

MIAMI IN 1876

By Arva Moore Parks

Eighteen seventy-six was a memorable year in American history. Although the people were wallowing in the slough of a depression and at the same time suffering the unprecedented political corruption of Grant's second administration, they were buoyed with the optimism that was generated by the coming Centennial celebration. The Centennial offered the bruised nation a chance to salve the wounds of the recent war and its aftermath by joining together to review the first hundred years of nationhood.

In May 1876, the great Centennial Exposition opened in Philadelphia. Before the gates closed in October more than nine million visitors had come to the fair. In the face of this grandiose reiteration of America's past achievements, even the most pessimistic citizen had new faith in the future.

Coincident with the opening of the Centennial Exposition, President Grant issued a proclamation urging cities and towns to celebrate the Centennial by having a history of their town prepared to file in the County Clerk's office and the Library of Congress. A complete record could be "obtained of the progress of our institutions during the first centennial of their existence."¹ Grant's recognition of the role local history played in the nation's story brought about a renewed interest in the hometowns of America.

In 1876, there was only one real town in South Florida. It was the island city of Key West, which at that time was Florida's largest city with a population of 12,750 people. It had reached that impressive size largely because of its position as the wrecking capital of the Great Florida Reef. Each year millions of dollars of salvage were awarded by the Federal District Court, the "wrecking court" established there in 1828.

Key West's city fathers made elaborate plans for the Fourth of

July Centennial Celebration which included the dedication of the impressive new city hall. The principal speaker that day was long-time resident, Walter C. Maloney, who had prepared a long speech on the city's history. Just as he began his talk a fire broke out nearby in Mr. Alderslade's roof. The thousands assembled to hear Mr. Maloney gleefully followed the firemen to the more exciting event at Mr. Alderslade's. When the fire was put out ten minutes later, the cheering crowd had obviously lost interest in listening to history. Fortunately, Maloney decided to have his interrupted speech privately printed, giving Key West its only nineteenth-century history.²

There was no recitation of past glories in South Florida's second largest settlement. This settlement, a hundred and fifty miles from Key West on the shores of Biscayne Bay, had less than a hundred residents and a few permanent structures. These hardy pioneers, like those who came before them, were trying to endure life in this isolated, rocky-soiled, insect-infested, tropical wilderness. Little had changed in the three hundred and nine years since the first Spanish missionaries arrived and attempted to Christianize the aboriginal Tequesta Indians who had lived there for at least two thousand years.³

If any pattern of development had been set here it was the pattern of failure. Through the years a succession of individuals had come to this jungle land of uncertainty, wavering hopes and hardships. However, every time a real attempt at settlement was made, something occurred that interrupted it.⁴

The settlers in Miami in 1876 did not know it at the time, but they were at the threshold of change. While the number of residents may not have looked impressive, compared to the past, the population was "booming." There would still be many who would give up on the area, but for the most part the pattern would be broken and many people there in 1876 would actually witness the end of the frontier and the birth of the City of Miami in 1896. Some would even help bring it about.

Before describing what occurred in Miami during the nation's centennial year and analyzing the reasons for the end of three centuries of failure, it is important to highlight briefly the history of the century before in order to have a better understanding of the importance of the events in 1876.

At the conclusion of the American Revolution in 1783, the Treaty of Paris returned Florida to Spain. This turn of events caused a great hardship for the many Loyalists who, rather than fight their mother country, had sought refuge in British Florida. Many chose to emigrate to the Bahamas that had been colonized by the English as early

as 1647. By 1789, the Loyalists had swelled the population of the Bahamas to over eleven thousand people.

In the early Nineteenth Century most of the white inhabitants of South Florida came from the Bahamas. Many became familiar with the coast while salvaging the many wrecks on the reef. In 1817 it was reported in *Niles Register* that "two or three settlements of little consequence are about Cape Florida. All of these southern settlements are from Providence, Bahamas."⁵ A few years later it was reported that Key Biscayne was frequented by New Providence men.⁶ But even though this type of activity was common during the Second Spanish Period the real beginning of the orderly process of frontier settlement occurred in 1821, when Florida became a territory of the United States.

One of the first orders of business for the United States was to do something to prevent the many wrecks on the Florida Reef. To this end, the Cape Florida Lighthouse on Key Biscayne was built and lighted in 1825.⁷ It was the first permanent structure in the Miami area.

At about the same time a commission was set up by the United States Government to hear claims based on occupation and/or land grants from the Second Spanish Period (1783-1821). There were only eight claims in the entire Miami area. By 1825, five claims for about 640 acres each had been validated by the commission. There were the James Hagan (Egan) Donation on the north bank of the Miami River, the Rebecca Hagan (Egan) Donation, Polly Lewis and Johnathan Lewis Donation on the south of the Miami River and the Mary Ann Davis Donation on Key Biscayne.⁸ Thus at the beginning of the Territorial Period only about three thousand acres were held in private ownership, the rest was public land.

The Egans and Lewises, who had come to the area via the Bahamas, deposed in their claim that they had lived in the area around fifteen years.⁹ They built homes, cultivated a few crops and began the chain of title to the land that continues to our day. In 1829, Dr. Benjamin Strobel of Key West visited Biscayne Bay and wrote a remarkable description of the "Lewis Settlement."

The point of land to which we steered our course was steep and perpendicular, consisting of a wall of limestone rock, twelve or fifteen feet above the level of the water. At one of these we landed, and ascending a rude flight of steps, I found myself at the door of a neat palmetto hut which was seated on the brow of the hill. It was quite a romantic situation. The cottage was shaded on its western aspect by several large West Indian fruit trees, whilst on its eastern side we found a grove of luxuriant limes, which

were bowing to the earth under the weight of their golden fruit. This was the residence of the old lady to whom I had been recommended and who was bordering on 80 years of age. I entered the house and made my devoirs. She received me graciously and placed before me some Palmetto and Icaica plums and after refreshing politely conducted me herself over her grounds and showed me a field of potatoes and corn which she had cultivated. She generally employed several Indians for this purpose, who for their labor received a portion of the products.¹⁰

By February 1829, James Egan decided he preferred to live at Indian Key because it was already a sizable community. He placed the following advertisement in the *Key West Register and Commercial Advertiser*:

For Sale
A Valuable Trace of
LAND
Near Cape Florida

Situate [sic] on the Miami River. The *Land* is very good and will produce Sugar Cane or Sea Island Cotton, equal if not superior to any other part of the Territory. There is at present a number of bearing Banana and Lime trees and the fruit is inferior to none raised in the Island of Cuba. The forest growth consists principally of Live Oak, Red Bay and Dog Wood.

Any person desirous of purchasing a valuable plantation will do well to visit the land.¹¹

Key West resident, Richard Fitzpatrick, formerly of South Carolina, took James Egan up on his offer. In 1830 he paid him \$400.00 for his 640 acres on the north bank of the Miami River. By 1832 he had also acquired the Polly Lewis Donation for \$500.00, the Johnathan Lewis Donation for \$300.00, and the Rebecca Hagan (Egan) Donation for \$640.00. Thus he acquired four square miles of the most desirable land in Miami for \$1,840.00! For another \$500.00 he added the Frankee Lewis Donation (Johnathan Lewis' mother, Polly's mother-in-law) at New River (Ft. Lauderdale).¹²

Richard Fitzpatrick had come to Key West from South Carolina before 1830. As a delegate from Monroe County (which at that time included all of Dade County) he was elected President of the Legislative Council that convened in Tallahassee in January, 1836.¹³ Apparently, by that time his overseer, James Wright, was living at Miami. He had directed the building of extensive improvements on Fitzpatrick's land. According to a later claim made against the United States these improvements included about a hundred and fifty acres of sugarcane, corn, pumpkins and sweet potatoes, four thousand

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There is at present a number of bearing Banana and Lime Trees, and the fruit is inferior to none raised in the Island of Cuba.

The forest growth consists principally of Live Oak, Red Bay and Dog Wood.

Any person desirous of purchasing a Valuable Plantation will do well to visit the Land.

JAMES EGAN.

Feb 19-4 1829

In 1829 James Egan offered to sell his 640 acres on the north bank of the Miami River. About seventy years later it would become downtown Miami.

Key West Register, February 18, 1829

banana and plantain trees, a hundred coconut trees, a lime grove and many other tropical fruits. Fitzpatrick also listed a hundred hogs, assorted ducks and other fowl.

The farm was worked by Negro slaves brought from South Carolina. They lived in twelve wooden houses constructed on the property as slave quarters. There were five other frame houses on the property but only one, his home, was on the north bank. Two of the four on the south bank had been occupied previously by Lewis. There were also several outbuildings on the estate. Four boats were anchored nearby.¹⁴ Even if this precise list of Fitzpatrick's improvements was exaggerated in order to increase his claim, the activity on, and plans for his holdings were obviously extensive. A real beginning had been made. Fitzpatrick was committed to the area.

Fitzpatrick demonstrated this commitment by pushing the plan for the creation of a new county to be formed from part of Monroe. The plan was tentatively approved early in the session (January 28) and it was suggested that the new county be named Dade in honor of Major Francis Langhorne Dade who, along with 109 of his men had been killed by the Seminole Indians¹⁵ only seven days before the legislative session began. Before the bill could be officially passed in February,¹⁶ the Seminoles attacked the William Cooley family who were living on Fitzpatrick's land at New River (Ft. Lauderdale). Everyone in the family except William Cooley, who was away at the time, was killed. The only survivor of the massacre, a young slave boy, managed to reach the "Cape Florida Settlement" and warn the people there. Everyone sought refuge at the Cape Florida Lighthouse until they could flee to Key West.¹⁷ One of those fleeing was James Wright, Richard Fitzpatrick's overseer. He left everything behind except the Negro slaves who he forced to accompany him so they would not join the Indians.¹⁸

The Second Seminole War, which began with the Dade Massacre near Bushnell, Florida, had come to South Florida. In July, the Seminoles attacked the Cape Florida Lighthouse¹⁹ which was the last bastion of the white man. With the destruction and abandonment of the lighthouse the last white man left the Miami area. The cycle was complete. The South Florida mainland was back where it started from. When the white man returned, he did not return to settle the area but to reclaim it.

After the destruction of the lighthouse, the United States located a series of fortifications in the Miami area. The first was established by the Navy on Key Biscayne and called Fort Bankhead. Eventually taken over by the Army, it was moved to the mouth of the Miami River on Fitzpatrick's land and called Fort Dallas.²⁰ With Colonel William S. Harney in command, Fort Dallas became the point of embarkation for several major expeditions into the Everglades in search of the elusive Seminole.

These soldiers were the first sizable group of people, other than Indians, to ever spend time in the Miami area. Although there were frequent complaints of the difficult conditions the soldiers faced, some, like Army Surgeon Jacob Rhett Motte, saw a brighter side. In 1837 he wrote of his impressions of Harney's Camp.

... the spot where I found Colonel Harney encamped could with very little trouble be converted into a perfect Eden. The cocoanut, the banana, the orange, the lime and tamarind flourished around us, the spontaneous growth of the soil.

Swarms of deer abounded in the forests close by; . . . this was indeed the land of flowers and no wonder that the Seminoles desired to remain in a country where food was as plentiful and as easily procured as manna by the Israelites; for here no necessity existed for labor, and the sojourner reaped what he sowed not.²¹

Apparently Harney too was impressed with what he found in South Florida. In the middle of the war, Mary Ann Davis, who was living in Texas, decided to subdivide her land at Key Biscayne. Colonel Harney became her first customer on July 1, 1839 when he purchased two lots "on the west side of Jackson Street . . . one extending from Jefferson Street northward to Washington Street and the other extending from Washington Street to a point 180 feet northward thereof"²² for \$100.00.²³

About this same time Henry Perrine, former United States Consul in Campeche, Mexico, and noted horticulturist, convinced Congress to grant him a township of land in South Florida in order to awaken interest in the culture of tropical plants through both cultivation and plant introduction. When Perrine and his family arrived in South Florida in December, 1838 they found that the Indians were still in control of the mainland so they decided to stay on Indian Key until the hostilities ceased.²⁴

At that time it could be said that Indian Key was Dade County. The twelve-acre island was owned by the infamous Jacob Housman who in a little more than a decade had built himself a sizable empire there. Streets were laid out and at least thirty-eight structures, including the Tropical Hotel, were built on the island. It was also the temporary county seat of Dade County. Housman, people complained, owned everything. He had even managed to have Indian Key made a port of entry challenging Key West's former monopoly of the wrecking trade.²⁵ By 1840 the many refugees from the mainland had swelled the population of Indian Key to over fifty people.²⁶

Housman's island empire came crashing down in the early hours of August 7, 1840. Over a hundred Indians, led by their chief Chakaika, launched an attack on Indian Key. The destruction was total, only one house survived the conflagration. Miraculously, only seven people lost their lives. One of them was Dr. Perrine. Fortunately, his wife and three children managed to survive, were rescued and returned to New York.²⁷

Back at Fort Dallas Colonel Harney vowed revenge for the massacre at Indian Key. On December 4, 1840, he led an expedition of ninety men from Ft. Dallas into the Everglades to seek out Chakaika

at his island sanctuary. After Harney's men shot and killed him they hanged his huge corpse with two other captives.²⁸ While the war dragged out for over two more years, the death of Chakaika ended most of the activity in South Florida. As a result of the war, which officially ended in 1842, 3,824 Seminoles had been shipped westward. The few Seminoles that remained in Florida withdrew into the Everglades.²⁹

