerning the Ferreira Grant between State and Federal officials; — the lands embraced in the original Spanish Grant to Francisco Ferreira were *treated as public domain*. Portions of them were patented to the State of Florida, December 17, 1879, under the Act of September 28, 1850, known as the Swamp and Overflow Act of Congress. Other portions, through the U. S. Land Office in Gainesville, Florida, were opened for entry to any purchaser. One such patent was issued to Lewis W. Pierce on April 10, 1886.

On top of this, the State of Florida official, the Hon. L. B. Wombwell, Commissioner of Agriculture and State Land Agent, informed the Register and Receiver (former Board of Land Commissioners), on August 24, 1898, as follows: "Unfortunately the State has disposed of every foot of land embraced within the limits of the Ferreira Grant." On that same day, in a letter to the General Land Office, in Washington, he added to the above comment, "even to the 16th Section."

A lot of unscrambling had to be done before the U. S. Government could issue a Patent on the lands it had turned over to the State and had sold to individual purchasers. Just one sale by the State of Florida became a little complicated. Lewis W. Pierce had bought two pieces of "public" land which were "sold under execution of debt by the Sheriff and bought by G. W. Allen who conveyed two-thirds to Thomas Dennis and the remaining one-third to J. A. Nilis." (Letter, September 6, 1898, Horatio Crain to Register and Receiver, Gainesville, Florida).

In the reconveying of land title by the last purchaser to the owner preceding him, there was the problem of getting back the money. In instances where the title of the lands had been reconveyed to the point where the next transfer would be to the State of Florida, the matter came to a standstill. Florida was ". . . short of available funds" and could not refund the money. There must have been some pressure put upon the State for the Commissioner of the Agricultural Department sent to the Register and Receiver this reply: ". . . when the money is refunded I see no reason why the State Authorities should not quit-claim back to the United States all the lands within the Ferreira Grant." (Letter, March 23, 1899).

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# Soldiers In Miami, 1898

By WILLIAM J. SCHELLINGS

In 1898, when the United States and Spain engaged in their war over Cuba, Miami was still an infant. It was too busy to pay much attention to the revolution in Cuba, and too busy to even pay much attention to the crisis that led to the war. Its efforts were concentrated on the problems that beset every city that is experiencing a period of great development and growth. Miami, in 1898, watched the revolt in the nearby island, and observed the growing acerbity of Spanish American relations, but did so with a rather detached air, as though it were not at all concerned; as though it were completely apart from the rest of the country.

From time to time the Miami *Metropolis*, the weekly newspaper, would comment on the situation in Cuba, or the diplomatic exchanges taking place, but it failed to note any great interest in either for Miami. It was as one with the other Florida newspapers in deploring the rising demand for war that was evident in the press of other sections of the country. Even when it noticed that the city of Key West was excited about the possibility of war, and that there the belief was common that war was inevitable, the *Metropolis* gave no indication that Miami was or would be involved. That attitude, however, began to change once the battleship "Maine" had been blown up in Havana harbor on the evening of February 7, 1898. Then the newspaper, and the people of the city, began to give signs that they were being infected with the virus of war fever. By the first of April, the city had been swept up in the excitement, and patriotic demonstrations were the order of the day.

Even before the actual outbreak of war on April 24, Miami had begun to feel the effects of it. Perhaps the first real sign of this was the arrival in the city of a large group of people from Key West, people who were certain that war was certain, and that Key West was in danger. Many of these took up at least temporary residence in Miami.<sup>1</sup> At about the same time the possibility that the Spanish navy might attack the seaboard cities seems to have occurred to many, and the result was a demand that the army erect coast defenses to protect Miami from such attack. When the army did finally promise to install a battery of guns at Ft. Brickell, progress was so

slow that it was decided to form a volunteer home guard unit, arm them, and drill them to repel any attack. Over two hundred Miamians joined the unit, and they elected Mr. B. E. Hambleton as their Captain. A petition was sent to Tallahassee for a supply of rifles and ammunition. When these arrived, on May 18, drilling began in earnest.<sup>2</sup>

Not to be outdone, the neighboring settlement of Coconut Grove also formed a similar home guard outfit, and with both units drilling and armed, the lower peninsular finally relaxed. However, there was some resentment because the up state city of Jacksonville received faster service in the matter of the construction of batteries, and one bitter Miamian wrote: "Jacksonville need not worry about invasion. All that would be necessary for them to do would be to cut loose a bunch of water hyacinths, start them down the river, and no ship could possibly get through."<sup>3</sup>

There were a few other signs of unusual activity in Miami, but no real war activity. There was additional traffic between Key West and Miami, and the International Telegraph Company installed additional instruments to serve war correspondents who could not use the Key West service. Four men of the Florida Naval Militia arrived with a Lieutenant Bland, and set up a signal station at the old lighthouse on Cape Florida. Apart from that, Miami continued to concentrate on its efforts to develop more land, and erect more buildings. The *Metropolis* commented on the rising demand for private houses and business structures.

