CONTENTS

Editor's Foreword ........................................................................................................... 3
Paul S. George, Ph.D.

The Papers of Albert Sawyer and the Development of the Florida East Coast, 1892 to 1912 5
William G. Crawford, Jr.

Clowning Around: The Miami Ethiopian Clowns and Cultural Conflict in Black Baseball 40
Raymond A. Mohl

South Florida's Prelude to War: Army Correspondence Concerning Miami, Fort Dallas, and the Everglades Prior to the Outbreak of the Third Seminole War, 1850-1855 .................. 68
Christopher R. Eck

Historical Association of Southern Florida Members 116

© COPYRIGHT 2002
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

Tequesta is published annually by the Historical Association of Southern Florida. Communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor of Tequesta, Historical Museum of Southern Florida, 101 W. Flagler Street, Miami, Florida 33130. Tel—305.375.1492. The Association does not assume responsibility for statements of facts or opinions made by contributors. (ISSN 0363-3705)

Cover—Syd Pollock's barnstorming team, the Miami Ethiopian Clowns, combined excellent baseball with slapstick entertainment, sometimes playing with painted clown faces, ca. 1940. Courtesy of the National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown, N.Y.
Historical Association of Southern Florida, Inc.

FOUNDED 1940—INCORPORATED 1941

Richard A. Wood  
Edward A. Swakon  
Dennis M. Campbell  
William H. Holly  
William Ho  
J. Andrew Brian  
Paul S. George, Ph.D.  
Sara Muñoz  
Rebecca A. Smith  

Chairman of the Board  
Vice Chair  
Secretary  
Treasurer  
Past Chair  
President  
Editor, Tequesta  
Editor, South Florida History  
Curator of Research Materials

Trustees

Andrew Albury  
Carlos J. Arrizurieta  
Angela R. Bellamy  
Neil A. Burell  
Jorge Cano  
Xavier Cortada  
Robert G. David  
Edward H. Davis, Jr.  
Michael A. Falke  
Gregg P. Guilford  
Mark A. Karris  
Dean C. Klevan  
John Knight  
Lawrence Levine  
Linda S. Lubitz  
Bruce C. Matheson  
Arsenio Milian  
Lewis F. Murphy  
Dorothy C. Norton  
Dr. Edmund I. Parnes  
Lorraine Punancy-Stewart  
Dr. Michael N. Rosenberg  
Jose Enrique Souto  
Dinizulu Gene S. Tinnie  
Judy Wiggins
Because the "reach" of the Historical Association of Southern Florida is South Florida, I have looked north, since assuming the editorship of Tequesta, to Broward County and beyond for potential articles for the journal. I became aware of the rich history of Broward County, especially that of Fort Lauderdale, its flagship city, after serving for five years as director of a countywide historic preservation board there and writing extensively about the city and county's past. Accordingly, when William Crawford submitted an article, entitled "The Papers of Albert Sawyer and the Development of the Florida East Coast, 1892 to 1912," we were happy to consider it for publication. Crawford is a native of Fort Lauderdale, a practicing attorney, president of the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society and a commissioner for the Broward County Historical Commission. He is also a talented avocational historian who has published several impressive articles on Broward history. In "The Papers of Albert Sawyer...," Crawford examines the critical role of the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company and its related enterprises in the development of Florida's east coast, especially the coastal areas of Broward and Dade Counties.

Raymond Mohl, Professor of History at the University of Alabama, Birmingham, and chairman of the Department of History, is a frequent contributor to Tequesta. A prolific historian with a mastery of several areas of local, state, and American history, Mohl has provided our readers, in this issue of Tequesta, an article entitled "Clowning Around: The Miami Ethiopian Clowns and Cultural Conflict in Black Baseball." "Clowning Around..." is more than an article about a group of athletes cum entertainers who barnstormed the country, providing large doses of slapstick comedy along with traditional baseball activities before large, enthusiastic crowds. It is also the story of black baseball in an era of segregation, of sports as entertainment for a wide audience, of the opposition by regular black baseball teams to entertainment perceived as perpetuating race stereotypes demeaning to African Americans, and of the simmering dispute between black team owners and Jewish booking agents.

Christopher Eck, formerly executive director of Miami-Dade County's Office of Historic Preservation and now the administrator of the Broward County Historical Commission and the county's historic
preservation officer, provides, with “South Florida’s Prelude to War: Army Correspondence Concerning Miami, Fort Dallas, and the Everglades Prior to the Outbreak of the Third Seminole War, 1850-1855,” a rare insight into the personalities and activities at Fort Dallas, which stood on the north bank of the Miami River near its mouth, prior to the outbreak of the Third Seminole War (1855-1858). Eck, an archaeologist, attorney, and historian, has utilized the vast collections of the National Archives for an article containing military correspondence, never before published, that sheds new insights into that trying era in the history of the area. Even more important for southeast Florida history enthusiasts, the letters provide a wealth of interesting, sometimes graphic, information on the wilderness that is today’s Miami and South Florida. One of the key buildings comprising Fort Dallas, a converted slave quarter, stands today in Lummus Park on the northwest edge of downtown Miami.

My thanks to Sara Muñoz and Kelly Geisinger for their invaluable assistance in preparing this issue of Tequesta. Finally, I hope you will visit the Historical Museum of Southern Florida where a treasure trove of South Florida history awaits your senses. In particular, you will find “Tropical Dreams: A People’s History of Southern Florida,” which represents the permanent exhibit upstairs, to be especially appealing and rewarding. In recent years, the museum has added several key elements to the exhibit, including “First Arrivals,” which offers fossils and artifacts spanning more than ten thousand years of our history, and “Gateway of the Americas,” which focuses on the expansive period from the end of World War II to the recent past.

Paul S. George
Editor, Tequesta
The Papers of Albert Sawyer and the Development of the Florida East Coast, 1892 to 1912

William G. Crawford, Jr.

Introduction
In "Henry Flagler and the Model Land Company," published in this journal six years ago, William Brown and Karen Hudson describe the creation and operation of Henry Flagler's Model Land Company in managing and developing the immense land holdings the state of Florida and others granted Flagler from 1885 until 1912 for building the Florida East Coast Railway from Jacksonville to Key West. The Model Land Company papers, housed at the University of Miami, trace the development of this Flagler company and its activities from 1907 until 1967. Three years before Flagler began extending his railway down into the southern portions of Florida, a St. Augustine-based canal company had already begun dredging in 1882 what would become the modern-day Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway, ultimately connecting Jacksonville to Miami in 1912. By 1885, the state of Florida had already reserved most of the land in the southern portion of the peninsula for the canal company. No land remained for Flagler's extension south of Rockledge, near Cape Canaveral. Would Flagler complete the railway to Miami without the state's promised land grants?

The papers of A. P. Sawyer, housed at the State Library of Florida, offer unique insight into the work of the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company and its related enterprises in developing the Florida east coast. Chronologically organized, this body of material dating from 1892 to 1912 reveals how this privately financed Florida canal company built the waterway, sought to develop a million acres of
Florida public land earned in the course of its dredging work, and operated through leading officers and directors a multitude of enterprises, the most important of which was the Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company, founded in 1892 by Sawyer and Florida canal company officials at Portland, Maine. In 1897, the canal company even organized the Indian River and Bay Biscayne Navigation Company to operate steamboats on the completed portions of the Florida waterway.

The Sawyer papers also describe the unique relationship between the canal and railway enterprises. Both enterprises competed for the right to transport freight and passenger traffic along the coast. Both competed for the limited amount of public land along the coast available for distribution by state trustees to further canal and railway development. Both competed for the sale of land to hundreds of settlers arriving along the coast beginning in the 1890s. At times, the companies became fiercely competitive, even squaring off against each other in litigation over the land grants in 1910 and again in 1912. At times, the railway and canal enterprises worked together to develop and market jointly their immense land holdings along the Florida coast, particularly in the southern portion of the state. Flagler even presided over the Florida canal company for three years until his sudden resignation in March 1896, two months after steaming into Biscayne Bay aboard the steamboat J. W. Sweeney following the completion of the southern portion of the inland waterway and just a month before his railway reached Miami.

The Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company
An inland waterway inside Florida’s Atlantic Coast had long been the dream of seventy-four-year-old Dr. John D. Westcott, a former surveyor general of Florida and a pioneer St. Augustine resident. Along with three other prominent St. Augustine entrepreneurs, Westcott formed the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company in 1881 to build the waterway, becoming the firm’s first president. The state of Florida promised Westcott’s group 3,840 acres of Florida public land for every mile of waterway dredged and the right to collect tolls for maintenance. By 1885, only twenty-six miles of waterway in the northern reaches below St. Augustine had been dredged before the St. Augustine group ran out of money. To the rescue, at first, came famed Civil War financier Jay Cooke. Cooke’s nephew, Henry D. Cooke, joined the
canal company’s board of directors, along with Sam Maddox, a Washington, D.C., attorney from an old Maryland family, and Boston investor John W. Denny, forcing out two of the original directors. Cooke then enlisted a wealthy Providence, Rhode Island, investor, forty-year-old George Lothrop Bradley, one of the principal early backers of the Bell Telephone companies, to help finance the dredging. Bradley soon became the canal company’s largest stockholder. By 1892, it was clear that still more money would be needed to finish the waterway to Miami. Sam Maddox, the canal company’s secretary, negotiated with Henry Flagler in New York for additional funds for new dredging equipment and working capital, resulting in the infusion of $185,137 in cash and Flagler’s election as president of the waterway enterprise in March 1893. Canal directors, now led by Denny following the death of Westcott in January 1889, also enlisted Albert Page Sawyer, a successful Newburyport, Massachusetts, insurance and real estate entrepreneur to head a new company to buy one hundred thousand acres of the canal company’s land grant for one hundred thousand dollars.3

The Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company

The son of Josiah Sawyer, an important New England ship owner, fifty-year-old Albert Sawyer had founded a highly successful insurance and real estate business with his partner George Piper at the old Federalist town of Newburyport on the Massachusetts coast. Early on, Sawyer and Piper promoted numerous businesses around the country, including the Bell Telephone and Mergenthaler Linotype companies, copper and silver
mining enterprises, and real estate ventures. At the time of his death in 1903 at the age of 63, a *New York Times* obituary reported that Sawyer had been one of Newburyport's wealthiest residents. In November 1891, in Portland, Maine, Sawyer and Piper organized the Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company to purchase a large tract of Florida canal company land. Other directors included Bradley, Thomas B. Bailey of Cambridge, Massachusetts (another early Bell Telephone investor), and twenty-eight-year-old George Francis Miles of Pomfret, Connecticut, an Irish-born engineer who had worked on the Canadian Pacific Railway before joining the Florida canal company in 1889. Two months after the new land company's incorporation, on January 4, 1892, John Denny, the canal company's president, signed a deed transferring one hundred thousand acres of Florida east coast land to Sawyer's Boston and Florida firm for one hundred thousand dollars. This vast expanse of real estate consisted of individual parcels as small as thirty-six acres and as large as a square mile at locations beginning at a point just south of St. Augustine and extending down the Atlantic coast to the end of the Florida peninsula, a distance of over three hundred miles. Until directors voted to allow shareholders to exchange stock for land, Sawyer's new land company experienced difficulties in attracting outside investors. Among the later investors, and soon to become one of the largest, was Sir Sandford Fleming, Chief Engineer during construction of what would become the Canadian Pacific Railway, a promoter of the concept of Universal Time, and the designer of Canada's first postage stamp. Like most of the Boston and Florida company's original shareholders, Fleming would hold on to his shares for more than thirty years before earning significant profits.4

The Bradley Trusts
In May 1892, just four months after selling the large tract of property to Sawyer's Boston and Florida land company, the Florida canal company sold some of its state land grant to Sawyer as trustee of the Lake Worth and New River Land Trusts to generate more cash for dredging operations. Sawyer formed the two Florida land trusts for Bradley and his business associates and friends, most of whom were wealthy New Englanders serving as officers and directors of the Florida canal company. The Lake Worth Land Trust, the first of the Bradley trusts, was created on May 27, 1892, for Bradley, who held twenty-nine of the forty shares;
Frederic Amory, an important Boston, Massachusetts, textile and insurance company executive and fourteen years later the Florida canal company's president, owned two shares; Samuel Maddox, a Washington, D.C., lawyer (the canal company's secretary and later president of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia), three shares; and Sawyer, six shares. The Lake Worth trust bought 2,200 acres of canal company land in the area of Lake Worth. Ten years later, in 1902, this trust would develop a tract of land appropriately named “Sawyer's Addition to the Town of Boynton,” adjacent to the western boundary of the Town of Boynton's original limits. In 1913, Albert Hayden Sawyer, Sawyer's son, as successor trustee of the Lake Worth Trust, would subdivide portions of three sections of trust land near the city of Lake Worth in present-day Palm Beach County. Together these three parcels stretched from north to south a distance of three miles and varied in width from one mile to a half a mile. The second Bradley trust—the New River Land Trust—was created on May 28, 1892, one day after the making of the Lake Worth Trust, for Bradley only. This trust bought 1,831 acres of canal company land in present-day Fort Lauderdale for $10,016.23. Within a few months, the Florida canal company, the Boston and Florida company, and the two Bradley trusts began employing the same real estate agent, Albert W. Robert of West Palm Beach, to market jointly the holdings of all four enterprises in what was then Dade County, stretching from Jupiter to the end of the Florida peninsula. By June 24, Robert began transforming one tract of Lake Worth trust land just west of present-day Boynton Beach into a large plantation for the experimental cultivation of pineapples, mangoes, and tangerines called the Belleville Plantation.

Flagler and the Florida Canal Company
While the Boston and Florida company and the Bradley trusts made plans for the sale of their holdings and the Florida canal company pushed dredging operations still further into the southern reaches of the Florida peninsula, Henry Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway moved like a juggernaut down the Atlantic coast. By the fall of 1892, the Flagler railway had reached New Smyrna, pushing toward Rockledge. Considering further extension of the railway to Miami, Flagler paused to reflect on what public land might be available for his efforts. Seven years earlier, the state of Florida had already reserved most of the available
remaining land for the Florida canal company for construction of the inland waterway. With little or no land left, Flagler now decided against building the railway to Miami unless owners along the way donated some of their land to assist in the venture. Writing to Sam Maddox, the canal company’s secretary, on November 4, 1892, Flagler offered to extend the railway south of Rockledge for what would ultimately amount to almost a fourth of the canal company’s million-acre land grant:

Other roads constructed in Florida have received from 6,000 to 20,000 acres of land for each mile of road constructed. These grants have nearly, if not quite, exhausted the lands at the disposal of the state for such purposes. Your own canal has received from the state a grant of alternate sections within the six-mile limit along its route. Our railroad will practically follow the same course, and for this reason we are shut off from any possible subsidy at the hands of the state. We believe therefore that you can well afford to aid us in this undertaking by dividing with us your land grant. If you cannot do this we should receive at the least 1,500 acres for each mile of road which we shall construct south of Rockledge, not, however, to exceed 104 miles.  