With the war over and Ft. Dallas abandoned a few of the pre-war settlers returned to the Miami River to pick up the pieces. Richard Fitzpatrick found his plantation in ruins, all his buildings destroyed and much of his hammock land stripped. Rather than try again he sold his entire holdings to his nephew, William F. English, for \$16,000.³⁰

English came to Biscayne Bay with the most ambitious plan to date. He platted the "Village of Miami"³¹ on the south bank of the river. This was probably one of the earliest recorded uses of the name Miami to describe the settlement there. Word spread of his plans for the new city. The following story appeared in the *St. Augustine News* in December, 1843:

From Indian River to Cape Florida only one site suitable for a town, combining the exquisite advantages of proximity to the ocean and communication with the interior of the country . . . extraordinary fertility of soil . . . every inducement is presented to active industry. . . . These capabilities, we are gratified to learn are being properly appreciated and an activity already prevails at that river. . . . A town is laid off on its southern banks, opening in front upon Key Biscayne Bay and some coontie mills are in progress of rapid completion. The settlers, already numerous, are every day increasing and there is no doubt at no very distant day—the inhabitants of the new city in Dade County will be more numerous than this.³²

English sold some lots in "the new city in Dade County" to Harris Antonio, one for \$1.00 on the condition that he build a "good frame building" there. On the same day Antonio also bought lot No. 97, located on Porpoise Street for \$25.00. Lots numbered 93-96 were sold to A. Antonio for \$160 to be paid in four equal installments with interest.³³

Besides the plans for the new city, there were several other reasons for optimism. In March, 1844, the county seat of Dade County was moved to "Miami on the south side of the Miami River, where it empties into Biscaino Bay."³⁴

In 1845 Florida became a state. The following year the Cape Florida Lighthouse was rebuilt and relighted.³⁵ In the same year the



The stone building shown here was started by William F. English in the 1840s and completed by the Army during the Third Seminole War. It was used as temporary housing by many early settlers until permanent homes could be built. In 1928 it was moved to Lummus Park where it stands today. Munroe Collection

first American survey of several of the townships in South Florida was certified.³⁶ This made it possible for the first time to purchase land there for as little as \$1.25 an acre. Before that the Armed Occupation Act of 1842 (extended in 1848) had made it possible for a head of a family to obtain title to 160 acres of land if he built a home, cleared five acres, did not settle within two miles of a military post and lived there for five years.³⁷ Because it was difficult to obtain unsurveyed land, most waited to apply until the act was extended in 1848.

The purpose of the Armed Occupation Acts was to fill the frontier with homesteaders hoping that settlers would succeed in dealing with the remaining Indians where the Army had failed. It was an uneasy peace. In 1849 it was reported that all the settlers had again left Miami for the safety of the Cape Florida Lighthouse. This time the Navy, sent from Key West to investigate, convinced them to return home.³⁸

**FERGUSON'S
FLORIDA ARROW ROOT.
REFINED AND PREPARED**

Expressly for the Table.

THIS ARTICLE can at all times be had at my Dwelling in Key West, or at my Mill at Miami, in any quantities, neatly put up into paper parcels with full directions for preparing; and is

**Warranted fully Equal to the
BEST ARROW ROOT IN USE,**

either as to whiteness, purity, or substance; and as the various preparations from Arrow Root are recognized as the very highest, delicacies and only kept from universal use by the high price at which it has heretofore been sold, we hope to introduce the staple production of Florida into every family in the country, as its price is sufficiently low to recommend the inferior qualities for use as common starch.

The Refined Arrow Root peculiarly commands itself to the attention of Key West as a memorandum Florida to their absent friends.

G. W. FERGUSON,
March 12, 1859. Gm

**P A P E R
COMMISSION WAREHOUSE,
AND
PRINTERS' DEPOT.**

In 1859 George Ferguson advertised his coontie starch in Key West that was manufactured in his factory on the Miami River. *Key to the Gulf*, July 9, 1859

Even the threat of Indian uprisings did not stop growth. In the late 1840s Dr. R. R. Fletcher opened a store on the south bank of the river, and George Ferguson opened a store adjacent to his coontie mill³⁹ near the rapids of the Miami River. In the 1850 Manufacturing Census, Ferguson reported that he and his twenty-five employees had processed 300,000 pounds of coontie at a value of \$24,000.⁴⁰ Ferguson produced starch on such a large scale that he sold it to

markets in New York and Boston. In 1858 Ferguson also became the postmaster of the Miami Post Office which had opened for the first time in December, 1856.⁴¹ The mail boat from Key West came once a month to the small settlement.

In the midst of this growth, William English and his uncle, Richard Fitzpatrick, caught "gold fever" and decided to go to California to seek their fortune. English announced that he hoped to get enough money there to finance his Village of Miami which he planned to finish developing when he returned. Unfortunately, William English never returned. In 1855 in Grass Valley, California, he accidentally shot himself while dismounting from his horse.⁴² His early dream for a city on the Miami River died with him.

In addition to English's departure, settlers were experiencing other difficulties. In January, 1852, a meeting was called by George Ferguson to petition the government to do something about the uneasiness they felt due to the unresolved situation with the Seminoles. A copy was sent to Washington and Tallahassee seeking redress of their grievances.

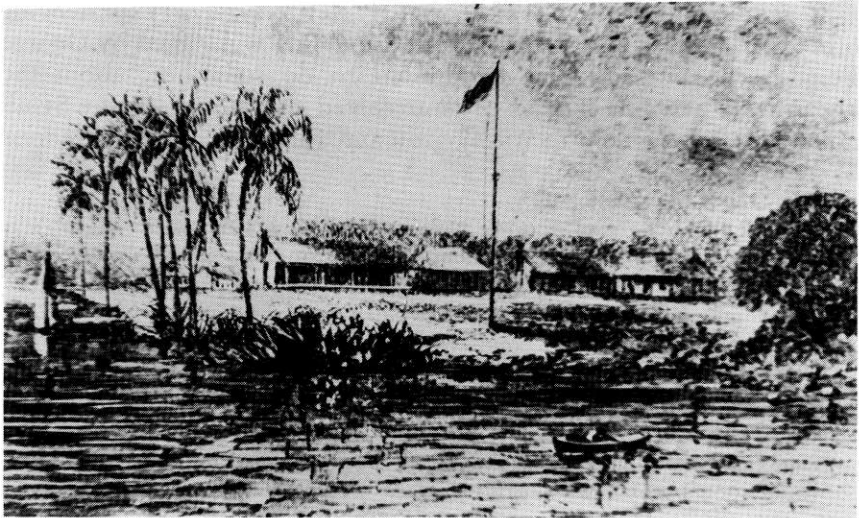
Whereas the people of Florida have manifested a large share of Job's quality under the continued residence of that standing evil and obstacle to all settlement and improvement 'the Seminole' whose outrages in massacring at midnight, defenceless men, women and children, burning their homes and devastating the country-crimes as yet unatoned for, and living in the memory of the whole country as a standing reproach to the government, who has so long suffered them to remain a terror to all neighboring settlements and an effectual bar to all emigration and improvement and believing that these Indians, once beyond our borders, South Florida would soon become what nature has so evidently designed upon—other genial climate, fresh pure streams, rich hammocks, and numerous spontaneous products. [sic]⁴³

It is not known if any steps were taken at this time but in 1855 conditions were sufficiently difficult to warrant the return of the troops to Fort Dallas.

It was during this occupation by the Army that the stone buildings on the north bank, begun by William English in the 1840s were completed by the troops. Many wooden buildings were also constructed until for the first time, the north bank had more buildings than the south.⁴⁴

In December, 1855, Indians attacked surveyors near the Big Cypress country and the war was on again. A month later Peter Johnson and Edward Farrell were killed at their home on Biscayne Bay six miles south of Ft. Dallas. The soldiers rounded up all the settlers and brought them by barges to the fort for safety.⁴⁵

In 1857 the troops built the first road ever constructed in South Florida linking Ft. Dallas with Ft. Lauderdale. It was sixteen feet wide, with "causeways" built over swampland and a corduroy road constructed through the marsh. A bridge was built over the Little River and other streams between the Miami River and New River, except Arch Creek, which had a natural bridge.⁴⁶ But while everyone believed that this new road would help the development of Miami once the war was over, they never had a chance to find out. About the time the Third Seminole War was ending in late 1857 the winds of another war were gathering force.



In 1871 *Harper's* published a drawing of the mouth of the Miami River showing the Fort Dallas buildings that had been erected by the U.S. Army during the Third Seminole War, 1855-57.

Reprinted from:

J. B. Holder, "Along the Florida Reef," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, March, 1871

When the Civil War broke out the Cape Florida Lighthouse was darkened by rebel guerrillas.⁴⁷ The few pioneers that remained were completely cut off by the blockade from all communication and transportation. Even the mail boat ceased its monthly run. It was an especially difficult time because the settlers for the most part were required to be completely self-sufficient. It was a period of stagna-

tion and lost hope. However, there was considerable activity in the area. The periodic arrival of steamboats from the blockade squadron provided some excitement. Frequently, the blockaders would come ashore and search the pine woods for real or suspected blockade-runners, deserters, or refugees who were engaged in the manufacture of pine-tar that they sold to the blockade-runners.

When the war was almost over, a large number of Yankees arrived to check out the rumor that President Jefferson Davis was on his way to Biscayne Bay. Every entrance to the bay was guarded and besides three steamers there were a number of smaller craft patrolling in every direction both day and night.⁴⁸ Jefferson Davis, who was captured in Georgia, never made it to Biscayne Bay. But General Breckenridge, former Confederate Secretary of War, arrived incognito in June 1865. His party stopped at Ft. Dallas in order to get supplies and found twenty or thirty men that his aide, John Wood, described as being

... of all colors, from Yankee to the ebony Congo, all armed: a more motley and villainous crew never trod the Captain Kidd's ships. We saw at once with whom we had to deal—deserters from the Army and Navy of both sides, a mixture of Spainards and Cubans, outlaws and renegades.⁴⁹

A few gold coins did the trick and Breckenridge and crew with food and water were able to continue on to Cuba.⁵⁰

By the time the war was over, Dade County had dropped to one of its lowest points. There was little change in the situation until 1866 when Reconstruction politics brought Miami a most remarkable man who would dominate the history of the area for the next ten years.

In the fall of 1865 two men who had recently moved to Virginia had an idea that would greatly affect the next decade of Miami's history. Former New Yorker, W. H. Hunt, proposed to the Freedman's Bureau that the Bureau build some mills on government lands in Florida. He offered to operate the mills and

... place one thousand Freedmen and their families above requiring assistance from the government... Provided: they are placed upon lands of my selection under the Homestead Law of the State of Florida...⁵¹

The Bureau did not give Hunt the contract he wanted but as a result of Hunt's proposal, Virginia Bureau Chief, Orlando Brown, proposed a plan in which as many as 50,000 Virginia Negroes would be invited to emigrate to Florida. Oliver O. Howard, Freedman's Bureau Chief, thought enough of the plan to ask Florida Assistant

Commissioner, Colonel Thomas W. Osborn, to inspect and report on lands that might be available for this purpose.⁵²

Led by Brevet Lieutenant Colonel George F. Thompson, the inspection of the sparsely populated, wilderness-like southern half of the peninsula began in December 1865. Thompson was accompanied by W. H. Hunt's friend, "Special Agent" William H. Gleason, who had volunteered to assist Thompson without pay.

Between December 20, 1865 and January 5, 1866 Thompson and Gleason visited several points on the west coast of Florida. Unimpressed with what they found on the Gulf coast, the men journeyed to Key West to seek passage to Biscayne Bay.

The inspection party arrived at the Miami River on January 27, 1866. They were so impressed with the area that they stayed until February 14. This favorable impression also showed up in Thompson's 45-page final report that covered Hillsboro, Manatee, Monroe, Dade, Broward, Polk, Orange and Volusia counties. One-third of the report was devoted to Dade County.