When it became known that the War department was looking for a camp site upon which it could gather the troops of the regular army, Miami made no attempt to have itself considered as a possibility. Even when the Jacksonville *Times Union and Citizen* urged that Miami be utilized as an army base, no effort was made by the city itself.<sup>4</sup> The *Metropolis* did express a hope that the Navy would realize Miami's value as a supplement to Key West, but made no mention of the Army. On May 3, it did grumble that the war had come too soon, saying that "if the war had been delayed a couple of years, until the deep water port was complete, Miami would be in a good location for an army base."

Even though the city made no effort to have an army camp established, the Florida East Coast Railroad, with its southern terminal at Miami, was not idle. Inspired by the thought of having vast quantities of freight and large numbers of troops pass over its lines, the railroad officials from Henry Flagler himself down to the Jacksonville freight agent, began stirring in the effort to have some soldiers sent to Miami.



As early as April 16, the FEC passenger agent, J. P. Beckwith, urged that Miami be utilized by the army. No steps were taken to indicate that serious attention was given to this suggestion until Mr. Flagler wrote to Secretary of War Russell Alger. After that, when Brigadier General James Wade was sent from Tampa to inspect cities on the east coast of the state, he was instructed by Major General Nelson Miles to include Miami on his list of cities. When Wade arrived at Jacksonville to begin his tour, J. R. Parrott, the vice-president of the FEC, offered him the use of his own private railway car for the trip to Miami.<sup>5</sup>

On May 18, Wade began his trip down the coast, stopping at St. Augustine on the way. On his return, he disappointed Parrott by reporting that while St. Augustine and Jacksonville were suitable camp sites, Miami was not recommended. Despite the adverse report, Superintendent Goff of the FEC was sent to Miami to select a specific spot for the camp, and to start at once on preparing the ground for the troops. In Miami, Goff announced that he had no definite word, but was sure the city would receive a contingent of troops.<sup>6</sup>

Once again, General Wade was sent to examine Miami, and this time he was accompanied by General Lawton. They stayed at the Miami Hotel, as the guests of Mrs. Julia Tuttle, and cruised up the Miami River in a launch supplied by Mrs. Tuttle. They inspected the beaches, and examined the site selected by Superintendent Goff. The area chosen was bounded on the north by the FEC terminal track, on the west by the mainline track, on the south by Tenth Street, and faced the bay on the east. Here work had been started to clear the ground of stones and the worst of the palmetto, with one hundred men working under Mr. John Sewell.<sup>7</sup>

As far as Wade and Lawton were concerned, the work was to no avail. They again turned in a report declaring that the city was not suitable for the purpose, and recommended that it should not be used as a camp. The second adverse report had as much effect on the FEC as had the first one. Goff ordered Sewell to rush the work of clearing the ground with all speed, and arranged to have water pipes laid out to the site from the city water supply. He ordered that fifty shallow wells be dug to supplement the supply, and had each well equipped with a hand pump. In other words, Goff proceeded as though Wade and Lawton had promised that troops would be sent!<sup>8</sup>

The final decision to use Miami as a camp came at the insistence of Major General Nelson Miles. On June 16, Miles wrote to Secretary Alger, strongly urging that 5,000 men be sent to Miami, which he described as a

perfect camp site, with ground already cleared, and health conditions that would enable the troops to be protected from any disease. On June 20, the order for a division of troops to proceed to Miami was sent to Mobile, Alabama, to Brigadier General Theodore Schwan. In the division, shortly to be designated as the First Division of the Seventh Army Corps, were the First and Second Volunteer Regiments of Alabama, Texas and Louisiana. Six regiments, with a total strength of just over seven thousand men, entrained for Miami.<sup>9</sup>

The troops began to arrive in Miami on June 24. Each train was welcomed by people from the town, who by now were eagerly looking forward to the establishment of the camp. The soldiers were marched to the areas assigned to them, and began to set up their tents. The first disillusionment was at hand. The men had looked forward to Miami with anticipation of finding a tropical paradise. In other words they had seen some of the illustrations of the Royal Palm Hotel on the railroad folders. Their picture of Miami was shattered on the day they arrived.

