# "Bun": The Saga of Edward DeVere Burr and his Early South Florida Family *Robert Adams Burr*

Edward DeVere Burr, affectionately known as "Bun" to his family and friends, was an early settler of Arch Creek, Florida. The moniker was derived from the fact that as an infant his ears were large, and the family wondered aloud whether he might first walk or hop like a bunny. By all accounts, Bun Burr was a magnanimous person who spent the best years of his life serving his community. An articulate, considerate and humorous gentleman, Bun always had time to listen and offer advice to family and friends.

Burr's most significant contribution was his prime role as a Dade County Commissioner. From the day he joined the Dade County Commission in January 1915, he proved to be a dominant force in Dade politics, serving as chairman of that body from 1917 to 1921.<sup>1</sup> He was especially effective in connecting the disparate settlements of Dade through the construction of modern roads. During Burr's tenure, the East Dixie Highway (US1), the Miami Canal Highway (Okeechobee Road), Ingraham Highway (Old Cutler Road), the County Causeway (I-395), Tamiami Trail (US 41) and a myriad of bridges and public roads were conceived and constructed, while millions of dollars of bonds were issued for infrastructure improvements in Dade. Between 1910 and 1920, the population of Dade County quadrupled. Much of this growth can be attributed to the aggressive improvement of infrastructure.<sup>2</sup>

Richard Hudson Burr, Edward's brother, was highly accomplished in his own right, serving as chairman of the State Railroad Commission from 1902 to 1927, when the creation of railroads in Florida was a top

priority. Popular throughout the state, Richard was urged to run for governor in 1903. He chose to support his friend Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, who was instead elected on a progressive platform, which included reclaiming or draining western Dade County's expansive swamp lands.

Numerous newspapers and civic activists, however, believed that his honest and forthright leadership of the railroad commission was more critical to the long term development of the state than his service would have been as governor.

This theme of public service was handed down in the Burr family over many generations. The family traces its roots to Robert the Bruce, King of Scotland. Sir Thomas More of Chelsea, a noted English scholar, chancellor to King Henry VIII, and author of the legendary book, *Utopia*, in 1515, was another ancestor. The first Burrs to settle in North America were Quakers who arrived in the 1640s from Surrey, England, in quest of religious freedom. In Colonial America, one noteworthy ancestor was Governor General Alexander Spotswood of Virginia, who served in that office from 1710 to 1722.

American Revolutionary War hero Colonel Benjamin Temple of the Virginia Dragoons and the Virginia State Assembly was also a noted ancestor. As one of Washington's most trusted officers, he was a founding member of the Order of the Cincinnati, and he voted to adopt the Declaration of Independence in the Virginia Legislature. The document was scribed by Timothy Matlack, a descendant of Henry Burr and Elizabeth Hudson through their second son, Joseph Burr. Joseph Burr's wife, Jane Abbot, through her mother Ann Mauleverer, was the direct descendant of several of the 25 Barons of England who signed the Magna Carta at Runnymede in June 1215. This branch of the Burrs settled in Goochland County, King and Queen County and Georgetown near Washington, D.C. They may have owned property in Virginia where the Capitol now stands.

After the Civil War, Americans turned again to exploring the continent, many heading west in search of gold or wide open spaces. Richard Hudson Burr, the family patriarch living in Georgetown, dreamed of living, instead, in frost-free South Florida, far from the complexities of Washington, D.C. Enticed by rumors and legends of

life in paradise, of balmy winters that cured a dozen ailments, of a land where an abundance of exotic, delicious fruit fell from trees only to rot on the ground, Richard vearned to build a new home down south. After learning about Dr. Henry Perrine, who was awarded a 36 square mile township in South Dade County in the mid-1830s, but later died in an Indian ambush in the Florida Keys, Richard was eager to try his hand at growing exotic palms, orchids and other flowering plants, tropical fruits and winter vegetables.



Edward Devere Burr 1870-1937. Courtesy of Robert Burr.

Leaving the family behind and traveling south with his brother-in-law and best friend, Frank Fenwick, Richard Hudson Burr set out for Florida in early 1875. Along the way, both men contracted yellow fever and were hospitalized in Charleston, South Carolina. Frank died shortly thereafter, while Richard recovered and subsequently continued to Florida. After spending time in the Sunshine State, Burr returned to Georgetown with wonderful stories and invigorated enthusiasm for the prospect of a new life as a rustic pioneer.