Thompson wrote that

. . . the first and most notable characteristic of this section is the climate; beyond all question the most equable of any in the United States. . . [the people] are entirely destitute of all educational institutions, but yet as a general rule are a more intelligent class of people than can be found in the interior of the Peninsula. Their vocation [wrecking] brings them in contact with people from all parts of the world and this keeps alive among them a spirit of inquiry, that they do not sink into that lethargy which seems to take so strong a hold upon those living inland . . . the productions of this country are very limited, but sufficient experiments have been made to indicate its adaption to the culture of all the tropical fruits and plants.⁵³

But while Thompson waxed eloquently about the area he also pointed out some of the difficulties he encountered. Typically, one of the most serious was the insects. He wrote that

. . . during the entire year mosquitoes and sand flies seem to vie with each other in their efforts to torment humanity. While we were there in the winter they were almost intolerable, and during the summer months are said to be more numerous and aggressive. To sleep at night without mosquito bar would be nearly as fruitless as to attempt to fly without wings.⁵⁴

In conclusion, Thompson wrote that the area could become the "Garden of the United States."⁵⁵ He stated, however, "no general

settlement of the southern part of Florida can ever be affected without first adopting a vast system of drainage to reclaim the country from annual inundations.”⁵⁶

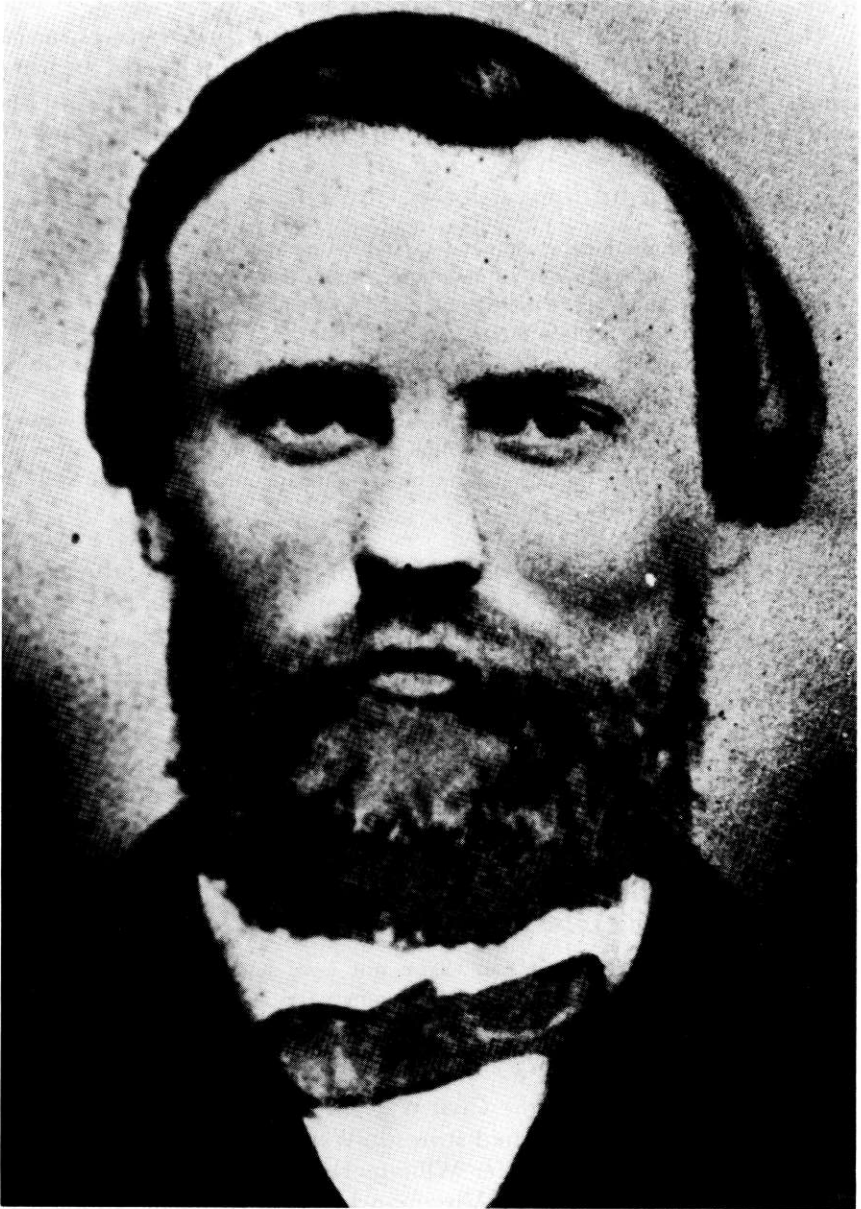
The plan to make South Florida a haven for former slaves never materialized. But six months later in July 1866 a schooner bearing with it Gleason, his wife and two sons, his friend, W. H. Hunt and his wife and son, four hired men, two horses, two mules, a cow and all kinds of other equipment anchored off of Cape Florida. An eyewitness described her first impression of Gleason and his entourage:

... with the shrewdness and tact with which he was imbued he saw the one chance in his lifetime in coming here where there would be little or no opposition to whatever enterprise he cared to engage in. The erection of a Post Office [named Miami] and the appointment of a Postmaster [Hunt] to take charge upon their arrival here, and, besides, with the unloading of the schooner which must have been a veritable Noah's Ark from the appearance of what was being brought ashore from off her, and the business way in which everything was being conducted by them, impressed upon the minds of the people that they were no common people that had so suddenly come to live among us.⁵⁷

They were no common people. William Henry Gleason, the leader of the group was an extraordinary young man. In his thirty-six years he had already made and lost a fortune and had started making another. A native of Massachusetts, he moved to Wisconsin with his family when he was eighteen years old. Here he became interested in engineering, surveying, real estate, politics, and law. He founded the lumber town of Eau Claire, became co-founder and president of the bank and was involved in a land-speculation deal that brought him to the brink of financial ruin. Before he left Wisconsin, Gleason had already developed some strong enemies and had been involved in several questionable business deals. Radical editor Marcus M. “Brick” Pomeroy, in his *La Crosse Democrat* wrote:

Gleason was a resident of Eau Claire not long since. In 1856 he was engaged in the legal occupation of returning votes for a township in Eau Claire Co. where no election was held, and was then charged in bank speculation that did not add much to his reputation for honesty.⁵⁸

After the outbreak of the Civil War, Gleason switched to the Republican Party and established stores in Washington and Baltimore in partnership with New Yorker William Henry Hunt. When the war ended he and Hunt moved to Virginia which indirectly led to his first visit to South Florida.⁵⁹



The decade prior to 1876 belonged to Wisconsinite William H. Gleason who held absolute power over Dade County until the November election of 1876.

Gleason did not like being called a carpet-bagger, but it is difficult to characterize him as anything else. But regardless of the final judgment of the man, in 1866, he was welcomed with open arms. The few settlers in Miami were used to arrivals and departures. One wrote that

... the old timers were waiting and hoping for something to start, always sure it was coming. Pretty near every year there would be a little spurt. Someone would come in and tell what he was going to do, but a few days would be the end of it.⁶⁰

But this time, it looked as if Gleason and company meant business.

Upon their arrival Hunt and Gleason and their families moved into the then unoccupied Ft. Dallas buildings. The unloading of the schooner into a smaller boat which could navigate the shallow bay took several days. They brought all kinds of farm equipment including mowing machines and hay rakes. They also brought seeds for planting and enough staples to last for six months. The most interesting and unusual items on board as far as South Florida was concerned were Hunt's books and a complete printing press. Hunt had brought a virtual library with him containing many rare and useful books that were full of information helpful to the pioneer.

As far as the printing press was concerned, any hope of publishing a profitable newspaper at that time was obviously foolhardy. There were no more than thirty-five to forty-five people in the entire county including John H. Armour and two assistant keepers at Jupiter Lighthouse and a man named Lang living at Lake Worth. But with this type of optimistic expectations for Miami, Hunt and Gleason couldn't be all bad.

Hunt encouraged the settlers to plant a winter vegetable crop which most had never done before. Hunt and Gleason themselves planted oats and hay in what later became Flagler's golf course (now Metro Justice Building area) and when not raking hay, used the wheel section of the hay rake as a sulky to provide transportation from Ft. Dallas to the fields.⁶¹

If Gleason had been content to limit his interests to South Florida, who can say what might have been accomplished there. But with the "carpet-bag" Republicans firmly in control of Florida politics, including fellow Wisconsinite, Harrison Reed, it was inevitable that Gleason also get involved. In the spring of 1868 the Republicans nominated Reed for governor and William H. Gleason as lieutenant-governor. At about the same time, Nelson English, Supervisor of Elections from Monroe County arrived to register the voters from

Dade County also elected Hunt as Dade's Senator.⁶² Soon after the Governor and Lieutenant Governor were inaugurated the Governor appointed the county officers of Dade County, who were probably hand-picked by Gleason.⁶³

Before long, Gleason began to show his true colors. In November, 1868, allied with the more radical Republicans, Gleason participated in impeachment proceedings against Reed and declared himself Governor. Refusing to be intimidated, Reed would not give up. Thus, for a month Florida had two people claiming to be governor—Reed in the Capitol building and Gleason in the hotel across the street with the State Seal in his possession to bolster his claim.

A short time later, Gleason found himself impeached because he had not lived in Florida for the requisite three years to hold office.⁶⁴ When it was all over the following poem appeared in the anti-Republican *Tallahassee Floridian*.

Far better for Gleason if he had remained
In Wisconsin, where he so much glory attained.
For his talents, peculiar are out of their sphere
There are no 'wild cat' banks for his management here.
He would reap far more honor and quite as much gain
By terrapin hunting around Key Biscayne.⁶⁵

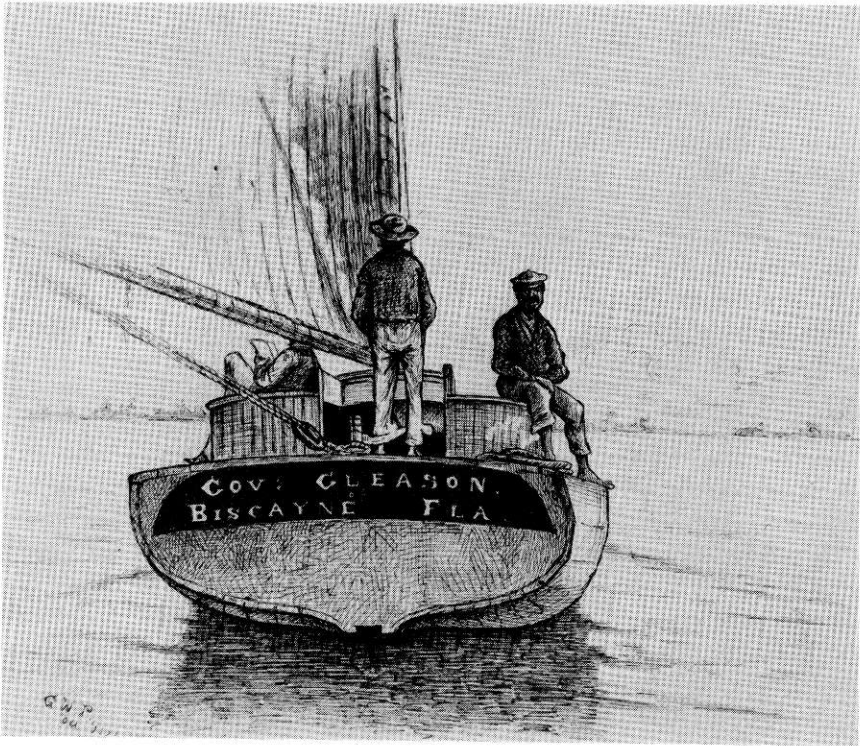
Temporarily ousted from state politics Gleason returned to Biscayne Bay. But it was not the last heard of Gleason in Tallahassee. He represented Dade County in the House between 1870 and 1874.⁶⁶ There was considerable controversy, however, over each election.

Back in Miami, Gleason proceeded to perfect his control there. In the 1871 *Florida Gazetteer* Gleason was listed as County Clerk, Tax Assessor and member of the Board of Public Instruction.⁶⁷

A study of the County Commissioners and the minutes of the Commission between 1868 and 1876 reveals his growing control over all aspects of Dade County life.⁶⁸ With Gleason as County Clerk, the Dade County record books, almost non-existent before Gleason's regime, suddenly came to life. Prominent in the records were rather large sums of money paid to Gleason for the various duties he performed. For instance, in the December 6, 1869 Minutes, Gleason received \$120.00 for surveying the road between Snake Creek and the "Hunting Ground" (which was not built until thirty years later) and another \$100.00 for salary as Clerk.⁶⁹ Considering how little money was taken in by the county each year (in 1875 the total was \$295.20), this was an inordinate sum.⁷⁰ But compared to Gleason's other financial involvements, his Dade County earnings were strictly

penny-ante. Between February 1869 and 1872 the Internal Improvement Board of the State of Florida sold Gleason's Southern Inland Navigation and Improvement Company which was chartered to build a canal between Fernandina and Key West, 1,350,000 acres of "swamp and overflow" land at six cents an acre.⁷¹

For the most part, Gleason's control of Dade County went unchallenged. Even though he was unpopular with many of the people, he was tolerated. Everyone acknowledged that he was doing more good than harm. That is every one except Dr. Jephta V. Harris. In 1869, Dr. Harris of Louisiana purchased the 640 acre "Ft. Dallas property"



In 1870 Gleason moved the Miami post office from the Ft. Dallas property and re-opened it as Biscayne in present-day Miami Shores. This drawing by George Potter of the mail boat was made in the 1870s. Reprinted from:

William Straight. "Frontier Physician of Dade County"
Journal of the Florida Medical Association, July, 1965.

from William English's sister and heir for \$1,450.⁷² This put Harris in conflict with Hunt and Gleason who were living there and claiming to have a lease from the U.S. Government to occupy the building. Harris, with great difficulty, was finally able to take possession of the property and Hunt and Gleason moved up to Hunt's homestead in what is now Miami Shores. When they left Ft. Dallas it could be said that they took Miami with them. Actually, they took the post office, which in December, 1870, they changed to "Biscayne." From this time until 1874 there was no Miami.⁷³