The area of the camp had been cleared so that a long rectangle was formed, facing the bay. It was planned that the regiments would all be camped on or near the bay front, but the orders assigning the units to the camp changed that. Instead of the long side of the rectangle facing the bay, the division was so placed that it formed a rectangle, but with the short side on the bayfront, and the rest of the camp extending far into the west. The result was simply that most of the troops were compelled to erect their tents on ground that had not been cleared. Four regiments were thus compelled to spend a week in removing stones and palmetto, and the work was hard enough to cause many an oath to be directed at Miami.<sup>10</sup>

Worse than the actual labor of clearing the ground was the effect of the changed position of the regiments on the sewer arrangements. Plans had been made to have simple troughs used, in which deposits of waste matter could be flushed out into the bay. Placing the troops in the rear meant they were too far from the shore to use this system, and another had to be devised.

At first an attempt was made to dig the regular type of sink, but the limestone soil defeated every attempt. Even dynamite was ineffective. The only remaining alternative was to set up a series of half-barrels, each of which was supposed to be emptied daily. The evils of this barrel or bucket system did not appear at once, but when they did, it meant that Miami's name as a healthy spot was to be blackened, and that disease was to be widespread among the troops.

Before that happened, other difficulties arose. It would be safe to say that neither Miami nor the soldiers were happy about the situation for more than a week. The men discovered that while the city may have been ideal for a winter vacation, it simply was not the ideal spot for 7,000 soldiers in the middle of the summer. Facilities for recreation just did not exist. Such places of amusement that did spring up were totally inadequate, consisting of shooting galleries, lemonade stands, and the like. When the regiments attempted to establish canteens to help fill the need, the fact that some regimental commanders were non-drinkers hampered their usefulness. The Louisiana regiments sold beer and wines in their canteens, but the 2d Alabama canteen, and one or two others, were of the "temperance" variety.

In addition to the lack of recreational facilities, the troops were disappointed in several other ways. As Chaplain H. E. Carson of the 2d La., wrote "There was a most magnificent and gorgeously appointed hotel right in the midst of a perfect paradise of tropical trees and bushes. But one had to walk scarce a quarter of a mile until one came to such a waste wilderness as can be conceived of only in rare nightmares."<sup>11</sup> Other men bitterly contrasted Miami with the camp at Mobile. According to one, "At Miami we have to walk only two miles to reach the drill field, while at Mobile we had to march four hundred yards! Here at Miami we have heat, mosquitoes and sandfleas that beat anything we have ever met. We even hang our hats on the mosquitoes at night! But we cannot complain. We have the privilege of going to the Royal Palm barber shop, where we can receive a shave for only 50¢!" Another wrote, "If I owned both Miami and hell, I'd rent out Miami and live in hell!"<sup>13</sup>

The citizens of Miami had reason to complain, too. Cases of rowdyism were common, and clashes between soldiers and the colored population of the city frequent. On one occasion, two white men were injured by gunfire near the camp. Dr. L. M. Dodson, the dentist, tried to oblige some soldiers and suffered for his trouble. While he was drilling holes in a pair of dice for them, they stole his watch!<sup>14</sup> Miami began to regret that the camp had been established.

The most serious charge leveled at the camp in Miami was simply that it was unhealthy; that the water supply was impure; that, as one writer put it, "this is the unhealthiest spot in the country." The charge was supported by a sick rate far in excess of that at other camps in the state, a rate that ran as high as 10 per cent of the total strength of the command. Most of the men in the hospital and listed as sick in quarters were ill with various intes-

tinal disorders, but many of them were afflicted with typhoid fever, and this was a serious illness.<sup>15</sup>

The intestinal disorders and the typhoid were both blamed on the water supply at the camp. The water supply, however, was tested by Tulane University, and was found to be pure, but unpalatable. The disagreeable taste was laid to the fact that the pipes through which it ran lay in the hot sun. This left the water overheated by the time it reached the taps, and although the situation was partially corrected by mid-July, the men never returned to the use of that water. The corrective measure was to run the pipes through barrels of ice, thus reducing the temperature somewhat.