In the following year, the nation's centennial, the Burr family traveled far into the great Florida peninsula by way of the St. Johns River, heading toward the small settlement of Windsor, just east of Gainesville in Alachua County. Windsor attracted many Floridabound families. With a church, school and general store, it offered the basic institutions and businesses necessary to sustain the Burrs in their prospective careers as pioneer farmers. Edward, his siblings and other family members enjoyed the mild winters and sunny climate of Florida. The census of 1880 found them in Alachua County with a new sister, Helen. But Edward's father wanted to move farther south. He learned of tiny Homeland, a farming community along the Peace River, just south of Bartow in Polk County, where rich growing land was inexpensive and plentiful.<sup>3</sup>

Before they reached Homeland, the Burrs, in 1886, settled on a beautiful tract known as Kissingen Springs, a small watering hole in Polk County that fed into the Peace River. Edward was a teenager when the



Burr Family home Arch Creek 1907. Courtesy of Robert Burr.

family moved again, settling in Homeland. He attended the school that remains there today, along with the original church and a collection of pioneer structures now standing in Homeland Pioneer Park, just west of Route 17. Edward's father created a showplace of exotic

plants and fruit trees, experimenting with the cross-breeding of several species of palms to create his own unique variety. The Burrs were active in civic affairs and were known to host many social events at their home. The Burdine and Wiggins families, the latter of which included a prominent jurist, also called Homeland home.

Although they enjoyed Homeland, nature conspired to ruin their utopian outpost in the remote wilds of Florida with the "big freeze," the devastating freezes of December 28, 1894, and February 7, 1895. The freezes wiped out the majority of the fruits of their hard earned labor from the previous decade. The "Big Freeze" also inspired Julia Tuttle, a Miami resident, to again contact railroad baron Henry Flagler with an offer of choice land along the Miami River and Biscayne Bay if he would extend his railroad from West Palm Beach to Miami. Flagler sent a team to explore the possibilities. They returned with fresh orange blossoms unaffected by the freeze, proof that the area was below the frost line. Flagler was impressed and agreed to meet with Tuttle and discuss her land offer, as well as that of the land-rich Brickell family living across the Miami River. As a result, the first Florida East Coast Railway train arrived in Miami on April 15, 1896.<sup>4</sup>

In the meantime, Edward Burr had met and married Lucy Moore Crouch of Goochland, Virginia. Their first child, Margaret Fenwick Burr, was born before leaving Homeland. Lucy was a woman of great intellect and noble stature from a prominent Virginia family. She was instrumental in the founding of the Everglades Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (Miami), the Miami Pioneers Club and the establishment of Miami's First Presbyterian Church.

Declarations that Miami was a frost-proof town and the prospect of a concomitant boom in Dade County were enough to convince Richard Burr, Edward's father, to move farther south. In 1896, he led his family to the shores of Biscayne Bay, where a new bank had opened, a newspaper was being published, a grand resort was being built and platted lots were being prepared for sale north and south of the Miami River. The Burr family settled in the Little River area, seven miles north of the Miami River, which was named for the stream that courses through it. Little River quickly became an important farming community in sprawling Dade County.

Burr's namesake, Richard Hudson Jr., established a store and served as postmaster of Little River before being elected to the state legislature. Later, as noted, he served a lengthy term as state railroad commissioner. In addition to his service as chairman of the Commission, he served as chairman of the Association of State Railroad Commissioners and worked with members of the United States Congress to forge federal interstate railroad laws. As noted, Burr's success in office and his rising popularity prompted many friends and acquaintances to urge him to run for higher office.

Edward and Lucy Burr first settled in Little River before moving, in 1901, a few miles north to Arch Creek, a picturesque waterway flowing in a norwesterly direction through a stunning subtropical

hammock from its source in Biscayne Bay. There they established a large, comfortable homestead on the creek.