But Gleason was not willing to give up the Ft. Dallas property without a fight. In 1871 he figured out a way to capitalize on a mistake made in the original James Egan Grant of 1824. At that time Egan had been misspelled as "Hagan." Some said this occurred because of the Bahamian's tendency to drop their "H's. Gleason discovered a former Key West resident, James Fletcher Hagan, and through his heirs, John W. Hagan and his children, Nancy Rigby and Harriet Williamson, purchased (in the name of his wife Sara Gleason) adverse title in the property for \$750.00.⁷⁴ He then wrote to the Department of the Interior requesting a patent to the land and the insertion of the initial "F" (James F. Hagan) in the original patent. On November 19, 1872, the patent was issued to Gleason.⁷⁵ Obviously, by this time Gleason and Harris were at great odds. (Harris' Confederate background only added to the feud.) Harris wrote to Washington claiming fraud. The controversy became so heated that Harris even threatened to shoot Hunt and duel with Gleason. Neither threat was carried out, but in 1874 Harris attacked Gleason on a Key West street. By this time Harris was not alone in his feelings about Gleason. An eyewitness to this "whipping" reported that it occurred "to the vicarious satisfaction of numerous witnesses."⁷⁶ Harris eventually won a new patent from Washington but the controversy was not completely settled until 1874 when George M. Thew purchased both claims for the Biscayne Bay Company—Gleason's for \$100.00 and a thousand shares of stock, and Harris' for \$6,000.00.⁷⁷

But for all his shortcomings, Gleason was attracting new settlers to Miami. Before long, his name appeared in the profusion of guide books, travel accounts and promotional pamphlets that were published after the war. In 1869 Dr. Brinton reported in his *Guide Book to Florida* that "Lieutenant Governor Gleason resides at Miami and will entertain travelers to the extent that he can."⁷⁸ Hawkes, in his *Florida Gazetteer*, added that "as there is no boarding house, Messers Hunt and Gleason feel compelled to keep a fine hotel."⁷⁹ In a book by R. L. Gardiner, Lieutenant-Governor Gleason was quoted as saying:

... the pure water and other mineral springs, the magnificent beauty of its scenery, the salubrity and equability of its climate, must make Biscayne Bay at no distant day, the resort of the tourist and the lover of adventure.⁸⁰

In Sidney Lanier's *Florida, its Scenery, Climate and History*, he mentioned the plans of Gleason's Southern Island Navigation and Improvement Company to build a needed canal from Indian River to Biscayne Bay.

Those desiring to know more of this portion of Florida would doubtless be cheerfully informed upon application of letter or otherwise to Rev. W. W. Hicks of Fernandina, Florida or Hon. W. Gleason, Miami, Florida who seem to be the stirring men of Dade Co.⁸¹

Gleason was also involved in several organized efforts to entice settlers to Dade County. In this period a number of northern land and emigrant aid companies mushroomed with the purpose of helping the immigrant desiring to come to Florida, of course, with a profit for the promoter. Gleason briefly had a contract with the *American Emigrant Aid and Homestead Company of New York*.⁸²

Dennis Egan in the *Sixth Annual Report: Committee of Lands and Immigration*, wrote that:

... whatever impetus immigration to this portion of the state (Dade County) has received has been due to the energy and enterprise of the Hon. W. G. Gleason, who is permanently located at Miami and is thoroughly identified with the material prosperity of the state and particularly Dade County.⁸³

J. B. Holder, writing in 1871 for *Harpers*, noted that Hunt and Gleason's "plan for intelligent beginnings (for South Florida . . . deserves success."⁸⁴

Although most of the authors painted an optimistic picture of South Florida's future and Gleason's leadership, some did not. The most critical description of the area and of Gleason's over-blown projections appeared in F. Trench Townsend's *Wild Life in Florida* published in 1875. Townsend wrote that:

Throughout Florida, the settlement of Miami, on Biscayne Bay is represented as a sort of terrestrial paradise, cultivated like the Garden of Eden, where every fruit of the tropics grows luxuriantly, where magnificent scenery delights the eye and fever and death are unknown. It is in reality a very small settlement on a ridge of limestone, rising from five to thirty feet above the sea, with a loose sandy loam over it, only a few inches in depth,

but tolerably fertile. The climate is equable but very hot, the scenery is pretty but never approaches magnificence, while the multitude of insects make life hardly endurable.⁸⁵

What was Gleason's Miami really like a hundred years ago? In reality it was probably quite like Townsend's description. Adam Richards, who settled in the area in 1875, wrote that:

... the scale of living was pretty low. People lived on potatoes and other easily grown vegetables, fish, birds and once in a while would have some venison when somebody would shoot a deer. It was inordinately difficult to obtain groceries, such as flour, coffee, sugar and canned goods and anyway most people couldn't afford to buy them most of the time. Travel and communication were both difficult and dangerous, there being rivers with swift currents, wild animals, snakes and roaming beach tramps with criminal tendencies to contend with.⁸⁶

Ralph Munroe, a visitor from Staten Island recorded his first impression of the bay in 1877. He wrote that

... there was no more isolated region to be found and scarcely any less productive ... the few hardy settlers depended mainly on the products of the sea, together with plentiful game, for food. Green turtle and fish of all kinds were unlimited, the Indians brought in venison, bear, wild turkey, terrapin, gopher ... the surest and easiest way of raising money was by the manufacture of coontie (or comptie) starch, from the roots of a small palm like plant (*Zamia*) which grew in the pine woods in crannies of the stubborn rocky surface ... every family, except those of the two store keepers, had its little mill.⁸⁷

Munroe was also fascinated by what he called the

... varied humanity drawn to the wilderness ... Both virtues and frailities are attracted by the chances of pioneer adventure, and the handful of Biscayne settlers in 1877 included a wider variety of characters and history than many a northern town. Their isolation and mutual dependence brought out their peculiarities in high relief, while at the same time it touched them with a warmth of friendship and service unknown in large communities.⁸⁸

Who were these people that were drawn to the wilderness? Basically, there were three types. First, there were the few "old-timers" who had lived through the Indian troubles and, compared to what they had seen and been through, must have considered life on the bay in 1876 a picnic. These included the Pent family (John and Ed) who lived in what later became Coconut Grove. They had the distinc-

tion of being the oldest family in the area.⁸⁹ The second oldest family was probably the Frows, who at that time were still living at the Cape Florida Lighthouse.⁹⁰ On the Miami River were John Adams, who had spent some time in prison as a result of his blockade-running affairs during the Civil War.⁹¹ Nearby on Wagner's Creek lived William Wagner who had come to Miami in 1855 as a storekeeper for the army at Fort Dallas. "Long John" Holman, another Indian War veteran, lived on Musa Isle. William H. Benest, who after being elected to the state legislature in 1870, was the first to be deposed by Gleason, also lived on the river. Andrew Barr, an early homesteader from Massachusetts, completed the old-timers living on or near the Miami River.

South of the river on the site of the late Arthur Vining Davis' home, "Journey's End," lived the Enfinger and Jenkins families.⁹² Further south at the "Hunting Grounds" (Cutler) were John and Mary Addison.⁹³ North of the river were Michael Oxer, Dan Clark and Michael Sears.⁹⁴

Among the more prosperous pioneers was William B. Brickell, from Cleveland, Ohio. He purchased the Egan and Lewis grants on the south side of the river and in 1870 opened a trading post near the mouth. Like Gleason, he also brought supplies and lumber with him as well as workmen. He even brought a tutor for his children.

E. T. Sturtevant came to South Florida with Brickell. At first he settled on the Polly Lewis Donation next to Brickell, but apparently quarrelled with him over its ownership and as a result ended his friendship with him and moved to Biscayne where he became confidant and partner of Hunt and Gleason. Sturtevant's later claim to fame was the fact that he was the father of Julia Tuttle who visited him on the bay as early as 1875. At this point in time, however, he would have to be classified as a "carpet-bagger."⁹⁵

Other settlers at Biscayne included Edward Barnott, Andrew Price and Charles Rhodes, all of whom worked for Hunt and Gleason. Price, a Negro, was the captain of the schooner "Governor Gleason" that had the mail contract between Key West and Biscayne. Gleason had also made Price a County Commissioner and a member of the School Board.⁹⁶

The Potter brothers, George and Dr. Richard B., had come to the bay in 1874 from Cincinnati, Ohio. They lived on Biscayne Bay near 85th Street and N.E. 10th Avenue. Although Richard Potter was a physician, the scarcity of people made the practice of medicine an unprofitable profession. A friend wrote him that if a physician was to survive in Dade County he had to "become a Koonty [sic] digger or else sell whiskey to the Indians and get their trade as Brickell

had."⁹⁷ By 1875, Dr. Potter was not only a coontie digger, but was also Customs Inspector and Deputy U.S. Marshal.⁹⁸

Jonathan C. Lovelace and J. William Ewan had come to Miami in 1874 to manage the Biscayne Bay Company property on the north bank of the river. (James Egan Donation). Like all the previous owners of this "Ft. Dallas" tract, this company had grandiose plans for the future. They cleared much of the land and planted many tropical trees.⁹⁹

In 1874, Ewan and Lovelace had been able to re-open the post office there. Ewan believed it should be spelled "Maama," because that was the Indian way. Thus the spelling was changed and the "Maama" post office offered competition to Gleason's "Biscayne."¹⁰⁰ In addition to the post office, Ewan also opened a store and trading post in the old stone "barracks." Also living at Ft. Dallas and helping Ewan run his store were Charles and Isabella Peacock who, lured by Charles' brother, had sold out their wholesale meat business in London and come to Miami in 1875.¹⁰¹

Besides the Biscayne Bay Company there was another ambitious plan for settlement that brought a few more people to the area. In November, 1876, Henry E. Perrine and eight other men came to the bay with the idea of settling the grant his father had received in 1837.¹⁰² Perrine and his sister, Mrs. James E. Walker, had printed an eighteen-page pamphlet entitled "Biscayne Bay, Dade County, Florida," for the purpose of enticing settlers to this grant. In fact, in order to get clear title to the grant the Perrines had to settle the land and grow tropical fruits there.

Perrine wrote that he wanted

... a goodly number of families of culture and refinement, who are desirous of seeking new homes to join us in forming a settlement on our grant. We do not wish any to go who expect that there will be no discomfort to encounter or that they can at once step into the enjoyments of home without working for them . . . [they] must be able to have enough money to procure supplies for their own subsistence.¹⁰³

Besides the glowing reports by different individuals quoted in the report, Perrine offered an added inducement.

To each of the first 35 families (who will in October or November of this year locate themselves upon our land with a view of permanent settlement) [he would] donate 20 acres of the land free of charge save the condition of erecting a dwelling place thereon and agreeing to cultivate at least one useful tropical plant . . . *also* [he would] dispose of a limited number of lots of one or two acres each at 'Perrine,' now known as Addison's landing.¹⁰⁴

When Perrine arrived, he was welcomed by Addison, who provided lodging for him until he could build a floor for his tent. He planned to live there until he could build a house. From the start things did not progress as rapidly as Perrine had expected. He planted some vegetables but was plagued by the lack of reliable transportation to the Key West market. In 1877 one of the men connected with the Biscayne Bay Company wrote the following in his diary:

I wish I could make a good report of his labours, but all he has done exhibits a want of good judgment, nor do I think he will ever succeed as a planter. His wharf with 38 piers put up of green pine put in a year ago, reduced to 14 pieces.¹⁰⁵

After eight months, Perrine gave up and returned to New York. Most of the men that came with him left or moved to other less isolated sites on the bay. He bemoaned the fact that

... without increased capital it would take many years of semi-savage life before one could hope to realize any considerable profit . . . I finally decided to return where I could enjoy the comforts of civilized life.¹⁰⁶

There was another group of pioneers in Miami besides the "old timers" and the more prosperous. These were the homesteader-types and other interesting folks who, lured by free land, or sometimes simply the love of adventure, had come to the bay.

In the literal sense a homesteader was someone who filed for a homestead under the Homestead Act of 1862 which made it possible to get a 160 acre plot of land free from the government after improving it and living there for five years. But to the settlers in 1876 a "homesteader-type" had a broader connotation. There was so much available land in the area that there was often little urgency to file a homestead claim. Often a settler would work for others or simply "live" or "squat" on a certain piece of land for years before bothering to officially claim it. Therefore, most of the homesteader-types were those who came to the area, usually with little capital, with the idea of making Miami their permanent home. In the next decade as interest in South Florida increased, most that stayed would file for the land. Added to this, many of the landowners in 1876 (who had not filed under the Homestead Act) or their children also took advantage of this government give-away to increase their holdings.

William Mettair and William J. Smith were two homesteader-types who were living near what later became Lemon City (near bay front and N.E. 62nd Street). Further north on the "Old Military Trail" lived John Harner and at Arch Creek were the Robert Rhodes family and William S. Milliken from Massachusetts, who had come to the

area in the last stages of consumption.¹⁰⁷ Shortly after his arrival, Milliken died and was buried there. Somehow someone erected a large granite tombstone to mark his grave. It survived into the Twentieth Century and was the subject of much discussion through the years.¹⁰⁸ South of the river, Ohioian Samuel Rhodes and his young



Cypress Charlie's Squaw

Munroe Collection

son, homesteaded near Dinner Key and J. William Ewan had a homestead in what later became Coconut Grove.¹⁰⁹

Like the western frontier, South Florida also attracted many single young men, many of whom later became homesteaders. These included John Thomas "Jolly Jack" Peacock who had come to the bay in 1870 from England and later married the step-daughter of Francis Enfinger. In 1876 he was living on Ewan's homestead in what later became Coconut Grove—then known as "Jack's Bight." Others were Adam Richards, who was working for William Wagner, T. W. Faulker, Charles Siebold and A. F. Quimby who were living in "Snapper Hammock" north of Addison's.¹¹⁰

There was one other group of people living in the Miami area in 1876—the Seminole Indians. With the opening of the trading posts in Miami after the war, they had started coming there to trade from their homes in the Everglades. As a result, many of the Seminole braves became friendly with the white settlers. The Indians most often mentioned in early accounts were: Old Alec, Billy Harney, Miami Jimmy, Old Tigertail who was the favorite of most of the settlers, Cypress Charlie who had lost part of his ear for lying, Key West Billy who had received his name because he spent time there and Matlo who was disliked by almost everyone.

