

NORTHERN BISCAYNE BAY IN 1776¹

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When one is writing for a historical journal, and especially for the issue devoted to local history a Bicentennium ago, it is somewhat unfortunate to begin the essay with the statement that virtually no one was living in the local area at that time. Yet this appears to have been the case with regard to the shores of northern Biscayne Bay in 1776. So far as can be determined, this now heavily urbanized part of Florida was essentially deserted. Not a single piece of archeological, historical, or other evidence has yet been found to indicate the existence of any habitation or settlement anywhere on the islands, beaches, hammocks, or pinelands of this Bay region in that fateful year. That there was human activity in the area appears likely, but it is only suggested by inference, though further research may eventually provide something more substantial.

Perhaps a more refined way of describing the situation would be to say that the year 1776 happened to come along at a time when the Bay area was experiencing a general, if only temporary, lack of permanent residents. Indeed, this absence in the 1770s seems to have been unique in the region's human history. Not too many years previously, Indians had lived in a small village at the mouth of the present Miami River, though that village was only inhabited seasonally. And not too many years later, perhaps around the turn of the century, both European-Americans and another group of Indians were settling the Bayshores, sharing or sometimes violently competing for the attractions of their new lands. But, during a period lasting approximately 30 to 50 years, and including the 1770s, the Bay sparkled serenely, not forgotten, but unenjoyed by any permanent residents living on its shores.

This rather unusual state of affairs does not necessarily mean there was absolutely no popular interest in the Biscayne Bay region. The

evidence, circumstantial though it may be as far as the year 1776 itself is concerned, does seem to imply that probably temporary and possibly seasonal visits to, and uses of, the Bay and its Atlantic environs were made in the 1770s. But if any settlements took place as a result of these visits, they were definitely transitory. Those who came to the Bay, whether for profit, pleasure, or by circumstance, returned home or went to other places when their stay in the Bay area was ended. Before discussing who may have come to the Bay in 1776, and for what purposes, it is perhaps pertinent to examine some of the reasons for the absence of permanent settlements in the region during that time.

Probably the most puzzling question which comes to mind is why there were no Indian communities along the Bay. The answer seems to have two sides to it. On the one hand, the descendants of the inhabitants described by Fontaneda and others² in the 16th Century had, by 1770, disappeared from the scene. And, on the other, different Indian peoples, even then known as the Seminoles, had not yet established themselves in the Biscayne Bay region on a permanent basis. As a result, there was a relatively brief hiatus in the long history of Indian settlement of northern Biscayne Bay.

The disappearance of the Indians, who for centuries had been living on the Bayshores prior to the 1770s, seems to have had numerous causes, though which ones were the more significant is difficult to ascertain. It is likely that all of them contributed in some measure to the demise and subsequent absence of the Indians living around the Bay, but ostensibly tribal warfare, political changes, and certainly disease were among the most important. One document provides some clues as to what probably happened to these unfortunate people, however, and describes the situation of the Indians some years previously.

In the summer of 1743, two Jesuit missionaries, backed by some Spanish soldiers, attempted to establish a mission at the site of the Indian village mentioned above, on the Miami River. Although one of the priests, Joseph Xavier de Alaña, sent back a report citing the need for a mission, and requesting for that purpose official military support and the creation of a small colony of Spanish settlers, the mission lasted only a few months. In the meantime, however, Alaña's report furnishes a good deal of information on the state of the Indians he had come to convert.³

The Indian village was located on the north bank of the present Miami River, where it flows into Biscayne Bay. At that time, the settlement consisted of five long houses, in which lived 180 men, women, and children "crowded together."⁴ The inhabitants were

seminomadic, and the village was apparently only used during the summer months. In September the entire population, who, according to Alaña, "lived more at sea than on land,"⁵ took to their canoes and went down to the Florida Keys for the winter, returning the following spring. It is not known what this small group of Indians called themselves, aside from "Keys Indians," but the Spaniards gave them the name of "Boca Raton," after the inlet of that name located about two leagues (roughly six miles) to the northeast (see Figure 1 below). They also renamed the village the Pueblo de Santa Maria de Loreto.

Alaña's report, which contains much material on the beliefs and some of the religious and other practices of the Boca Raton Indians, candidly admits that they were unimpressed by Jesuit logic, and categorically refused to become Christians unless they were given liberal quantities of rum, among other conditions.⁶ As can be imagined, the classic conflict was on. The Spaniards were adamant, the Indians equally so; they were not only obstinate and uncooperative, they became downright threatening. The Spaniards, fully intending to stay, at least initially, found it expedient to build a temporary stockade in some haste (within three days), overlooking the village.⁷ But, lacking the official support they had requested, the Spaniards withdrew shortly thereafter, their mission a failure.

In 1743, other small Indian "nations" existed some distance away. Those apparently closest, culturally, to the Boca Raton were the Carlos (Calusa) to the west, and Cayos (Keys) Indians to the southwest. In addition, there were three other tribes, whose total number seems to have been only about 100 people, or slightly more. A "day's journey" away (20-30 miles?) were the Maymies, perhaps to the north, though this is not specified in Alaña's report. Beyond these, presumably to the north and northwest, and two and four "days' journey" away respectively, were the Santaluzes and the Mayacas.⁸

Alaña's report is informative, but of special pertinence here is a section which documents a rapid depopulation of the Indians, and which gives what the Spaniards felt were the reasons for that depopulation. His paragraph summarizes the situation succinctly:

Finally, this aid is conducive to the conservation of the Indians. At each step these little nations (*nacionillas*) fight, and are diminishing, as affirms the memory of the much greater number which existed twenty years ago. So that if they are left alone, in their barbarous ways, in a few years they will have become extinct, either by the little wars, or by the rum which they drink to the point of bursting, or by the children they kill, or by the toll of smallpox, for lack of a remedy, or by,

finally, those which perish at the hands of the Vehises. In which case we would lack the utility, which to our nation these few Indians bring, also for their aversion which they maintain towards the English as well as their devotion to us, albeit only founded in their own interest.⁹

Clearly, the Indians of northern Biscayne Bay were in the process of dying out even by 1743, and the dark prediction made by Alaña seems to have been borne out by the 1770s. The Spaniards abandoned their short-lived mission, but the Indians remained. It is simply not known whether the Indians died out *in situ*, or were taken away as slaves by the Vehises (who were very probably the Yuchis - an advance party of "Seminoles"), or fled to the Keys. It seems doubtful that any remained on the Bayshores by 1763, when Florida was transferred from Spain to England by the Treaty of Paris. But if any did remain, they apparently chose to leave with the Spaniards, and went to Cuba,¹⁰ after which nothing is heard from them again.

The remains of the little Boca Raton settlement, however, did not disappear entirely. In 1770, the surveyor Bernard Romans, while marking out the boundaries of a land grant just south of the Miami River (which he called the Rio Rattones), noted a clearing on the north bank of the river, at its mouth. This clearing he described, on the survey map, as an "old field of Pueblo Rattton Town."¹¹ And the former Indian settlement continued to be recorded by several witnesses later.¹² An Indian mound at the same site - quite possibly the site of the temporary stockade built by the Spaniards in 1743 - was described many years later by John Sewell, who levelled it to make room for Henry Flagler's Royal Palm Hotel in 1896. At that time, the mound was about 100 feet long and 75 feet wide; it was about 20 feet high, and there were large trees growing on top of it.¹³

From the foregoing, it seems fairly evident that the settlements of the Indians who had been living along Biscayne Bay had been abandoned well before 1770, and very probably prior to 1763. As has been mentioned, no evidence of any settlement initiated by other Indian groups has been found, but it appears very likely that Indians did visit the Bay at least occasionally. Alaña noted the Vehises, or Yuchis, in his 1743 report, and it seems probable that they reached the Bay in subsequent years. Covington,¹⁴ states that raiding and hunting parties of Seminoles swept through all parts of Florida in the late 1770s, a statement backed by Adair, who wrote in 1775,¹⁵ and implied by Romans.¹⁶ William Gerard De Brahm, Surveyor-General for the Southern District of North America (i.e., south of the Potomac River) and for the British province of East Florida, provides

supporting evidence for such incursions into the Biscayne Bay region. In his instructions to a group of would-be European settlers who planned to colonize the area around present-day Perrine in 1773,¹⁷ De Brahm mentions that they might meet some "Seminolskee" Indians, and he offered advice as to how the colonists should deal with them if they did meet them. But in none of these sources is there the slightest hint that there were Indian habitations of any kind along Biscayne Bay in the years immediately preceding 1776, and it must be assumed there were none in that year, either.

If Indian activities in the Biscayne Bay area were limited to sporadic and quite temporary visits, what can be said of other peoples? Again, the evidence available so far points to a total lack of permanent settlers in the northern Biscayne Bay region. This almost certainly pertains to any European or American settlements, although it is conceivable that a squatter family or single person may have lived unnoticed along the Bay, in some hidden house - a romantic possibility, but one for which there is neither physical nor documentary basis. The Spaniards abandoned their missionary post in 1743 and did not return for many - possibly 60 - years. When the British took over Florida, they sent several surveying expeditions to the northern Bay region. In 1765, De Brahm and his survey party made a two-day reconnaissance of the area,¹⁸ and he or members of his survey teams returned to the Bay frequently in the ensuing six years, but nowhere in the numerous letters and reports which De Brahm wrote is there any indication of any settlement, European or otherwise. The 1770 survey of Bernard Romans has already been cited¹⁹ and will be analyzed later, but he makes no mention of any settlement along a 10-mile stretch of shore on the mainland, south of the Miami River; nor does he note any settlers anywhere else in the Bay area in his other writings.

The absence of European settlements on the shores of Biscayne Bay was not due to a lack of effort to colonize the area. In 1763, the British Crown obtained possession of Florida and held it for some 20 years. Virtually all the Spanish residents, and many of the Indians, elected to emigrate to other Spanish colonies, rather than to live under a new monarch of different culture, language, and faith.²⁰ Consequently, one of the major policies of the new owners, implemented shortly after their acquisition of Florida, was to effect its resettlement as soon as practicable. This policy was only partially successful, and was brought to an abrupt close when Florida, once again a pawn in international politics, was transferred from Britain back to Spain in 1784.

But during the British period, King George III did undertake to

repopulate Florida, and in preparation for this he ordered an extensive General Survey to be made of its coasts. One of the major purposes of the Survey, of which more will be said later, was to enable the King to grant specific lands in East Florida to certain individuals. Under the conditions of each grant, the grantee was to have his property surveyed at his expense, and he was to provide settlers, who would then furnish a stable population for the new province. Although many large tracts were granted in Florida, very few were actually taken up, and fewer yet were settled.²¹

Around Biscayne Bay, the British land grant policy was even less successful in achieving its goals than it was for East Florida as a whole. Several large sections of land were given to a number of personages, most of whom were of noble lineage. Among the grantees were the Earl of Dartmouth, his three sons, Samuel Touchet (Touchett), possibly one Caleb Garbrand, and, later, John Augustus Ernst.²²

Samuel Touchet was the first, so far as is known, to be granted lands in the Miami area. He received 20,000 acres in June, 1766,²³ and his grant extended along the shore from the present Miami River south to a place about half a mile south of present Shoal Point (see Figure 2). It is Touchet's tract which Romans surveyed in 1770, to which reference has already been made, and which survey is discussed elsewhere in this issue.²⁴ Touchet, a wealthy London businessman and financier, maintained world-wide commercial interests. Apparently somewhat of a speculator as well, Touchet found himself in some difficulties at home in London,²⁵ and his relatively unimportant lands in Florida were never settled, nor are any plans for the colonization of his tract known to exist.