Urging the canal company’s board to accept Flagler’s proposal, George Miles, the Florida canal company’s general manager, pointed out the benefit of the railway’s extension to the firm’s still undeveloped South Florida land grant. Eventually the firm’s directors approved the plan over strong opposition from a few of Miles’s associates.  

As early as August, Miles had been negotiating with Flagler to invest in the Florida canal company. George Bradley, the canal company’s largest investor, pitched two fellow Boston and Florida land company investors—Albert Sawyer and his business partner, George Piper—to become stockholders in the reorganized company, arguing that the two “would find a large profit” in the purchase. On October 14, 1892, with Maddox in New York completing arrangements with Flagler’s lawyers, Bradley told Sawyer that Flagler’s involvement would make it “easier to sell our lands.”

In January 1893, Flagler made the first of his cash payments to the Florida canal company, and on March 16, at the annual meeting held in St. Augustine, Florida canal company stockholders formally elected Flagler a director. Directors then chose Flagler to succeed John Denny of Boston as president. Other canal company directors selected were
long-time Flagler associate Joseph Parrott, as vice president; Henry Gaillard (the only canal company original director still serving), treasurer; George Miles, general manager; Sam Maddox, secretary; George Bradley, the company’s largest stockholder; and Fred Amory, a prominent New England textile and insurance magnate from an old Boston family. The following month, Flagler, on Miles’s assurances, wrote Miami pioneer Julia Tuttle, an early investor in the Florida canal company’s bonds, that the enterprise expected to complete the waterway from Lake Worth to Biscayne Bay within two years.1

By the beginning of 1894, Flagler’s railway had reached Fort Pierce, over two hundred miles south of St. Augustine. A few months later, work on the Florida waterway between Lake Worth and the New River at Fort Lauderdale progressed so quickly that the dredge working north from the New River almost reached the Hillsboro River at Deerfield. The cutting south from Lake Worth proceeded along a route connecting a series of small lakes, ponds, and lagoons. North of the Hillsboro Inlet, company directors expected to encounter higher, more difficult land. A second dredge working south from Lake Worth averaged two hundred feet every twenty-four hours, cutting a waterway twelve feet deep and sixty feet wide, according to a Jacksonville newspaper account. Rumors also circulated that the canal company intended to put other dredges to work between Lake Worth and Fort Lauderdale.11

Fulfilling a promise made three years earlier, canal company directors in 1895 authorized the transfer to the Flagler railway of 102,917 acres of the firm’s land grant for the railway’s extension from Fort Pierce to
West Palm Beach. Two years later, the company would convey an additional ninety-four thousand acres, including lands extending all the way to Biscayne Bay, for the further extension of the railway to Miami.12

**Joint Developments of White City and Santa Lucia**

Both the Flagler railway and the Florida canal company began jointly developing the White City and Santa Lucia settlements near Fort Pierce in today’s St. Lucie County. The firms appointed Iowa native Charles Tobin McCarty, the owner of a large lemon, orange, and vegetable grove operation at Ankona, mid-way between Fort Pierce and present-day Stuart, to manage their colonies, expecting him to advise settlers on climate and soil conditions and supervise their farming operations. McCarty replaced Louis Bauch, a Danish settler who returned to his native land to bring back more Danes to settle on the Florida east coast.13

Conceding that Sawyer did not share in Sam Maddox’s view that “Mr. Flagler must control the waterway,” Bradley remained enthusiastic over the Florida waterway’s prospects: “I find myself immensely interested of late in this Florida matter. I think that there is a fine opportunity for a fair share of business.” Of Flagler’s interest in the project, Bradley believed that the railway magnate “must have the waterway and that he is still trying to get it in the most economical way.” The Providence native even began circulating among his colleagues a plan to pool at least $380,000 of canal company stock, with Sawyer and Maddox as trustees, to keep the canal out of Flagler’s hands. The proposal called for Bradley, Bradley’s brother Charles, and Fred and Harcourt Amory to pool together $260,000 worth of stock, with the balance of the stock to be contributed by the remaining investors. The end game was the sale of all of the canal company securities to Flagler within a year’s time, believing the outlook “especially bright” for Florida’s east coast in 1896.14

By May 1895, the Florida canal company had completed the inland waterway between the New River and Lake Worth when dredges operating from both ends of the section met.15 While Flagler’s Florida East Coast Railway engineers began survey work for the extension of the railway to Miami, the Boston and Florida land company joined Flagler and the canal company in appointing William S. Linton of Saginaw, Michigan, as exclusive agent in the sale and colonizing of lands owned by all three firms south of Fort Pierce and north of the Miami River for a commission of twenty percent during a five-year period, but only if
he organized two or more immigration companies and met stringent sales goals by certain dates. Linton would establish a settlement bearing his name, today known as Delray Beach. Flagler’s interest in financing the canal company, however, undoubtedly started to wane when he agreed to take canal company land in exchange for funding the dredging of the inland waterway to Biscayne Bay at the rate of $7.50 per acre—a bargain for the canal company given the low land prices prevailing at the time. In July, West Palm Beach justice of the peace A. L. Knowlton resigned his commission to go to New River to survey the square-mile site for the Flagler railway’s new town of Fort Lauderdale located on land owned by William and Mary Brickell. Like many other land owners, the Brickells agreed to share their land with Flagler for extending the railway through their property and picking up the cost of surveying and platting the land. Knowlton would complete the project just five months later in January 1896.

By August, the Florida waterway became navigable between West Palm Beach and Fort Lauderdale. The Florida canal company placed one of its boats—the Hittie—on the waterway, scheduling a run between the two settlements every three weeks, while Flagler railway contractors began construction of a bridge to Palm Beach across Lake Worth at West Palm Beach. Through August 1895, the waterway’s cost had been staggering. The canal company had spent more than $7,500 a month for the last two and a half years dredging the Florida waterway.

The next month, Florida canal company directors accepted a Flagler proposal to extend the railway beyond Palm Beach to Biscayne Bay for an additional fifteen hundred acres of the company’s lands for every mile of railway constructed. Two months later, the Boston and Florida company agreed in principle to contribute ten thousand acres for the railway’s extension to Miami. The Florida canal company also employed real estate broker Fred Morse to market the firm’s massive land grant in South Florida. Morse, who also served as Flagler railway’s right-of-way agent for the proposed line from the New River south to Biscayne Bay, understandably urged cooperation between the canal company and the railway.

By the middle of January 1896, the Florida canal company had completed the waterway, known then as the Florida Coast Line Canal, to Biscayne Bay. Canal company president for a few more months, Henry Flagler took the first trip down the inland waterway from Lake Worth
One of the Florida canal company's dipper dredges in the East Coast Canal on the cut between Lake Worth and Lake Boca Raton, around 1910. Courtesy of the Florida State Archives.

to Biscayne Bay aboard the old Indian River steamboat *Sweeney*. Three months later, Flagler embarked on a trip down Florida's east coast as a passenger on the first train traveling to Miami, arriving there on April 13, 1896.²¹

In February, the Boston and Florida land company began an important joint venture with Flagler when Sawyer agreed to grant a half-interest in the Boston and Florida firm's properties in South Florida as part of the firm's ten-thousand-acre donation for Flagler's extension of the railway to Miami. James Ingraham, Flagler's land development head, brought news of the opportunity to locate a Danish colony of four hundred families at present-day Dania Beach. Flagler set the price of pine land at seventeen dollars an acre and rich agricultural muck land at one hundred dollars an acre. With the Boston and Florida land company's consent, Flagler submitted a plat of their jointly-owned property at the settlement of Modelo (so named for Flagler's Model Land Company), laying out lots for future sale. This plan laid out a town comprised exclusively of residential lots, mostly 50 feet wide by 105 feet deep on either side of the Flagler railway, which ran through the middle of the town diagonally from the northeast corner to the southwest. The naming of many of the streets reflected the Scandinavian
origin of the early settlers. Some streets bore names like Skandia, Dannenborg and Denmark. Three avenues were named Valhalla, Thorvaldsen, and Copenhagen. Lots laid out on the west side of the railroad track were parallelogram-shaped conforming to the diagonal line along which the railway track ran through the plan. The Flagler plan also featured two large parks dedicated to the public directly across Dania Avenue from the Railroad Depot Grounds.

With the railway’s completion to Miami imminent, Flagler started to lose interest in the Florida canal company’s work in developing an intracoastal waterway. At the waterway firm’s annual meeting in St. Augustine in March, Flagler unexpectedly resigned as president and director after a three-year stint. According to Miles, who succeeded the railway magnate as president, Flagler resigned at his request because Flagler feared that the waterway’s development might adversely affect railroad rates. To pay back Flagler’s cash advances totaling $185,137 to dredge the waterway to Miami, the canal company deeded to Flagler nearly twenty-five thousand acres of land.

In the summer of 1896, Wallace Moses, the Lake Worth Trust’s land agent and successor to Albert Robert, reported the possibility of selling the Trust’s pine lands lying west of the Flagler railway and to the north and southwest of the Town of Boynton for pineapple cultivation. The land in one of the three sections belonged to Sawyer’s Boston and Florida land company; the Trust owned the acreage in the other two sections. Moses suggested lowering the prices in the area to meet those offered by Flagler and the canal company for similar land in the vicinity. The Trust attempted to sell lands south of the New River to Swedes and Germans, but Julia Tuttle’s plans to charge higher prices in the area caused a re-evaluation of arrangements with Flagler. In addition to reporting that it would be “impossible” to get anything done until after the elections in October, Miles boasted that the Florida canal company’s longest-tenured director, Henry Gaillard, had been nominated for the state senate to represent St. Johns County, and he expected Captain Dimick of Palm Beach, another canal company friend, to be elected senator to represent Brevard and Dade counties. With Flagler’s Royal Palm Hotel in Miami now “roofed-in,” the Florida canal company began dredging a ten-foot channel to the Miami River from Cape Florida under a contract with the railway magnate.
In September, Miles entered into a contract with “some Swedes and Germans” for the sale of two Boston and Florida company land tracts, along with Flagler railroad and Model Land Company acreage, comprising in all some eight thousand acres of South Florida land. The Irish engineer expected land prices in the area to be set at $12.50 per acre for pine land and $37.50 per acre for muck land. After December 1, Miles anticipated a rise in prices to $17 for pine land and $50 for muck. The prospect for making sales in autumn seemed “exceedingly good.” Julia Tuttle’s land initially had been part of the sale of the large tract, but at the last minute, she withdrew her lands. Sawyer had also been studying the ramie (hemp) industry for some time, deciding to start a plantation to cultivate the plant at Seville in present-day Volusia County along the line of the Jacksonville, Tampa & Key West Railway, where both Miles and his brother owned land. A new decorticating machine for the stripping of the fiber from the plant had just been invented and Miles expected no difficulty in finding a market for the processed fiber. Miles’s plan would later attract the attention of many of the major canal company investors like Bradley and Sawyer and local investors like William Deering, leading to still another “off-shoot” business of the Florida canal-building enterprise—the National Ramie Company.29

James Ingraham, Land Commissioner of the Florida East Coast Railway, reported on the progress that had been made in the joint development of the settlements at Modelo and Halland. At Modelo, the Flagler company built a road and two ditches from the center of the east side of the town across the marsh to the Florida canal company’s East Coast Canal. The ditches drained the land for half a mile on each side. To reach pine lands west of the town site, the Flagler railway began building a road across the marsh about half a mile long. At Halland, Ingraham unveiled plans to develop the Town of Hallandale. Flagler’s company constructed a ditch eight feet wide from the eastern boundary of the Hallandale town site east to the Florida East Coast Canal. A purchaser of a lot outside the town was to be given, free of charge, a town lot, 50 feet by 125 feet. On the selling out of the land in a Boston and Florida company section, Ingraham expected that the joint venture would have to build a road across a narrow marsh to reach property west of the Boston and Florida company lands.30

The first sales of land in these South Florida colonies prompted the Boston and Florida company to consider owing William Linton of
Michigan a twenty-five percent commission under their year-old agreement. Miles now asked for a commission for his work in developing the settlements. Elaborating on his extraordinary work in dealing with Julia Tuttle, Miles pointed out that Tuttle's "unreasonable demands" for including her lands in the Modelo (Dania Beach) project forced the group to exclude her lands. He also agreed as the Boston and Florida company's agent to pay half of the six-hundred-dollar expense for the proposed road west of Modelo out of future sales of company lands. Still unsettled was the question of the location of the lands the Boston and Florida company was to donate to comply with Sawyer's promise to convey ten thousand acres for the railway's extension to Miami.31

In the latter part of October 1896, one of Flagler's key men, James Ingraham, wrote Miles that work progressed "very satisfactorily" in the establishment of the colonies at Linton (Delray Beach), Boynton (Boynton Beach), Modelo (Dania Beach) and Halland (Hallandale Beach), with settlers coming in "daily." The only unmet requirement was the completion of a drainage system to reclaim the marsh lands. Ingraham now sought a donation of an eighty acre tract of land owned by the Boston and Florida company in present-day Boca Raton for a sand pit to be used in constructing the railway. The grant was to be deducted from the still-unsettled ten-thousand-acre grant the company owed Flagler. Grateful that Sawyer had asked his advice, Miles thought Flagler's people "somewhat 'foxy'" and not "bashful about asking favours." In fact, the Irish engineer strongly recommended a change in the donation's terms in light of Flagler's reduction of prices in the Modelo and Halland colonies. Miles further urged that the value of the railway's subsidy —suggesting one hundred thousand dollars— be agreed upon and that Flagler take a half interest in any Boston and Florida company lands included in any colony until Flagler received one hundred thousand dollars' worth of land at present-graded prices. In Miles's view, the chief advantages to Sawyer's Boston and Florida company were the benefits of any Flagler advertising as well as any railroad privileges and other perquisites granted land purchasers, thus preventing such a "powerful organization" from discriminating against their lands.32