The last serious incident between white man and Indian in Miami had occurred in 1873. Word spread among the residents that the Indians were preparing to attack. As usual, everyone raced to Ft. Dallas (then owned by Dr. J. V. Harris) to make plans to flee to Key West. Before William Wagner could leave for Ft. Dallas several Indians, among them Old Alec, Billy Harney, and Miami Jimmy, appeared at his house to see what was going on. When Wagner told the Indians what he feared they replied, "No, Indian no want to fight," and left to get the other Indian leaders to come to Ft. Dallas to allay the fears of the residents. That afternoon eight or ten Indians, including Chief Tigertail, came to Ft. Dallas wearing white feathers in their turbans. A peace treaty was signed and everyone went home satisfied that the whole affair had been started by rumor.¹¹¹

But while the people in Miami were in constant and friendly contact with the Indians, for the most part, the rest of the nation had forgotten them. There was almost no mention of the Florida Seminoles in government documents following the end of the Third Seminole War (1857) until the report of W. L. Pratt who visited South Florida in 1879. (It was not published until 1888.)¹¹²

Another Indian Agent, Clay McCauley, visited Florida in 1880 and reported that he found 63 Seminoles (Pratt listed 80) at the "Miami River Settlement" which was located in the Everglades above the

headwaters of the river. He described the Indians as a healthy and independent group of people who at that time needed little or no assistance from the government. In fact, their only problem was their occasional drunken "sprees" from the whiskey they got from the Indian traders. One visitor wrote that "the Indians frequently became inebriated and 'carried on' pretty well in the river shouting out the little English they knew."¹¹³ But he added that most of the whites joined in—"What a subject for a temperance lecture this place is."¹¹⁴

But even though at this time the Indian was both unmolested and showed no inclination to threaten the whites, Indian Agent McCauley wrote that

White population is closing in upon the land of the Seminole. There is no farther retreat to which they can go . . . [and he was] about to enter a future unlike any past he has known. . . . What will he become?

There were many diverse people living in the Miami area in 1876. But they had one thing in common—they needed each other. While it is misleading to call Miami a community in 1876, it is possible to speak of the existence of a "community spirit." Ralph Munroe believed that the society of a primitive wilderness community has always a tang, a reality and usually a degree of kindly humanity."¹¹⁶ Charles Pierce spoke of a bond between them. "We were pioneers, and a pioneer call for help was never turned down."¹¹⁷

On this tropical frontier most settlers gladly opened hearth and home to both residents and visitors. Even the Indians who came to trade were allowed to camp at Brickells or at other pioneer dwellings, frequently sharing a meal with the family. This type of frontier hospitality was widespread. Francis Enfinger demonstrated his goodwill by inviting thirteen unannounced visitors for dinner, which, plus his family, made eighteen at the table. Although most were strangers, all were given venison steak, liver, home-cured bacon, corn bread, Johnnie cake, sweet potatoes, Indian pumpkin, coontie pudding and guava jelly—"all in good style and with great abundance." After dinner they sat on the porch, ate bananas, chewed sugarcane or smoked. Everyone was invited to spend the night and everyone accepted. The next morning before they departed they had another hearty meal at their host's table.¹¹⁸

This community spirit was especially strong in time of trouble. In the fall of 1876 South Florida felt the effects of two hurricanes. The first passed off the coast on September 15 and a more severe one passed to the west of Miami on October 20-21, emerging into the Atlantic at Mosquito Inlet.¹¹⁹ Both hurricanes were classified as



Seminole Canoe under Sail in Biscayne Bay

Munroe Collection

minimal.¹²⁰ The center of the October hurricane, with highest winds clocked at 88 miles per hour, passed directly over Key West. It was reported in the *Jacksonville Daily Tribune* that Key West suffered “no bad damage except to shipping, water closets and chicken coops.”¹²¹ However, it was stated that it was “one of the most severe felt here for several years.”¹²²

The best description of the hurricane’s effect on the South Florida mainland and the pioneers’ willingness to help each other is found in Pierce’s *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida*. Pierce rode out the storm at David Brown’s house on Lake Worth with six families (25 people), including Lieutenant-Governor Gleason, who happened to be passing by when the storm struck. The frightened people, most of whom

were experiencing their first gale, clustered in the center hall of Brown's home expecting it to blow away any minute. The house and the people survived the storm with no serious mishaps. But when the storm was over the people emerged to find the scene of desolation familiar to any veteran of tropical storms. Trees were felled, those still standing were stripped of their leaves, making the whole landscape quite naked, wet and frightful.¹²³

No similar account has been uncovered about the Miami area. The only indication of the severity of the storm there is found in the account of the Frow's interrupted picnic on Soldier Key that was published in the *Commodore's Story*. The picnickers, like the other residents, were surprised by the storm. They survived the blow by literally hanging on:

... head-to-wind... their hands, grasping the edge of the stone work, while the storm stripped the key of trees, drove the breakers bodily over everything save their masonry perch and bombarded them with a fierce fusillade of leaves, branches, coral driftwood, shells and miscellaneous wreckage.¹²⁴

It is hard to say with any certainty what kind of damage was done to Miami. For some reason through the years, the hurricane of '76 obtained a mystique quite like the killer hurricane of 1926. There was no comparison between the two except perhaps in the minds of the handful of surprised pioneers that lived through it in wooden shacks on unprotected shores.

Hurricanes were not the only weather problems the pioneers had to face in 1876. A short time after the hurricane, in late November, an uncommon cold spell came to South Florida. Charles Pierce wrote that everyone huddled together close to the smoky fire trying to keep warm. It was so cold that water froze in a pail on their back porch and thousands of fish in Lake Worth died from the cold.¹²⁵

At "Perrine," poor Henry Perrine's thermometer went down to 33°. He wrote:

... lying upon our cots in the tent, with no mattress [sic] under us, the cold struck up through the canvas and rubber blankets, so that although we kept our clothes on and curled ourselves up under our blankets, we could not get warm... Although suffering from the cold we had the satisfaction of knowing that for a few days we were relieved from the attacks of the mosquitoes.¹²⁶

The few leaves that remained on the trees after the hurricane were all killed by the frost. But at least it didn't last long. Pierce wrote that after three days "the blizzard was gone and it was real Florida weather again."¹²⁷

There were also happy occasions in Miami. In the Spring of 1876 Father Hugon came from Key West to dedicate William Wagner's little Catholic Chapel he had built two years previously on his homestead "in the pine woods." Many of the bay's citizens, including non-Catholics attended the service. The little church was filled again in September when Adam Richards married Rosie Wagner. Several Indians also attended the ceremony.¹²⁸

For the most part, the people in South Florida were affected very little by things that occurred outside their small settlement. But in late 1875 three projects that had been planned by the United States Government would affect the people living on the bay.

The most ambitious government project was the construction of the Fowey Rock Lighthouse. From the very first year of operation



Fowey Rock Lighthouse, completed in 1878, was a major government project being built in Miami in 1876. To the right is a wrecked ship indicating that even this improved light could not completely end the destruction on the reef.

Munroe Collection

of the Cape Florida Lighthouse in 1825, mariners complained that it was a poor and ineffective light. Finally in June, 1874, the government appropriated \$100,000 to build a new lighthouse on the reef itself at Fowey Rock.¹²⁹

Work on the lighthouse began in late 1875 and was not finished until 1878. The base of operations for the lighthouse construction crew was Soldier Key. Large barracks, a machine shop and rain water cisterns were constructed there. During the summer of 1876 the first series of piles were put into place on the reef. It took two months to construct an eight-foot-square working platform twelve feet above the low water line. After this was in place, further work was delayed by bad summer weather which made the transportation of the crew from Soldier Key very difficult.

Finally the problem was solved by pitching tents on the working platform and leaving a force of men there high and dry above the running sea with a supply of material and a small hoisting engine to work the derrick. Material stored at Soldier Key was delivered by barges towed by a steam launch which waited with its steam up day and night to take advantage of any break in the weather. Throughout the year the lighthouse tender "Geranium" was anchored nearby for use of the contractors.¹³⁰ Adding to the problem, several passing boats almost landed on the platform. Northeast of the tower, the remains of "Arakanapka" were still visible as late as 1909.¹³¹

A sidelight to the building of the lighthouse was interest in the soon-to-be abandoned Cape Florida site. As early as 1874, now General William S. Harney decided to attempt to clear the title to his 1839 purchases in the "Town of Key Biscayne." Not only did he seek title to his two original lots but he claimed that the keeper's dwelling had been constructed on his land, when it was re-built in 1846, so he claimed it as "payment" for thirty-five years of rent for his property. At first the Lighthouse Board wrote that the board should:

Make arrangement with Harney so that the United States could keep the buildings until Fowey was completed. Then it would become his. In fact, they suggested giving him the entire lighthouse reservation because "as the lands are unoccupied, wild and were they put in market at this time they would not bring enough to pay the expenses of sale."

Their total worth was estimated at \$3.75! They added that:

The lands on Key Biscayne, at least in this locality are sandy and worthless for any agricultural purposes and are being constantly encroached upon by the sea. No possible value can be attached to them

except for building purposes and the project, once entertained, of a town to give value to the lots, has long since fallen hopelessly through, so that the grounds have remained and undoubtedly always will remain in their wild, barren condition.¹³²

A surveyor was sent to the island in 1875 to verify Harney's claim. As a result of this survey in November, 1876, the claim was denied because his property was proven to be outside the Lighthouse Reservation.¹³³

The second major government project planned for the Miami area was the building of House of Refuge Number Five on the ocean near present-day 71st Street. In 1874, due to the many reports of people being shipwrecked off the coast of Florida, and suffering great deprivation when cast ashore, the government planned five Houses of Refuge "affording succor to shipwrecked persons . . . who in the absence of such means of relief, would be liable to perish from hunger and thirst."¹³⁴

In October, 1874, William H. Gleason made a "personal examination of the entire coast from Cape Canaveral to Cape Florida . . . on foot or in open boat"¹³⁵ in order to help the government select sites for the proposed houses. In May, 1875, the government advertised for bids to construct these five houses including "one on the beach opposite the head of Biscayne Bay about three miles north of Cape Florida."¹³⁶

The successful bidder, Albert Blaisdell of Boston, signed a contract with the government on October 18, 1875. He agreed to build the five houses for \$2,990 each and have them completed by April 1st, 1876.¹³⁷ William H. Gleason was one of the unsuccessful bidders for the project. At about the same time the bids were opened, Gleason took the oath and was made Superintendent of District No. 7.¹³⁸

Work began on the first house at Indian River in November 1878. As each house was finished the crew would proceed down the coast to the next. Work began on House Number 5 in April 1876 and it was completed on April 18th.¹³⁹ Obviously behind schedule, Blaisdell had asked for and was granted an extension due to poor weather. He wrote that due to a four day gale the boat bearing the lumber for the Biscayne House could not land. In desperation the lumber was tied in bundles and towed into the breakers and let loose. As a result, some of the lumber landed two miles from this site and had to be dragged back in the soft sand!¹⁴⁰

Finally on April 15, Thomas K. Travis, Assistant Superintendent, wrote to Captain John McCaulan, Superintendent of Construction, that "the house and boat house are completed and come as near to the drawing as possible, it is an excellent house and is an ornament to

this coast."¹⁴¹ All the houses were built exactly alike. The 35 x 15 foot structure was built of Florida pine, roofed with cypress shingles. There were four rooms on the ground floor, a living room, dining room, bedroom and kitchen. The entire first floor was surrounded by a large veranda. Upstairs was a one room dormitory, intended for stranded seafarers. The windows had no glass but wire-gauze mosquito netting (screen) with outside shutters. Next to the house was a 28 x 12-foot boathouse that housed a twenty-two-foot surf boat and one twelve-foot skiff, both of galvanized iron, furnished with oars, masts and sails.¹⁴²

At about the same time the head of the Life Saving Service received notice that the houses were finished he also received a letter from several men who helped in the construction of the houses stating that the houses were poorly constructed.¹⁴³ In June, John McGowan was sent on the U.S. Revenue Steamer *Crawford* to investigate. He reported that he found many faults in the construction of the houses and suggested Blaisdell be required to correct them before receiving payment for his work.¹⁴⁴