Lord Dartmouth initially received 100,000 acres in 1770,²⁶ but he apparently gave 60,000 of these to his three sons, retaining 40,000 acres to the south of Touchet's grant. Lord Dartmouth's lands extended some six and a half miles further south along the coast, and ran inland a distance of almost 10 miles.²⁷ De Brahm seems to have surveyed the Earl's lands, though I have not seen the actual survey, and plans were made to colonize a portion of his tract. This effort, undertaken by a group known as the Cape Florida Society, is discussed elsewhere in this issue, and all that needs to be said here is that the settlement scheme failed.²⁸

Another try at colonization in the northern Biscayne Bay region was made in 1777 by Ernst, who had received his grant in 1774; but this attempt, too, was unsuccessful, and has been discussed briefly elsewhere.²⁹ No other effort to settle the Biscayne Bay area is known to have been made, and no colonists came to populate the

region. There the record seems to end. Many years later, in 1799, Andrew Ellicott reported "the coast and islands (of East Florida) being uninhabited by a single solitary settler from Apalachy, almost round to St. Augustine!"³⁰ And the lands that had been granted during the British period eventually reverted, since the provisions of the grants had never been fulfilled, to Spain and, later, the United States.

Thus, in 1776, neither Indian, nor European, nor American settlements existed on the shores of northern Biscayne Bay. Even the surveyors had departed from the area, and "Seminole" Indians apparently only came to the Bay in search of game, or perhaps on their way to the Keys. But again, this does not mean the Bay was completely neglected. It appears that sporadic visits, and perhaps even transitory settlements, occurred in the Bay region in the 1770s. And here, once again, the evidence for the occasional uses made of the Bay is largely inferential. But this time, the users came from the sea, and this time the evidence seems conclusive. The home bases for the people who came to the Bay were islands, principally the Bahamas and Cuba, and their activities were extensions of those they, or others from the same islands, pursued to the south and southwest, in the Florida Keys.

In connection with these activities, it should be remembered that northern Biscayne Bay was, as it is today, only a few miles west of one of the most heavily traveled sea lanes of the times. The main route of the return voyage to Europe from tropical America - and much of South America as well - lay between southeastern Florida and the Bahama Islands, through what was then known as the New Bahama Channel. Each day an average of two or three ships passed silently northward in the Gulf Stream and, on rarer occasions, coastal vessels made their cautious way south, much closer to shore. Generally the ships did not stop, unless forced to do so by circumstance. Sometimes, a ship might come in and around the southern tip of Key Biscayne, anchoring on the west, or lee, side. If they were lucky, crewmen could find fresh water right there under the sand, in addition to a sheltering harbor.³¹ But often a boat would have to be sent across three miles of shallow bay to get fresh water from any of the myriad sources on the mainland. There, springs or rivulets provided ample good water; some of the springs of fresh water came up into the Bay itself, and, if the crewmen had knowledge of them, the trip across the Bay could be shortened. The most famous of the mainland springs later became known as the Punchbowl, a natural outflowing at the base of a limestone bluff, just a few feet from the Bay. And, of course, there was the Miami River itself, which always provided fresh water only a short distance farther north.

Even more occasionally (and I know of no record indicating that this took place in 1776), a ship might become disabled, by storm or simply due to faulty navigation,³² near northern Biscayne Bay. If that happened, the survivors would have to manage as best they could, until they were either picked up by some small coastal vessel or other passing ship, or were able to leave the area on their own. Shipwrecks, however, occurred much more frequently further south, along the treacherous reefs paralleling the Keys. There they were numerous indeed, so much so that they gave rise to an industry known as "wrecking," which attracted quite a few people, mostly from the Bahamas, but also from Cuba.

The "wreckers," as they were called, became much better known in later years, as both shipping and shipwrecks increased along the Keys. The wreckers were often maligned, but at least at first they had some staunch supporters among the surveyors who mapped the Keys in the late 1760s and early 1770s, for the wreckers frequently performed many valuable services.³³ Their business centered on the Florida Keys, but it was by no means the only activity taking place there. The Keys had been, and continued to be for many years to come, a focus for other pursuits carried out by the same people, including fishing, turtling, and timber-cutting.

Cuban fishermen had for a long time been plying their trade, mostly in the Lower Keys and along the southwest coast of Florida, as Alaña had pointed out in his report in 1743,³⁴ and as Gauld reported in the 1770s.³⁵ But some of the Cubans went along the eastern coast as well, for De Brahm noted that they were fishing in the Hillsborough Inlet during the time he was there.³⁶ With the transfer of Florida to the British, therefore, this activity does not seem to have abated substantially, if at all. The Cubans had traditionally received much help from local Indians, as Alaña describes for the 1740s, and, when the Calusas left, the Indians who took up the slack were the Seminoles, especially in the 19th Century.³⁷ It cannot be demonstrated that the Cubans did come to Biscayne Bay in the 1770s, and it might even be argued that, since there were no Indian settlements on the Bay at that time, the likelihood of Cuban activity on the Bay was reduced even further. But the possibility that Cuban fishermen came to the Bay in those days is one that cannot be overlooked.

However, another group of islanders, this time from the Bahamas, were quite active along the Upper as well as Lower Keys during the 1770s.³⁸ While their primary centers of activity were further south, there seems little question that they utilized the southern part of Biscayne Bay, and apparently extended their range just to the north,

in the northern part of the Bay. These "Providence people," as they were sometimes known,³⁹ already enjoyed a reputation as the best pilots for the dangerous waters of the Florida Reef and Keys. But they were also fishermen, turtlers, woodcutters, hunters, and, of course, wreckers. They are known to have frequented all of the Keys, especially in summer,⁴⁰ and Romans writes that they also visited northern Biscayne Bay in the early 1770s;⁴¹ by implication it may be assumed they were there during 1776 also.

Thus, for the first time in this discussion, there are tiny bits of documentation to support the thesis that somebody - in this case the "Providence people" - came to northern Biscayne Bay in the 1770s. Two further tantalizing hints, both from De Brahm, are supplemented by place names which seem to have been given certain local geographic features by the Bahama seamen. In addition, the fairly close proximity of the northern Biscayne Bay area to the Bahama Islands, only about 47 miles away, tends to support its use by the islanders.

The first documentary clue lies in a cover letter which De Brahm sent to Lord Dartmouth in 1773, with which he enclosed those same instructions he wrote for the intended Cape Florida Society settlers who planned to live on the Lord's lands, around present Perrine. In that letter, De Brahm specifically emphasizes that he is providing the instructions partly because of the possibility that the colonists might be dissuaded from settlement by the "providence fisher man."⁴² Thus, De Brahm felt there was sufficient Bahamian activity in the northern Bay region to warrant some sort of warning on his part.

The second hint comes from a place name which De Brahm gave to one of the points he mapped on the mainland, and very close indeed to the site where the intended colony was to be established. South of Shoal Point, and opposite present Paradise Point near the present town of Cutler, De Brahm named a point (today still unnamed) Turtois Crawl Point (see Figure 1). It is not yet known precisely where this point was located with reference to today's nautical charts, but it was somewhere between Shoal Point and Chicken Key. This shore is characterized, as it was then, by mangrove underlain by a quartz sand deposit.⁴³ It was apparently an ideal spot for a turtle crawl, though De Brahm does not mention the existence of one of 1770, when he made the original map.

Still, the inference is there. The etymology of the word "crawl," in this context, is from the Spanish "corral" or, more precisely, the Portuguese "curral," and the term "crawl" was commonly used to apply to turtle pens in the Keys, where many are known to have been built during the 1760s and 1770s.⁴⁴ It seems logical to assume,

since De Brahm named his point for one, that a turtle crawl existed on the point near Cutler, and I for one offer the suggestion that this name be given today to the point opposite Paradise Point. That a turtle crawl would not have been noted in the current or later sailing directions, or coast pilots, is understandable, since no part of the Biscayne Bay mainland coast figured prominently in the normal sea routes to be followed along the Florida coastline. Whether the turtle crawl, if there was one, was owned by a Cuban or Bahamian turtler is impossible to say for sure, but it is more likely to have been the work of a Bahamian than a Cuban, judging from the relative prominence of the two peoples in the Biscayne Bay area at that time.

Other place names also point to at least occasional visits by the Bahama Islanders, notably the use of the term "cut" to describe what the British normally called "inlet" or "outlet" - that is, narrow water passages leading from the Ocean into other bodies of water. One such passage, between present Sands Key and Elliott Key, is known today as Sands Cut, but Romans states that "the Providence people have stiled it *Saunders's Key*, and the inlet to the south of it *Saunders's Cut . . .*" (see Figure 3).⁴⁵ Romans also mentions the name "Bear Cut" as identifying the passage which today bears the same name;⁴⁶ could this place name also have originated with the "Providence people"? Romans does not say, and De Brahm, who liked to name many local geographic features for prominent people, called it Dartmouth Inlet (see Figure 1), though in his original 1765 survey he gave it the rather improbable name of "The Gorge."⁴⁷

In short, both Cubans and Bahamians made extensive use of the Florida Keys during the 1770s, with the Cubans concentrating their activities on the Lower Keys and the southwest coast of Florida, and the Bahamians more important throughout the remainder of the Keys and Biscayne Bay. This occurred consistently, even though the Keys are described as uninhabited during that period.⁴⁸ Although the Cubans are reported to have built huts on the western coast of Florida, none are known to have been erected, by either people, on the Keys or the shores of Biscayne Bay. But there seems little doubt that the activities, especially of the Bahamians, extended to northern Biscayne Bay at least occasionally.

If the lack of permanent residents around northern Biscayne Bay, and the marginality of its attractions to those who did frequent southern Florida, provide little raw material for many historians, the historical geographer finds a veritable treasure in the relatively and surprisingly large number of letters, reports, recommendations, notes, maps, surveys, and even books, in which at least some aspect

or portion of the Bay in the early 1770s is described. This particular geographer has only begun to tap what increasingly appears to be a plethora of documentary sources, from which can be derived not only geographic descriptions of the region in 1776, but also a wide range of data usable in a variety of ways - not the least of which is for future planning in this, our Bicentennial year.

But the immediate purpose here is to portray northern Biscayne Bay as it probably was in 1776, and it should be said at the outset that a detailed description of this area in that year, based on materials already known and encompassing an analysis of all its natural environmental aspects, could easily fill a fairly bulky volume. It is true that this author has not yet come across any document specifically describing the northern Bay in the year 1776, but physical geography tends to change relatively slowly, even in a low coastal area, unless some cataclysmic event occurs, such as a particularly severe hurricane or earthquake. Thus, the materials and descriptions written in the late 1760s and early 1770s are timely enough for our purposes here, as there was no earthquake or major storm of sufficiently destructive proportions to have modified Biscayne Bay or its shores substantially, between 1771 and 1776.⁴⁹ And subsequent descriptions passed on by the *Sailing Directions* and later maps remained based on these materials, for many years.