By the end of November 1896, the Flagler railway and Boston and Florida company had sold sixty-five acres at the Modelo colony —fifty acres of pine lands and fifteen in muck— yielding sales of $1,200, but
only a paltry $135.25 in cash with the balance to be paid over three years. No sales had yet been made at the as-yet-unplatted Halland site while the Flagler railway awaited the completion of surveys and drainage ditches in the area. Although a number of settlers were ready to close on their purchases, the Flagler organization had not yet completed maps for the land.\textsuperscript{33}

Indian River and Bay Biscayne Navigation Company
At the beginning of 1897, Miles, Sawyer, and other canal company promoters began formulating plans for the Indian River and Bay Biscayne Navigation Company to operate steamboats on the Indian River. It was the first of three such ventures undertaken by Miles. All three enterprises would eventually fail as a result of fierce railway competition and poor waterway maintenance. Miles chose two boats for purchase, asking Bradley to select a trustee in whose name the vessels could be titled. In order to avoid untoward interest in the venture, Miles suggested that the group appoint as trustee someone not particularly well known on the Florida east coast. Bradley asked Sawyer whether he had some “suitable friend whose name is not known” in connection with the group’s “Florida interests,” suggesting even Sawyer himself and Edward Walker, a wealthy Springfield, Massachusetts, building products manufacturer, as possible trustees to hold title to the boats.\textsuperscript{34} By January 4, Miles had secured two steamers for sixty-five hundred dollars, asking Sawyer to name a trustee “this week if possible.” At the same time, Bradley worked hard to raise thirty thousand dollars to place the “Florida holdings” on a sound footing.\textsuperscript{35}

Sales at the colonies of Modelo and Halland slowed toward the end of January 1897. Miles complained that settlers preferred the better-located Flagler railroad and Model Land Company lands over the Boston and Florida and Florida canal company lands at Modelo. He also questioned whether the company had done well in locating the Halland colony because of the need to cut drainage canals and build roads through marsh lands. Swedish Lutheran settlers seemed pleased with the development, but complained loudly about the “outrageous freight charges” imposed by the Flagler railway. Some reported paying as much as twenty dollars to ship “a few pieces of furniture” from Jacksonville.\textsuperscript{35}

Miles still tried to promote the ramie industry on the Florida east coast. The Irish engineer wrote of “an old gentleman here (Mr. William
Deering) a large manufacturer of Reaping Machines and Binder twine in Chicago who is much interested in Ramie." Miles continued to press Ingraham for details on the results of recent land sales at Modelo and Halland. The Flagler organization had not yet received complete information on the total cost of drainage and road construction to be apportioned among the joint land owners. About seventy-five hundred dollars' worth of Boston and Florida company land had been sold in the two colonies, but only a quarter of that amount had actually been received in cash. To reach the western pine-land properties, the Flagler railway cut several main drainage ditches and built a road about three-quarters of a mile long because of Julia Tuttle's last-minute withdrawal of two square miles of land from the proposed Modelo development. While land sales remained slow in the two colonies, Miles reported a bright spot just below the Halland colony. In the northern part of today's Miami-Dade County, Cuban investors sought to purchase about nine thousand acres of Flagler railroad, Florida canal, and Boston and Florida company land for a sugar-growing operation. Miles expected the Boston and Florida company's share of the sale to amount to a stunning thirty thousand dollars.37

In the latter part of April 1897, Miles boasted that Flagler finally agreed to the Irish engineer's plan for transferring Boston and Florida lands to Flagler for the railway's extension to Miami. Miles sent Maddox a deed from the Florida canal company to Flagler and another deed from Flagler to Sawyer and Gaillard as trustees, returning to the canal company some 94,500 acres of land conveyed to Flagler, on the condition that the canal company use the sales proceeds exclusively to finance waterway construction. Of the acreage deeded, some 12,500 acres were to be conveyed to Springfield, Massachusetts, investor Edward Walker and other new waterway investors as bonus lands for purchasing canal company bonds and investing in the steamboat company. From St. Augustine, Miles reported that the Clyde Steamship Company appeared interested in chartering the New England group's St. Sebastian for the summer to run between Jacksonville and Sanford on the St. Johns River. The end of April, Fred Morse, now Miami agent for the Boston and Florida land and Florida canal companies as well as for the Flagler railway and Model Land Company, informed Miles that he had found a purchaser for ten acres of land in present-day northern Miami-Dade County at the robust price of fifteen dollars an acre.38
About the middle of May, the steamboat company’s *Della* was not yet yielding a profit. The boat seemed too small for the pineapple business and growers feared the New England group’s new steamboat line was only a temporary one. If the Flagler system gave the line “the whole of the river business at proper rates,” Miles thought, “[w]e will have both railroads working for us even though they fight each other.” Flagler, however, insisted on Miles’s line dealing exclusively with the Flagler railroad.\(^3\)

The promised Flagler accounting of the lands beneficially by the Flagler roads and drainage canals in the two South Florida colonies still had not arrived. Miles sent James Colee—one of the Florida canal company’s incorporators—to South Florida to investigate and report back on the holdup. Real estate sales now seemed to be picking up, with Fred Morse reporting the sale of 210 acres of canal company land about two miles west of Lemon City in present-day Miami-Dade County for $3,150.\(^4\) Soon Miles received a rough accounting from the railway of the money spent on roads and canals in developing the colonies of Modelo and Halland. With proceeds of lands already sold only enough to pay the Boston and Florida company’s share of the expenses, the Irish engineer estimated that the company still held about fifteen hundred acres in the area valued at $28,800. Morse sold another forty acres of Boston and Florida company land near present-day Hialeah for six hundred dollars, but only forty dollars of the purchase was paid down on the transaction—he balance was to be paid over a three-year period.\(^4\)

During the summer, Miles mulled over the strength of the pineapple business on the Indian River, questioning whether to add the *St. Sebastian*, still under repair in Jacksonville. The Flagler railroad now appeared afraid that the presence of the new steamer might undercut railway rates along the Indian River. The policy of Miles’s company was to accept freight from both the east and west sides of the river at the same rate, provided the mileage to Titusville was the same. The policy, however, “touched” the Flagler railway, at “a tender spot,” as the railway had been “salting the people on the East Side—Merritt’s Island, the Indian River Narrows, etc.—until they have left them little chance to make anything on their crops,” Miles believed. Guaranteeing the Flagler railway nothing, Miles told Flagler officials that his steamboat company did not intend to cut rates at “competitive points.”\(^4\)

By the end of July, Miles had returned to Boston for Sawyer’s approval of an application to purchase forty acres of Boston and Florida
company land located two and a half miles west of Biscayne Bay at $12.50 an acre. Miles and Sawyer still were exchanging drafts of proposals for the formal written agreement on the Boston and Florida company’s promise to provide land for the railway’s extension to Miami. Miles insisted that the joint development contract require that in the event Flagler terminated the agreement, Flagler would lose all rights to unsold land in the Modelo and Halland colonies, taking the balance of the subsidy from the Boston and Florida company’s average-graded lands. He believed that as long as Flagler’s interest in the colonies remained an undivided half portion, his railway land department would remain interested as the “colonizing medium,” thus permitting the Boston land company to ride Flagler’s “coat-tails.”

During the first week of August, the Florida land business seemed to be improving along the Florida coast. And Miles expected a “boom” in the business during the winter. Joseph Parrott, Flagler’s right-hand man, told Miles that Flagler planned significant improvements at Miami. Flagler had purchased “a considerable portion” of Julia Tuttle’s interest in the town for “nearly $90,000,” according to Miles. The Irish engineer regarded the sum as “absurd,” given that the lands had been “wild” only eighteen months before.

By the middle of October 1897, Ingraham had reported that six hundred acres in ten-acre lots had been purchased at the Halland settlement and that a hundred tickets had been sold for an excursion from Jamestown, Ohio, to Halland, despite the absence of a formal survey and plat. Miles expected the sale of the six hundred acres would net twelve thousand dollars after commissions, with half of the land Boston and Florida company acreage. Ingraham reiterated the terms and conditions of sale at the two colonies. Each purchaser of “outside” lands who wished to build in the town was to receive one lot free, with such lots to be taken alternately, leaving the remaining lots available for sale. Cash buyers were to receive a deed, but if buyers paid over time, they were given an agreement to convey the lot either when buildings were erected or the lot was otherwise improved, or when buyers paid all of the installments due on the purchase.

Prospects for the Boston and Florida company’s properties in present-day St. Lucie, Palm Beach, and Broward counties continued to brighten, while the steamboat business progressed daily. Writing from Florida at the beginning of December, Miles reported that new settlers were arriving
at White City in today's St. Lucie County, while old settlers expected to ship fifteen thousand crates of vegetables from the area. There was also "a renewal of overtures" from the Flagler railway, which seemed inclined to give Miles's steamboat company "the whole of their business" without requiring the company to tie itself exclusively to the railway. Miles's company would thus be left free to deal either with the Flagler railway or the Jacksonville, Tampa line.

By the end of 1897, opportunities for the Indian River and Bay Biscayne Navigation Company looked even more favorable with news that Flagler still had under consideration using waterway transportation in connection with his railroad business. The Florida canal company had almost completed construction of the canal connecting the Indian River with Lake Worth, and the steamer Courtneyc reportedly cruised through the passage.

The New England group's steamboat company advertised a schedule of hefty charges to transport passengers and freight on the waterway between Titusville on the Indian River and Palm Beach on Lake Worth, with thirty-three stops in between, including Cocoa, Melbourne, Fort Pierce, Jupiter, and Juno. A passenger traveling the entire distance—spanning some 143 miles—would expect to pay $4.30 for the trip, with an extra charge of seventy-five cents for a meal. A single state-room berth cost an additional dollar, while the charge for an entire state-room called for another $2.00. Miles's company allowed each passenger 150 pounds of baggage without extra charges.

As the outlook brightened for the Boston and Florida company's properties at Halland, Modelo, and White City, Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway, the development company's partner in the projects, furnished funds for the return of Ormond pioneer John A. Bostrom to his native country, Sweden, to encourage Swedes to settle in their South Florida communities. While in Sweden, Bostrom interviewed prospective settlers and published a pamphlet in Swedish advertising the settlements. Because of the Boston and Florida company's stake in the same properties, the Flagler company later suggested in a letter to Miles that the Boston and Florida company contribute a quarter of the cost of the promotion, which totaled $734.61 for Bostrom's passage and expenses. Miles sent the request to Sawyer, advising that "the expense was not authorized in any way by us." Flagler would also employ another Swede, Olaf Zetterlund, to attract a colony of
Swedes to settle in Hallandale in the southernmost part of today’s Broward County.\textsuperscript{49}

In the spring of 1898, Sawyer’s Boston and Florida land company and Flagler’s Florida East Railway Company jointly platted their land holdings at the Halland settlement, naming the new community, “Town of Hallandale, Dade Co., Fla.” One square mile of the southernmost portion of the community lay in what is now the northernmost part of Miami-Dade County. The formal map of the town displayed a 160-acre town center comprised of small lots surrounded by large ten-acre plots to be used for agriculture.\textsuperscript{50} Flagler’s land company also joined the Florida canal company, the Bradley trusts, and the Boston and Florida land company in employing the same real estate agents to sell their combined Florida land holdings at Linton (now Delray Beach) and Boynton (now Boynton Beach) in what is now Palm Beach County, at White City in present-day St. Lucie County, and at Modelo and Halland in today’s Broward County. Joint real estate agents would represent the four groups’ holdings well into the next century, selling contiguous as well as jointly-owned lands.\textsuperscript{51}

On February 4, 1898, Albert Sawyer and his son, Albert Hayden Sawyer, became trustees of the third Bradley trust, called the Walker Land Trust, created for the benefit of investors in the steamboat venture and the canal company’s latest issue of debentures, including Bradley, who held 100 shares in the trust; Edward M. Walker, Treasurer of the Florida canal company, who also held 100 shares; Fred Amory, 15 shares; Sawyer, 15 shares; Sam Maddox, 10 shares; and a new investor, Arthur Merriam of Manchester, Massachusetts, 10 shares. The Florida canal company transferred 12,500 acres of land in Brevard and Dade counties to the trust as part of an agreement to attract new capital for dredging operations reached among Bradley and his colleagues some months before.\textsuperscript{52}

The Spanish-American War

In March, the Florida canal company officially offered the U. S. government the “full use” of its private inland waterway in the event of war with Spain, which appeared imminent following the sinking on February 14 of the battleship \textit{Maine} at Havana, killing 260 men. Bradley believed that the war would demonstrate the usefulness of the waterway for defense purposes, making a future sale of the Florida East
Coast Canal to the United States government a real possibility. At the same time, the Flagler railway land department made considerable sales of Boston and Florida company lands. In the opinion of Miles, the proceeds of the sales would easily enable the company to obtain a loan to pay the taxes on the company's substantial inventory of unsold land.