The Burrs who remained in Little River helped establish, in 1898, Dade County's second Episcopal Church, St. Andrews, in the prairies north of today's 79th Street and Northeast Second Avenue. A small congregation, it served several dozen families until 1910, when it closed. Because the church at Little River was short-lived, Lucy and Margaret and family soon became charter members of the Holy Cross Episcopal Church, founded in 1907, in Buena Vista at N.E. 36 Street near Second Avenue. Lucy was active in that church until she passed away in 1950. Margaret remained a force in the church until her death in 1971.<sup>5</sup>

Edward's younger brother, Raymond, and wife, Mary Idena, established a successful farming operation in Goulds in south Dade County after the railroad arrived there in 1903. Today, Burr's Berry Farm on Hainlin Mill Drive (S.W. 216 Street) and Burr Road (S.W. 127 Avenue) is a winter "must" stop for tourists and locals who enjoy its tasty strawberries, delicious milk shakes and home-made jellies and jams produced in the same manner as a century earlier. The Raymond Young Burr pioneer home on Burr Road, built in the early 1900s, remains in its original condition and is a local historic landmark. A county park, "Burr Road Park," lying just north of the Burr farm, honors several generations of the Burr family who farmed in the neighborhood.<sup>6</sup>

Edward's sister, Carrie, married Vivian Rutherford, and they operated the popular family-style Rutherford Hotel across the street from Miami's Olympia Theatre, now the Gusman Center, in downtown Miami. Edward's sister Marian married G. Duncan Brossier, in the first marriage celebrated in the Church of the Holy Name, today's Gesu Catholic Church, also in downtown Miami. Brossier was a prominent member of the community, founding and serving as president of the Miami Board of Trade and the Miami Realty Board. Sister Helen married Dr. Carroll Monmonier, and they later moved to Cantonsville, Maryland.<sup>7</sup> Edward and Lucy saw a wonderful future and great opportunities in Arch Creek. Farming the prairie and selling fertilizer to other farmers, the Burrs made steady progress as pioneer farmers. Son Richard Temple Burr was born in Miami in 1899. Soon after, sister Mary came along, and before 1907 the family had built a large, comfortable home on Little Arch Creek, which stands today at 11900 N.E. 16th Avenue as a historic landmark. The birth of son Robert Spotswood Burr rounded out the clan in 1911, and the Burrs settled into making the most of their life on Biscayne Bay.

In 1901, Edward organized land owners and farmers in the Arch Creek neighborhood. By 1903, they had dug a canal providing access to the bay from almost a mile into the prairie lands. Along with others, they established the first churches in Little River and Arch Creek. Edward was among the first trustees of the new Arch Creek school house, and he established the Knights of Pythias lodge to provide community service.<sup>8</sup>

In 1910, Edward and C. F. Kalch built the first packing plant next to the Florida East Coast Railway station at Arch Creek to accommodate the plentiful produce of local tomato farmers. The packing plant was a hub of activity during the harvest season. Men, women and children worked overtime to ensure that fresh fruits and vegetables were loaded onto the daily train cars carrying their produce north.

On the Burr property in Little Arch Creek, the family of Edward and Lucy enjoyed the gentle bay breezes and the copious shade of majestic oak trees covering their homestead. The children attended the Arch Creek School, and the Burrs became active in civic affairs. At the arch, "Dad" Wiggins, the self-proclaimed "best barbecue chef in the world," would fire up a pit of coals, cooking large quantities of fresh beef, pork, chicken and game. People would come from miles around to enjoy these pleasant outings along the creek. Edward's wife Lucy and daughters Margaret and Mary gained reputations for their baked goods, home-made jellies and jams and other delicious recipes.

Margaret taught piano lessons, played at church and social functions, and won awards for her handiwork. In 1913, she was one of three

members of the graduating class of St. Catherine's School, a Catholic school affiliated with the Church of the Holy Name in downtown Miami. One of Mary's roommates at the little one-room Arch Creek School was future historian Thelma Peters, who later wrote about the pioneer Burr family in *Biscayne Country*.<sup>9</sup>

The boys, Dick and Spot, enjoyed hunting and fishing in the vast expanse of undeveloped woods that surrounded their property on Little Arch Creek. As a teenager, Dick worked for George Merrick, the future developer of Coral Gables, who was already a successful realtor. He served 10 months in the army in World War I, before leaving for Gainesville to attend the University of Florida with roommate Hugh Wiggins. They graduated in 1923. Spottswood, wife Helen and son Bill spent many years in Belle Glade, breeding and growing orchids before moving to Fort Myers and retirement.