The remarkable thing about the sizable amounts of documentary materials on the Bay in the 1770s is that most of them seem to have come from the pens of two men: both were surveyors and engineers, both were very well educated, both were extremely talented, and both were equally difficult to get along with.

Bernard Romans is probably far better known in the United States and in Florida than is De Brahm, principally due to the fact that Romans published a large map and a lengthy book on Florida in 1774 and 1775,⁵⁰ both of which have since been reprinted. Romans' map of Florida was republished, accompanied by a work by P. Lee Phillips about Romans, by the Florida State Historical Society as an atlas of 13 sheets in 1924.⁵¹ And Romans' book, originally meant to accompany his 1774 map, was reprinted, unfortunately without the map, in 1962.⁵²

So far as this author is aware, Romans himself directly contributed three documents concerning Biscayne Bay, although either he, or materials from these documents, added much to other works, such as the *Sailing Directions* already cited.⁵³ The three documents include the map of Florida he drew in 1774, which shows Biscayne Bay in some detail (see Figure 3), the valuable book on Florida already mentioned, and the survey of Samuel Touchet's grant in 1770, also

already cited. Romans based most of his work on personal experience, though he drew from the notes and maps of others as well. He had traveled extensively around the coastal areas of Florida from about 1766 to 1773, and for a time he was also deputy surveyor in the province. As a result of these travels and experiences, he was probably as familiar with the peninsula as anyone else of the period, and his book, map, and survey provide much information on Biscayne Bay during those times.

William Gerard De Brahm was little known among historians and other scholars until, in 1971, Louis DeVorse, Jr., performed a truly estimable service by publishing De Brahm's *Report on the General Survey in the Southern District of North America*.⁵⁴ DeVorse's introduction to the *Report* contains the best available summary of De Brahm's life and works, and has brought to light many facets of this obscure and complicated, but remarkable, man. Prior to DeVorse's publication, some materials had been produced concerning De Brahm,⁵⁵ but his works remained accessible only to a very limited number of people. The present author reflects the gratitude of many in expressing his appreciation of DeVorse's contribution, which not only makes available to the public De Brahm's lengthy report, but also indicates the existence and extent of many of De Brahm's other written materials.

Mention has been made that, during the British period of Florida history, the King of England ordered an extensive General Survey to be made of its coasts. The person in charge of this and other surveys in the province was De Brahm, who was appointed both Surveyor-General of the Southern District of North America, which as has been said included all of the territory of British North America south of the Potomac River, and Surveyor-General of East Florida, in 1764.⁵⁶ A few months later, in early 1765, De Brahm began a long and thorough six-year survey of the eastern coast of Florida. During and after this time, he sent back to England many descriptions, including the *Report of the General Survey*, and numerous maps, of the regions he and his men surveyed. In addition to the more general maps of Florida - or major portions of it - which he drew, De Brahm also produced large-scale "Plans" of most of the large harbors he encountered on the Survey. Northern Biscayne Bay received, therefore, a good deal of attention from De Brahm, who visited it several times during the Survey, and we consequently have a number of his maps of the northern Bay region.⁵⁷

Unfortunately, both De Brahm and Romans had abrasive personalities, and the careers of both men were marred by not a few personal conflicts and animosities, with others as well as with each

other. The two men had a long running battle with each other, each criticizing, belittling, and ridiculing the other, neither man losing the opportunity to take a verbal swipe at the other whenever the occasion presented itself. Romans seems to have won this unhappy verbal exchange, partly because, though a foreigner like De Brahm, Romans was more articulate in the English language, but also no doubt because of his book on Florida. Also, though De Brahm was privately sharply critical of Romans, he did not openly criticize him in his own published works, nor in such harsh terminology.⁵⁸ It is not entirely surprising to find that, when the two men became involved in the revolutionary conflict raging in North America, each chose different sides: Romans joined the revolutionary cause, while De Brahm remained a staunch loyalist, even though he eventually returned to America to live out the rest of his days.

The rivalries and often bitter feelings between the two men would make an interesting paper in themselves, but only to the extent that they concern Biscayne Bay are they included here. De Brahm's difficulties with others, however, eventually resulted in his suspension from one of his offices in October, 1770.⁵⁹ Continuing his work on the General Survey for a few more months, he then went to England to face charges of insubordination, overcharging for private surveying work, and other official irregularities. Though cleared and later reinstated in 1774, De Brahm never returned to Florida, even though he held his posts until 1778. And so, after 1771, this, plus the political disruptions that accompanied the American Revolution, brought to an end the surveys around Biscayne Bay; they were not resumed until some 70 years later. Thus, the only detailed maps of all of northern Biscayne Bay in the 1770s are those drawn by De Brahm prior to 1771. But De Brahm's work, as has been noted, was severely criticized by Romans, and the often sharp differences between the two men make the job of reconstructing northern Biscayne Bay's landscape in the 1770s more difficult since, as we shall see, frequently contradictory maps and descriptions of the same area, during roughly the same years, were produced by both men. It may even be that Romans decided to write his book and draw his map on Florida in order to correct what he felt were serious errors on De Brahm's part.

What makes things even more troublesome is that both men were at times quite accurate in their observations and cartography, while at other times they were equally inaccurate. Romans' maps of Biscayne Bay are essentially his own, though he supplemented his memory with materials from others with whom he had worked - a development which forced him to defend himself against accusations

of literary piracy.⁶⁰ De Brahm's maps, however, are based not only on his own personal surveys, but also on those of staff whom he employed during the General Survey. His maps are therefore composites of several persons' observations, though he himself drew the final maps which were submitted to his superiors in England. This leads to serious and often inexplicable discrepancies on De Brahm's own maps, where the 1770 cartography of Biscayne Bay is concerned. Some portions of the northern Bay area, such as the barrier complex from today's Baker's Haulover Cut to southern Key Biscayne, appear almost unbelievably accurate. But distance and other geographic errors immediately appear, for example, when the barrier complex is related, on the same map, to the Miami River and mainland shore to the west.

It is not the purpose here to try to explain how these errors arose, since this becomes quite a complicated matter and involves a number of assumptions and analytical interpretations of a somewhat technical nature. Suffice it to say that, in my opinion, De Brahm's maps of northern Biscayne Bay, though they contain inaccuracies, are in general and in detail more accurate than Romans,' especially where the shorelines are concerned. Consequently, the following description of the Bay area is based primarily on De Brahm, though Romans' cartographic and other contributions are also included and discussed to some extent. But it should not be forgotten that the Romans and De Brahm maps of Biscayne Bay, whatever their faults, were the first to portray reasonably accurately the outlines and many of the geographic features of the Bay and its shorelines.

The map of northern Biscayne Bay in 1770, shown as Figure 1, is derived and adapted from two maps by De Brahm; these are shown as Insets A and B. Inset A is based on De Brahm's "Plan of Dartmouth Inlet and Stream, Cape Florida, and Sandwich Gulf, surveyed in the Years 1765 and 1770." Two very similar, but not identical, "Plans" were drawn by De Brahm of the area covered by Inset A; the second, "final" one was included in his *Report*,⁶¹ but both have been utilized for my own drawing of Inset A.

Inset B is derived from another map, which De Brahm drew in 1773 for Lord Dartmouth, but whose basic outlines were taken from De Brahm's General Survey map of 1770.⁶² This map has been redrawn and presented elsewhere in this issue of *Tequesta*.⁶³ Fortunately, all three maps were drawn by De Brahm at the same scale of 10,000 links to the inch, so that, with only very minor adjustments, it was possible to join them into one composite map of the entire northern Biscayne Bay shoreline here shown as Figure 1.

One final note should be added. Inset B and the mainland coast of Inset A were drawn, in De Brahm's maps, on a meridian which ran at

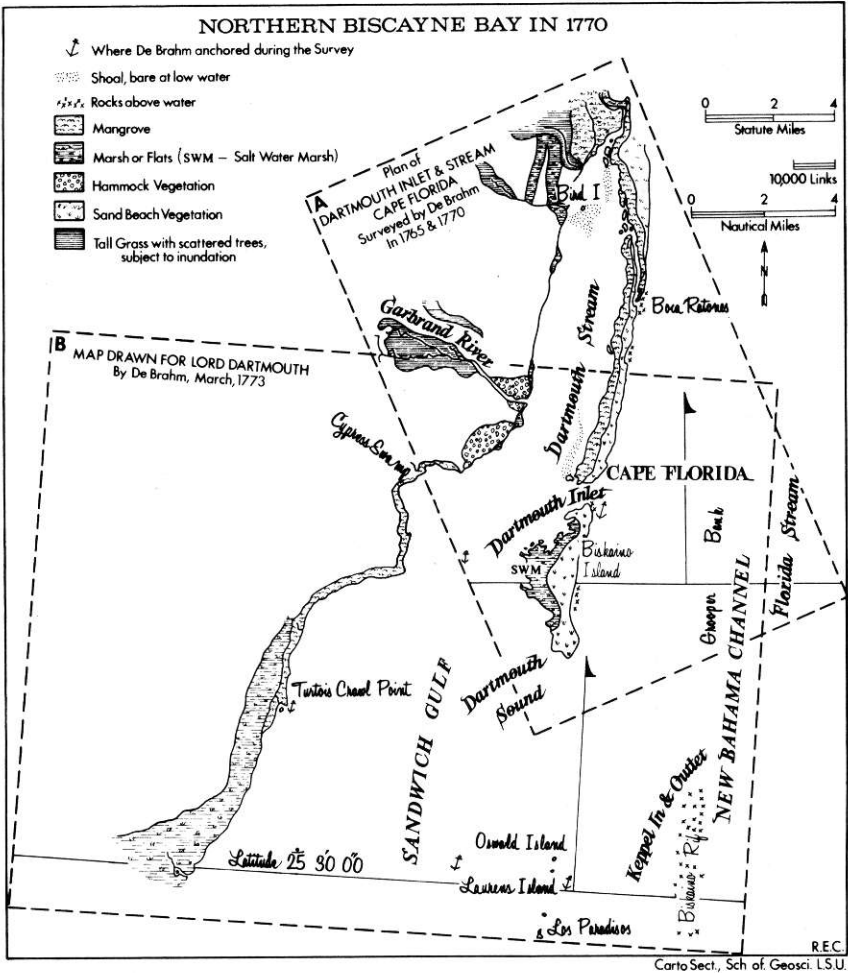


Figure 1. Sources: Inset A from Library of Congress copy of map in British Museum, *King's MS 211*, fol. 83 (11), and another original in the Houghton Library, Harvard University. Inset B from *Dartmouth Ms. D(W)1778/II/654*, Stafford County Record Office, Stafford, England.

an angle of between 2.5° and 3° east of north. The section from Baker's Haulover Cut to the southern tip of Key Biscayne, however, was drawn on the basis of the meridian shown in Inset A, which ran almost exactly due north. This minor discrepancy has been retained, as is noted by the two meridians shown in Insets A and B, in Figure 1.