While most of the U.S. Army's activity during the Spanish-American War centered around Tampa Bay on Florida's west coast, the military's top brass became increasingly interested in the possibility of using transportation facilities along the east coast as an alternative. So tempting was the potential railway business during the war that Henry Flagler personally lobbied Washington officials to use his railway to transport men and materiel down the Florida east coast to the island of Cuba. Florida Congressman Robert W. Davis wrote Flagler on May 3, 1898, that he had visited both the War and Navy Departments "time and time again" in the interest of the Florida East Coast Railway and towns and cities along the Florida east coast, pointing out "the superiority of Miami over Port Tampa from a sanitary point of view." Only a few weeks later, on a tour hosted by the Flagler railway, Major General J. F. Wade, accompanied by his aides, Lieutenants Read and Almy, Army Corps of Engineers Captain David Gaillard, Colonel J. E. Weston, and Surgeon Woodson of the Army's medical department, traveled together to visit West Palm Beach and other towns along the east coast to locate suitable camping grounds for troops and determine what modes of transportation existed. Captain Gaillard, a South Carolina cousin of Henry Gaillard, the Florida canal company's longest serving director, would later become internationally famous as the superintendent of construction of the Culebra Cut, the scene of the most difficult blasting and dredging work during the construction of the Panama Canal. On the Army's departure from the West Palm Beach visit, a local newspaper remarked, "[t]hat some of them fully enjoyed every minute of their stay here they admitted, also their surprise at what and whom they found in this supposed wilderness."5

In late May, the U.S. Army contracted with Miles's steamboat company to transport three mortar carriages down the waterway from Titusville to Key West for the war effort in Cuba. A local account of the company's munitions shipments reported that the steamer Sebastian, bound for Key West, carried a forty-ton mortar through the canal at Juno on Saturday, May 21, 1898. So large was the cannon, according to the
report, that “a man on horseback could easily pass through it without
dismounting.” The Army chose Miles’s company to ship the freight,
according to Miles, when the Plant system of railways and steamships
on Florida’s west coast refused to take the cargo from Tampa to Key
West for less than nine thousand dollars. The Irish engineer had the
material shipped by rail to Titusville “where I had them transferred to
one of our steamers and we delivered them at the Key West fort for
$2,500.” Miles’s firm later abandoned the transportation business, with
the loss of its railroad connection at Titusville after Flagler purchased
the Enterprise Junction-to-Titusville branch line. The failure would
not be Miles’s last. During the next twenty years, Miles would attempt
two more times to establish a steamboat business on the Florida east coast
canal, but neither effort proved profitable and both eventually failed.

A year after the Spanish-American War, in 1899, Miles resigned the
presidency of the Florida canal company. Miles’s Pomfret, Connecticut,
neighbor, George Bradley, succeeded the Irish-born engineer, heading the
enterprise until his death in 1906. In May, James Ingraham met with
Bradley and Miles at Bradley’s Washington, D.C., home to discuss busi-
ness relating to both the Flagler interests and the Florida canal company’s
ventures. Ingraham informed the two that Flagler was “not prepared to
go on with the Sugar Co.,” an enterprise Flagler and the canal company
had discussed undertaking. Suggesting that Flagler consider managing the
canal company’s lands, Miles also told Ingraham that the canal company
had in hand sufficient capital to extend the Florida waterway to St.
Augustine and planned to dredge the channel eight more miles to the St.
Johns River to link Jacksonville to the inland waterway. In a letter to
Joseph Parrott, Ingraham later warned that if successful, the Florida
waterway would “afford competition enough to affect [railway] rates
unfavorably.” Cooperation, though, between Flagler and the Florida
canal company would last at least until the next year, when Flagler hired
the canal company to dredge rock and sand from the bottom of Biscayne
Bay for Flagler’s ocean shipping operation at Miami.

On July 21, 1900, James Ingraham, now titled Third Vice President
of the Florida East Coast Railway for Lands and Industrial Enterprises,
confirmed in a letter to Sawyer that the Boston and Florida company
owned the west and south tiers of forty-acre lots in one of the sections
included in the White City colony. Because Miles was absent Ingraham
did not know whether Sawyer’s company was still in the arrangement
with Flagler. In any event, he sent Sawyer an application for deed to five acres of the land, along with a check for $55.66 and a commission receipt for $10. Ingraham asked Sawyer to send a deed for the sale and a memorandum of all prior sales made in this section.61

Two years later, in the fall of 1902, just west of the original town of Boynton in southern Palm Beach County, Albert Sawyer, as Trustee of the Lake Worth Land Trust, subdivided a 20-acre tract of land into 22 lots, each approximately 273 feet long and 40 feet wide, with two more lots each about 100 feet square surrounding a centrally-located site for the Boynton public school, which the trust donated to the Dade County School Board in 1896.62 The Newburyport investor named the subdivision “Sawyer’s Addition to the Town of Boynton.” The next year, with Bradley still at the helm, the Florida canal company completed dredging the waterway between Ormond and Miami—a distance of about three hundred miles. Two dredges, working at opposite ends, however, kept on dredging the Matanzas-Halifax canal, soon to connect St. Augustine with Ormond to the south.63

Albert Page Sawyer Dies
On Saturday, November 21, 1903, just ten months after floating a one hundred thousand dollar bond issue to finance canal construction, tragedy struck the New England group when Albert Page Sawyer, the Boston and Florida company’s president, died at his home in Newburyport, Massachusetts, having been in poor health for a number of years. Trustee of the three Bradley land trusts in Florida, Sawyer reportedly had been one of the wealthiest men in Newburyport when he passed away at age sixty-three.64 Sawyer’s son, thirty-two-year-old Albert Hayden Sawyer, an 1894 graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, would succeed his father as trustee of the Bradley trusts and as president of the Boston and Florida land company.65

State Freezes Canal Company Land Grants
A few months after Sawyer’s death, with only nine miles of cuts remaining before completing the Matanzas-Halifax canal, the first of a flurry of lawsuits emerged over the public land grants promised both Flagler’s railway and the Florida canal company well before the turn of the century. State land grants already made to the canal company for dredging the Florida waterway amounted to 475,015 acres. Frustrated over the
failure of the canal company to carry out dredging operations with sufficient speed, state trustees froze further grants south in what is now Miami-Dade County, even ordering a return of 92,070 acres regarded as erroneously deeded to the company. In a court proceeding brought in Tallahassee in June 1904, the Florida canal company sued to keep state trustees from disposing of public lands reserved for the company. A Leon County Circuit Court judge temporarily stopped the state from disposing of the canal company’s reserved lands. As Miles observed at the time, the State “cannot give valid title but they may put us to much inconvenience if we permit them to do so.” More suits and countersuits followed, tying up the public lands so tightly that neither the state nor the canal company could dispose of the vast expanse of Florida lands.6

In October 1904, Edward Walker, a leading waterway investor and the Florida canal company’s vice president and treasurer, brought sobering news that land sales had fallen off and the dredges were not doing good work, especially the Wimbee, which advanced only four thousand feet in September. Repair bills had been staggering. Walker now called on Bradley for three thousand dollars to pay September bills amounting to almost four thousand dollars.6 By the end of the month, Miles suggested a scheme to drain their lands in order to stimulate land sales. Sir Sandford Fleming, the acclaimed Canadian Pacific Railway engineer, now seventy-seven years old, seemed to Miles “impatient to realize something” on the investment he made in the Boston and Florida land company twelve years before, recalling that Fleming expected him “to do everything in my power to see that some substantial results are obtained, as I am responsible for his purchase of the stock.” Miles offered to resign as a director in favor of Fleming’s son, Sandford H. Fleming, but had not yet heard from Fleming. Sawyer hoped that Miles would not resign, suggesting that Fleming’s son could be added to the board and that he (Sandford H. Fleming) might want to travel to Boston to look over the books with Sawyer and Piper. On the question of selecting local real estate agents, Miles urged Sawyer to consider carefully the question of appointing real estate agents who were not “mixed up” with the Flagler companies, believing that better results would be obtained otherwise.68

Walker Dead
In August 1905, the New England group learned that the Florida canal company’s fifty-nine-year-old vice president and treasurer, Edward M.
Walker, lay dying. Suffering from the final stages of Bright’s disease, friends and associates expected Walker to live only a short while. With Bradley, the canal company’s president, vacationing in Europe for the summer and its vice president near death, the firm struggled to secure releases to sell company land. Albert Hayden Sawyer traveled to Springfield, Massachusetts, to obtain the dying Walker’s signature to secure one release. While acknowledging the “great loss” that Walker’s impending death would bring, Bradley wrote young Sawyer from abroad that he (Bradley) had personally loaned the Florida canal company from month-to-month since October 1904 a total of $46,300 to finance dredging operations. Walker finally died on October 2, 1905, at the age of 59.69

Bradley Dies
Less than six months later, on March 26, 1906, George Lothrop Bradley, the Florida canal company’s president and largest stockholder, also passed away at the age of fifty-nine. Within a span of three years, three of the most important figures in the Florida canal and Boston and Florida land enterprises had passed away. Following an operation in New York City, Bradley died of pneumonia at his Washington, D.C. home, just a few weeks after returning from a Florida canal company board meeting at St. Augustine. Bradley’s death now left serious doubts as to whether the waterway would ever be completed. Efforts to complete the Florida waterway had slowed for more than three years with hundreds of thousands of acres of state land tied up in protracted litigation.

On December 1, 1906, within nine months of Bradley’s death, state trustees and the St. Augustine canal company reached an agreement to settle the lawsuits that had plagued the company and delayed construction. The canal company agreed to pay $50,000 for more than 200,000 acres of state land and to escrow with pioneer Jacksonville banker Bion Barnett (son of the founder of the Barnett Bank), as trustee, 100,000 acres to be sold for the construction of a waterway from St. Augustine to Jacksonville. For its part, the state of Florida deposited two deeds in escrow with Barnett, each representing more than 117,000 acres of state land, for the construction of the remaining portions of the canal. The first deed was to be delivered to the canal company when the canal between the Matanzas and Halifax rivers was completed and half of the work between the St. Augustine and the St. Johns rivers was done. The
second deed, representing the balance of the state land grant, was to be turned over when the canal company finished dredging the St. Augustine-to-St. Johns River canal. Further securing the waterway’s future, both Bradley’s estate and his wife, Helen, continued to invest hundreds of thousands of dollars in the dredging work to protect the Bradley estate’s interest in the four hundred thousand acres of land the canal company expected to earn in completing the waterway project.

Flagler Sues the Florida Canal Company and State Trustees—Twice
Four years later, while the Florida canal company moved forward with plans to finish the waterway under a new contract with the state, a proposed sale of over a hundred thousand acres of its promised land grant to John M. Barrs, a close associate of former Governor Napoleon Broward, caused Flagler to sue both the state of Florida and the canal company to stop the conveyance. In one lawsuit filed in the Palm Beach County Circuit Court in October 1910, the Flagler railway claimed it was owed 75,582 acres of land for extending the railway south to Miami under several agreements with the canal company, beginning with Flagler’s land-sharing proposal in 1892. The suit sought fifteen hundred acres of state land for every mile of railway constructed for the railway’s extension beyond Palm Beach to Biscayne Bay.22

Two years later, in December 1912, the Flagler railway filed another lawsuit against the Florida canal company seeking essentially the same
relief, but this time the suit was filed in the St. Johns County Circuit Court at St. Augustine.\textsuperscript{73} Both cases moved slowly through the court system until finally the Flagler and Florida canal companies reached a settlement, resulting in the dismissal of the West Palm Beach suit in January 1913, and the St. Augustine litigation seven months later.\textsuperscript{74} To settle both suits, the Florida canal company agreed to convey another 20,002 acres of land lying within Dade, Orange, and Brevard counties to Flagler's railway company.\textsuperscript{75}

Meanwhile, in November 1912, the Boston and Florida company subdivided for development two large tracts of land in the northern part of Broward County and the southern portion of Palm Beach County. The tracts, each a square mile in size, occupied the northern part of Deerfield Beach and the southern section of Boca Raton, straddling the Hillsboro Canal. Each tract encompassed 64 lots, each approximately 660 feet by 660 feet, with large stands of cypress and sawgrass running throughout the sections. Today the easterly tract is bounded on the west by the Sunshine State Turnpike and on the east by Powerline Road.\textsuperscript{76}

**State Trustees Make Final Grants to Canal Company and Flagler**

Six years after Bradley's death—and nearly thirty years after the Florida canal company had begun dredging work, Florida trustees finally accepted the Florida East Coast Canal as finished according to the state's specifications. In November 1912, Fred Elliott, the state's drainage engineer, told state trustees that the canal company had completed the thirty-mile-long Matanzas-Halifax Canal between St. Augustine and Ormond, just above Daytona, with the exception of a three-and-a-half-mile strip. Notwithstanding the unfinished work, the trustees, in December, made their final land grant to the St. Augustine canal company, resulting in a total of 1,030,128 acres of public land granted to the privately-held firm for dredging 268 miles of inland waterway during the thirty-year period beginning in 1882.\textsuperscript{77}

While the Florida canal company's request for the last of the land grants generated considerable debate throughout the state, the state trustees' compromise over the grants promised the Flagler railway caused hardly a whisper. On December 20, 1912, to complete settlement of the lawsuit Flagler brought against the State and the Florida canal company over lands held in reserve for both the railway and canal
companies, state trustees agreed to deed the Flagler railway 250,000 acres of public land, 200,000 acres of which lay in the extreme southern portion of the Everglades, with the remaining 50,000 acres located north of the new town of Fort Lauderdale.

Seventeen years after the last land grant, in 1929, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers assumed control over the Florida East Coast Canal and by 1935 had converted the old privately owned toll way into the modern-day Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway from Jacksonville to Miami. By the boom times of the 1920s, Flagler as well as the Florida canal company, the Boston and Florida land company, and the three Bradley trusts had disposed of most of their holdings, enriching the heirs of investors like Sawyer and Bradley who had held onto their investments for more than thirty years. Today, over a million acres of Florida east coast land stretching from St. Augustine to Miami originate in grants made to the Flagler railway and the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company for developing Florida's east coast transportation infrastructure beginning in the early 1880s.

Conclusion
Crucial to the development of the Florida east coast that began in the 1880s were the State's large reserves of public land and its willingness to grant land for railway and inland waterway development. Such grants led to the construction of Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway and what would become Florida’s modern-day Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway. Flagler received public land not only from the state of Florida but also from private entities such as the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company and the Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company as well as from private individuals such as Julia Tuttle and the Brickells for extending the Florida East Coast Railway into the southern reaches of the Florida peninsula. Both Flagler and the Boston and Florida land company cooperated in developing settlements along the lower east coast such as White City (near Fort Pierce), Linton (Delray Beach), Boynton (Boynton Beach), Modelo (Dania Beach), and Halland (Hallandale Beach). In the final analysis, competition between the two enterprises lowered land prices and transportation charges for newly arriving settlers. The firms developed Modelo and Halland in different ways. In the case of Modelo, the Boston and Florida company's interest in the platted land remained completely undisclosed. In a similar
way, Flagler and the Brickells developed the Town of Fort Lauderdale, but it was Flagler’s interest that remained hidden from the public record until the Brickells began conveying lots to Flagler’s Fort Dallas Land Company soon after the plat’s submission as a public record. In developing Hallandale with the Flagler railway, the Boston and Florida land company’s interest was expressly stated and made a part of the public record. Both entities developed what is today Hallandale Beach.