As Edward Burr enjoyed the maturing fruits of his labor and the family established deeper roots in the community, he turned his attention to public service, a family tradition for generations. There was much work to be done to transform a pioneer wilderness into the burgeoning metropolis that he foresaw for South Florida, and he made it his mission to provide effective leadership in those challenging times.<sup>10</sup>

In 1914, Edward Burr was elected to the Dade County Commission on a platform calling for the creation of the necessary infrastructure to support the dynamic growth of the region. He quickly established himself as a leading proponent of road and bridge building. Some suggested this was because he owned the first automobile in Arch Creek, but his real motivation was linking the disparate settlements in Dade County to promote commerce, agriculture, tourism and social interaction.<sup>11</sup>

In January 1915, Dade County extended all the way north to the present-day Palm Beach County line. Burr's first order of business as a county commissioner was a motion to build a modern \$25,000 steel bridge over the New River at Andrews Avenue, replacing a wood structure. Dade County and the new town of Fort Lauderdale shared this cost. The project was completed in less than one year.<sup>12</sup>



Margaret, Dick, Lucy, Mary and Spot in 1927. Courtesy of Robert Burr.

When E. D. V. Burr's older brother, Richard Hudson (R. H.) Burr, declined to run for governor of Florida, he turned his support to his good friend Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, who won and served as the state's chief executive from 1905 to 1909. Created in 1915, the county named for Governor Broward was taken from Commissioner E. D. V. Burr's portion of north Dade County. Some have suggested that if R. H. Burr had served as governor rather than Broward, "Burr County" would have been carved out of Bun's portion of Dade County.<sup>13</sup>

In October 1915, George Merrick replaced County Commissioner F. A. Bryan as the commissioner for district one. Merrick and Burr proposed the lion's share of road and building projects and issued the bonds to pay for them, setting the stage for a decade of grand improvements throughout the county that helped pave the way for the mid-1920s real estate boom and for accommodating the great influx of new residents and visitors.<sup>14</sup>

Burr also played a role in the commencement of construction, in 1915, of a road westward across the Everglades. The Miami-Naples portion of Tamiami Trail was a grandiose project that required many years of work and vast sums of money to connect Dade County to other growing population centers in Florida. The name is derived from the route it would span: Tampa to Miami, or "Tamiami."<sup>15</sup>

Even more important in Burr's thinking was the eastern route along the coast of Dade County, soon to be named East Dixie Highway. This newly paved path linked the settlements of Lemon City, Little River, Biscayne and Arch Creek through Burr's district, as well as the new sub-divisions of Fallasen Park, Elmira, Acadia, Biscavne Heights and Aqua Vista. This eastern road, built on a high ridge, afforded wonderful views of Biscayne Bay and became the preferred route for travelers visiting the area by car. The distinctly raised limestone ridges that define the eastern and western coasts of Florida had been used by indigenous settlers who created foot trails on the high ground. Later residents expanded these paths into trails and roads along the high ground that rarely flooded. The route south of Miami and Coconut Grove, now dubbed Ingraham Highway, was improved by modern road-building techniques and further enhanced by erecting a concrete bridge over Snapper Creek. The elongated road allowed travelers to reach all the way to Royal Palm Park and Flamingo in the southern portion of the Everglades.

In that era, meetings of the county commission almost always contained discussions, motions, and appropriations for public highways. When citizens petitioned the commission for roads through their neighborhoods, the commission appointed a group of examiners to evaluate the proposed route and report back its findings. The new roads allowed farmers to move their crops to market quickly, thereby reducing spoilage, while increasing the value of the land surrounding them and raising the tax rolls of a fast-growing Dade County for the benefit of the public.<sup>16</sup>

The commission's tasks were many and varied. The 1913 citrus canker outbreak was a top concern of growers and the state agricultural department. Acting on behalf of growers, the commission urged the state to establish an experimental station to study the disease and provide growers with support for its eradication. Periodically, citizens came before the board to request relief for impoverished neighbors. The commission often granted payments of \$9 a month for individuals, or \$18 a month for families adjudged destitute. The commission also operated a property commonly known as the poor farm, where those of limited means were offered work in exchange for food, shelter and medical attention. Some elderly persons and children received one-way transportation by the commission to points north, where relatives accepted responsibility for their care.<sup>17</sup>

Roads were largely built with the labor of state and county convicts. Dade County operated several convict labor camps in the early 1900s, and the inmates were assigned to work on projects specified by the commission. The county also leased convicts to landowners and construction companies, but owing to the urgent need for road building, the commission preferred to employ them in public works projects. The county commission made it a priority to purchase the latest road building equipment, preferring to replace out-dated steam driven tractors and rollers with modern gasoline powered units, which were kept busy improving public roads. <sup>18</sup>