For the map shown as Figure 2, however, this author has taken the liberty of modifying De Brahm's 1770 maps to show a "best fit"

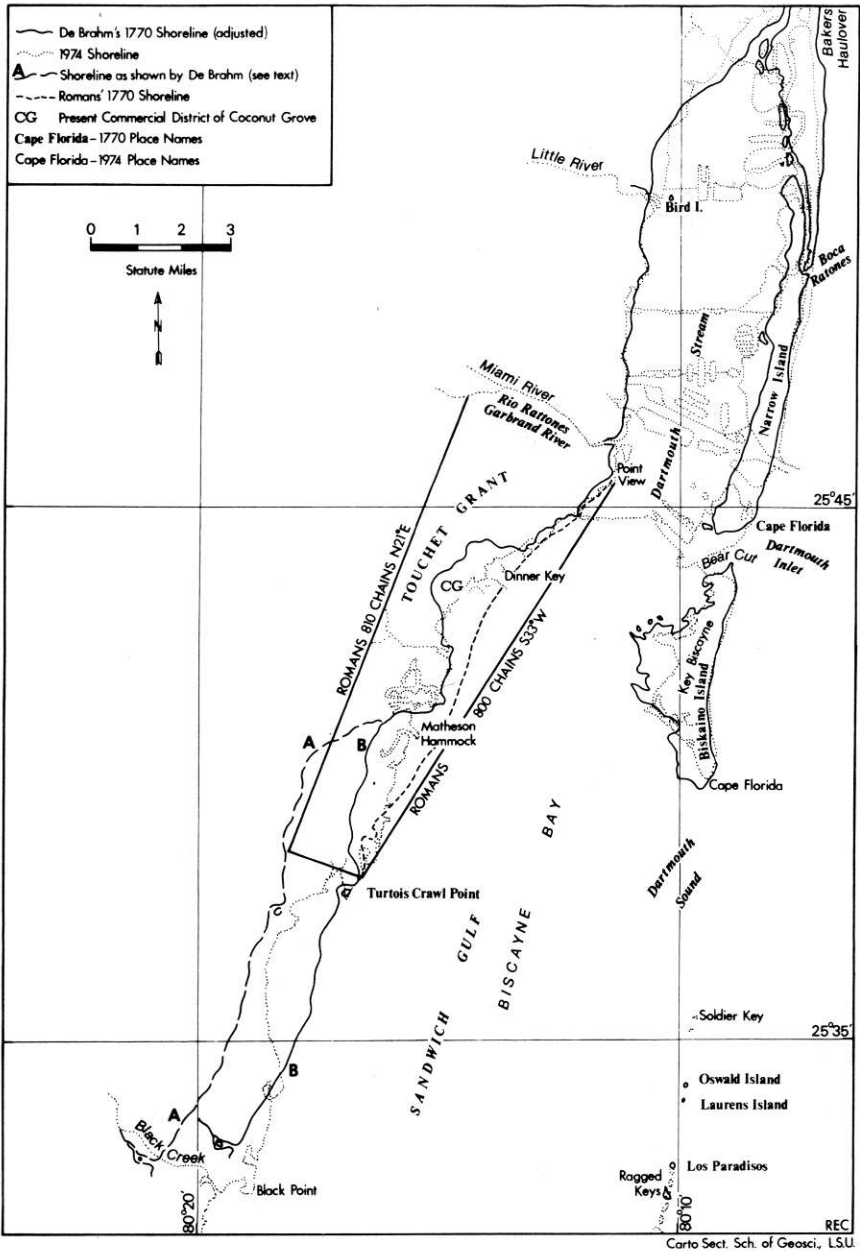


Figure 2. Northern Biscayne Bay shorelines in 1770 and 1974. Base map from U.S. N.O.S. Nautical Charts 11451 and 11467.

shoreline, in relation to present nautical charts of the same area. For most of the Bay shoreline, this required only minor modifications, such as the correction of De Brahm's meridional error just mentioned, and the placing of the Miami and Little River sections in their present locations. For the section south of Matheson Hammock, on the other hand, De Brahm's coastline seems to be quite in error, although certain features are shown correctly. I have therefore shown two mainland shorelines for that coast, indicated by letters A and B; A represents the shoreline as De Brahm has it, while B represents a "best fit" modification. Aside from these adjustments, De Brahm's 1770 shoreline has been retained as he drew it, and superimposed on the 1974 nautical chart coastlines as of 1974.

As can be seen by comparing Figures 1 and 2, northern Biscayne Bay has, as might be expected, retained its general configuration over the past 200 years, aside from those modifications which have accompanied the rapid urbanization of the region in the 20th Century. But some changes of considerable magnitude have also occurred due to natural factors. The present author is currently writing a paper analyzing in some detail these natural alterations between 1770 and 1887, but the preliminary results can be summarized here.

In the northern part of the Bay, two features of unusual interest stand out. The first is the existence, in 1770, of an opening between the Bay and the Atlantic Ocean, about halfway up present Indian Creek in Miami Beach. This opening had been known to the Spaniards as Boca Ratones for at least 50 years before De Brahm called it White Inlet in 1765,⁶⁴ but he retained the Spanish name in his 1770 map. Boca Ratones had been named by the Spaniards, not for rats as is commonly supposed, but for the sharp, submerged rocks found off the Atlantic entrance to the passage, which made the opening, according to both De Brahm and Romans, "only fit for boats";⁶⁵ this even though the depth of the channel inside was at least six feet.

Sedimentary materials - mostly sand - appear to have been deposited and worked by southbound currents progressively southward immediately before, during, and after, 1770, forming thereby a barrier beach which finally closed the opening by 1822,⁶⁶ and separating present Indian Creek from the Atlantic Ocean. The rocks at Boca Ratones, and another group of rocks now probably under sand, north of the present Roney Plaza complex between 24th and 25th Streets in Miami Beach, are clearly shown by De Brahm on his map. So far as can be determined at present, Boca Ratones itself was located, in 1770, somewhere in the vicinity of the present municipal parking lot built at former Indian Beach Park, and the present Eden Roc Hotel. The inlet was subsequently forced southward and, as stated, had disappeared by 1822.

But by 1838 another inlet had been opened to the south, and at first this cut was called Boca Ratones, since the former inlet by the name had been closed. However, the new cut was also called Narrows, or Norris, Cut, and the name Boca Ratones was the subject of considerable cartographic confusion for several years, until finally the issue was, incorrectly, resolved by giving the name Boca Raton to a third inlet much farther north - a name with which the present city of Boca Raton was correspondingly honored, even though there are no "ratones" anywhere around!

The second feature of interest in this part of Biscayne Bay is conspicuous by its absence in 1770. There was no Norris Cut then - and consequently no Virginia Key (see Figure 2).⁶⁷ A long, uninterrupted island, called by De Brahm Narrow Island,⁶⁸ extended from Boca Ratones to De Brahm's Dartmouth Inlet (see Figures 1 and 2). It was not until the 1830s that Norris Cut was opened, very probably by the great South Florida Hurricane of 1835, though the precise year or method by which the Cut was formed has not yet been verified. At any rate, Dartmouth Inlet, today and even then known as Bear Cut, was much broader than it is today; it was almost a mile wide in 1770. However, even then it was considered dangerous for navigation into what De Brahm named Sandwich Gulf, and Romans called Biscay Sound - today's Biscayne Bay.

To the south lay Key Biscayne, much as it had been for at least 250 years previously. De Brahm first mapped it in very cursory fashion during his two-day surveys of northern Biscayne Bay in 1765,⁶⁹ and here we find one of the inconsistencies which sometimes marked this strange man. In the 1765 map, he shows Key Biscayne much smaller than it really is, and furthermore entirely covered by mangrove. He placed his Cape Florida where it is located today, at the southern tip of the island. Yet, on his 1770 map (Figure 1), De Brahm shows a much larger Key Biscayne, with no mangrove on it at all, and his Cape Florida is placed north of Bear Cut, as shown in Figure 1.

De Brahm's 1765 surveys were carried out on widely separated dates: May 13th and 29th of that year. On at least one of those days, quite probably the latter, he went to the mainland and trekked four miles across to the west, reaching a "river" (the Everglades?), which Romans, when during the dry season reached a similar spot in December, 1770, claimed did not exist.⁷⁰ But the point at issue here is De Brahm's description of Key Biscayne in 1765, and the inconsistency with his 1770 description of the same island. In 1765, concerned primarily with the northern arm of the Bay, De Brahm obviously had very little, if any, time to survey Key Biscayne. Since he

was at anchor about a mile NNE of the island,⁷¹ I believe he assumed all of it to be as he saw it from Bear Cut - a mangrove island. Consequently, we can assume De Brahm's inaccurate description and mapping of Key Biscayne in 1765 to be the result of a highly and admittedly superficial reconnaissance, and it should be largely disregarded.

By 1770, when De Brahm spent far more time and care surveying this area, his cartographic presentation of Key Biscayne was radically different - and vastly more accurate - than his previous one. Yet, some questions are still raised, for in 1770 De Brahm shows no mangroves at all on Key Biscayne, not even along its northern shore, even though his 1770 map shows (see Figure 1) that he anchored very near it during that survey. What he does show is an island divided into two biogeographic zones: a sand beach-scrub palmetto-sea grape complex along the eastern part, and a large saltwater marsh on the western side, extending farther into Biscayne Bay than does the mangrove shore today.

I have no explanation to offer yet for these inconsistencies, but suggest that the 1770 map should be quite accurate; De Brahm took soundings all around the island, and correctly identifies and locates two rocky areas just off the eastern shore: one at the northeast point (the fossil mangrove-root reef described by Hoffmeister,⁷² which can be seen today), and the other about half a mile north of present Cape Florida. Romans makes no descriptive mention of Key Biscayne, except to say that in the lee of its southern tip there was a good anchorage for vessels of less than 10 feet draft, where fresh water could sometimes be obtained, and where such ships could be careened safely.⁷³

The southern tip of Key Biscayne is shown by De Brahm's 1770 map to be considerably broader than it has been since then (see Figure 2). Here we have an almost insoluble problem trying to verify De Brahm's accuracy, for this part of the Key is beset by complicated currents, and the location of its shorelines has undergone many changes as a result, even within the 20th Century. Somewhat surprising, however, is the implication from De Brahm's map that the Cape Florida Channel, which follows the present southwestern shoreline of the Key quite closely today, was in 1770 almost a quarter of a mile farther west, and this is a problem which only future research can resolve.

De Brahm appears to have had second thoughts about locating Cape Florida, as he did in 1765, on Key Biscayne, for in 1770 he placed it on Narrow Island, on the north side of Bear Cut (his Dartmouth Inlet). He apparently decided, as did the Spaniards before him, that Key Biscayne was more properly part of the Florida Keys

than of the Florida mainland. Romans, critical and caustic as ever, on his 1774 map of Florida, renamed De Brahm's 1770 Cape Florida "Fool's Cape," and placed *his* Cape Florida on Key Largo - then a peninsula - at Sound Point (see Figure 3).⁷⁴ Not many followed Romans in this new location for the Cape, however, although some confusion continued for many years among several writers as to just where Cape Florida was supposed to be.⁷⁵

South of Key Biscayne lay the complex of shoals and channels which the Spaniards had early named the "Bocas de Miguel Mora," and to which De Brahm gave the appellation of Dartmouth Sound - a far more melodious name than the present crude, and highly inappropriate, "Safety Valve" placed on maps by misinformed name-givers. De Brahm did, apparently, err in his location of Oswald Island - today's Soldier Key. But his identification of a second, smaller island, which he called Laurens Island, a little to the south of Soldier Key, is apparently correct. Today, remnants of this island can be seen at very low tide in the position, relative to Soldier Key, in which De Brahm placed it.⁷⁶ Romans, who used the Spanish place names for the two islets, refers to Oswald and Laurens Islands as "La Parida y su Jiguelo,"⁷⁷ and the "baby" island has since virtually disappeared.