With the principal water supply in disfavor, the men turned to the shallow wells that had been dug, but here the water had become contaminated, and the pump handles were removed to prevent the use of the water. The water had become impure simply because of the poor sanitary facilities, and because of the total disregard of ordinary sanitary precautions by both the officers and the men. The bucket system of waste disposal was partly to blame, as when they were carried to the shore to be emptied, frequently a part of their contents was spilled on the porous ground, and was carried to the level of the water. Then, too, many of the men were too careless to use the regular buckets, and relieved themselves on the ground near the wells and the mess tents. Orders issued to correct this situation were ignored, as were orders issued to boil all water before use.

When General Schwan was replaced by General J. Warren Kiefer on July 4, an inspection was undertaken. Kiefer was more than satisfied with the conditions he found, and reported that Miami, in his opinion, was "the best place in the country in which to train men for service in Cuba or Porto Rico."<sup>16</sup> Whether or not he meant that as a compliment to Miami is hard to say in view of the conditions then existing in those two places.

Kiefer's report, moreover, must be contrasted with the recommendations made by Lieutenant Colonel Curtis Guild, of the Inspector General's Department, and by Alex Kent, of the Red Cross, and Dr. S. S. Peeples, of the Medical Department. All three made separate inspections and reports, and all three were agreed in recommending that the troops be removed immediately. They all condemned the camp, and particularly the water supply. Colonel Guild further stated that the drill field, one and one half miles away from the camp, was under one to two inches of water at the time he inspected it. Since these reports were made within a few days of each other, and of Kiefer's, there was evidently a clash of opinion.<sup>17</sup>

The recommendation for removal of the troops reached the War Department, but also reached the office of Henry Flagler. Flagler wired to Secretary Alger, requesting that no decision be made to move the troops until after Flagler's secretary had an opportunity to give his side of the story.<sup>18</sup> That was on July 22, and on July 24 another team of medical officers was sent to inspect the camp. When these men joined in the request that the troops be taken away from Miami, the orders were issued to break up the camp and send the division to Jacksonville. The order reached General Kiefer on July 29, and the last regiment left Miami on August 13.<sup>19</sup> The effect of the removal order had been miraculous, at least as far as the health of the men was concerned. The number of sick was reduced by half, and recovery was the most rapid ever seen. By August 13, only fifty men were still in the hospital, compared to an average of 260 to 270 when the order had arrived.

It was just as well that the troops moved when they did. Nasty stories were becoming current in the newspapers concerning the part of the city in the poor health of the men, and about the part played by Flagler in having the camp established. The Ocala and the Pensacola newspapers both published stories to the effect that Flagler had spent \$50,000 to secure the camp, and had made profits of \$275,000 for his railroad.<sup>20</sup> Such charges were without any base in fact, as far as the record shows. Flagler did profit, without any doubt, but so did every businessman in Florida. It was established that Flagler had spent over \$10,000 in having the ground prepared, and in donating ice and other items, but no other expenditure ever showed up in any records. As far as his profits went, they were small compared to those earned by other railroads, particularly the Plant System in its operations in Tampa.

In any case, the soldiers were happy to leave, and Miami was happy to see them go. Relations had gradually grown worse, and the profits earned by the city's businessmen were not large enough to make it worth while. Then too, the amount of bad publicity brought by the camp was bound to hurt the reputation of Miami as a winter resort if allowed to continue. Finally, the war was over, the winter season was approaching, and a vacation was needed in order to rest up and prepare for the coming season.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Miami *Metropolis*, April 8, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> Jacksonville *Times Union and Citizen*, May 1, 13, 18, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> Miami *Metropolis*, April 8, 1898.

<sup>4</sup> Jacksonville *Times Union and Citizen*, April 5, 1898.