While the Model Land Company papers shed light on the development of the Florida east coast from the perspective of Flagler’s interest in developing his land grants, the Sawyer papers draw our attention to the land and waterway operations of the Florida canal company and its related enterprises such as the Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company, the Bradley trusts, and the Indian River and Bay Biscayne Navigation Company in their attempts to exploit the canal company’s vast real estate holdings stretching from St. Augustine to Miami. Although much is known about Flagler and his associates and enterprises, little is known about Albert Page Sawyer, George Francis Miles, and George Lothrop Bradley, as well as their Florida businesses. Miles’s connection to Canadian investors like acclaimed engineer Sir Sandford Fleming of the Canadian Pacific Railway has also not yet been fully examined. Moreover, no photographs or other pictures of Sawyer or Miles are known to exist. And to date, there exists no finding aid or other guide to assist those interested in exploring the Sawyer papers in greater detail. To those interested in these important papers is left the task of wading through the thousands of pages of manuscript spanning twenty years to unravel the complex and sometimes convoluted business transactions of an obscure group of New England investors who sought to develop what is today Florida’s Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway and over a million acres of Florida east coast land from St. Augustine to Miami.
Notes


2. A. P. Sawyer Papers, MSS 175, Florida Collection, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee, Florida.


5 Warranty Deed executed by the Canal Company in favor of Albert Sawyer, Trustee, on 26 May 1892, and recorded in Deed Book “E,” at page 343, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida.

6 Lake Worth Land Trust, 27 May 1892, recorded in Miscellaneous Book 1, at Page 212, of the Public Records of Palm Beach County, Florida. New River Land Trust Declaration, 28 May 1892, Miscellaneous Book 1, at Page 218, of the Public Records of Palm Beach County, Florida; Warranty Deed executed by the Canal Company in favor of Albert P. Sawyer, Trustee, on 26 May 1892, and recorded in Deed Book “E,” at Page 494, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida. Plat of Sawyer’s Addition to the Town of Boynton, recorded December 11, 1902, in Plat Book “B,” at Page 68, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida. Plat of E 1/2 of W 1/2 of Sec. 23, T 44, R. 43; West Half of Sec. 28, Tp. 44, R. 43; and West Half Sec. 21, Tp 44, R. 43, recorded on 2 September 1913, in Plat Book 5, at Page 12 of the Public Records of Palm Beach County, Florida. Albert W. Robert to Albert P. Sawyer, 13, 24 June and 19 July 1892, Albert P. Sawyer Papers (hereinafter referred to as “SP”) Folder 1. Compare advertisements for “Albert W. Robert,” Tropical Sun (Juno), 16 June 1892, showing Robert as agent for the Canal and Boston and Florida companies as early as June 1892.

7 (Verified) Complaint, Florida East Coast Railway Co. v. Canal Company, et al. and Exhibits thereto, St. Johns County Circuit Court, Chancery Case No. 1162, 28 December 1912 (hereinafter referred to as FEC v. Canal Co. (St. Johns/putnam). Case later transferred to Putnam County because of Judge Gibbs’s recusal on grounds of bias and prejudice.

8 George F. Miles, “History of the Florida Coast Line Canal & Transportation Company,” undated typewritten manuscript attached to a letter written by Miles to Gilbert Youngberg dated 30 September
1928, Gilbert Youngberg Papers (hereinafter cited as “YP”), Box 4, Folder 1, Special Collections, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, at pp. 7-8.

9 George Bradley to Sawyer, 12 August and 14 October 1892; George Miles to Sawyer, October 15 1892; Bradley to Sawyer, December 21, 24, 1892; all SP Folder 1.

10 Bradley to Sawyer, 31 January 1893, Sawyer to George T. Manson, 13 February 1893, SP Folder 1. Seth Perkins (Florida Canal and Transportation Company) to Youngberg, 4 May 1928, and Swan to Youngberg, 4 September 1928; both in YP, Box 4, File 29. See, also, Edward N. Akin, “The Sly Foxes: Henry Flagler, George Miles, and Florida’s Public Domain,” Florida Historical Quarterly LVIII, No. 1 (July 1979), pp. 22-36, for a discussion of Flagler’s indirect acquisition of public lands through agreements with the Canal Company and the Boston and Florida land company. Swan to Youngberg, 4 September 1928, YP Box 4, File 29. [No title], Tropical Sun (Juno), 30 March 1893. Typewritten notes of Youngberg on Flagler to Tuttle, 27 April 1893, Tuttle Collection, State Library of Florida, in YP Box 4, File 9. Evidence of Tuttle’s ownership of Canal Company debentures (bonds) may be found in a transcript of a letter from Tuttle to Horace S. Cummings dated 20 March 1893, filed 4 April 1899, and recorded in Deed Book “U,” at Page 301 of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida.

11 “The East Coast Canal,” Florida Daily Citizen, 6 June 1894.


13 “A Great Strip of Land,” Tropical Sun (West Palm Beach), January 31, 1895

14 Bradley to Sawyer, 17, 19, 21-22 April 1895, SP Folder 4.


16 Linton (Southern Florida Land Company) to Sawyer, 19 June 1895; Agreement between Jacksonville, St. Augustine & Indian River Railway Co. and Florida Coast Line Canal & Transp. Co., first parties, and William S. Linton, second party, 21 May 1895; both in SP Folder 4; Bradley to Sawyer, 25, 27 July 1895, SP Folder 5.

19 “Building the Big Bridge,” Florida Times-Union, 17 August 1895.
20 “Cutting the Big Canal,” Florida Times-Union, 18 August 1895.
21 (Verified) Bill of Complaint, FEC v. Canal Co. (St. Johns/Putnam), pp. 4-5. Parrot to Sawyer, 9 November 1895, SP Folder 5.
22 Bradley to Sawyer, 24 November 1895; Robert to Sawyer, 26, 30 November and 17 December 1895; all in SP Folder 5; Robert to Sawyer, 14 April 1896, SP Folder 6.
24 Map of the Town of Modelo, prepared by W. C. Valentine on 29 July 1896, and recorded on 1 September 1911, in Plat Book B, at Page 49, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida; Miles to Sawyer, 15 February 1896; Ingraham to Miles (copy of telegram), 15 February 1896; Ingraham to Miles (copy), 15 February 1896; Ingraham to Sawyer/Miles, 23 March 1896; Sawyer to Ingraham (copy), 24 March 1896; all in SP Folder 6. Akin, “Sly Foxes,” op. cit., p. 31.
26 Miles to Youngberg, 15 September 1928, YP Box 4, File 20.
27 Warranty Deed executed by the Canal Company in favor of the Model Land Company on 28 February 1896, and recorded on 16 June 1896, in Deed Book “O,” at page 166, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida.
28 Wallace Moses to Sawyer, 17 August 1896, 4 September 1896; Miles to Sawyer, 27 August 1896; all in SP Folder 7.
29 Miles to Sawyer, 12 September 1896, SP Folder 7.
30 Ingraham to Miles, 18 September 1896, SP Folder 7.
31 Miles to Sawyer, 19 September 1896, SP Folder 7.
32 Miles to Sawyer, 23 October 1896; Ingraham to Miles, 27 October 1896; Ingraham to Sawyer, 4, 11 November 1896; all in SP Folder 7.
33 Ingraham to Miles, 24 November 1896, SP Folder 7.
34 Ibid.
35 Bradley to Sawyer, 4, 5, 9, 11, 13, 17 January 1897, SP Folder 8.
36 Miles to Sawyer, 28 January 1897; F. Jacobson, Pastor, Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Bethlehem Church to Ingraham (typewritten copy on Canal Company stationery), 2 February 1897; Moses to
Sawyer, 2 February 1897; all in SP Folder 8.
37 Miles to Sawyer, 20 February 1897, SP Folder 8.
38 Miles to Sawyer, 21, 23 April 1897; Frederick Morse to Miles, 29 April 1897; both in SP Folder 8.
39 Miles to Sawyer, 18 May 1897, SP Folder 9.
40 Miles to Sawyer, 11 May 1897, SP Folder 9.
41 Miles to Sawyer, 11 June 1897 (second letter this date written on Canal Company stationery), SP Folder 9.
42 Miles to Sawyer, 25 June 1897, SP Folder 9.
43 Miles to Sawyer, 30 July 1897, SP Folder 9.
44 Miles to Sawyer, 7 August 1897, SP Folder 9.
45 Miles to Sawyer, 14 October 1897; James Ingraham to Sawyer, October 20, 1897; both in SP Folder 10.
46 Miles to Sawyer, 6 December 1897, SP Folder 10.
47 [no title], Miami Metropolis, 17 December 1897.
49 Ingraham to Miles, 14 December 1897; Miles to Sawyer, 16 December 1897; both in SP Folder 10. See, also, Ingraham to Parrott, May 1, 1897, F. E. C. Railway Correspondence, Florida East Coast Railway, St. Augustine, Fla., Box 1, Folder 9 (1897), for preliminary planning by Ingraham for the trip.
50 Map of the Town of Hallandale, Dade Co., Fla., prepared by W. C. Valentine on January 27, 1898, recorded on 1 September 1911, in Plat Book B, at page 13, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida.
51 See, e.g., Model Land Company Papers, Box 13, File 361 (Special File 439), correspondence written in 1916 between A. H. Sawyer, representing the Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company and the New River Land Trust, Frederick Morse, a Miami real estate agent, and James E. Ingraham, representing the Model Land Company.
52 Walker Land Trust, executed on 4 February 1898, and recorded on 9 March 1899, in Miscellaneous Book B, at Page 195, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida.
53 Bradley to Sawyer, 2, 5 March 1898, SP Folder 11. See, also, Miles (on Maddox's letterhead) to Secretary of Navy John D. Long (Copy), 3 March 1898, offering the use of the Florida waterway to the federal
government, and Long to Miles (Copy), 5 March 1898, acknowledging
the offer; both in SP Folder 11.
54 Davis to Flagler, 3 May 1898, *Florida East Coast Railway*
Correspondence, Florida East Coast Railway, St. Augustine, Florida
(1898), Box 1, Folder 10. “Major-Gen. J. F. Wade and Staff,” *Tropical
Sun* (West Palm Beach), 19 May 1898.
55 Irvine Mather, “Inland Water-Ways of Florida,” *Florida Magazine* 6,
No. 1 (January 1903), pp. 5-15, 13-14; “Juno Jingles,” *Tropical Sun*
(West Palm Beach), 26 May 1898.
56 Miles to Youngberg (Note), 26 August 1928, YP Box 4, File 20; George
F. Miles, “The Inland Waterways of Eastern Florida,” Atlantic Deeper
57 Miles to Youngberg (Note), 26 August 1928, YP Box 4, File 20.
59 Ingraham to Parrott, 8 May 1899, *Florida East Coast Railway*
Correspondence, Florida East Coast Railway, St. Augustine, Florida, Box
1, Folder 11 (1899).
60 U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, *Annual Report of the Chief of
61 Ingraham to Sawyer, 21 July 1900, SP Folder 14.
62 *Plat of Sawyer's Addition to the Town of Boynton*, recorded in Plat Book
B, at page 68, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida, on 11
December 1902.
63 Mather, *Inland Water-Ways*, *op. cit.*, p. 9; George F. Miles, “The
Waterway of the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Co,”
November 1903, p. 7, col. 5; “Laid at Rest,” *Newburyport Daily News*,
23 November 1903.
65 See, Albert H. Sawyer, “Comparison of Vital Statistics of Groups of
Towns of Various Populations in Massachusetts,” Thesis (B.S.), 1894,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Institute Archives, Cambridge,
43, col. 2.
66 Bill of Complaint, 30 June 1904, *Florida Coast Line Canal & Transp.
Company v. Trustees of Internal Improvement Fund*, Leon County Circuit
Court, cited in sworn Answer of the Canal Company in *Florida East
Coast Railway Co. v. Albert W. Gilchrist, et al.*, TIE; Chancery Case No. 59,
Palm Beach County Circuit Court (hereinafter cited as “FEC v. TIIF (Palm Beach)”), pp. 30-37. Miles to A. H. Sawyer, 3 June 1904, SP Folder 18.

67 Edward Walker to Hayden Sawyer, 14 October 1904, SP Folder 18.

68 Miles to Hayden Sawyer, 26 October 1904; Hayden Sawyer to Miles, 29 October 1904 (copy); both in SP Folder 18.

69 Miles to Hayden Sawyer, 2 August 1905; Hayden Sawyer to Miles, 9 August 1905; Bradley to Hayden, 11 August 1905; all in SP Folder 20. “Death of Edward M. Walker,” Springfield (Mass.) Daily Republican, 3 October 1905.

70 “Death of Mr. Bradley,” The Tatler (St. Augustine), 31 March 1906.

71 Sworn Answer of the Canal Company, FEC vs. TIIF (Palm Beach), pp. 30-37. A copy of the 1906 Agreement is attached to the Answer.

72 Bill of Complaint, FEC v. TIIF (Palm Beach).

73 Bill of Complaint, FEC v. Canal Co. (St. Johns/Putnam).

74 Progress Docket, page 2, FEC v. TIIF (Palm Beach); Order of Dismissal, August 2, 1913, FEC v. Canal Co. (St. Johns/Putnam).

75 Perkins to Youngberg, 21 April 1928, YP Box 4, File 9.

76 Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Co.'s Subdivision of Section 33, Township 47 South, Range 42 East, recorded on 5 November 1912, in Plat Book 2, at Page 62 of the Public Records of Palm Beach County, Florida. Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Co.'s Subdivision of Section 35, Township 47 South, Range 42 East, recorded on 5 November 1912, in Plat Book 2, at Page 63 of the Public Records of Palm Beach County, Florida.


78 “Compromise Effected With State Over Florida Lands,” St. Augustine Record, 20 December 1912.
Clowning Around: The Miami Ethiopian Clowns and Cultural Conflict in Black Baseball

Raymond A. Mohl

In October 1939, columnist Stanley Sweeting of the Miami Times interviewed Leroy “Satchel” Paige, the legendary black ballplayer who was in Miami for a game with a local black team. As Sweeting reported, Paige complimented “Miami’s local baseball club, the fast-fielding, hard-hitting Ethiopian Clowns, distinguishing them as one of the greatest clubs he has ever played against.” A decade and a half later, in a 1953 interview with Collier’s magazine, Paige offered a set of “rules for staying young.” Rule number six recommended: “Don’t look back, something might be gaining on you.” Fortunately, this rule does not apply to historians. Thus, this article will “look back” on one aspect of Miami’s black sports history, focusing especially on the clowning tradition of the Miami Ethiopian Clowns and the controversies spawned by the on-field combination of sports and comedy.