Returning to the area of present Miami Beach and the 1770 Boca Ratones, only one more comment needs to be made. Narrow Island was, in 1770 as in later years, longitudinally divided into an eastern sand beach geographic complex, and a western mangrove strip. Of some interest is that the long, narrow passage from Boca Ratones to the Bay had an eastern mangrove bank, behind an Atlantic barrier beach, whereas the western shore was depicted by De Brahm as having a scrub-palmetto and otherwise sand beach vegetation.

The extreme northern tip of Biscayne Bay shows various vegetation patterns on De Brahm's map, but it is not always easy to identify just what that vegetation was in some cases. On the eastern side of the Bay, there seems to be no question but that mangrove was the dominant type. On the northwestern shore, however, the symbol used by De Brahm is difficult to read; I have interpreted it to depict today's Miami Interama tract as covered by a mixed mangrove and freshwater marsh or sawgrass vegetation. This needs to be further researched, as do some of the other vegetation types for which De Brahm uses symbols designating tall grass and marsh, both subject to inundation. The locations of Little River, Arch Creek, and Bird Island are shown somewhat incorrectly, as is the entire mainland shore including the Miami River, when compared *in toto* and in position with the offshore barrier island complex described above. The evi-

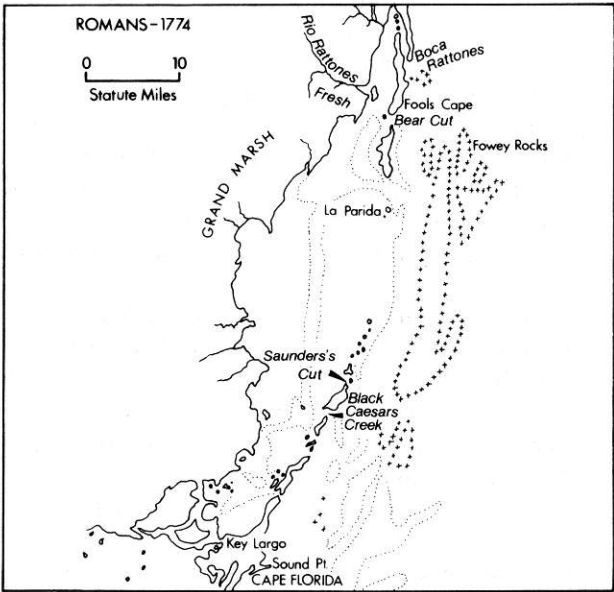
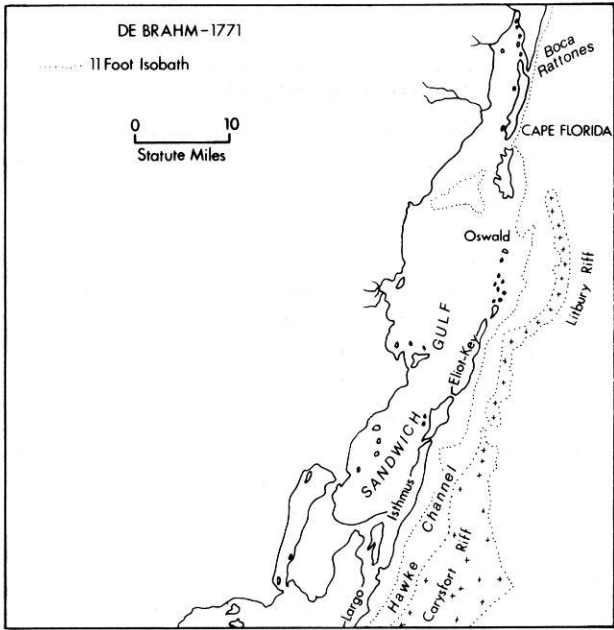


Figure 3. Two late 18th Century maps of Biscayne Bay, Florida

dence, too detailed to discuss here, seems to indicate that deputy surveyors mapped this part of the Bay while De Brahm was mapping the offshore barrier complex, and when the two areas were combined for De Brahm's final map, the necessary corrections were not completely made.

At any rate, the mainland shore from Little River to the Miami River, which De Brahm called the Garbrand River and Romans the Rio Rattones,⁷⁸ is singularly devoid of any vegetation symbols or other notation on De Brahm's map, except for some tidal marshes and the hammock on the north bank of the Miami River. The river itself, however, has soundings shown on it all the way up to the fork on De Brahm's original map, so someone went up it to find out what there was. Upstream from the fork, and to some extent below it, De Brahm indicates a tall grassland subject to inundation - apparently a reference to the Everglades - and small patches of hammock vegetation on the river banks below the fork, too small to portray in Figure 1. Nearer the mouth of the river, on both banks, was hammock vegetation, consisting of a variety of trees, including oak, mulberry, cedar, gum, and other "hardwood" types, according to an earlier description by De Brahm.⁷⁹

Just off the mouth of the river, in the Bay, Romans indicates on his 1774 map of Florida a fairly large island (see Figure 3), but his is the only map I have seen which shows any kind of island there, prior to 1900. A shoal seems to have existed there for many years,⁸⁰ but De Brahm correctly does not portray it as an island above water.

On the mainland, south of the Miami River, it is somewhat difficult to do more than partially reconstruct, cartographically, the shoreline between Point View (formerly Lewis Point) and the vicinity of Shoal Point. The reason for this statement is that this is a part of the Bay coastline which was mapped independently by De Brahm and Romans: the former during the General Survey, and the latter during his survey of the Touchet grant referred to previously. Both men thus drew maps of this area, at the same scale of 10 chains to the inch, or about 1 : 79,200; and both surveyed this coast at about the same time, in 1770. Consequently, it might be expected that this part of the shoreline, at least, would be more amenable to independent check and more accurate reconstruction today. In fact, however, and surprising though it may be, more questions are raised than are answered by comparing De Brahm's and Romans' maps with each other, and with the present, or even pre-1896, maps of the same shoreline.

To make matters even more perplexing and frustrating, De Brahm and Romans each drew smaller scale maps of this part of Florida,

showing Biscayne Bay in fair detail (Figure 3),⁸¹ but on which each surveyor depicted this part of the Bayshore in a way substantially different from what he himself had shown on his large scale map! De Brahm, drawing his "Hydrographical Map" of south Florida in 1771, "straightens" the coastline from Point View to Shoal Point considerably, in contrast to his large scale map drawn in 1770 (see Figures 3 and 1). Romans, by the same token, adds at least one point and a large indentation to this coast, on his 1774 map of Florida; and this is in contrast to the generally "straight" shore he portrays on his Touchet survey!

These discrepancies raise interesting questions, which cannot be answered at this time. Did De Brahm and Romans - bitter rivals not in the least embarrassed about criticizing each other with biting sarcasm - each decide privately that just maybe the other might be correct? Neither was apparently very certain about his original survey of this part of Biscayne Bay's coast, but there is no evidence to indicate why each decided to change his map. And it is unfortunately a sad fact that both De Brahm and Romans show this particular shore segment very inexactlly indeed, from what can be gathered today, on their large scale maps (see Figure 2). Nevertheless, these are all we have, and it is pertinent to discuss each briefly, since the two men did agree on a number of features along this coast.

Romans, on his Touchet survey map, does say that there are "several coves" on Touchet's shore. However, Romans' map shows the coast as a fairly smooth one and, in order to do this, he has this shore placed as much as a mile to the east of the present bayshore line. One might conceivably look for considerable erosion to have taken place since then, especially in those areas of low tidal marsh, were it not for the fact that Romans also plainly identifies a "very high and very rocky pine barren," running behind the coast from Point View to a spot about a mile inland from Shoal Point.⁸² But this "very high" land is much farther east than it should be - in one place it is as much as a mile inside the present Bay! To give Romans credit, he does end his survey line at about the right place, on the present shoreline, 10 miles (Romans' 800 chains) S 35° W from Point View. But in between is a band, widening as one moves south, of "shoals and sands and mud-flatts of Biscay Sound." There is also a "buttonwood swamp and hammock" located rather imprecisely on the Bay shore, south of present Matheson Hammock.⁸³

If Romans errs this much, De Brahm, uncharacteristically, does little better. Depicting today's limestone bluff more or less correctly from Point View to about 3/4 of a mile northeast of present Dinner Key, he then does indicate the bight on which Coconut Grove is

located today (see Figures 1 and 2). But he has the shore of that bight curve to the west and then south in an excessive arc, so that the site of the present commercial district of Coconut Grove would have been a mile away from the Bay (see Figure 2).

Further to the south, De Brahm shows a brief stretch of coastline more accurately. In this case, he took at least one sighting from a boat, about halfway between Key Biscayne and the mainland (see Figure 1), and the part of the mainland just across from the Key (i.e., from the bight to a little north of Matheson Hammock) corresponds closely to the present - and 1887 - shoreline. Then, inexplicably, and after correctly indicating a short section of east-west coast to the north of and opposite Matheson Hammock, De Brahm has the shoreline continue much too far west, and then southwest, to such an extent that, when he does finally show the coast curving south, it is over two miles west of Shoal Point!

To compensate for this generous "addition" to the Bay's waters, and to bring De Brahm's mainland shoreline anywhere near today's coast, it is necessary to "move" his entire coast, from Matheson Hammock south, about a mile and a half N 80° E! Were it not for two recognizable landmarks located on De Brahm's map (see Figure 2), it would be highly unprofessional to even try this. The only justification I have for doing so is that De Brahm did anchor very close to shore at a place about 3/4 of a mile south of Shoal Point, and he mapped a point which he called Turtois Crawl Point, mentioned above and elsewhere.⁸⁴ Adjusting for the aberration by which De Brahm added almost two miles to the width of Biscayne Bay at this latitude - an error he never corrected - I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere in this issue that his Turtois Crawl Point was very near the present point on the mainland, opposite Paradise Point and just north of Chicken Key.⁸⁵

From this point south, De Brahm indicates and maps a coastline which needs much more research before a final evaluation can be made as to its usefulness in the historical reconstruction of this part of the coast. But I have attempted to show elsewhere⁸⁶ that at least two landmarks - Turtois Crawl Point, and a small bay with a tiny island inside it located about 6.25 miles to the southsouthwest - correlate fairly well, geographically, with the coastline as it is mapped today.

As of now, one can but speculate concerning the wide divergences of the De Brahm and Romans maps, portraying the same coast at roughly the same time. On the whole, De Brahm's map is the more accurate in some respects, but it can hardly be said that it *is* accurate; and Romans in some ways was the more exact surveyor in this case.