- 5 *Ibid.*, April 16, 1898. See also: Flagler to Alger, May 14, 1898, item No. 111287, Record Group 92, QMGO Document File 1800-1914, in National Archives, Records of the War Department, Old Army Section.
- 6 Jacksonville *Times Union and Citizen*, May 18, 25, 1898.
- 7 *Ibid.*, June 2, 1898. Miami *Metropolis*, July 1, 1898.
- 8 *Ibid.*, June 24, 1898.
- 9 *Reports of the War Department for the year ending June 30, 1899*. 8 Vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899.) Vol.1, Part 1, p. 214. See also *Report of the Commission Appointed by the President to Investigate the Conduct of the War Department during the War with Spain, 1898*. 8 Vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899). Vol. 1, p. 214; Vol. 7, p. 3276.
- 10 Jacksonville *Times Union and Citizen*, August 1, 1898.
- 11 H. R. Carson, "Recollections of a Chaplain in the Volunteer Army", address to Church Club of Louisiana, (copy in Library of Florida History, University of Florida).
- 12 Troy (Alabama) *Messenger*, July 6, 27, August 3, 1898.
- 13 Tampa *Times*, July 12, 1898.
- 14 Jacksonville *Times Union and Citizen*, July 29, 1898.
- 15 Walter Reed et al. *Report on the Origin and Spread of Typhoid Fever in U. S. Military Camps, 1898*. 2 Vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904). Vol. 1, pp. 507-530.
- 16 *Report of the Investigating Commission*, op. cit., Vol. 8, pp. 8-81.
- 17 *Ibid.*, Vol. 8, pp. 72, 81-83, 85-86.
- 18 *Ibid.*, Vol. 8, p. 73.
- 19 Record Group 92, op. cit., item 111287, dated July 29, 1898.
- 20 Pensacola *Journal*, July 29, 1898. Ocala *Banner*, August 26, 1898.

## Contributors

ADAM G. ADAMS, a past president of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, is now a member of the Board of Directors, and chairman of the Acquisitions Committee. He contributed an article on Vizcaya in the 1955 *Tequesta*. He came to Miami in 1925 and has been closely associated with the real estate business since that time. Portions of this paper were read at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Miami in March of 1957.

FLORENCE STORRS BRIGHAM, age 15, is a student at Southwest High School. She already has published over her name a historical account of the founding of Ochopee. In the preparation of this paper she exchanged 166 letters with 102 individuals and held 94 interviews with 75 individuals. Portions of this paper were read at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in March of 1957.

MARY DOUTHIT CONRAD tells her own story in the reminiscences here printed. She wished to preserve the story of her pioneer days for her family. Mrs. Dan O. Patton, a daughter assisted in gathering the data and Mrs. Thelma Peters prepared the paper for publication.

WILLIAM J. SCHELLINGS, an M. A. graduate in history from the University of Miami and a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Florida, is teaching history at the State Teachers College, Troy, Alabama. He contributed "On Blockade Duty in Florida Waters," excerpts from a Union naval officer's diary, in the 1955 *Tequesta*. This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Miami in March of 1957.

# HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

## TREASURER'S REPORT

FISCAL YEAR ENDING AUGUST 31, 1957

On Hand September 1, 1956

Current Assets:			
Museum Building Fund (In interest bearing bank deposit) -----	\$15,000.00		
General Fund (In non-interest bearing bank deposit) -----	1,483.43		
Securities at current market -----	1,274.00	\$17,757.43	
Fixed Assets:			
Furniture & Fixtures -----	222.67		
Audio-visual equipment -----	518.45		
Illustrated lecture -----	437.17	1,178.29	\$18,935.72
Contributions to Museum Building Fund Rec'd -----	1,115.55		
Contribution to Museum Building Fund Pledged -----	1,000.00		
Contributions of Securities and appreciation -----	247.00		
Total Contributions -----		2,362.55	
Dues Collected -----	6,191.00		
Income from Books -----	232.75		
Sale of prior issues of Tequesta -----	102.00		
Interest on Bank Deposits -----	365.78		
Dividends on Securities -----	44.85		
Miscellaneous Income -----	157.02		
Total Other Income -----		7,093.40	
Less Disbursements:		9,455.95	
Publication Cost of Tequesta -----	795.59		
Program Meetings -----	469.20		
Secretarial Expense -----	225.00		
President's Newsletter -----	343.96		
Library -----	106.95		
Purchase of Books for Sale -----	310.00		
Miscellaneous Expense -----	533.75		
Total Disbursements -----		2,784.45	
Net Income for the Fiscal Year -----			6,671.50
			<u>25,607.22</u>

On Hand August 31, 1957

Current Assets:			
Museum Building Fund (In interest bearing bank deposits):			
Savings Account -----	18,100.00		
Savings Certificates -----	3,000.00		
General Fund (In non-interest bearing bank deposit) -----	807.93		
Securities at current market -----	1,521.00		
Contribution to Museum Building Fund Rec'ble --	1,000.00	24,428.93	
Fixed Assets:			
Furniture & Fixtures -----	222.67		
Audio-visual equipment -----	518.45		
Illustrated lecture -----	437.17	1,178.29	
Total Net Worth -----			<u>\$25,607.22</u>
Total members for 1957 (to date) Paid -----	548		
Total 1957 dues collected -----	\$5,811.00		

We greatly appreciate the generosity of Withers Transfer & Storage Company, 357 Almeria Avenue, Coral Gables, in providing fireproof protection for our archives, and of Jack Callahan, C.P.A., duPont Building, Miami, in auditing our accounts.