The Miami Ethiopian Clowns began playing in the late 1930s. They barnstormed around the nation, playing an average of two hundred
Syd Pollock's barnstorming team combined excellent baseball with slapstick entertainment, sometimes playing with painted clown faces, ca. 1940. Courtesy of the National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown, N.Y.

games a year, beginning during spring training in Miami in March and then hitting the road until October, when they typically returned to Miami for a final home stand against a variety of Negro League and all-star teams. By 1940, according to the team's owner, Syd Pollock, the team was “breaking attendance records from coast to coast” and had “thrilled” over a million baseball fans during its barnstorming tour that year. Because of the popularity of their on-field clowning antics, which included at various times wearing grass skirts, wigs, or clown suits; slapstick comedy, flashy practice routines and baseball trickery; and even wearing “whiteface” make-up, the team came to be known as the Harlem Globetrotters of baseball. In fact, Abe Saperstein of the Globetrotters and Syd Pollock of the Clowns were close associates; both were sports promoters and booking agents. Saperstein himself was deeply involved in black baseball, not just as a booking agent but as part-owner of several Negro League teams, and he even fielded a clowning Globetrotter baseball team for a time in the 1940s and early 1950s.2

In 1942, Pollock's Ethiopian Clowns moved to Cincinnati. The team joined the Negro American League in 1943, and then shifted to a new base in Indianapolis for the 1944 season. However, the team's roots remained in Miami, where they continued to hold spring training, and
the Clowns roster always included many Florida ballplayers. Like most Negro League teams, the Clowns continued to barnstorm extensively as well. The Clowns did well enough in the Negro American League, winning the championship at least four times before the League collapsed in the mid-1950s. But owner Syd Pollock thought of baseball primarily as entertainment, which the Clowns provided. Spectators turned out in large numbers for the Clowns' appearances, and they always seemed to have a good time. Attendance at Clowns games generally surpassed that for most other Negro League or barnstorming teams, suggesting that many baseball fans—both black and white—found the combination of baseball and slapstick entertainment appealing.3

But not everyone loved the Miami Ethiopian Clowns. By the late 1930s and into the early 1940s, the clowning around that had become the trademark of the team and accounted for its great fan popularity had begun to stir anger and resentment in some quarters. Baseball clowning was attacked by sportswriters and some players in the black press as demeaning and undignified. Clowning around on the ball field, it was argued, played to the negative and offensive stereotypes about Blacks common at the time. Other Negro League owners envied the Clowns' attendance statistics, but they disliked the clowning, too. Baseball purists thought clowning should be banned from the game.4

Use of the Ethiopian label stirred controversy, as well. Ethiopia had only recently been invaded by an Italian army, as Benito Mussolini sought to colonize north Africa. The black press in the U.S. took up the Ethiopian cause. Ethiopian successes on the battlefield stirred great pride in black America. The embattled African nation quickly became "a symbol of liberation" for peoples of African descent around the world. Combining the Ethiopian name with baseball clowning, critics contended, seemed an insult to Blacks everywhere.5

Equally important, perhaps, black team owners also resented the role of the Jewish booking agents and promoters such as Pollock and Saperstein, as well as two other booking agents—Ed Gottlieb of Philadelphia and Nat Strong of New York. Black team owners lacked sufficient capital to build their own ball parks. Most of the land in urban black ghettos was owned by Whites in any case. As one black sports writer noted in 1929, "Playing parks in the big cities is our chief handicap. The scarcity of available ground and the expenses of construction is [sic] almost prohibitive." Thus, black owners relied on the
booking agents for access to the larger urban ball parks in the Northeast and Midwest. Black teams played in major league ball parks when the white home team was on the road, but the booking agents were the gatekeepers to those venues. The owners felt that they were being squeezed on the percentage of the gate taken by the booking agents. Thus, controversy swirled around Syd Pollock's Ethiopian Clowns in the late 1930s and into the early 1940s—controversy that involved both cultural conflict within the black community over the acceptability of baseball clowning, and a more focused set of disputes between Blacks and Jews over economic control of black baseball.6

A bit of background history on black baseball will help place the story of the Miami Ethiopian Clowns in context. Black baseball in America has a fascinating history, which sports historians have only recently begun uncovering. We now know, for instance, that black baseballers played in the early major and minor leagues in the late nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century, however, with the rise of Jim Crow in the North as well as in the South, black players had been locked out of “organized” (read white) baseball. A short-lived “League of Colored Base Ball Players” surfaced as early as 1887. In 1910 and 1911, a proposed National Negro Baseball League of America also failed to get off the ground. But many black teams competed regularly in the 1890s and the early years of the twentieth century, with the best teams meeting in the “colored championship of the world,” a black version of the white World Series.7

The first successful effort to organize black teams came in 1920, when the Negro National League was formed in Kansas City, the inspiration of Rube Foster, a former star player and later owner of the Chicago American Giants. Composed mostly of midwestern teams, the Negro National League (NNL) soon found a counterpart in the Eastern Colored League, formed in 1923, and the two leagues began playing a Negro World Series in 1924. Black baseball thrived for some years in the 1920s, but the Eastern League folded in 1928, and, as the Great Depression deepened, the Negro National League collapsed as well in 1931. By 1933, however, with an infusion of “gangster capital” derived from the “numbers” rackets in the black ghettos of urban America, the Negro National League was revived. Gus Greenlee, the chief numbers racketeer in Pittsburgh, took the lead in rebuilding the league, which included teams from Pittsburgh, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Newark. A competing East-West League emerged about the same
time, promoted primarily by another Pittsburgh sports promoter, Cumberland "Cum" Posey, but the league fell apart after only one season. In 1937, the Negro American League (NAL) was established, representing southern and midwestern teams from Kansas City, St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit, Memphis, and Birmingham, among others. Over the years, some teams dropped out and others joined; the Negro Leagues generally lacked the stability of the white major leagues. The massive migration of southern Blacks to northern cities that began in earnest in the 1920s provided the large spectator base that supported the Negro Leagues from the late 1930s to the demise of organized black baseball in the mid-1950s. The annual East-West All-Star Game between the NNL and NAL attracted great fan interest, even more than the Negro League World Series between NNL and NAL pennant winners.\(^8\)

In the days before television, African Americans throughout the country also supported a variety of black minor league and semi-pro teams, as well as the more accomplished and more organized Negro League teams. A Southern Negro League, first established in the 1920s, continued to thrive into the late 1940s, including at different times such teams as the Atlanta Black Crackers, the Chattanooga Choo Choo, the New Orleans Black Pelicans, the Little Rock Black Travelers, the Memphis Black Chicks, the Nashville Black Vols, the Mobile Shippers, the Lexington Hustlers, and the Jacksonville Eagles. Several black semi-pro leagues sprouted in California and the Pacific Northwest, along with an integrated California Winter League. Abe Saperstein headed a Tri-State Midwest League. In the South, the Texas Negro League and the Georgia-Alabama League drew on widespread baseball enthusiasm among black fans in small southern towns and cities.\(^9\)

In Florida, organized black professional and semi-professional baseball had been around since the late nineteenth century. As early as 1895, when baseball was reported to be "the National Craze," a "colored State baseball association" was formed in Tampa, with teams in Jacksonville, Orlando, Ocala, Gainesville, and Tampa. As one Tampa newspaper reported at the time, "the inauguration of this scheme has filled our colored people chock full of base-ball enthusiasm, and the national game is likely to be as popular among the colored people of Florida this year as football ever was among Yale students." Florida's mild climate permitted year-round baseball, which was especially popular in Jacksonville, Florida's largest city at the turn of the century.
Jacksonville's oddly named black Roman Cities team dominated play in north Florida and south Georgia during the 1890s, and the city always had team entries in early southern black leagues. Some northern black teams spent their winters in Florida. As baseball historian Robert Peterson wrote in *Only the Ball Was White* (1970), "In 1889, the [New York] Cuban Giants spent the winter at a resort hotel in Jacksonville Florida, where they supplemented ballplaying with waiting on tables to earn their board." As winter tourism became established in South Florida in the early twentieth century, major hotels in Palm Beach such as the Breakers and the Royal Poinciana established their own black teams to entertain winter visitors. In 1946, a brand new Florida State Negro Baseball League included such teams as the Daytona Black Cats, the St. Pete Pelicans, the Tampa Pepsi Cola Giants (and later the Tampa Black Smokers), the Miami Giants, and teams from Bradenton, Bartow, Lakeland, Cocoa, Orlando, and West Palm Beach. A year later some of those black teams were gone, but others had replaced them, such as the Coconut Grove Black Spiders and the Tampa Rockets. In the forties, the Southern Negro League included such Florida teams as the Jacksonville Eagles and the West Palm Beach Rockets. In 1949, two Florida black teams—the Miami Giants and the West Palm Beach Rockets—joined the International League of Cuba, with many of their games played in South Florida. Baseball, in short, has been extremely popular among black Floridians since the beginnings of the sport.

As sports writers and baseball historians have noted, black baseball in the days before integration generally was faster, flashier, and more aggressive than the brand of play in the white major leagues. African American fans who attended Sunday afternoon doubleheaders also came out for a good time. The mixture of sport and entertainment began quite early in black baseball history. Clowning around on the baseball field was already well established by the late nineteenth century. The black writer James Weldon Johnson, originally from Jacksonville, in writing about the 1890s Cuban Giants in his novel *Black Manhattan* (1930), noted that:

They brought something entirely new to the professional diamond; they originated and introduced baseball comedy. The coaches kept up a constant banter that was spontaneous and amusing. They often staged a comic pantomime for the benefit of the spectators.... Generally after a good play the whole team would for a moment cut monkey shines that
would make the grand stand and bleachers roar. Delighted crowds went as much to hear as to see the Cuban Giants play ball.

By contrast, Johnson wrote, “baseball in the white professional world... remained a dignified and rather grim performance.” Sol White, a former star player and author of Sol White’s History of Colored Baseball, originally published in 1907, wrote that in the 1880s and 1890s, “Every man on a team would do a funny stunt during a game.” By the time he was writing, however, White noted that “the funny man in colored baseball is becoming extinct.” As Don Rogosin has suggested in Invisible Men: Life in Baseball’s Negro Leagues (1987), one of the better histories of the subject, baseball clowning drew upon “a long tradition of comedy deeply embedded in black American folk culture.” But when the first Negro National League was formed in the 1920s, team owners and leading players rejected clowning and sought to imitate the professionalism of white major leaguers.11

By the 1920s, clowning had been relegated to a “baseball minstrel circuit” of small-town barnstorming. The black clowning and novelty teams of the period included the Tennessee Rats, the Kokomo Circus Giants, The Florida Colored Hoboes, the Colored House of David, and, by the 1930s, the Zulu Cannibal Giants. The 1976 film, The Bingo Long Traveling All-Stars and Motor Kings, according to some sources, was loosely based on such barnstorming comedy teams. The Zulu Cannibal Giants, organized by Charles Henry, a former player and black baseball promoter from Louisville, carried on-field baseball comedy to new extremes. Players suited up in grass skirts and wore makeup or “war paint” similar to that used by actors portraying Africans in the popular, but racially insensitive Tarzan movies of the time. In the early 1930s, the Zulu Cannibal Giants regularly traveled to Miami for a season of winter ball, which is where we can pick up the story of Syd Pollock’s Ethiopian Clowns.12

When the Zulus came to Miami for winter baseball, they regularly played a local black team, the Miami Giants, financed in the late 1920s by a local black bootlegger and numbers king, Johnny Pierce. Playing around Florida, the Miami Giants also went on the road, barnstorming up and down the east coast and eventually coming to rely on Syd Pollock as their booking agent. In May 1929, for instance, after playing a spring schedule in South Florida, the Miami Giants traveled north for
a three-game series with the Gainesville Stars, then went on to Georgia for games with the Thomasville Giants, the Dalton Tornados, and the Atlanta Gray Sox, and still later barnstormed through Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and New York. As the barnstorming season came to a close in the fall, Pierce’s Miami Giants would return to South Florida for winter baseball. By 1937, perhaps at the urging of booking agent Pollock, Pierce had renamed his Giant team the Ethiopian Clowns. During that year, as the team was traveling in the Northeast, they ran out of money. Hunter Campbell, the team’s traveling manager, called Pollock to tell him they were heading back to Florida. Instead, Pollock sent money to Campbell so that the Clowns could fulfill their booking commitments. Later that year, Johnny Pierce died and Syd Pollock bought the team from Pierce’s widow. Over the next twenty years, as Pollock perfected his promotional techniques, the Miami (and later, Indianapolis) Clowns, like the Harlem Globetrotters, became synonymous with sports comedy.\\n
Syd Pollock was the moving force behind the Ethiopian Clowns. He was born in North Tarrytown, New York, in 1901; his parents were theatrical people involved in vaudeville. By the early 1920s, the young Syd Pollock was managing the theater owned by his parents in North Tarrytown, showing silent films and booking vaudeville acts. This early business experience soon led to a larger role as a vaudeville booking agent. Pollock was also an avid baseballer, playing for the local Westchester Blue Sox and booking their games as well. After a baseball injury, Pollock became a full-time booking agent and, by the mid-1920s, a team organizer, promoter, and owner of barnstorming black baseball teams.