But where Romans seems to have added a good deal of non-existent land to Touchet's holdings, his rival and former employer apparently "compensated" by placing about a third of them under water! Perhaps this explains why Romans was never paid by Touchet! ⁸⁷ And it may be one of the reasons why Romans so bitterly criticized and ridiculed De Brahm's work.

If the reasons for the cartographic discrepancies are speculation, the fact is that the major geographic features of the coastline surveyed by both Romans and De Brahm are in general agreement, even though the shoreline locations are not. Except for a small, low tidal marsh, indicated by De Brahm (Figure 1) at about the place where today's Rickenbacker Causeway leaves the mainland for Virginia Key, a "rocky bluff" extended right along the shore from Point View to about a mile northeast of present Dinner Key. From there, both men clearly show the bluff running a little distance inland from the water's edge, with a low intertidal strip in between. At the northwestern end of what appears to be the bight on which Coconut Grove is presently located, De Brahm marks the existence of a cypress swamp; whether this is the same "cypress" which Romans describes - but does not show - on his survey of Touchet's lands is not yet known. ⁸⁸

From there, following the shore to a short distance south of his Turtois Crawl Point, De Brahm shows a narrow strip of mangrove, behind the northern part of which apparently was higher ground. Romans, on his map, indicates a "buttonwood swamp and hammock" and, as has been mentioned, a higher "pine barren" area inland. Behind the southern portion of the mangrove strip in this area, De Brahm portrays a freshwater marsh, which displaces the mangrove entirely further south, and borders the Bay for some six miles south of present Cutler. This ties in quite well with the vegetation patterns on more modern maps, although the details vary somewhat from later reports, which were written by chroniclers accompanying the military movements in this area during the Seminole Wars in the 1800s. ⁸⁹

The foregoing discussion of the problems, difficulties, and discrepancies which develop when using De Brahm's 1770 maps to describe northern Biscayne Bay in the 1770s - and by extension 1776 - should not detract from the great value they, and other documents by both De Brahm and Romans, retain as primary historical sources. If this writer has stressed maps as his principal sources, it is probably a reflection of his professional bias, and, like other historical documents, maps must be critically evaluated before they can be successfully utilized as bases for historical reconstruction. But, in an area for

which there are few written descriptions for the years of the 1770s, De Brahm's two maps, reproduced as Figure 1, provide almost at a glance a geographic picture of what northern Biscayne Bay probably was like in 1776. So far as I know, they are the best we yet have, and, in spite of their deficiencies, in the main they are not all that inaccurate. Supplemented by other information gathered from other sources, they provide a useful framework for depicting a virtually uninhabited area 200 years ago.

Three further aspects of northern Biscayne Bay in 1776 need to be mentioned, if only briefly. The first is the surprising lack of detail given by either De Brahm or Romans concerning the animal life of the region; yet, that there was a plentiful animal life is certain. De Brahm identifies Bird Island (present Bird Key) on his map, and he must have had a reason for so naming it. The same applies, as we have seen, to his Turtois Crawl Point. Also, he implies an abundance of fish offshore by noting Grooper Bank, though this may have been a place name given him by the "providence fisher man." In the notes accompanying his 1765 map of the area, De Brahm comments on the fact that, on May 13th and 29th of that year, he saw no fish around Key Biscayne, few animals in the region, "except sea birds," and the track of only one bear.⁹⁰

Romans, to be sure, does generally cite plentiful wildlife, but he is not very specific about its location. He notes a "species of deer peculiar to these islands, and very numerous on them." several types of birds, raccoons, "which seems here to be an universal inhabitant in vast numbers," crocodiles, turtles, and, on Key Biscayne, "sometimes bear."⁹¹ But, in general, this aspect of the landscape seems to have been considered quite unimportant to both men, except to provide occasional game. De Brahm, it is true, does mention animal life the intended Cape Florida Society colonists might meet if they settled in the region, but he was primarily concerned with the more dangerous ones;⁹² these included rattlesnakes, crocodiles, panthers, and bears, among others. But most of his discussion on the subject concentrates on the variety of wildlife both he and Romans agreed was the most ubiquitous and certainly the most pesky; there were *lots* of mosquitoes!

A reference to manatees, or Sea Cows, as they were called, is found earlier, in the 1760s, when it was decided that the King of England would retain those lands which were manatee "echouries," or landing places.⁹³ The reason for this was because the animals produced a valuable oil. But nothing more is said of them, and I have been unable to locate any of these "echouries," no doubt because I know little, if anything, about manatee ecology. In any case, they

don't seem to have mattered much, unless they came to the offshore barrier complex, because lands were certainly granted later on the mainland coast without apparent regard for the King's - or the manatees' - privileges in this matter.

A second aspect concerns the place names in the northern Biscayne Bay area in the 1770s. Mention has already been made regarding some of them, but a little more should be said. De Brahm made it a habit to name islands, inlets, and rivers for important people in England. Thus, Dartmouth Stream, Dartmouth Inlet, and Dartmouth Sound were names given in honor of De Brahm's patron in England, the Second Earl of Dartmouth, who later (in 1772) became Secretary of State for the Colonies.⁹⁴ The Garbrand River was apparently named for a Caleb Garbrand, a man who may have received a grant of 5,000 acres on the river, though I have not yet been able to find documentation for it. Keppel In and Outlet - the entrance to Hawke Channel from the north - was named for a British admiral for whom De Brahm had much respect; Hawke Channel itself was named for Sir Edward Hawke, first Lord of the Admiralty from 1766 to 1771. Sandwich Gulf was, of course, named for the Earl of Sandwich. Oswald Island was named for James Oswald, an English commander in the Navy and also Lord of the Treasury, as was Gilbert Elliot, for whom De Brahm named Elliott Key. Most of these gentlemen were members of Parliament during the 1760s and 1770s.⁹⁵

De Brahm retained some Spanish place names, however, possibly at Romans' insistence. Boca Ratones has already been mentioned, but Biskaino Island is clearly a retention of the Spanish Cayo Viscaino, as is Los Paradisos (today's Ragged Keys). Biskaino Rif is the area south of where the Fowey Rocks are today. Romans was more concerned about keeping those Spanish place names which he knew about; thus, his Rio Rattones seems to have been derived from the earlier Spanish Boca Ratones, or perhaps for the Boca Raton Indians. His Biscay Sound is a slight corruption of Biscayne, with the Sound itself probably being named after Key Biscayne, though the Spaniards do not seem to have given this body of water a name, other than the Bocas de Miguel Mora already cited, and which more properly refers to the area south of Key Biscayne, between it and the Ragged Keys.

It is interesting that no one, in the 1770s, ever gave the name "Miami" to any feature of the northern Biscayne Bay region. I do not yet know how, where, or when the place name "Miami" came to be associated with the Bay or River; several suggestions have been offered,⁹⁶ none of them entirely convincing as yet. That name seems to have been first used during the second Spanish period of Florida

history - that is, between 1784 and 1821 - probably around the very early 1800s, but more than that I am not sure.

Finally, there is one very interesting feature which appears on De Brahm's maps of 1765 and 1770, with respect to northern Biscayne Bay itself. It was, to De Brahm, very much like a river. In fact, in his 1765 map, he called this part of the Bay the "Cape River," for which he was again criticized by Romans.⁹⁷ De Brahm did change his "Cape River" to "Dartmouth Stream" in 1770, but, no matter what the name, he clearly felt it was a body of water quite distinct from the remainder of the Bay, which he called Sandwich Gulf. De Brahm was therefore the first - and for a century to come the only - man to recognize northern Biscayne Bay as an estuary, unusual enough to warrant a distinctive appellation. To be sure, he used the term "stream" to describe the long water bodies along the eastern Florida coast, such as the present Indian River,⁹⁸ which were separated from the Ocean by a narrow sand barrier, through which occasionally ran contracted and shallow inlets. But Dartmouth Stream opened broadly into Sandwich Gulf to the south, and yet De Brahm gave it a different name.

Today, as one drives across any of the causeways which span northern Biscayne Bay, it is difficult indeed to imagine it as it was 200 years ago. If, while crossing the Julia Tuttle Causeway, the driver suddenly and miraculously found himself taken back those 200 years, with his car transformed into a small but speedy shallow-draft sailboat that could take him anywhere, he would be sailing in the middle of Dartmouth Stream. From there, if he looked toward the east, his view would have been much the same as it was a hundred years later: an unbroken line of mangroves along most of the horizon - but without a Norris Cut. To the south, a saltwater marsh would not have obstructed his view of part of Biscayne Bay, as did the later mangroves on western Key Biscayne. To the north, more mangroves, with some marsh and tall grasses, bordered the Bay. He would have seen many birds flying from a small low island; at low tide it would have appeared as a fairly large exposed flat.

If he wanted to take his boat up to the mouth of Indian Creek, and then follow it south, he would have found himself, after a short trip, facing the Atlantic Ocean, and he would have had to be careful to avoid the rocks that lay all around him at the entrance of Boca Ratones. On his return trip to the Bay, he might well have seen a few crocodiles sunning themselves on the banks, and slapped not a few mosquitoes on his arms.

On the mainland to the west, we don't know exactly what he would have seen in the section between Little River and the Miami

River. The shore was higher than to the east, and there were some low intertidal flats; the vegetation may have been predominantly pine and palmetto, but it is hard to say. Further south, dense hammock covered both sides of the entrance to the Miami River; its banks were low and fairly steep, but the boat, if the wind was right, could easily have gone up the river to its fork, there reaching the river's falls, on the other side of which were the Everglades.

From today's Brickell Point south, and then to the southwest, the boatman would first have come to a shallow cove and then, rounding present Point View, he would have followed the silvery rock bluff right at the water's edge. Then, receding behind a low coastal flat strip, the bluff would have been hidden from view by thick vegetation; the man might have heard a panther scream. Perhaps, a little later, he might have spotted some tall cypress, but soon the shore became lined with mangrove as his boat moved south. Eventually, rounding a point with a little mangrove island just off it, a turtle crawl might have been seen - the only human construction to be found in the entire area. Continuing south, the boatmen would have found the mangrove disappearing, to be replaced by an extensive freshwater marsh, behind which could be seen, in the distance, the pines and palmettos of the higher ground.

Moving south along the shore, the boatman would have come to a little embayment, with a rock bottom, and a tiny island within. Then, with a good wind, he might have crossed the Bay to the Ragged Keys, and then made his way north across crystal clear waters to Key Biscayne, passing two small keys on his way. If he completed his circuit to Dartmouth Stream by rounding Key Biscayne on the east, and coming into Bear Cut from the Ocean, he would have had to pick his way cautiously through the mile-wide inlet, for rocks and shoals made the entrance tricky, as did the unusual mangrove-root reef which jutted out, low and dark, to the north from Key Biscayne.

When he had returned to his starting point, he would have felt the loneliness - or the peace - of the absolute solitude he had just experienced; his chances of meeting another human being on his trip around the northern Bay would have been slight indeed. Not a house, nor even a lowly hut, graced any of the shores he had seen. Had he stepped on the mainland, he might have met, by sheer coincidence, an Indian hunting party from far to the north. Or perhaps, on the Bay itself, he could have chanced on some unknown Bahamian seamen checking the turtle crawl, or heading for Key Biscayne to hunt small deer. But it is much more likely that he would have met no one at all.