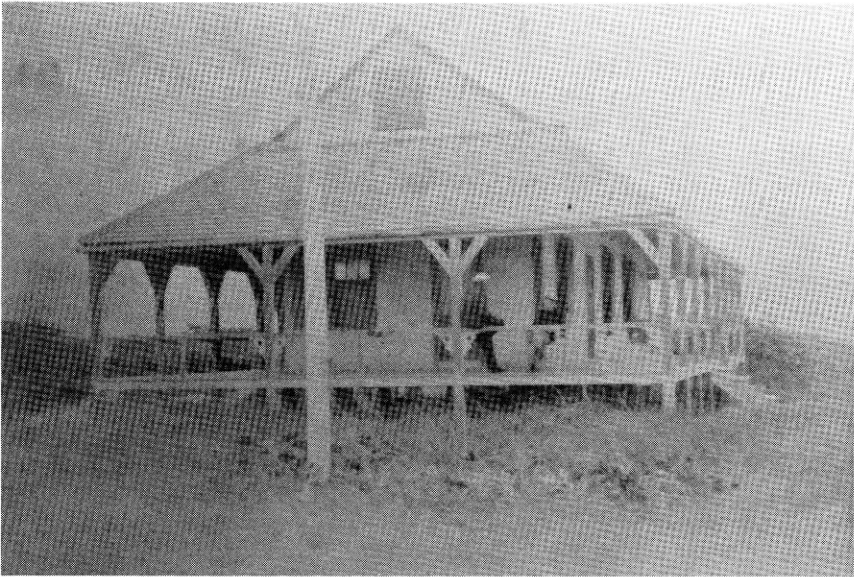
Blaisdell, his crew and Second Lieutenant E. Bionde of the U.S. Revenue Marine returned to the Florida coast in August. By September Bionde reported that the problems had been corrected. He added, however, that it was impossible to finish the Biscayne Bay House in first-class manner "on account of the mosquitoes. The bridging under the house could not be done until a blinding and suffocating smoke was made, which often failed to drive them away."¹⁴⁵

Bionde also felt compelled to comment that

I, beg leave to add that though the duty I have been called to perform required the undergoing of great hardship, exposure and the visual danger of coasting in an open boat at a distance of 400 miles, it was done with the pleasure I have always experienced while executing your instructions.¹⁴⁶

With the house completed and ready to be occupied, on October 7, 1876, William J. Smith was appointed the first keeper by Superintendent William H. Hunt. The keeper and his family were the only people at the House of Refuge. He was not expected to attempt to rescue a ship in a storm, but to patrol the beach after every blow looking for wrecks and survivors. He had to keep enough supplies and cots to provide shelter and sustenance for a maximum of twenty-five people for ten days.¹⁴⁷

William Hunt had replaced Gleason as Superintendent in August, 1876.¹⁴⁸ The same pattern that had been followed by Hunt and Gleason in the past was repeated again. In fact, it had happened so



In 1876 the U.S. Life Saving Service built the Biscayne House of Refuge on Miami Beach near present-day 71st Street. It was destroyed in the 1926 Hurricane and never rebuilt. Munroe Collection

often that Hunt and Gleason must have appeared as “Tweedle-de-dee and Tweedle-de-dum.” At the same time Gleason resinged as Superintendent he sent the whopping bill of \$440.75 “for Services as Superintendent.”¹⁴⁹ Having second thoughts he withdrew it two days later and submitted another which looked more plausible. The new bill included \$320.00 for services to locate stations, \$135.00 as Superintendent, adding that

... the bill is reasonable and is far less than the services could be rendered by any other person, my intimate acquaintance with that coast and my knowledge of surveying enable me to perform services at less expense.¹⁵⁰

After a flurry of letters, the sum of \$320.00 was paid to Gleason under protest.¹⁵¹

At about the same time construction began on the Biscayne House of Refuge, the U.S.S. *Palinurus* with Commander C. A. Bradbury, arrived at the bay to commence the 1876 Coast Survey off of Cape Florida. This was the first major survey of the area since 1855. Bradbury reported that he was delayed in his work due to “smoky weather,”¹⁵² but had been able to secure “one of the best pilots

here for \$70.00 a month.”¹⁵³ Between March 20 and June 15 the area was retriangulated using the Cape Florida Lighthouse and the North Base Marker of 1855 as a base line. The southern base marker on the tip of the key had already disappeared into the water.

While the Coast Survey was proceeding an event occurred that caused considerable excitement on the bay. On April 14, Commander Bradbury received a letter from the U.S. District Attorney in Key West, G. Brown Patterson, requesting his help in apprehending three men suspected of murder. He wrote that “Scotch Alex” a government employee who had taken passage on the “Governor Gleason” from Key West to Indian Key, was reported drowned. Patterson believed, however, that he had been

... foully [sic] dealt with and the circumstances of his death as detailed by the person in charge of the schooner and certain facts which have lately come to my knowledge, lead me to believe that the man was murdered.¹⁵⁴

Patterson added that due to the nature of the country and the fact that the revenue cutter was under repair, he considered it impossible to send a posse to make the arrest “as that would necessarily arouse the inhabitants and excite the suspicions of the parties to be arrested.”¹⁵⁵ Patterson suggested Bradbury contact U.S. Deputy Marshal Richard Potter, who resided in Biscayne, so they could

... privately, in a manner not to excite suspicion, lay [their] plans and decide upon the time, place and manner the arrest shall be made and you can be on hand with your boat crew.¹⁵⁶

He also cautioned Bradbury to keep the suspects separate after capture, or if this was impossible, stay with them so they could not talk privately.

The three men were Oscar Fish, who was considered “the principal in the dreadful affair,” Luke Nicholson and Charles Rhodes. They were arrested by Potter and put aboard the “Palinurus” because there was “no jail or place suitable for safe keeping.”¹⁵⁷ Finally, on April 22, the Captain of the schooner “Liberty” took the three suspects from Bradbury’s charge and accompanied by Marshal Potter transferred them to the “Liberty” in hand and foot irons for passage to Key West for trial.¹⁵⁸ Unfortunately, no record of the trial and verdict has yet been uncovered. However, Charles Rhodes voted in the November election which indicates he was either acquitted or never brought to trial.¹⁵⁹

The level of activity in Miami during the Spring of 1876 was unprecedented. Although the people in Miami didn't know it, their activities were even part of the Great Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia which opened in May. The U.S. Government had constructed a huge \$80,000 structure to house the government exhibits. These included special displays for each of the administrative branches of the government such as: Agricultural, Post Office, Treasury, Interior, etc.¹⁶⁰

The Treasury Department included both the Lighthouse Board and the Life Saving Service. The Life Saving Service exhibited plans for the new Houses of Refuge on the Florida coast and also showed some of the equipment found in them. Nearby, the Lighthouse Board exhibited lenses and illuminating devices and plans and other graphics concerned with lighthouses under construction, including Fowey Rock.¹⁶¹ It happened that one of the visitors to this exhibition was Staten Islander, Ralph M. Munroe, who would come to South Florida for the first time in 1877. In later years he wrote that one of the exhibits that attracted his attention at Philadelphia was the Fowey Rock Lighthouse, set up as an exhibit in Philadelphia before it was shipped south.¹⁶²

There was also considerable comment about the exhibit of the Agricultural Department. It was reported in *Harper's Weekly* that the Agricultural Department exhibit included a collection of four hundred trees, fifty of which were from sub-tropical Florida, collected the year before by Dr. A. W. Chapman.¹⁶³ Of great interest were five new species from that area "that still has not been sufficiently explored to accurately determine all species there."¹⁶⁴

Although the people in Miami may have been oblivious to the Centennial Exposition, they were quite aware of the July 4th Centennial. Mrs. Richards wrote that:

The 4th of July, 1876, was observed by most of the people but by none more than E. T. Sturtevant who planted with great care an oak tree on his place in celebration of the day and year.¹⁶⁵

She added that it was still growing vigorously in 1895.

If the Centennial of the Declaration of Independence caused the people on the bay to feel a renewal of their commitment to the ideals of the American dream, they would soon have a chance to show it. As November arrived, the people in Dade County looked forward with some excitement to the upcoming election on November 7th. Although the rest of the nation was involved in the heated contest for President of the United States between Samuel J. Tilden,

Democrat, and Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, the residents of Dade County showed more interest in their local affairs. Still upset about the election of 1872, which they felt had been stolen by Gleason and his associates, it was no wonder that when the same two men, Israel Stewart and John J. Brown, were selected by their friends to run again there was great interest in the election and a renewed determination to elect them.¹⁶⁶ This time Stewart's opponent was John Varnum, formerly with the land office in Gainesville and a newcomer to Dade County. Brown's opponent was William H. Gleason.

In November, 1876, there were seventy-three registered voters in Dade County,¹⁶⁷ the largest number ever registered. It was decided that for the first time three precincts would be opened in the county, which included among others the present counties of Broward and Palm Beach. One was at Jupiter; that had almost no residents except the lighthouse keepers. The second precinct was at Lake Worth, which by 1876 had over ten men of voting age. The third precinct was at the home of Michael Sears which had been used as the voting precinct since the election of 1870. In this election E. T. Sturtevant, T. W. Faulkner and W. H. Jenkins were made inspectors of the "Sears Precinct." On November 7th all the voters were coaxed, threatened and promised in all manner of ways as never before to come to the polls. But even with this, only 55 voted on election day.

The election was passing off quietly at the Sears Precinct as one eyewitness recalled, until three voters, all sailors of foreign birth who had registered previously with no incident and had obtained their "declaration of intention" to become citizens of the United States, were challenged by the inspectors. It was customary in those days to allow those with "declarations" to vote.¹⁶⁸ An inspector, who acknowledged that he had the required declarations in his possession at the clerk's office at Biscayne (Miami Shores) allegedly offered to produce them if the voters cast their vote as the inspector requested. This statement nearly caused bloodshed which was only averted by dispatching the lighthouse boat to Biscayne to get the required papers. When the time for the closing of the polls neared, the boat was sighted offshore. The men, who had waited all day, again prevailed and the polls remained open until the boat arrived and the men voted. Immediately after they voted the polls were closed. This incident, however, was just the beginning. As the count began, witnessed by several bystanders, fifteen or twenty ballots blew, fell (or were knocked) to the floor. Several of the bystanders picked up the ballots, returned them to the table and the count continued.¹⁶⁹ When the count from the three precincts was completed: Stewart

had received 34 and Varnum 18; Brown 27, and Gleason 24. Incidentally, but of little interest to most of Dade's voters, the Tilden electors had received 28 and Hayes 27.¹⁷⁰

The excitement caused by the election was soon forgotten and everyone went back to their normal life. But the election was by no means over. Before the official canvass on November 17, William H. Gleason, as usual, decided to contest the election. His version of what happened at the Sears Precinct filled four pages in Miscellaneous Book "A."¹⁷¹ By doing this, the count from Dade County was not sent on to Tallahassee until the controversy was settled. This delay unwittingly thrust Dade County into the forefront of the disputed election of Tilden and Hayes. Dade's notoriety was so sudden and its whereabouts so unknown, that a reporter reputedly asked: "Where in the hell is Dade?"¹⁷²

Unknown to most of the electors in Dade County, the Presidential election was as heated and controversial as their own. Samuel Tilden, like Stewart and Brown, had gone to sleep on election night believing that he had been elected. The next day, the *New York Tribune* headlined: "Tilden Elected."¹⁷³

Then an incredible thing happened. John C. Reid of the *New York Times* did some arithmetic. It appeared that Tilden had 184 electoral votes and needed only one more for election. Hayes had only 166 electoral votes and was trailing Tilden in the popular count by several hundred thousand. But the three states not in, Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana, from which Tilden needed his one more vote, were the three states still under carpet-bag control. So the same day the *Tribune* announced Tilden's victory the *Times* declared:

Results still uncertain. A solid South except Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina.¹⁷⁴

Before long national interest focused in Florida where, on November 27th, the official tally was begun by the state canvassing board. It had ten days to determine the results of the election because Florida's four presidential electors were required by law to cast their votes on December 6th. As the chairman read each county return, each was challenged by one side or the other. On the first reading it appeared that Hayes had a slim forty-three vote majority. But there was another important factor—Dade County's returns were missing!

On November 29, 1876, Dade County made the front page of the national press. The *Times* reported:

It should be noted that all the thickly populated counties where there is civilization and protection to life gave Republican majorities. Democratic

majorities came from the sparsely settled, half-civilized and lawless southern counties . . . Dade County cannot change the result a dozen votes one way or the other. There are only forty or fifty voters in the county and the Republican majority in 1874 for Congressman was 13.¹⁷⁵

During the next few days the newspapers were filled with the arguments, accusations and counter accusations of fraud and intimidation brought before the board in Tallahassee by several of the more populous counties. But there was notice given to the fact that Dade's returns were still missing. This was holding up the final tally and adding to the rumors.

On December 2nd it was reported in the *Times*:

The returns from Dade County are expected tonight. There are several hundred Indians in that county who are legal voters but whether they voted at the last election is unknown.¹⁷⁶

If, in fact, Dade had several hundred voters the whole election would change overnight. Of course, the Indians were not registered voters in 1876 but this type of speculation was common.

In the midst of all of this no one in Dade, except Perhaps Gleason, was cognizant of the strange set of events that was surrounding the presidential election, or that the nation was awaiting their vote. The county canvassers in Dade met to hear Gleason's case. Gleason alleged that irregularities and illegal voting took place at the Sears Precinct. One irregularity listed was that Simeon Frow voted after dark.¹⁷⁷ The second was that A. F. Bracklin and R. H. Thompson were foreigners by birth and did not present their naturalization papers. Third, Gleason alleged that between the time the ballots fell to the floor and were returned, several were changed. Following these allegations were eight pages of depositions by various individuals supporting Gleason's claims.¹⁷⁸ This testimony indicates that Gleason had the Republican tickets printed while the Democratic tickets were handwritten.