The process for issuing bonds to pay for improvements involved canvassing the public in each district to determine if they would approve tax increases to pay for improvement bonds. If 25 percent of freeholders and registered voters in a designated district were in favor, the commission called for public elections on this issue, prepared the ballots and assigned clerks and inspectors in each voting district to manage the elections. The commission later met to count the votes, validate the election and announce the results.<sup>19</sup>

In December 1915, county commissioners requested permission from the War Department to build a second causeway (the first, Collins Bridge, had opened in 1913) across Biscayne Bay. By using spoil islands created by the dredging of Government Cut, the deepwater channel completed in the previous decade, the causeway (today's MacArthur Causeway) connected Miami and Miami Beach with a modern thoroughfare. Once approved, this ambitious project, spanning almost two miles across the bay, included steel bridges at the east and west entrances to the causeway, a pedestrian walkway, light rail components, and a broad road to accommodate increasing traffic needs. The bond issue raised \$600,000 for its construction, which represented the largest figure to that time in the county's history. Construction of the causeway provided, at last, a major route for the movement of automotive traffic between island and mainland, and

paved the way for the following decade's building boom, which radically transformed Miami Beach. $^{20}$ 



Richard C. and Margaret Burr—Burr Family home, Arch Creek 2003, nearly 100 years after the earlier photograph of the Arch Creek home. Courtesy of Robert Burr.

Each commissioner received an equal share of monies budgeted for annual road and infrastructure improvements for his district. Edward saw to it that Arch Creek, Little River and today's greater North Miami area received their fair share of improvements, including new concrete bridges over Arch Creek, Little Arch Creek and Little River.<sup>21</sup>

By the early 1900s, temperance proponents were gaining in influence, and prevailed upon the commission to hold a special local option election in 1913 to determine the public's preference as to the sale of alcoholic beverages in Dade County. The final tally was 635 in favor and 1138 opposed; soon after, Dade County became officially "dry."

In 1916, Edward Burr championed extensions to the Miami Canal Highway westward, the Ingraham Highway to Homestead, the initial work on Tamiami Trail toward Lee County, East Dixie Highway into Broward County and a myriad of other roads, deemed priorities to an ever-expanding Dade County. In the following year, his fellow commissioners unanimously elected him chairman of that body. After only two years on the commission, the ambitious projects Burr had proposed and helped steer to fruition in Dade County had forever changed its landscape leading to the transformation of a young, agriculturally-oriented region into a modern, fast growing metropolis.

In September 1917, F. C. B. LeGro and his Biscayne Bay Islands Company requested permission from the commission to construct two islands in Biscayne Bay, to be connected by bridges to the County Causeway, still three years away from completion. These properties, later known as Hibiscus and Palm Islands, would become homes for leading businessmen, movie stars and at least one notorious gangster, Al Capone. Today, they are considered among the most desirable properties in Miami-Dade County.<sup>22</sup>

In November 1917, a request was made to cut a channel through Baker's Haulover in the northern tier of the county to allow fresh water from Arch Creek, Little River and Dumbfoundling Bay to flow into to the ocean more easily. Since the recent dredging of Government Cut caused the creation of spoil islands which blocked natural tidal flows, it was proposed that Biscayne Bay north of the cut, was retaining fresh water to the detriment of bay oysters and otherwise creating foul odors and unsanitary conditions for those living along the shoreline in the North Bay area. The county provided \$48,000 in 1919, along with a request for further monies from the federal government. A "cut" was made at Baker's Haulover soon after, although its positive environmental impact is questionable. <sup>23</sup>

In 1918, with the nation at war, steel was, of course, a precious commodity. In order to procure steel to build the two bridges connecting Miami and Miami Beach by way of the new causeway, commissioners appealed to the War Department's Priorities Division, explaining to it the urgent need for this vital material. Their argument was persuasive, convincing the Division to agree to support the project thus paving the way for construction of the bridges.<sup>24</sup>

In January 1919, E. D. V. Burr again won election as chairman of the County Commission by a unanimous vote. Burr continued to oversee major projects and lead Dade County in the direction of a strategically important, geographically influential community in the 20th century. Even after leaving the Commission in the early 1920s, Burr maintained a deep interest in the development of his adopted community.