Wrenched back equally suddenly and miraculously to 1976, the driver continues east on the Causeway, and sees ahead of him a long line of glistening white buildings where there had been mangroves only a moment before. The Bay that Romans had at one time called a "parcel of pitiful flats"⁹⁹ is transformed into a blend of water and islands, many with homes on them. Behind him lies a large city, with all its people and a totally different landscape than the one that had met his eyes earlier, and he ponders on what he has seen. During his dream trip back to 1776, he had not viewed the Bay as pitiful flats; he thought it had much beauty. Yet, today, around him there is much beauty also; and so many now enjoy it. What will it be like in the year 2176? He wonders.

Then he realizes that the transition from the Bay he saw in 1776 to the modern metropolis he sees now is not less dramatic than others which have taken place in many parts of our country since its birth. And in the city's integration with aquatic surroundings, its enjoyment of sea and sun and wind, and its continued contacts with Spanish-speaking and Bahamian islanders, he finds that Miami has retained at least some of the elements which characterized its regional setting 200 years ago.

Bibliographic Notes

1. The author expresses his gratitude to the Louisiana State University, and to the Department of Architecture and Architectural Engineering, School of Engineering and Environmental Design, University of Miami, for the support, financial and otherwise, provided him while carrying out the research and writing of this paper. Appreciation is also extended to Mr. James Frazier, Mrs. Arva Parks, and Dr. Charlton Tebeau, for their generous help in so many ways. The author is also grateful to the present Earl of Dartmouth, and to Miss Isobel Morcom of the Staffordshire County Record Office, Stafford, England, for their assistance, as well as for permission to use the documents from Lord Dartmouth's manuscripts, herein cited as *Dartmouth Ms.*, which are housed in that Office.
2. Hernando Escalente Fontaneda, *Memoir of D^o. d'Escalente Fontaneda respecting Florida. Written in Spain, about the year 1575*. A translation, with notes, by Buckingham Smith, of the *Memoria de las cosas y costa de la florida*, edited by David O. True, with preface by Marjory Stoneman Douglas. Historical Association of Southern Florida Reprint (Miami, Florida, 1973). See also Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias*, 1571-74, published by Don Justo Zaragoza in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* (Madrid, 1894), p. 166.
3. Joseph Xavier de Alaña, "Informe que Presentan . . . los Padres Joseph Maria Monaco, y Joseph Xavier Alaña de la Compañia de Jesus, sobre el estado en que han hallado a los Yndios de la florida Austral, y sus cayos con lo que Jusgan nesarios para su constante reducion," 1743, Archivo General de Indias, *Santo Domingo 1314*, unpublished manuscript in Seville, Spain. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Eugene Lyon, Consulting Historian for St.

Augustine Restoration, Inc., who generously lent me his photographic copy of this "Informe" for my research.

4. "... de monton . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 2).
5. . . . una gente vaga; y que mas vive en la mar que en la tierra hasta los Niños, y las mugeres." (*ibid.*, pp. 4-4a).
6. Alaña cites the "derision which they show for the truths . . . and the reasons therefore." (*ibid.*, p. 3); he says: ". . . for they have told us clearly, that without rum they neither can nor wish to be Christians, . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 4a).
7. ". . . sobre el pueblo." (*ibid.*, p. 7).
8. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 5a-6; author's translation.
10. There is some controversy on this point. Romans writes: ". . . at *Cayos 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 possession of their native land, and went to the Havannah." (Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, Facsimile Reproduction of the 1775 edition by the University of Florida Press (Gainesville, Florida, 1962), p. 291). Although Romans specifically mentions the Calusas as having left in 1763, and implies that they were driven from the Keys, Swanton feels "that the 80 'Calusa' families mentioned by Romans as having gone to Cuba in 1763 . . . were rather the inhabitants of the southeast coast than the Calusas proper." (John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137 (Washington, 1946); republished by Greenwood Press (New York, 1969), p. 192).

Robert E. McNicoll follows Swanton's interpretation in "The Caloosa village *Tequesta*: a Miami of the Sixteenth Century," *Tequesta* 1 (1941), p. 17. Upon examining Swanton's earlier work, however, this author found that he states that ". . . indeed the emigrants may have been Tekesta and other occupants of the eastern shore, who were always rather better inclined toward the Spanish Government than were the Calusas." (John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors*, Smith. Inst., Bur. Amer. Ethno. Bull. 73 (Washington, 1922), pp. 343-344). Thus, this represents Swanton's personal opinion and, valid though it may be, does not fully resolve the controversy.

11. Bernard Romans, "Survey of the Tract of Samuel Touchett, Esq.," unpublished map, 1770. A copy is in the Yale University Library, but photographic reproductions also exist in the Otto G. Richter Library of the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, as well as in the Library of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami, Florida. These last were made from a photostat owned by Mr. Larry Resnick, of Miami, Florida, who kindly allowed this author to reproduce it. Romans' survey is discussed by James C. Frazier in this issue of *Tequesta* ("Samuel Touchett's Florida Plantation, 1771," p. 75).

William Roberts, writing earlier than Romans or De Brahm (see below), mentions "an Indian town, called Pueblo Raton," located on a "Ca-

yo Raton, about four miles in length" just north of "Cayo de Biscayno" (Williams Roberts, *An Account of the First Discovery, and Natural History of Florida*, printed for T. Jefferys [London, 1763], p. 21). He adds that "5 leagues to the Northward of Pueblo Raton" is the "Boca de Raton" (*ibid.*, p. 22). Taken at face value, and substituting miles for leagues, this would place Roberts' "Pueblo Raton" on the north shore of Bear Cut as it was then, or very near De Brahm's 1770 Cape Florida (see Figure 2). Thus it would be at the southern tip of De Brahm's "Narrow Island," which could be Roberts' "Cayo Raton," opposite the northern end of Key Biscayne.

There is as yet no other evidence for the location here of an Indian village, although Roberts specifies that the town "is the only settlement of *Indians* that we have any account of on the *Martyres*" (*ibid.*, p. 21). However, Roberts' geographic locations concerning the Florida Keys are at best confusing and often in error; he himself says his is only "the best account we have been able to procure of them" (*ibid.*, p. 20). Thus, some corroborating evidence is needed before "Pueblo Raton" can seriously be placed on the north side of Bear Cut, or De Brahm's "Dartmouth Inlet." Archeological evidence of an Indian site would be the best kind. If such a site exists, it should be somewhere slightly west of the center of present Virginia Key, along the leeward side of the old shoreline; in the 1760s, the northern shore of Bear Cut ran somewhere along the middle of this island (see Figure 2).

12. For example, James Grant Forbes mentions the former settlement in his *Sketches, historical and topographical, of the Floridas*, Facsimile Reproduction of the 1821 edition by the University of Florida Press (Gainesville, Florida, 1964), p. 99.
13. *John Sewell's Memoirs and History of Miami, Florida*, printed for the author (Miami, Florida, 1933), pp. 46-47. It is somewhat surprising that no Spanish descriptions of this mound have yet been found, although it may well be that the temporary fort built in 1743 and overlooking Pueblo Boca Raton (Alaña, *op. cit.*, p. 7), was constructed on the mound. Romans does not mention the mound, either; perhaps the trees growing on it since at least 1763 had not yet reached a sufficient height to be distinguished at a distance from the larger, older trees on the lower ground around the mound.
14. James W. Covington, "Migration of the Seminoles into Florida, 1700-1820," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (1968), pp. 340, 346, 348.
15. James Adair, *The History of the American Indians . . .*, Edward and Charles Dilly (London, 1775), pp. 455-456.
16. Romans, *A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
17. William Gerard De Brahm to the Cape Florida Society, May 4, 1773. *Dartmouth Ms.* D(W)1778/II/607, pp. 10-11. De Brahm's instructions are reproduced as Appendix A in Roland E. Chardon, "The Cape Florida Society of 1773," this issue of *Tequesta*, pp. 23-34; the specific reference to Indians is on p. 32. It should also perhaps be added here that De Brahm made no mention of Indians in the notes accompanying a map he drew of

- northern Biscayne Bay in 1765; see W. G. De Brahm, "Chart of Cape Florida according to the surveys made may 13 & 29, 1765," (a copy of this manuscript map is in the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.).
18. De Brahm, "Chart of Cape Florida . . . 1765," *op. cit.*
 19. See footnote 11 above.
 20. According to Dr. Tebeau, "The Spaniards departed from Florida almost to a man." (Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, University of Miami Press (Coral Gables, Florida, 1971), p. 74). The 1763 population of St. Augustine, the only real Spanish settlement in East Florida at the time, was 3,046 (*ibid.*), and over 3,100 persons went to Cuba in 1763-1764 (Robert L. Gold, "The settlement of the East Florida Spaniards in Cuba, 1763-1766," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 42 (1964), p. 216).
 21. Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784*, University of California Publications in History, vol. 32, 1943; republished as a Facsimile Reproduction by the University of Florida Press (Gainesville, Florida, 1964), pp. 50-64. Mowat provides the best concise summary and discussion of royal land policy with regard to East Florida.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-63; see also Henry S. Marks, "The earliest land grants in the Miami area," *Tequesta* 18 (1958), pp. 15-16. Although Marks cites the Ernst grant as the earliest recorded one, the Touchet and Lord Dartmouth grants antedate Ernst's by several years.
 23. Sir Lewis Namier, "Touchet," in: Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, *The House of Commons 1754-1790*, vol. 3, *Members K-Y*, published for the History of Parliament Trust, Oxford University Press (New York, 1964), p. 535.
 24. Frazier, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
 25. Touchet seems to have ended his life by hanging himself in 1773 (Namier, *op. cit.*, p. 536).
 26. B. D. Bargar, *Lord Dartmouth and the American Revolution*, University of South Carolina Press (Columbia, South Carolina, 1965), p. 69.
 27. Chardon, *op. cit.*, Figures 1 and 2, pp. 4 and 8.
 28. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-21.
 29. Mowat, *East Florida . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 63. For more detail, see Wilbur H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida 1774 to 1785*, vol. 2, pp. 51-53. Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, No. 9 (Deland, Florida, 1929). I have not seen the survey of Ernst's tract.
 30. *The Journal of Andrew Ellicott . . .* (Philadelphia, 1803), p. 271.
 31. Referring to Key Biscayne, Romans writes: "At the south end of the key, very good water is obtainable by digging, but at a time when by accident of drought or otherways, the wells yield none, then the watering places either in the grand marsh, about 10 miles to the W by S; or the river *Ratones*, about as far to the NW of the key, may be always depended upon; . . ." (Romans, *A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. v). See also George Gauld, *Observations on the Florida Keys, Reef and Gulf; . . .*, printed for W. Faden (London, 1796), p. 18.
 32. Romans himself apparently suffered this undignified fate when piloting a