ROBERT M. McKEY, *Treasurer*



## LIST OF MEMBERS

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

*This printed roster is made up of those persons and institutions that have paid dues in 1956 or in 1957 before September 15, when this material must go to the press. Those joining after this date in 1957 will have their names included in the 1958 roster. The symbol \*\* indicates founding member and the symbol \* indicates charter member.*

## Sustaining

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| Ada Merritt Junior High School, Miami            | Bowen, Crate D., Miami                             |
| Adams, Adam G., Coral Gables                     | Bowman, Rt. Rev. Marion, St. Leo Abbey             |
| Adams, Elliot, Jacksonville                      | Boyd, Dr. Mark F., Tallahassee*                    |
| Adams, Lewis M., Miami                           | Bozeman, Maj. R. E., APO                           |
| Adkins, A. Z., Jr., Gainesville                  | Bradfield, E. S., Miami Beach**                    |
| Albertson Public Library, Orlando                | Brady, Mrs. H. R., Key Biscayne                    |
| Aldridge, Miss Daisy, Miami                      | Brickell, Miss Maude E., Miami                     |
| American Museum of Natural History               | Briggs, Dr. Harold E., Carbondale, Ill.            |
| Anderson, Robert H., Miami                       | Brigham, Miss Florence S., Miami                   |
| Andrews, Melvin D., Miami                        | Brinkman, Mrs. Philip S., So. Miami                |
| Anthony, Roscoe T., Palm Beach                   | Brook, John, Jr., Coral Gables                     |
| Archer, Ben, Homestead                           | Brookfield, Charles M., Coconut Grove*             |
| Arnold, Glenn H., Atlanta                        | Brooks, J. R., Homestead                           |
| Arnold, Mrs. Roger Williams, Miami               | Brooks, Mrs. Dorothy M., Miami                     |
| Avery, George N., Marathon                       | Brooks, Marvin J., Miami                           |
| Ayars, Erling E., So. Miami                      | Brown University Library                           |
| Baggs, William C., Miami                         | Bullen, Ripley P., Gainesville                     |
| Bailey, Ernest H., Coral Gables                  | Burghard, August, Ft. Lauderdale                   |
| Bailey, Mrs. Ernest H., Coral Gables             | Burton, Mrs. Robert A., Miami*                     |
| Baker, Therese, Stuart                           | Bush, R. S., Miami                                 |
| Barker, Virgil, Coconut Grove                    | Busse, Raymond J., Miami                           |
| Bartow Public Library                            | Byrd, Mrs. J. Wade, Miami                          |
| Bartz, Edward, Miami                             | Caldwell, Thomas P., Coral Gables**                |
| Bassett, Rex, Jr., Ft. Lauderdale                | Caldwell, Mrs. Thomas P., Coral Gables*            |
| Baum, Dr. Earl L., Naples                        | Campbell, Park H., So. Miami*                      |
| Baxter, John M., Miami*                          | Campbell, Mrs. Park H., S. Miami*                  |
| Beal, K. Malcolm, Coconut Grove*                 | Campbell, Mrs. Susie C., Miami                     |
| Beardsley, Jim E., Clewiston                     | Capel, Fred B., Coral Gables                       |
| Beck, Mrs. Alfred J., Ft. Lauderdale             | Capron, Louis, West Palm Beach                     |
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| Bishop, Edwin G., Miami*                         | Chance, Michael, Naples                            |
| Black, Mrs. Charles E., Miami*                   | Chase, Randall, II, Sanford                        |
| Black, Dr. Linnie K., So. Miami                  | Cheetham, Joseph M., Miami                         |
| Blocker, John C., St. Petersburg                 | Clarke, Jerry C., Miami                            |
| Bloomberg, Robert L., Miami                      | Clarke, Mrs. Mary Helm, Coral Gables*              |
| Blouvelt, Mrs. Arthur M., Coral Gables           | Clinch, Duncan L., Miami                           |