Edward DeVere Burr passed away in 1937 at the Burr home on Biscayne Bay at 402 N.E. 22nd Street, surrounded by family and friends. "Bun" is buried, along with father Richard Hudson Burr, brother Richard Hudson Burr Jr. and son Richard Temple Burr in the Burr family plot of the old Miami Cemetery.

Bun's wife, Lucy Moore Crouch Burr, lived with daughter Margaret and daughter-in-law Geneva until her passing in 1950. Margaret and Geneva moved to Coral Gables in 1965. Margaret passed away in 1971 and Geneva in 1981. Shellie Clayton Burr passed away in 1962 in Tallahassee and was buried next to her husband Richard Hudson Burr in the Miami Cemetery. Bun's grandson Richard Child Burr lives in central Florida with his wife Margaret. Great-grandsons Richard Temple Burr II and Robert Adams Burr, and great-great grandson Robert Vincent Burr live in South Florida.<sup>25</sup>

Edward's legacy, as a pioneer of Homeland, Little River and Arch Creek, as well as his service to the Dade County Commission, is embodied in the restoration of his historic home on Little Arch Creek, thanks to the efforts of Rick Ferrer and Ivan Rodriguez of the Miami-Dade County Historic Preservation Department, the Greater North Miami Historical Society and the Arch Creek Trust. Through the efforts of the Cornerstone Group, the well-respected developer of the Bay Winds community now erected around the historic Burr property, Edward DeVere Burr's significant contributions to South Florida may be remembered and appreciated for years to come.

#### Notes

- Dade County Commission Minutes (hereafter DCCM), January 4, 1915; January 2, 1917, December 7, 1920, January 11, 1921, Microfilm Edition, Florida Room, Miami-Dade Public Library, Miami; Thelma Peters, *Biscayne Country, 1870-1926* (Miami: Banyan Books, Inc., 1981), 196.
- 2 DCCM, January 4, 1915, January 2, 1917, December 7, 1920, January 11, 1921.
- 3 William Winston Fontaine, "The Descent of Robert Edward Lee from Robert The Bruce, Of Scotland," a paper read before the Southern Historical Society, March 29, 1881, Louisville, Kentucky, http://:www.civilwarhome.com/leeancestors.html; Application of Lucy Moore Burr for membership in the Everglades Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, December 21, 1909. A copy of the application is in the possession of Robert Burr, Coral Gables, Florida.
- 4 Peters, Biscayne Country, 196; See also Wilson Dwight W., "The Union Sabbath School of Homeland, Florida 1891-1895," Polk County Historical Quarterly 24 (September 1997): 2.
- 5 Peters, Biscayne Country, p. 196-198.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Robert Burr, "Burr's Berry Farm and The Strawberry King," http://www.redlandriot.com/Burrs.html; Ethan V. Blackman, *Miami and Dade County, Florida* (Miami, Florida: Victor Rainbolt, 1921), 34, 142-43.
- 8 Peters, Biscayne Country, p. 213.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid., p. 219.
- 11 DCCM, January 4, 1916.

- 12 DCCM, January 4, 1915.
- 13 Paul S. George, "Surging in New Directions," Unpublished Manuscript, 1990. 27-28. Found in the Florida Room of the Downtown Miami-Dade Public Library; "Will Burr Run For Governor," *Miami Metropolis*, Undated newspaper clipping, circa 1903. From the manuscript collection of Robert Burr, Coral Gables, Florida.
- 14 DCCM, October 5, 1915; October 6, 1915; January 4, 1916.
- 15 DCCM, May 4, 1915.
- 16 DCCM, March 7, 1913.
- DCCM, March 7, 1913; May 4, 1915; July 6, 1915;
  December 24, 1915; Paul S. George, "A Cyclone Hits Miami: Carrie Nation's Visit to 'The Wicked City," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 58 (October 1979): 159.
- 18 DCCM, December 2, 1913; For more information on the state's convictlease program, see Noel G. Carper, "The Convict-Lease System in Florida, 1861-1923," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Florida State University, 1964.
- 19 DCCM, May 6, 1913; July 1, 1915.
- 20 DCCM, December 9, 1915.
- 21 DCCM, March 4, 1919, March 15, 1919, June 24, 1919.
- 22 DCCM, September 24, 1917.
- 23 DCCM, November 26, 1918, March 7, 1919, July 7, 1919.
- 24 DCCM, November 26, 1918.
- 25 DCCM, January 7, 1919.