- Spanish vessel southward towards Cuba; he struck ground southeast of Key Biscayne, as William Gerard De Brahm gently points out on his unpublished map showing the situation of Lord Dartmouth's lands at Cape Florida, 1773 (*Dartmouth Ms. D(W)1778/II/654*; adapted and redrawn, with permission from the present Earl of Dartmouth and the Stafford County Record Office, England, as part of Figure 1 below).
33. Both Gauld and Romans had praise for the wreckers. Gauld writes: "... they give every kind of assistance to those who faithfully attending to the interest of the owners, remain with their ships till they are relieved; and if we consider the activity with which the *Wreckers* always exert themselves, we must look upon them as a set of very useful men." (Gauld, *op. cit.*, p. 19). Romans defends them even more strongly, "... taking notice of the abuse generally thrown upon them very undeservedly." (Romans, *A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. xxx).
 34. Alaña, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-2a.
 35. Gauld, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
 36. Writing in 1772, De Brahm says: "This Inlet . . . is to this day frequented by Spanish-fishing Schooners from Cuba . . . they send their Boats, and leave their Schooner in the Harbour, from whence they do not return to Cuba before the Schooner is laden with Fish; . . ." (Louis DeVorse, Jr., *De Brahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America*, University of South Carolina Press (Columbia, South Carolina, 1971), p. 207). Romans also mentions Spanish fishermen at Hillsborough Inlet (*A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. xvii).
 37. Alaña, *op. cit.*, p. 5a. For the 19th Century, there are many references to the relationships between the Cubans and the Seminoles; see, for example, Clarence Edwin Carter, comp. and ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, vol. 23, *The Territory of Florida 1824-1828*, National Archives (Washington, 1958), p. 183.
 38. William Gerard De Brahm, *The Atlantic Pilot*, a Facsimile Reproduction of the 1772 edition, with an introduction by Louis DeVorse, Jr., University of Florida Press (Gainesville, Florida, 1974), p. 11. See also Gauld, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 13, 18; and Romans, *A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, App., pp. xxiv-xxx.
 39. Romans, *A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, App., p. viii.
 40. *Ibid.*, p. xxix.
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 295. Referring to northern Biscayne Bay, Romans says: "... and the gentlemen from providence, who come sometimes here for the diversion of hunting a species of deer peculiar to the islands . . ." (*ibid.*).
 42. De Brahm to Lord Dartmouth, May 4, 1773. *Dartmouth Ms. D(W)1778/II/607*; reproduced in Chardon, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
 43. Harold R. Wanless, *Sediments of Biscayne Bay - distribution and depositional history*, University of Miami Institute of Marine Sciences Technical Report 69-2, University of Miami (Coral Gables, Florida, 1969), p. 66.
 44. Gauld, *op. cit.*, p. 11 and *passim*.
 45. Romans, *A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, App., p. xxvii.
 46. *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

47. De Brahm, "Chart of Cape Florida . . . 1765," *op. cit.*
48. "None of the islands is inhabited by any of the human species, but constantly visited by the English from New Providence, and the Spaniards from Cuba, for the sake of wrecks, madeira wood, tortoise, shrimps, fish, and birds; . . ." (De Brahm, *The Atlantic Pilot, op. cit.*, p. 11). A similar statement, obviously derived from De Brahm, is made in the *New Book of Sailing Directions for Capt. B. Romans' Survey of the Gulf of Florida, or the old and new Channels of Bahama and Neighbouring Parts . . .*, printed for Robert Laurie and James Whittle (London, 1797), p. 24. Though published, like Gauld's *Observations . . . (op. cit.)*, in the late 1790s, the material within the *Sailing Directions* is virtually entirely based on the work done by De Brahm, Gauld, and Romans in the late 1760s and early 1770s (some additional comments were included from several ships' captains, but these are of limited value to the discussion here). This leads one to believe there were very few, if any, reports on Biscayne Bay between 1773 and around 1800.
49. Although something of that nature did occur between 1829 and 1838, creating Norris Cut; but that is another story being written elsewhere.
50. "Map of Part of the Province of East Florida" (New York, 1774); *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775). Though the map is entitled as it is, it in fact covers all of East Florida and most of West Florida.
51. P. Lee Phillips, *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans*; also, *Romans' Map of Florida*. Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, No. 2 (Deland, Florida, 1924).
52. Romans, *A Concise Natural History . . .*, Facsimile Reproduction by the University of Florida Press (Gainesville, Florida, 1962), *op. cit.*
53. *New Book of Sailing Directions . . .*, *op. cit.*
54. Louis DeVorsey, Jr., ed., *De Brahm's Report on the General Survey in the Southern District of North America*, University of South Carolina Press (Columbia, South Carolina, 1971).
55. Charles L. Mowat, "That 'Odd Being' De Brahm," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 20 (1942), pp. 323-345; Carita D. Corse, "De Brahm's Report on East Florida, 1773," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 17 (1939), pp. 219-226.
56. DeVorsey, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Mowat, "That 'Odd Being' De Brahm," *op. cit.*, p. 324.
57. DeVorsey, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 209. See also footnote 17 above, and De Brahm's manuscript map of part of Biscayne Bay, adapted as Figure 2 in Chardon, *op. cit.*, p. 8; this last map is also incorporated in Figure 1 below. See also Figure 3 below, for a map of Biscayne Bay adapted from De Brahm's "Hydrographical Map of the Southermost Part of the Promontory of East Florida," unpublished map, 1771, a copy of which is in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. I have so far seen seven maps of Biscayne Bay, or portions thereof, made by De Brahm between the years 1765 and 1773, and there are at least two more which I have not yet examined.
58. Romans called De Brahm, among other things, a "lunatic writer"

- (Romans, *A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 295).
59. DeVorsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43; Mowat, "That 'Odd Being' De Brahm," *op. cit.*, p. 335.
 60. Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
 61. DeVorsey, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 209; the original of this map is in the British Museum in London, although a copy exists in the Library of Congress. The first "Plan" is in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and has been used here with permission from that Library, gratefully acknowledged.
 62. De Brahm to Lord Dartmouth, 15 March, 1773. *Dartmouth Ms. D(W)1778/II/578*. The map is filed as *Dartmouth Ms. D(W)1778/II/654*, and has been used here with the permission of the present Earl of Dartmouth and the Stafford County Record Office, Stafford, England.
 63. Chardon, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
 64. De Brahm, "Chart of Cape Florida . . . 1765," *op. cit.*
 65. DeVorsey, *op. cit.*, p. 208; Romans says it was only good for "small vessels" (*A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, App., p. xxi).
 66. H. S. Tanner, *Map of Florida*, published by H. S. Tanner (Philadelphia, 1823). On the Tanner map it is identified as Indian Creek Inlet.
 67. Of course, there was no Baker's Haulover Cut nor a Government Cut; these were artificially created in the early 20th Century.
 68. Gauld, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
 69. De Brahm, "Chart of Cape Florida . . . 1765," *op. cit.*
 70. *Ibid.*; Romans says bitingly: "Every letter of this is a forgery of the brain of this lunatic writer, no river is found at or near this latitude, but *Rio Rattones* above described; . . ." (*A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 295).
 71. De Brahm, "Chart of Cape Florida . . . 1765," *op. cit.*
 72. John E. Hoffmeister, *Land from the Sea: the Geologic Story of South Florida*, University of Miami Press (Coral Gables, Florida, 1974), pp. 53-62.
 73. Romans, *A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, App., p. v.
 74. Romans, "Map of . . . Florida," 1774, *op. cit.*
 75. *New Book of Sailing Directions . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 15. Gauld, writing about Key Largo, says: ". . . the coast of Cayo Largo, which here appears like main land, turns quickly N.N.E. and N. by E. to North; for which reason Cape Florida might be reckoned somewhat hereabouts; though there is no particular point of land known by that name to the people of Providence, who seem to be best acquainted with those parts." (*Observations . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 16). One writer who did refer to Romans' Cape Florida at least occasionally was Forbes (*Sketches . . . of the Floridas*, *op. cit.*, p. 105).
 76. Mr. James Frazier, of the Metropolitan Dade County Surveyor's Office and author of another article in this issue of *Tequesta*, very kindly took the present author out to find the remnants of Laurens Island in August, 1975. We found it, and Mr. Frazier informed me that, at low spring tide, the area uncovered extends as much as 100 feet.
 77. Romans, *A Concise Natural History . . .* *op. cit.*, App., p. xxvii. "La Parida" translates as "a woman lately delivered of a baby," or "having recently

- brought forth offspring"; "Jiguelo," probably misspelled by Romans, should be "Hijuelo," which translates as "young child."
78. *Ibid.*, p. 288; Romans, "Survey of . . . Touchet Tract," *op. cit.*
 79. De Brahm, "Chart of Cape Florida . . . 1765," *op. cit.* Referring to this description, Romans states: ". . . nor is there a sprig of any of the above plants found within many miles of the cape" (*A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 294); but Romans forgot his own survey of Touchet's lands, in which he refers to at least "some few Live Oaks, some Turkey Oak . . ." (Romans, "Survey of . . . Touchett Tract," *op. cit.*; see Frazier, *op. cit.*, p. 76).
 80. Alaña describes it in 1743 (*op. cit.*, p. 4a), and De Brahm implies its existence by the soundings he shows on his 1770 maps.
 81. De Brahm, "Hydrographical Map of the Southermost Part of . . . East Florida," 1771, *op. cit.*; Romans, "Map of . . . Florida," 1774, *op. cit.*
 82. Frazier, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
 83. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
 84. See above, pp. 45 and 51; also Chardon, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.
 85. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.
 86. *Ibid.*
 87. Frazier, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
 88. *Ibid.*, p. 78. A preliminary guess is that the location of De Brahm's "cypress swamp" might be north of the present outlet of the Coral Gables Waterway, but no research has been undertaken on this problem.
 89. See, for example, the "Map of the country traversed by Capt. J. M. Brannan's Company . . . March 1857 . . . drawn by Lieut. Childs," National Archives, Record Group 393, Department of Florida, *Memoir of Reconnaissances in the Florida Campaign*, Part II, Oversized Maps. The shoreline from Shoal Point to Black Point on this map, incidentally, is remarkably similar to that portrayed by De Brahm in his 1773 map of the same coast (i.e., Figure 1).
 90. De Brahm, "Chart of Cape Florida . . . 1765," *op. cit.* As usual, Romans had a retort; concerning the absence of fish on the two days, he suggests: "Everybody that is acquainted with the immense variety and quantity of fish found here, will naturally imagine, that the fish were retired on May 13 and 29, to some general council or meeting of the finny nations, . . ." (*A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 295).
 91. Romans, *A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 295 and App., pp. xxvi-xxvii.
 92. De Brahm to the Cape Florida Society, May 4, 1773; cited in Chardon, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 and 32.
 93. Labaree, Leonard W., ed., *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors 1670-1776*, vol. 2, pp. 605-606. Published for the American Historical Association by Octagon Press (New York, 1967).
 94. Bargar, *op. cit.*, p. iii.
 95. Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
 96. Allen Morris, *Florida Place Names*, University of Miami Press (Coral Gables, Florida, 1974), pp. 101-102.

97. De Brahm, "Chart of Cape Florida . . . 1975," *op. cit.* De Brahm, as usual, was attacked for this by Romans, who says that there was "No such river as Cape river known to any but this extraordinary inventory himself . . ." (*A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 294).
98. De Brahm called it Hillsborough Stream (DeVorse, *De Brahm's Report . . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-208).
99. Romans, *A Concise Natural History . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 297.