Pollock’s career as a team owner in black baseball began in 1926 with the Havana Red Sox, the beginning of Pollock’s long association with
Cuban baseball. Over the next few years, he developed and perfected the promotional techniques he used later with his various Clowns teams. Composed primarily of Cuban players, including the famous pitcher Luis Tiant, Sr., the Havana Red Sox generally began their season in Miami in March with numerous games against local competition. In 1929, for instance, they opened in Miami with an eight-game series against the Miami Athletic Club, then launched the long barnstorming season on a northward swing through the southern states. The team played almost daily, with weekend doubleheaders. Pollock promoted awareness of the team through his dispatches to the black newspapers about the team’s prowess. Pollock’s idea of baseball as entertainment as well as sport makes a first appearance with the Havana Red Sox, too. In a report to the Chicago Defender in May 1929, Pollock boasted of the team’s “dazzling pace” and strong win record, but went on to tout the fun and entertainment provided to fans: “The visitors [Havana Red Sox] lived up to their reputation of entertaining as well as playing sensational ball, singing their song entitled ‘Whoopee’ in their Cuban dialect much to the amusement of the crowd, performed their famous shadowball exhibition and keeping the game pepped up with their jabbering in Spanish, with the fans in an uproar from the time the Red Sox took the field until the last out was made.” A week later, Pollock reported that “the attraction is provoking a real sensation everywhere, breaking attendance records in most every town and city they appear.” The idea that the baseball team was an “attraction” serves as key to understanding Syd Pollock’s approach to black baseball.15

Pollock’s Havana Red Sox continued to barnstorm through the 1930 season. During that year, a second touring Pollock team emerged, the
Clowning Around

Florida Cuban Giants, composed of many ball players from Florida, which Pollock began calling "the Alligator State." By 1931, those two teams had disappeared, now replaced by another Pollock team, the Cuban House of David, a knock-off of the original white, bearded House of David team from Benton Harbor, Michigan. The "bewhiskered Islanders," or "bearded beauties," as Pollock often called his new team in press reports, barnstormed for two seasons. In the 1932 season, the team joined Cum Posey's new East-West League. The players barnstormed through small-town America as the Cuban House of David, but shaved their beards and became the Cuban Stars for league games in the big cities. By 1933, the East-West League had disappeared, as had the Cuban House of David. Pollock's team that year was the Cuban Stars, but the players were mostly black Americans, with a few Puerto Rican players added to maintain the Hispanic charade, presumably a cost-saving measure in the depths of the Great Depression. Always on the cutting edge of baseball innovation, Pollock introduced a set of portable lights that year, permitting the barnstorming Cuban Stars to play night games and build a better gate.\(^\text{16}\)

Pollock became increasingly involved in black baseball in the 1930s. In addition to promoting his own teams, he booked games for the Miami Giants and the Zulu Cannibal Giants, later called the Zulu African Jungle Giants. The details are fuzzy, but he may have owned, or partially owned, other teams, such as the Puerto Rican Stars, the Borneo Cannibal Giants, and the Canadian Clowns, a white clown team that barnstormed towns along the Canadian Pacific Railroad in the early 1930s. These early years of owning and booking comedy baseball teams set the stage for Syd Pollock's most enduring baseball creation, the Miami Ethiopian Clowns and its successor Clowns teams.\(^\text{17}\)

While booking and promoting these various teams, Pollock also became an early advocate of integrating major league baseball. In an open letter in September 1933 to Bill Veeck, Sr., then president of the Chicago Cubs, Pollock pushed for an end to the major-league ban on black players. The majors were suffering severe attendance declines in the depths of the Great Depression. Veeck had complained in the press that "major league baseball must do something drastic in order to revive interest in 1934." Pollock offered to place entirely black teams, including possibly his own Cuban Stars, in each of the major leagues for the
1934 season. Such a plan, Pollock suggested, would make baseball more exciting, stimulate spectator interest, and boost profits for owners. As the headline in the *Chicago Defender* sports section put it, “Syd Pollock Tells Veeck of Cubs How to Fill Park.” There is no record of Veeck’s response at that time, but a decade later, the more famous Bill Veeck, Jr., claimed in his autobiography, *Veeck—As in Wreck* (1962), that he sought to buy the Philadelphia Phillies in 1943 and stock the team with black players, a plan supposedly nixed by baseball commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis. It made a good story, but Veeck’s claims have recently been disproved by baseball historians.

Pollock’s letter to Veeck, Sr. came at the beginning of a white journalistic campaign to integrate the major leagues. Earlier the same year, another Tarrytown sports personality, *New York Daily News* sports editor Jimmy Powers, began pushing the issue in his widely read column, “The Powerhouse.” As the *Chicago Defender* noted in 1933, Powers and the *Daily News* had “taken a stand against the color line in major league baseball.” Other well-known white newspapermen, such as Paul Gallico, Westbrook Pegler, Lloyd Lewis, and Heywood Broun, also raised questions about the exclusion of Blacks from major league baseball. Also agitating on the desegregation issue at the same time was the American Communist Party and its newspaper, *The Daily Worker*, which coordinated efforts with black sports writers to end the race barrier in white baseball. In 1938, continuing the campaign, Powers identified several black players who could almost guarantee a pennant for the struggling, white New York Giants team. Powers continued to use his “Powerhouse” column to promote baseball desegregation until the mid-1940s when the color line finally fell.

As owner of the Miami Ethiopian Clowns beginning in 1937, Syd Pollock mastered the art of promotional hype. Few black newspapers had the financial resources to send sportswriters on the road to report on black baseball. Consequently, the African American press relied primarily on reports mailed in by team managers or owners for their baseball coverage. In 1929, for example, the *Chicago Defender* published a “Notice to Baseball Men,” laying out the guidelines for special delivery game reports. This system fit perfectly with Pollock’s promotional talents. He relentlessly over many years wrote his own press reports and mailed
them off to black newspapers around the country. Thus, the same stories about the Clowns would appear throughout the nation. African Americans had great pride in their sports heroes, and the sports pages of the black papers were widely read. Consequently, few black sports fans could have avoided weekly accounts of the Miami Ethiopian Clowns, and later the Cincinnati or Indianapolis Clowns—almost all of them written by the team owner himself. By the early 1950s, Pollock was sending out thirty thousand pieces of mail a year from his Clowns office in Tarrytown.20

When the Clowns were traveling, which was most of the time, Pollock sent long press releases in advance to the black papers in cities on the tour. In fact, advance stories about coming Clowns games bristled with promotional excitement, seeking to build fan anticipation in the week prior to the game date. By contrast, follow-up stories on games just completed were shorter or sometimes never appeared. Laying the promotional groundwork in advance of a game and building the gate were important to a team’s financial success. Pollock’s typical pre-game Clown press release invariably began with ubiquitous references to “the nationally famous Miami Ethiopian Clowns,” or “the sensational Clowns,” or “the world champion traveling ball club,” or “the greatest traveling club in the nation,” or “the inimitable funsters of the diamond,” or “Syd Pollock’s amazing baseball club,” or “the wonder team from Miami, Florida.” One hyped-up press release in 1940 asserted that “those classy Ethiopian Clowns, who hail from the sunny shores of Miami, Fla., are rated the fastest and peppiest traveling combination touring the U.S. … [They] carry the greatest assembly of Negro baseball talent ever assembled together on one ball club.” The prototype press release went on to note the Clowns terrific won-lost record and the record crowds that greeted them everywhere they played. Top Clown players were identified, with some of their notable pitching and batting accomplishments. Then, the standard press release would turn to the team’s clowning antics and the good time that fans might anticipate at the coming game. With the Clowns playing as many as two hundred or more games in a seven-month season, Pollock’s advance publicity and sports hype helped turn out big crowds for the team’s performances.21

Pollock had few rivals at the time in the art of sports flair and promotion. A few examples from the early forties convey the verbal flavor of this genre of sports publicity. A press release in 1939, for
instance, characterized the Ethiopian Clowns as terrific ball players who in most games

hugged the spotlight with their funmaking. The latter interferes in no whit with their able playing, for with all their horse-play, they show more speed than a flock of gazelles, handle the ball with the dexterity of shell-game manipulators, and at any stage of a tilt, convulse the fans when infielders and outfielders alike recline on the ground while pitchers hurl their smoke ball past their batsmen.... The dusky warriors of the diamond have a continent-wide reputation for mixing mirthful entertainment with outright clever baseball ability.

A year later, Pollock wrote of the Clowns: “Their bats are loaded with dynamite, they are as speedy as a flock of gazelles, and handle the ball with the dexterity of major leaguers.” Notice the similarity of language and imagery in the two press releases, which draw upon stock phrases used often over the years. According to a 1941 Pollock press release, if the Ethiopian Clowns failed to live up to advance expectations, “then Washington never crossed the Delaware, the Yanks never won a national pennant, and the late Chamberlain never said a mean word about Hitler.” Of the Clowns pre-game “pepperball” warmup routine, Pollock wrote: “The Clowns deft manipulation of the spheroid in the ‘now-you-see-it, now-you-don’t’ performance...would put a flock of Houdinis to shame.” Pollock was a man with a mission and an undeniable flair for sports hyperbole.

The Clowns held their own against most of the ball clubs in the Negro Leagues and usually triumphed easily over small-town amateur and semi-pro teams on barnstorming tours. But clowning around was what distinguished the Clowns and what the fans came out to see. And they rarely disappointed those who enjoyed baseball comedy. The Miami Ethiopian Clowns began in the 1930s with the grass skirts and whiteface routines. Players took the field under such names as Wahoo, Tarzan, Impo, Bebop, Abbadaba, Kaliharri, Selassi, King Tut, and Nyasses. For a time in the late 1930s they dressed up in real clown outfits, performed slapstick skits derived from vaudeville and minstrel routines, and amused the crowds with their “shadowball” warm-up activities. Dave Barnhill, later a top pitcher in the Negro Leagues, played for the Ethiopian Clowns in the late 1930s and married
owner Johnny Pierce’s daughter. Barnhill remembered his Clown days in an interview: “We’d come to the park with paint on our faces like a clown. Even the bat boy had his face painted, too. We wore clowning wigs and the big old clown uniforms with ruffled collars. My clowning name was Impo. We’d play ‘shadow ball,’ pretend to hit and throw without any ball at all. They’d ‘hit’ the ball to me, I’d run to field it, I’d jump, turn a flip, grab and throw it like I’m throwing the ball to first base. They’d pay us extra money to do it over again, that’s how good it was. Then when we were supposed to get down to business, we pulled the clown suits off, and we had our regular baseball uniforms underneath. But we didn’t change our faces. We played with the clown paint still on our faces.”

The Clowns were famous for their vaudeville-type, slapstick routines. A tooth-pulling comedy skit invariably got big laughs. A former Clown player, Othello “Chico” Renfro, later a sports writer in Atlanta, described these on-field antics: “We used to take infield practice with an imaginary baseball. The crowd loved it. We played baseball up until the fifth inning, then the fun began.” Two players, King Tut and Goose Tatum, went into their tooth-pulling routine. As Renfro reported the action: “They’d go through a tooth pulling act where Goose was the dentist and Tut was the patient. Tut would fill his mouth up with corn, and Goose kept pulling his teeth and pulling his teeth and it never seemed to do any good. So he’d go get a fire cracker and light it, and as soon as the firecracker would go off, King Tut would jump up and go hollering and spitting out all the corn, like all his teeth were coming out.” “Everyone in the place laughed,” Renfro remembered vividly. Goose Tatum, incidentally, perfected his clowning abilities in black baseball and later became a clowning basketball star for the Harlem Globetrotters.

Over the years, Syd Pollock and his Clown teams perfected baseball comedy and invariably put on an entertaining show. The Clowns had a number of routine slapstick skits such as the tooth pulling act or a popular and funny rowing and fishing routine. But they often improvised as well, especially in non-league games when they were well ahead in the score. Instead of running to first base on a routine infield grounder, the batter might run instead to third base. With runners on first and second, the runner on first base might steal second, while the player on second would run to first. Sometimes the first- or third-base coaches or
the umpires would run the bases, too. The crowds would usually roar
in astonishment and unexpected pleasure. 25

Pollock tempered the on-field clowning somewhat after his team
joined the Negro American League in 1943. But in later years, as Negro
League baseball declined in the 1950s, clowning and novelty acts
became a more important drawing card to maintain a profitable gate.
For instance, Pollock was the first team owner to put a woman in the
lineup as a regular player. In 1953, twenty-three-year-old Toni Stone
from St. Paul, Minnesota, became the Clowns' regular at second base,
hitting a respectable .243 for the season. Stone already had several years
of professional experience in Pacific Coast ball, but the Clowns sold her
contract to the Kansas City Monarchs the next year, where she played
regularly. Meanwhile, the Clowns hired Mamie Johnson and Connie
Morgan to pitch and play second base, respectively. The novelty of
women on the diamond added to the Clowns attendance at a time
when the integrated major leagues had begun to draw fans away from
Negro League games. Pollock tried a lot of other baseball gimmicks, as
well, including dwarf pinch-hitters, one-armed players, a catcher in a
rocking chair, a first-baseman with a three-foot-long glove, juggling
acts, a one-man band in a baseball suit, anything to pull in the fans or
get a laugh. Bill Veeck, who jazzed up major league baseball as owner,
successively, of the Cleveland Indians, St. Louis Browns, and Chicago
White Sox, learned a lot from his friend Syd Pollock. 26

However, as noted earlier, clown baseball had its detractors. As early
as 1939, opposition to clowning around began to surface in the black
press. A. E. White, a syndicated writer for the Associated Negro Press
(ANP), wrote a stinging article about black baseball in July 1939. He
was critical of the powerful role played by white owners, promoters,
and booking agents, who, he wrote, rarely worked for the best interests
of black ball. White promoters and bookers virtually controlled the
scheduling for Negro League teams and barnstorming independents.
Teams and players were powerless pawns exploited for the interests of
others. The worst consequence of this situation, White contended, was
that white owners and promoters expected black ballplayers “to be
clowns and do the unusual in baseball—not play good straight clean
baseball, but dress in grass skirts, adopt fictitious and phoney names
and put on a show before the game and during the intermission between
doubleheaders.” Clearly, this verbal blast was aimed at promoters and
booking agents such as Syd Pollock and Abe Saperstein, and at those who created and profited from such teams as the Zulu Cannibal Giants and the Miami Ethiopian Clowns.27

A year later, at the end of the 1940 baseball season, Pollock was on the defensive once again. This time it was Cum Posey who attacked Pollock and the Ethiopian Clowns. Posey was a powerful figure in black ball, a former player and then owner of Pittsburgh's Homestead Grays, and also a sports columnist for the widely read Pittsburgh Courier. The whole idea of “clowning around,” Posey wrote, was demeaning to Blacks, while invoking the name of Ethiopia held that nation up to ridicule. Posey urged black editors to keep news of the Ethiopian Clowns out of their sports pages.28