The final result was that the board of canvassers, David Brown, William J. Smith, and W. H. Laneheart, threw out the entire Sears Precinct.¹⁷⁹ With the Sears Precinct out, the result of the election gave Gleason 7, Brown 4, and Stewart 6, Varnum 5. (Stewart died on his return to Lake Worth.)¹⁸⁰ The Hayes electors were victorious over Tilden 8 to 5. On Friday, December 2nd, Gleason finally brought the returns to Tallahassee. He had managed to not only elect himself, but also deliver Dade County for the Republicans.

By this time, however, because of mass shifting of votes the day

before and assorted chicanery, it was becoming more and more apparent that Hayes would be declared the winner in Florida. Therefore, the long awaited returns from Dade County could not change the course of the election. They did, however, offer a comic relief to the whole debacle. The Secretary of State announced to the crowded room: "Dade County—Hayes 9, Tilden 5." The heretofore grim proceedings broke up in laughter.¹⁸¹

Fourteen votes had held up the count from Florida and had brought about an untold amount of rumor and wild speculation by the national press. But most of all, Dade County had received national attention. The following day the *New York Times* chose Dade County to write what they considered to be the epitaph for the whole election. "The Last Straw for the Democratic Camel, Dade Comes in with a Republican Majority."¹⁸² The *Tribune* added: "The returns from the only remaining county, the far off 'Kingdom of Dade,' have come and have been opened. Hayes received 9 and Tilden 5."¹⁸³

The national election controversy was not over—only Dade's part in it. Florida ended up sending three different sets of electors to the Congressional Electoral Commission. The nation did not know who was elected president until the evening before the inauguration, when Tilden, in an effort to unite the nation conceded the election to Hayes even though he had grounds to continue the fight. Hayes brought political Reconstruction to an end and restored home rule to the last three Southern States under carpet-bag control—Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina.¹⁸⁴

Back in Tallahassee, Democrat George F. Drew was successful in his contest to become Governor of Florida. The new Democratically controlled legislature refused to seat Gleason as senator and John J. Brown was seated at last.¹⁸⁵ For the second time, Gleason was forced to leave public life in Tallahassee. This time, however, it appeared that his influence had also run out in Dade County. In June, 1877, a special election was held to select a new County Commission to replace Gleason's men, Edward Barnott, Andrew Price (both of whom worked for him), William H. Hunt and E. T. Sturtevant. The new commissioners, William Brickell, John Addison, John Harner, and Andrew Barr, met for the first time in June at a building on William Brickell's property. With this, the political center of Dade County returned to "Maama" (The spelling was changed back to Miami in September, 1877).

That September, Ralph M. Munroe, on his first visit to South Florida made a keen observation of the end of Gleason's era. He wrote:

... a fair proportion of well balanced folk, genuine pioneers of civilization were trying to get a foothold against great odds ... [the Carpet-baggers] might have succeeded had it not been for the aforesaid real settlers who proceeded to put a kink in the operations—in the end prevailed.¹⁸⁷

Gleason, however, had other options. Never one to “put all his eggs in one basket,” for the past few years he had been spending part of his time in the new village of Eau Gaullie, Brevard County, that he had founded. In 1875 he had convinced the Republican controlled State Legislature to build the first state agricultural college in his new village. (He donated about three acres for the project.) Obviously, he wanted the college to bring the village to life, because at that time, it was hardly even a settlement. In May, 1875, John Varnum, the soon-to-be Senate candidate, began construction of the two-story, tin-roofed building of cut coquina stone, quarried nearby. It was 35 x 65 feet and had ten rooms, a large hall and a two-room dormitory all surrounded by a picket fence. In addition, six miles of road had been laid out there. However, the Democratic Legislature was in no mood to keep anything touched by Gleason. Therefore, they refused to open the college there. Gleason was left with a large building that he later opened as the Granada Hotel.¹⁸⁸

In 1879 the state also revoked Gleason's rights under the Southern Inland Navigation and Improvement Company because most of the canals he promised were never built. He was able to salvage something for his efforts. The Southern Inland Navigation and Improvement Company sold its rights to the Atlantic and Gulf Transit Company for \$150,000 cash and one-and-a-quarter million dollars worth of bonds.¹⁸⁹ Gleason remained in Brevard County for the rest of his life and achieved a type of baronial respectability. He and his heirs had much to do with the positive development of that part of Florida.

In fairness to Gleason, it must be said that he was a great visionary, whose faith in South Florida was immense. While his methods were certainly open to criticism, he stepped into a vacuum, took control and in the beginning, deposed no one. Unchecked, it was the absolute power that perhaps tended to “corrupt absolutely.” In the final analysis, he did the people of Miami a great favor. By uniting against him, the old pattern of lethargy and indifference was broken. From that time forward there would be no more complete capitulation to anyone or anything. The flow of development, while still very slow would be constant.

By 1877 the stage was set, the dramatis personae was in the wings and only the producer and director were needed to get the “show on

the road." In the next decade, Miami had its first real community—Coconut Grove, with Charles and Isabella Peacock as mother and father and Ralph M. Munroe as godfather. A short time later, with the birth of Lemon City at "Billy Mettair's Bight," there were two villages on Biscayne Bay. Finally, in 1891, the director arrived on the scene when Julia Tuttle purchased the Biscayne Bay Company property on the north bank of the Miami River that she had first seen in 1875 when she came to visit her father, E. T. Sturtevant. In the next few years she convinced the producer, Henry M. Flagler, to bring his railroad to the bay. Everything came together in April, 1896, when Flagler's railroad chugged into one of the last frontiers in America. Miami was born.

Miami's forgotten pioneers were those who came before the railroad and hung on despite the great odds to witness the end of the frontier. "All honor to this little band who carried all these things through."¹⁹⁰

Notes

1. James D. Richardson, comp., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896-1899), VII, p. 39.
2. Walter C. Maloney, *A Sketch of the History of Key West Florida*, a facsim. reprod. of 1876 ed. Introduction by Thelma P. Peters (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1968), pp. vii-ix.
3. In 1567, two years after he founded the settlement of St. Augustine, Pedro Mendendez de Avilez visited the Miami area and left Father Rogel and Brother Villareal and a group of soldiers at the Miami River to establish a mission. See Robert E. McNicoll, "The Caloosa Village Tequesta," *Tequesta*, Vol. I, No. 1 (March, 1941), pp. 11-20.
4. Even the Tequesta Indians abandoned South Florida in 1763 when Spain lost possession of Florida to England. Most of the Indians left for Cuba with the Spanish. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
5. *Niles Register*, New Series, I, No. 12 (November 15, 1817), 189.
6. Charles Vignoles. *Observations upon the Floridas*. New York. E. White 1823 p. 13.
7. Site File, "Cape Florida Light," Record Group 26, National Archives.
8. *American State Papers*, Documents of the Congress of the United States in relation to the Public Lands from the First Session, 18th Congress, December 1, 1824—March 3, 1827. (Washington, D.C.: Duff Green, 1834), IV, 284.
9. *Ibid.*

10. This site is between present-day Rickenbacker Causeway and Vizcaya. Dr. Benjamin B. Strobel, "Sketches of the Peninsula of Florida," *Charleston Courier*, January 1836," in "Dr. Strobel Reports on Southeast Florida, 1836," by E. A. Hammond, *Tequesta*, XXI (1961), 68-69.
11. *Key West Register and Commercial Advertizer*, Vol. I, No. 7, February 19, 1829.
12. Dade County Florida, Deed Book "B," pp. 172, 216-17; "D," pp. 269-71; "E," pp. 511-12.
13. *The Tallahassee Floridian*, January 9, 1836.
14. "Report of the Committee of Claims," House of Representatives, 49th Congress, First Session, Report No. 470, pp. 4-5.
15. The Seminole Indians were a mixed group of mostly Creek descent who started coming into Florida in the early 18th century to escape advancing white civilization. The First Seminole War (1818-1823) drove most of the Indians southward and set the stage for the Second Seminole War. See Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1971), Chapter 11.
16. Acts of the Legislative Council, the General Assembly and the Legislature, 1836, p. 19, Ch. 937. [No. XXVI] "An Act to Organize a County to be called Dade County."
17. M. M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*, a facsim. reprod. of 1836 ed. Introduction by O. Z. Tyler, Jr. (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1964), pp. 77-78.
18. "Report of the Committee of Claims," p. 5.
19. For a detailed account of this event, see Charles M. Brookfield, "Cape Florida Light," *Tequesta*, No. IX (1949), pp. 5-12.
20. For a detailed account in Ft. Dallas, see Nathan D. Shappee, "Fort Dallas and the Naval Depot on Key Biscayne, 1836-1926," *Tequesta*, No. XXI (1961), pp. 13-40.
21. Harney was probably camped near the old "Lewis Settlement," described previously. Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey into Wilderness*, ed. by James F. Sunderman (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1963), p. 229.
22. Letter, Isaac H. Keim, Attorney in fact for William S. Harney to J. G. Walker, Naval Secretary, Lighthouse Board November 27, 1836. National Archives RG 26.
23. Letter, William S. Harney to Professor Joseph Henry, Chairman, Lighthouse Board, February 8, 1874. National Archives RG 26.
24. Hester Perrine Walker, "The Perrines at Indian Key Florida, 1838-1840." Selected and edited by Jeanne Bellamy, *Tequesta*, VII (1947), 69-71.
25. Dorothy Dodd, "Jacob Housman of Indian Key," *Tequesta*, No. 8 (1948), 3-13.
26. Walker, "The Perrines at Indian Key Florida," p. 71. For more information on Perrine and the massacre see Henry E. Perrine, *The True Story of Some Eventful Years in Grandpa's Life* (Buffalo, New York, 1885).
27. *Ibid.*
28. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1967), p. 283.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 321.
30. "Abstract of Title to the James Hagan (Egan) Donation," Robbins, Graham and Chillingsworth, Examining Counsel, July, 1897, p. 5. A year before Fitzpatrick had mortgaged his property to his sister Harriet English (Mother of William F. English) for \$21,391. This mortgage was never satisfied or foreclosed.
31. "Abstract of Title to the Rebecca Hagan (Egan) Donation," January 15, 1907, p. 7.
32. *The News* (St. Augustine), December 30, 1843. Reproduced in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 3 (January, 1925), pp. 34-35.
33. "Abstract of Title to the Rebecca Hagan (Egan) Donation," *Ibid.*
34. Act of Legislative Council, 1844, p. 17 as quoted in F. M. Hudson, "Beginnings in Dade County," *Tequesta*, Vol. I, No. 3 (July, 1943), p. 14.
35. "Clipping File," Cape Florida Lighthouse, Record Group 26.
36. Robert Butler, Surveyor General, "Map of Township 54S, Range 41E," Surveyed by George McKay, May, 1846.
37. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1843*, p. 314.
38. Letter, Lieutenant D. N. Couch to R. Jones Adjutant General, July 31, 1849. "Letters Received Adjutant General, 1822-1860," Micro Roll 403, C327-674, 1849.
39. Coontie, a cycad of the genus *Zamia*, was used by the Indians as food. The stem was pounded to pulp and washed in a straining cloth to remove a poison. The early settlers copied the Indians' method and sold the starch in Key West. In the early days, it was the only way to make "cash money." In the Census, most men listed their occupation as "starch-maker."
40. U.S. Department of Commerce, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, Dade County, Florida, Manufacturing Schedule.
41. *Orders of the Postmaster General, Georgia-Florida 1855-1876*, p. 250.
42. "Abstract of Title to the James Hagan Donation," p. 5.
43. "Bureau of Indian Affairs," Letters Received 1824-1880. Micro C50-1852, Seminole Agency, Record Group 75.
44. Consolidated File, "Ft. Dallas," Record Group 94. These included a frame hospital (30 x 19), a frame hospital kitchen (12 ft. square), a frame lake house (15 x 20), 4 frame buildings for officers' quarters, with piazzas 8 ft. wide, front and rear all roofed with cypress shingles, and one stable, forage house (15 x 20), a blacksmith house (15 x 20), a carpenter shop (15 x 20), two kitchens thatched with palmetto. In addition to these, two partially finished stone buildings that were on the property (built by English) were completed by the troops. It was reported that nothing but ruins remained on the site from the previous Army occupation. *Ibid.*
45. *Florida Peninsular*, Tampa, Florida, February 2, 1856.
46. "Department of Florida, Letters Received—1857," A-F, Record Group 393, Letter from M. Brannan.
47. Clipping File, "Cape Florida Light," Record Group 26, National Archives.
48. Mrs. Adam Richards (nee Rose Wagner), "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Miami," *The Miami News*. Series begun October 1, 1903. (Clippings).