- Close, Kenneth, Miami  
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 Connor, Mrs. A. W., Tampa  
 Conrad, Mary D., Miami  
 Cook, John B., Miami  
 Cooney, Mrs. Robert E., Miami  
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 Corley, Miss Pauline, Miami\*\*  
 Corliss, C. J., Washington, D. C.  
 Corson, Allen, Miami  
 Coslow, George R., Miami  
 Covington, James W., Tampa  
 Cox, Mrs. Jessamine S., Miami  
 Criswell, Clarence Lee, Pass-a-Grille Beach  
 Crow, Lon Worth, Miami\*  
 Crow, Mrs. Lon Worth, Miami\*  
 Cushman, The School, Miami\*  
 Dacy, John A., Coral Gables  
 Dade County Florida, Publicity  
 Dade County Teachers' Professional  
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 Dalenberg, George R., Miami  
 Danials, Clyde, Jacksonville  
 Darrow, Miss Dorothy, Coral Gables  
 Davis, Mrs. Christene, Miami  
 Davis, Hugh N., Jr., Miami  
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 Dixon, James A., Miami  
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 Dorn, H. Lewis, So. Miami  
 Dorn, Harold W., So. Miami  
 Dorn, J. K., Jr., Miami  
 Dorn, Mrs. Mabel W., So. Miami  
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 Eason, Mrs. Helga H., Miami  
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 Elder, Dr. S. F., Miami\*  
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 Fisher, Mrs. Clyde W., Palm Beach  
 Fite, Robert H., Miami  
 Fitzgerald, Joseph H., Miami  
 Fitzpatrick, Monsignor John J.,  
 St. Augustine  
 Florida Geological Survey, Tallahassee  
 Florida Southern College, Lakeland  
 Florida State Library, Tallahassee  
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 Fortner, Ed., Miami  
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 Freeling, Mrs. J. S., Miami  
 Freeman, Edison S., Miami  
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 N. J.  
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 Frierson, Mrs. William T., So. Miami\*  
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 Godfrey, Clyde, Miami  
 Goldweber, S., Miami  
 Goodwill, William F., Coral Gables  
 Gregor, Henry, Coral Gables  
 Griffen, F. S., Miami  
 Griffith, Arthur, Miami  
 Griggs, Nelson W., Miami Shores  
 Griggs, Mrs. Nelson W., Miami Shores  
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 Grose, M. s. Esther N., Miami  
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- Harlow, Mrs. Frank E., Coral Gables  
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 Hartnett, Fred B., Coral Gables\*  
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 Hawthorne, Miss June, Miami  
 Hayes, Paul Sisler, Palm Beach  
 Haynesworth, Mrs. Svea, Coconut Grove  
 Heinlein, Mrs. Mary C., Homestead  
 Hendry, Judge Norman, Miami  
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 Herin, Judge William A., Miami\*  
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 Hills, Lee, Miami  
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 Holland, Hon. Spessard L.,  
 Washington, D. C.\*  
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 Holmdale, Mrs. A. G., Miami  
 Hooker, Roland M., Miami Beach  
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 Houghton, Mrs. A. S., Miami  
 Hubbell, Willard, Miami  
 Hughes, Mrs. Fleda V., Miami  
 Humes, Mrs. Ralph H., Miami\*  
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 King, Otis S., Miami  
 Kislak, Jay I., Miami  
 Kistler, The C. W. Company, Miami  
 Kitchens, Dr. F. E., Coral Gables  
 Knowles, Mrs. J. H., Coconut Grove  
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 Krome, Mrs. William J., Homestead\*  
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 Lindabury, Mrs. E. Raymond, Marathon  
 Shores  
 Lindsey Hopkins Vocational School, Miami  
 Lindsley, A. R., Miami Beach  
 Lipp, Morris N., Miami Beach  
 Littlefield, Miss Helena, Miami  
 Longshore, Frank, Miami  
 Lucinian, Dr. Joseph H., Miami Beach  
 Lummus, J. N., Sr., Miami  
 Lummus, Tom J., Miami  
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 MacDonald, Miss Betty, Miami  
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 Martin, Mrs. Kirby A., New York City  
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 Mason, Dr. Walter Scott, So. Miami\*  
 May, Philip S., Jacksonville  
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 McDonald, Mrs. John M., Miami Beach  
 McKay, Col. D. B., Tampa  
 McKee, Arthur, Jr., Plantation Key  
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 McKim, Mrs. L. H., Montreal, Canada  
 McNeill, Robert E., Jr., New York City  
 Mead, Dr. Richard, Miami Beach  
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 Merrick, Mrs. Eunice P., Coral Gables\*  
 Merritt, Dr. Webster, Jacksonville  
 Miami Edison Senior Library  
 Miami Public Library\*  
 Miami Senior High School Library  
 Miami Springs Memorial Public Library  
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 Miller, Raymond M., Miami\*  
 Mitchell, Harry James, Key West  
 Mondrach, Mrs. Stephen H., Sr., Miami  
 Monk, James Floyd, Miami  
 Moore, Dr. Castles W., Ft. Lauderdale  
 Morris, Miss Zula, Miami\*

- Moulds, Andrew J., Coral Gables  
 Moulds, Mrs. Andrew J., Coral Gables  
 Moylan, E. B., Jr., Miami  
 Mudd, Dr. Richard D., Saginaw, Mich.  
 Muir, William Whalley, Miami  
 Muller, Leonard R., Coconut Grove  
 Munroe, Wirth M., Coconut Grove\*  
 Nelson, Mrs. Winifred H., Miami  
 Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.  
 Newman, Mrs. Anna Pearl, Vero Beach  
 Nicholson, Mrs. Ann Selden, Coral Gables  
 North Miami High School  
 Northington, Dr. Page, Miami  
 Nugent, Patrick B., Swananoa, N. C.\*  
 Nugent, Mrs. Patrick B., Swananoa, N. C.\*  
 O'Gara, Gordon C., Miami  
 Oglesby, R. M., Bartow  
 O'Leary, Mrs. Evelyn, Miami  
 Otis, Robert R., Jacksonville  
 Owre, Dr. J. Riis, Miami  
 Pace, Mrs. Johnson H., Miami\*  
 Pace, Rev. Johnson H., Jr., Tallahassee  
 Pancoast, J. Arthur, Uleta\*  
 Pancoast, Leaster C., Miami Beach  
 Pardo, Mrs. Ramiro V., Miami  
 Parker, Alfred B., Coconut Grove  
 Parker, O. B., Homestead  
 Parsons, Mrs. Frances G., Miami\*  
 Pearce, Mrs. Dixon, Miami  
 Peirce, Gertrude C., Miami  
 Pemberton, P. G., Miami  
 Pemberton, Mrs. P. G., Miami  
 Pendergast, Mrs. Eleanor L., Miami\*  
 Pendleton, Robert S., Miami  
 Pennekamp, John D., Miami  
 Peters, Mrs. Thelma, Miami\*  
 Philbrick, W. L., Miami  
 Pierce, Miss Ruby Edna, Palm Beach  
 Platt, T. Beach, Coconut Grove  
 Plowden, Gene, Miami  
 Prael, William, Miami  
 Prevatt, Preston G., Miami  
 Price, Gaylord L., Miami  
 Prince, J. W., Naples  
 Prunty, John W., Miami  
 Quigley, Ellen N., Miami Beach  
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 Railey, Mrs. F. G., Miami\*  
 Rasmussen, Dr. Edwin L., Miami\*\*  
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 Ross, Richard P., Ft. Lauderdale  
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 Saye, Roland A., Jr., Miami Beach  
 Schuberth, Andrew F., Jr., Miami  
 State University of Iowa  
 Sessa, Dr. Frank B., Miami  
 Shank, H. W., Coral Gables  
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 Shaw, Henry Overstreet, Miami  
 Shaw, Miss Luella, Miami\*  
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 Simpson, George C., Coral Gables  
 Sisters of St. Joseph, St. Augustine  
 Slaughter, Dr. Frank G., Jacksonville  
 Sleight, Frederick W., Orlando  
 Smiley, Nixon, Miami  
 Smith, Avery C., Miami  
 Smith, Gilbert B., Coral Gables  
 Snodgrass, Miss Dena, Jacksonville  
 Snyder, Dr. Clifford C., Miami  
 Southgate, Howard, Winter Park  
 Sparks, Mrs. Charles, Miami  
 Spinks, Mrs. Elizabeth J., Miami\*  
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 Tennessee State Library and Archives  
 Sterling, Ray T., Miami  
 Stetson University, DeLand  
 Stern, David S., Coconut Grove  
 Stevens, Mrs. T. T., Miami  
 Stevens, Wallace, Okeechobee  
 Straight, Dr. William M., Coral Gables  
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 Strickland, Mrs. C. E., Astor  
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