- Mrs. Richards resided in Miami throughout the war. This is an extraordinarily accurate account of life in South Florida. Many items have been further documented by use of primary sources.
49. John Taylor Wood, "The Escape of General Breckenridge," in *Famous Adventures and Prison Escapes of the Civil War* (New York: Century, 1893), p. 318.
 50. *Ibid.*, pp. 318-37.
 51. Letter, W. H. Hunt to C. B. Wilder, September 28, 1865, Freedman's Bureau Records, National Office, Adjutant General's Division, Letters received, quoted in George R. Bentley, "Colonel Thompson's Tour of Tropical Florida," *Tequesta*, X (1950), 3.
 52. Bentley, *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
 53. "Report of Brevet Lieutenant Colonel George F. Thompson on an inspection tour in South Florida," Bureau of Freedmen, etc. Letters sent to Commander Howard, Headquarters, M732, R27, Record Group 109.
 54. *Ibid.*
 55. *Ibid.*
 56. *Ibid.*
 57. Richards, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Miami."
 58. Marcus M. Pomeroy, *La Crosse Democrat*, quoted Lewis H. Crosse, Jr., "William Henry Gleason," (unpublished manuscript, 1973), p. 3.
 59. *Ibid.*
 60. Henry J. Wagner, "Early Pioneers of South Florida," *Tequesta*, IX (1949), 3.
 61. Richards, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Miami."
 62. *Ibid.* Also see Hudson. "Beginnings in Dade County," p. 19. Two of the voters, Benjamine [sic] Tiner, a former slave of the Lewis family and Andrew Price, voted in this election, making them Miami's first Negro voters.
 63. *Ibid.*
 64. John Wallace, *Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida*, A facsim. reprod. of 1888 ed. Introduction by Allan Nevins. (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1964), pp. 88-92.
 65. *Tallahassee Floridian*, December 8, 1868.
 66. Hudson, "Beginnings in Dade County " p. 19.
 67. J. M. Hawkes, *The Florida Gazetteer*, New Orleans, 1871. Reprinted in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII No. 2 (October, 1939), p. 106.
 68. See Dade County, Florida, Minutes of the Dade County Commission, Book "A."
 69. Dade County Commission, Book "A," p. 3.
 70. Adam C. Richards, tax collector in 1877 reported that he collected \$285 in back taxes from 1875. See Adam C. Richards, "Dade History Recalled," *The Miami Herald*, May 23, 1926.
 71. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet* (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1974), pp. 118, 252.
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75. Abstract, James Egan Donation, "Exhibit B."
76. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, p. 267.
77. Deed Book "A," pp. 94, 109.
78. Daniel B. Brinton, *A Guide Book to Florida* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Inquirer Printing House, 1869), p. 103.
79. Hawkes, *The Florida Gazetteer*, p. 113.
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82. Patricia P. Clark, "J. F. B. Marshall: A New England Emigrant Aid Company Agent in Post-War Florida, 1867," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LIV, No. 1 (July, 1975), p. 50.
83. Dennis Egan, *Sixth Annual Report: Committee of Lands and Immigration* (Tallahassee, Fla.: Charles Walton, 1874), pp. 192-93.
84. J. B. Holder, "Along the Florida Reef," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, CCL (March, 1871), 516.
85. F. French Townsend, *Wild Life in Florida With a Visit to Cuba* (London: Hurst and Blackett, Pub., 1875), p. 236.
86. Richards, "Dade History Recalled."
87. Ralph Middleton Munroe and Vincent Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*. Reprinted from 1930 ed. by the Historical Association of Southern Florida (Norberth, Pa.: Livingston Co., 1966), pp. 91-92.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
89. Temple Pent, father of John and Ed Pent was unsuccessful in his claim for land in 1824 but stayed in Dade County to become Justice of the Peace and member of the Territorial Legislature as well as Keeper of the Cape Florida Light 1852-53, 1866-68. Two other sons, David and William also settled in Miami.
90. Simeon Frow moved to South Florida from Majorca prior to 1840. He was keeper of the Cape Florida Light 1859-61. Many of his children settled permanently in Miami. His son, John Frow, was Lighthouse Keeper at Cape Florida in 1876.
91. In the early Fifties, John Adams carried the mail from Ft. Dallas to Ft. Capron.
92. Francis Enfinger (also spelled Infinger) was Dade's first sheriff. Washington Jenkins became the first House of Refuge Keeper at Ft. Lauderdale.
93. John Addison, another Seminole War veteran, had been in South Dade since the Forties. He had one of the most improved pieces of property on the bay.
94. Michael Oxer came from Germany in the early Forties to work for George Ferguson. He later became one of the first "Barefoot Mailmen." He lived near 14th Street and Biscayne Bay. Michael Sears, known as "French Mike," had been in the area since before the Civil War, and lived in what later became Buena Vista. Dan Clark, who lived near Little River, was also

- a pre-Civil War resident and one of the first to apply for a homestead. The preceding names were compiled from Census, voting records and other early accounts.
95. In 1872 and 1874 there was considerable controversy over the election of E. T. Sturtevant as State Senator. In 1872 the 21st District (Dade and Brevard) had 100 voters. Sturtevant was the inspector at the only Dade precinct and also the County Judge on the Canvassing Board. As inspector, he allowed three men of foreign birth to vote and then when he lost to Israel M. Stewart, as canvasser espunged the three and won by one vote. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, p. 297.
 96. Dade County Commission Minutes "A," p. 4.
 97. Letter, Robert Hosea to Richard B. Potter, April 7, 1875, quoted in William Straight, "Frontier Physician of Dade County," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association*, LII (July, 1965), 2.
 98. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
 99. Edward F. Flannery, "The Romance of Miami," *The Miami Herald*. Series began January 4, 1925.
 100. Postmaster General, Georgia-Florida, 1859-1876. National Archives.
 101. Flannery, "The Romance of Miami."
 102. Henry E. Perrine, *The True Story of Some Eventful Years in Grandpa's Life* (Buffalo, New York: E. H. Hutchinson, 1885), p. 263.
 103. Henry E. Perrine, *Biscayne Bay, Dade County Florida* (Albany, New York: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1876), pp. 16-17.
 104. *Ibid.*
 105. "H. G.," "Journal of a Trip to the Miamia, 1877," Diary, May 30, 1877.
 106. Perrine. *The True Story of Some Eventful Years in Grandpa's Life*, p. 272.
 107. Richards, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Miami."
 108. The inscription on the tombstone read: William S., son of Dr. J. M. Milliken of Scarboro, Me. Died February 5, 1876 at 28 years. "Yet all is well God's good design I see, that where our treasure is, Our hearts may be."
 109. Tract Book. Florida. TW54S, Range 41E. In 1882 when J. W. Ewan started proceedings to "prove-up" his homestead, William H. Gleason wrote saying Ewan had never lived a whole month on his land. "Deposition, W. H. Gleason," February 23, 1882. This time Gleason was probably correct. Ewan was successful in spite of Gleason.
 110. Richards, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Miami."
 111. *Ibid.*
 112. William C. Sturtevant, "R. H. Pratt's Report of the Seminole in 1879," *Florida Anthropologist*, IX (March, 1956), 1-24.
 113. George W. Parson, Diary, January 22, 25, 1874. Quoted in Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, p. 267.
 114. *Ibid.*
 115. Clay McCauley, "Seminole Indians of Florida," *Fifth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology 1883-84* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1887) p. 530.
 116. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, p. 83.
 117. Charles W. Pierce, *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida*, ed. by Donald Walter Curl (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1970), p. 75.

118. "A Pioneer at Home," *Miami Metropolis*, January 12, 1896.
119. War Department, Office of the Chief Signal Officer, *Monthly Weather Review*, September, October, 1876.
120. Gordon E. Dunn and Banner I. Miller, *Atlantic Hurricanes* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, nd.), pp. 313-14.
121. *Jacksonville Daily Tribune*, October 27, 1876.
122. *Ibid.*
123. Pierce, *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida*, pp. 80-81.
124. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, p. 87.
125. Pierce, *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida*, p. 83.
126. Perrine, *The True Story of Some Eventful Years in Grandpa's Life*, p. 277.
127. Pierce, *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida*, p. 84.
128. Richards, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Miami."
129. Consolidated File, "Fowey Rock Lighthouse," Record Group 26. \$75,000 was added in 1875. (When the lighthouse was finished, John Frow became the first keeper.)
130. *Ibid.*
131. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, (original manuscript), p. 36.
132. Letter, Jared A. Smith, Major of Engineers to Chairman of Lighthouse Board, May 27, 1874. Record Group 26.
133. Letter, J. G. Walker to General W. L. Harney, November 21, 1876. Record Group 26. In 1879 W. H. Gleason, "son of the former owner," wrote that he wished to buy back land and building. It was denied. Letters Received. Lighthouse Board V498. p. 168. Record Group 26.
134. Annual Report of the Life Saving Service," 1879, quoted in Reference Service Report, National Archives, Record Group 26.
135. Letter, William H. Gleason to M. Morrell, Secretary of Treasury, August 5, 1876, Record Group 26.
136. "Construction of House of Refuge," (clipping). Life Saving Service, May 26, 1875. The other four were: thirteen miles north of Indian River Inlet; Gilbert's Bar (St. Lucie Rocks); Orange Grove (Delray Beach), and Ft. Lauderdale.
137. Contract, Albert Blaisdell and R. H. Brestone, Secretary of Treasury, October 18, 1875. Record Group 26.
138. Letter, William H. Gleason to J. H. Merryman, September 2, 1875. Record Group 26.
139. Letter, Albert Blaisdell to Secretary of Treasury, n.d. Record Group 26.
140. Letter, Thomas K. Travers to J. H. Merryman, May 17, 1876. Record Group 26.
141. Letter, Thomas K. Travers to John McGowan, April 15, 1876. Record Group 26.
142. House Miscellaneous Documents 2120: 47th Congress, Second Session. House Miscellaneous Documents 29 pt. p. 132.
143. Letter, Hugh Keegan, et al., to officer U.S.L.S.S., April 29, 1876. Record Group 26.
144. Letter, John McGowan to Head of Life Saving Service, June 4, 1876. Record Group 26.
145. Letter, E. Bionde to John McGowan, September 4, 1876. Record Group 26.

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146. *Ibid.*
147. House Miscellaneous Documents 2120, *Ibid.*
148. Letter, William H. Gleason to Merryman, August 14, 1876. Record Group 26.
149. Letter, William H. Gleason to M. Morrell, August 3, 1876. Record Group 26.
150. Letter, Gleason to Morrell, August 5, 1876. Record Group 26.
151. Receipt, W. H. Gleason to M. Morrell, September 22, 1876. Record Group 26.
152. Letter, Bradbury to C. D. Patterson, April 21, 1876. Record Group 26.
153. *Ibid.*
154. Letter, H. Brown Patterson, U.S. District Attorney to C. A. Bradbury, April 14, 1876. Record Group 26.
155. *Ibid.*
156. *Ibid.*
157. *Ibid.*
158. Receipt, Schooner "Liberty" to Richard B. Potter, April 22, 1875. Record Group 26.
159. Dade County, Florida, Miscellaneous Book A, p. 46.
160. *U.S. Government Participation in the International Exhibit*. 1879, 2119, 47th Congress, Second Session. House Miscellaneous Documents 20 D + 1.
161. House Miscellaneous Documents 2120, pp. 107-8, 132.
162. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, p. 66.
163. *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. XX, No. 1017 (June 24, 1876), p. 510.
164. House Miscellaneous Documents 2120, pp. 383-86. The new species listed were two exogens, viz an Anona or Custard Apple and a Chrysophyllum or Star Apple, and one endogen, a Palm of the genus *Thrinax*.
165. Richards, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Miami." The location of this tree, if still standing, is east of Biscayne Boulevard in the vicinity of 100th St. Northeast.
166. Richards, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Miami."
167. Dade County Miscellaneous Book A, p. 40. In 1870 there were 12 voters—Miscellaneous Book A, p. 13; in 1872, 37 voters, p. 19 and in 1874, 59 voters, p. 33.
168. Several aliens voted in this election, apparently unchallenged. These included Jack and Charles Peacock.
169. Richards, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Miami."
170. Totals from Jupiter, Lake Worth and Dade Precincts. Miscellaneous Book A, pp. 40-47.
171. Miscellaneous Book A, pp. 47-50.
172. Richards, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Miami."
173. *New York Tribune*, November 8, 1876.
174. *New York Times*, November 8, 1876.
175. *New York Times*, November 29, 1876.
176. *New York Times*, December 2, 1876.
177. There is a story in the Frow family that Simeon Frow did not vote by lamplight, he blew it out before he voted! Ruby Leach Carson, "In Tilden

- Hayes Episode," *Miami News*, November 9, 1952.
178. Miscellaneous Book A, pp. 50-58.
 179. Miscellaneous Book A, p. 38.
 180. Miscellaneous Book A, p. 39. Stewart never got to claim his seat. He died on his way back to Brevard County after the election.
 181. Jerrell H. Shofner, "Florida in the Balance, The Electoral County of 1876," *Florida Historical Quarterly* XLVII (1968), 138.
 182. *New York Times*, December 3, 1876.
 183. *New York Tribune*, December 4, 1876. This type of reference in the national press caused many of the residents of Dade to call the area the "State of Dade." "Dade County's Early History Recalled by One of Those Who Voted in the Old State of Dade Back in 1876," January 14, 1918. (clipping)
 184. Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, p. 254.
 185. Hudson, "Beginnings in Dade County," p. 27.
 186. Dade County Commission Minutes "A," pp. 33-34.
 187. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, p. 100.
 188. W. T. Cash, "The Lower East Coast 1870-90," *Tequesta*, No. VIII (1948), pp. 61-62.
 189. Schofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, p. 253.
 190. "Commodore Ralph Munroe Tells of Pioneer Days in Dade," *The Miami Herald*, May 1, 1922.

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