Pollock responded immediately and vigorously with an open letter published in many black newspapers rejecting Posey’s charges. He asserted instead that his team was providing both good baseball and good entertainment for tens of thousands of fans throughout the country. Pollock concluded by suggesting that Posey was “motivated more by jealousy, than by … personal interest in the Negro race.” The public exchange between Posey and Pollock reflected some bad feelings between the two men going back more than a decade: In the 1932 season, Pollock pulled his Cuban Stars team out of Posey’s new East-West League, contributing to its demise; and in 1929 Pollock and Posey conducted a bitter public dispute about Negro League rules and business conditions. The verbal battle between Posey and Pollock also exposed some deep fissures in black baseball. The public discussion often focused on the appropriateness of baseball clowning. Behind the scenes, however, the control of white booking agents such as Pollock and Saperstein over ball parks and schedules loomed large.29

The issue simmered into the early 1940s. In a decisive move in December 1941, Negro League owners banned their teams from playing games with the non-league Miami Ethiopian Clowns. As reported in the African American press in January 1942, “the eastern owners had long been of the opinion that the painting of faces by the Clowns players, their antics on the diamond, and their style of play was a detriment to Negro League baseball.” In other action, the owners also banned league teams from playing two other Pollock teams, the Cuban Giants and the Havana Cubans, allegedly because these teams were “using Cuban names for players who … were American Negroes.” But when these
Clowns team photo, early 1940s. This photograph carries the autograph of Buster Haywood who played for the Clowns in the 1940s and managed the team in the 1950s. Courtesy of Raymond A. Mohl.

matters were discussed by black sportswriters, the issue of financial control by booking agents such as Abe Saperstein and Syd Pollock was always given prominence in the decision to ban play with the Miami Ethiopian Clowns. The black owners, it seems, attacked Pollock not just because of his team's on-field clowning but because of his role as a powerful booking agent and his close relationship with Saperstein.30

The ban on the Ethiopian Clowns did not find universal approval. Some black sportswriters supported Pollock and the Clowns. Unlike some black team owners, sports columnist R. E. Rea of the Baltimore Afro-American wrote, Pollock was meeting his payroll, employing black ballplayers, and stimulating fan interest. In a series of articles, Rea challenged the black owners to build their own ball parks, take over their own booking, pay better salaries, and put on a better show to attract fans. The ban on the Clowns, Rea noted humorously, was "as childish a gesture as Snow White's revelry with the Seven Dwarfs." To Rea, the Clowns were not a "detriment" but composed of good players trying to make a living playing ball. "Instead of trying to kill off these star players, it would be better to take them into League circles." Finally, Rea recommended that the black owners work with the white promoters, who were doing a good job for black baseball.31

With the ban on the Ethiopian Clowns about to take effect, Pollock and Saperstein soon posed a new challenge for the Negro League owners.
In March 1942, they announced the formation of a new league—the Negro Major Baseball League of America—with headquarters in Chicago and with several prominent African Americans (including former All-American football star Fritz Pollard) holding official positions in the new league. Teams scheduled to play in the new league included the Chicago Brown Bombers, the Detroit Black Sox, the Boston Royal Giants, the Baltimore Black Orioles, the Minneapolis-St. Paul Gophers, and, not surprisingly, Pollock’s Clowns, now renamed the Cincinnati Ethiopian Clowns. Pollock had been successful with a non-league barnstorming team, but recognized the financial advantages of regular league play in big-city ball parks. Shifting the “home” base from Miami to Cincinnati reflected an effort to tap into fan interest in the Midwest, where most of the new league teams were located.32

The Pittsburgh Courier played a leading role in attacking the new league. The paper’s sports editor, Wendell Smith, blasted Pollock and Saperstein, labeling the new league an “outlaw” organization. It was nothing less, Smith charged, than an effort by the white booking agents to “take over organized Negro baseball.” In the same paper, Cum Posey used his column “Posey’s Points” to condemn the “Abe Saperstein Protective Association.” Saperstein, Posey contended, was “out to keep control of the independent baseball parks of the middle west,” at the expense of the Negro League teams. Pollock, too, came in for Posey’s criticism, as he was “capitalizing on the rape of Ethiopia when that country was in distress” by calling his team the Ethiopian Clowns. Posey also hinted, however, that if Pollock dropped the Ethiopian label, then his team might not be “blacklisted” by the League teams. While sports editor Smith took a hard line toward the new league, Posey offered a softer position—one more open to compromise.33

As the upstart league began the 1942 season, the Courier’s attack on Pollock and baseball clowning intensified. Wendell Smith used his column to skewer Pollock’s Clowns as “the awful Clowns of Negro baseball.” Pollock thought his “minstrel show” was “good enough for Broadway,” Smith wrote, but their performances on the baseball field were demeaning and racially dangerous. The slapstick comedy performed by the Ethiopian Clowns represented to Smith “the kind of nonsense which many white people like to believe is typical and characteristic of Negroes.” While Wendell Smith was attacking clown baseball, he and his newspaper, the Pittsburgh Courier, were at the same time leading a
press campaign to integrate the white major leagues. Not coincidentally, the Courier had earlier led a nationwide campaign against the extremely popular radio comedy, the Amos n’Andy show, claiming that its stereotypical portrayal of African Americans was damaging and demeaning. The Amos n’Andy show survived the newspaper’s crusade against it, but many of the same arguments were now used in the Courier’s attack on clown baseball.34

In retrospect, the Pittsburgh Courier campaign against baseball clowning coincided with three other powerful forces for racial change in the U.S. in the early 1940s. First, American involvement in World War II initiated major social transformations on the home front. Again leading the charge, the Pittsburgh Courier announced that for black Americans the war effort had two goals: victory over totalitarianism abroad and victory over racism and segregation in America. Thus, the “Double-V campaign” was born—a powerful idea that resonated throughout black America. Second, active support for the civil rights movement took off during the war years, with rising membership in the NAACP, a succession of favorable U.S. Supreme Court decisions, and major racial break-throughs for Blacks in union employment and government policy such as the creation of the President’s Committee on Fair Employment Practice (FEPC) and, by 1946, the President’s Committee on Civil Rights. Finally, these changes took place in the context of a great mass migration of southern Blacks to northern and western cities. As a consequence of these transforming developments, black America became restive and more militant. Race riots in Detroit, New York, and elsewhere challenged the racial status quo. Articulate black spokesmen in the press, in politics, and in national race organizations like the NAACP spoke out for racial equality and rejected as offensive the racial stereotyping that had been common in the past. In the cauldron of racial change sparked by the war, clowning baseball was targeted for attack by those adhering to the emergent civil rights agenda. As the newspaper that initiated the “Double-V” campaign, the Pittsburgh Courier led the charge on the sports front. The nation’s largest black newspaper, with a weekly circulation of about two hundred thousand, the Courier played a major role in raising racial consciousness during the war years.35

Black baseball began the 1942 season in controversy, but ended in compromise of sorts. Without the regular contracts typical in white
baseball, Negro League players began jumping to teams in the new rival league that paid slightly better salaries. With their best players jumping ship, their bookings in jeopardy, and their attendance dropping, the resolve of the NNL and NAL owners weakened. By September, after winning the Negro Major Baseball League title, the Cincinnati Clowns were playing double-headers against Negro League teams in violation of the league ban.36

In a final resolution of the dispute with the Negro Leagues, Pollock agreed to drop the Ethiopian name and the most offensive aspects of clown baseball—the whiteface makeup, wigs, grass skirts, and clown suits—and limit most of the slapstick comedy to pre-game activities and between games of double-headers, or to non-League games on barnstorming tours. In return, Pollock's Cincinnati Clowns team was admitted to the Negro American League for the 1943 season, while the existing NAL team from Cincinnati, the Buckeyes, was shifted to Cleveland. The next year, 1944, Pollock's team found a new home in Indianapolis, although they continued to play some “home” games in Cincinnati for a while. The Clowns attracted a large gate for NAL and inter-league games, justifying for a time Pollock's long-term goal of participating in Negro League play. Meanwhile the problem of the white booking agents lingered on unresolved, and within a year, Cum Posey was attacking Abe Saperstein again.37

For the next decade, the Indianapolis Clowns added to the spectator allure of Negro League baseball, even as fan interest and loyalty quickly shifted to newly integrated major league teams such as the Brooklyn Dodgers and the Cleveland Indians, the first teams to integrate. The Negro Leagues ultimately disbanded by the mid-1950s, an inevitable consequence of baseball desegregation and of that increasingly important sports medium—television. One by one the teams folded, and in 1950 those remaining merged into a single Negro American League. The Clowns won four pennants during the early 1950s. The team continued to hold spring training in Miami in the mid-century years, playing numerous exhibition games with a new Pollock team from Cuba, Havana La Palomas, described in the Florida Sentinel as “the new edition to Pollock's Baseball, Inc.” One of the prominent Clown players during this period was Henry “Hank” Aaron, who as a teenager from Mobile, Alabama, signed his first professional contract with Syd Pollock's Indianapolis Clowns in 1952. By mid-season, as Aaron was tearing up
the NAL, the Clowns sold his contract to the Boston Braves for ten thousand dollars, and the rest is history.38

The Negro American League finally collapsed in 1955. Soon after, Syd Pollock sold the Clowns to Ed Hamman, a white professional clown who had traveled with the team for many years. Hamman had earlier learned something about the links between baseball and entertainment as a young man when he played for the original bearded House of David team. Under Hamman, the team continued to barnstorm into the 1980s, but it was all clowning by that time, with no pretense toward baseball professionalism. Oddly, in 1967 the sixty-ish Satchel Paige, still looking forward, signed with the Indianapolis Clowns for one thousand dollars a month, briefly returning to the barnstorming schedule that had always been common in black baseball. Meanwhile, Syd Pollock had moved his family from Tarrytown to Hollywood, Florida, in 1955 and went into the real estate business, although he continued to work as a baseball booking agent and talent scout as well. The Clowns 1958 Souvenir Program and Fun Book humorously suggested that “Syd’s story might almost be called ‘From Sandlots to Houselots,’” a line probably written by Pollock himself.39

The saga of the Miami Ethiopian Clowns, then, reflects some of the cultural and economic complexity of Negro League baseball during its peak years. Clowning around had historically been an integral part of black baseball, but its acceptability waned by the 1940s as civil rights issues became more pressing in black America. The Miami Ethiopian Clowns were popular among both black and white audiences, and they had better attendance statistics than any other black ball team over two decades. But there were many critics; indeed, there were some offensive and demeaning aspects to the clowning tradition. And just below the surface, the dispute between the black team owners and the Jewish booking agents simmered for years. The few historians of black baseball who have discussed clowning have been critical and dismissive, generally following the Pittsburgh Courier’s line of attack. But, as this article has sought to demonstrate, there is a lot more to this fascinating story of Florida baseball history than initially meets the eye.40
Notes


2 Indianapolis Recorder, 18 March 1939, 6 June, 22 June 1940, 1 March, 7 June, 1941, 1 September 1945.


10 Tampa Morning Tribune, 21 May 1895; Chicago Defender, 1 February 1930; Pittsburgh Courier, 20 April 1946; Florida Sentinel, 27 April, 20 July 1946; Miami Tropical Dispatch, 20 July, 10 August 1946, 15


17 Chicago Defender, 23 August 1930; Philadelphia Tribune, 30 May 1940; Holway, Black Diamonds, 94-95; O’Neil, I Was Right on Time, 70-73.


21 For examples of Pollock's exaggerated claims, see Indianapolis Recorder, 24 June, 16 September 1939, 1 June, 22 June 1940, 1 March, 26 April 1941.

22 Indianapolis Recorder, 24 June 1939, 22 June 1940, 7 June 1941; Miami Tropical Dispatch, 22 March 1947.

23 Holway, Black Diamonds, 139-140.


25 For examples, see Chicago Defender, 17 September 1938, 29 August 1942; Indianapolis Recorder, 24 August 1940, 2 August 1941; Frazier "Slow" Robinson, with Paul Bauer, Catching Dreams: My Life in the Negro Baseball Leagues (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 105-106.


27 Baltimore Afro-American, 22 July 1939; Indianapolis Recorder, 22 July 1939; Chicago Defender, 29 July 1939.

28 Indianapolis Recorder, 5 October 1940; Ruck, Sandlot Seasons, 120-136.

Indianapolis Recorder, 3 January 1942; Chicago Defender, 3 January 1942; Baltimore Afro-American, 3 January, 21 February, 7 March 1942; Philadelphia Tribune, 28 February 1942; Pittsburgh Courier, 4 April 1942.

Baltimore Afro-American, 10 January, 30 May 1942.

Pittsburgh Courier, 3 March 1942; Chicago Defender, 28 March, 16 May 1942; Indianapolis Recorder, 28 March, 1 April, 23 May 1942; Alan Pollock interview, 30 July 1998.

Pittsburgh Courier, 28 March, 4 April 1942. Syndicated columnist A. E. White also continued a parallel attack on Saperstein, Pollock, and the Clowns. See Indianapolis Recorder, 8 August 1942.


Pittsburgh Courier’s Double V Campaign in 1942,” American Journalism, 3 (1986), 73-86.

36 Indianapolis Recorder, 28 March, 11 April, 18 July, September 1942.
37 Indianapolis Recorder, 2 January, 13 February, 10 April, 31 July, 2 October 1943, 8 April, 15 April, 8 July 1944.
South Florida’s Prelude to War: Army Correspondence Concerning Miami, Fort Dallas, and the Everglades Prior to the Outbreak of the Third Seminole War, 1850-1855

Christopher R. Eck

Most readers know that the National Archives in Washington, D.C., contain a wealth of historical documents covering all aspects of the American Experience from the colonial era to the present. These documents have been mined for decades by historians seeking to understand the history of the United States. Among the millions of preserved documents are thousands of collections created in the nineteenth century by the United States military during this nation’s epochs of territorial expansion and the ensuing conflicts that arose with the numerous American Indian tribes that were confronted by settlers and the federal government.

Since few people, other than Seminoles and U.S. military personnel, lived in southern Florida for much of the period covering the Seminole Wars, the military correspondence produced by those...
officers stationed in southern Florida with their military commanders and staff members at distant headquarters provides a unique record of a significant period of local and American history. The focus of this article is those letters produced between 1850-1855, extracted from a record group entitled *Letters Sent, Registers of Letters Received and Letters Received by Head Quarters, Department of Florida 1850-1858*. The letters detail military communications covering operations in South Florida prior to the outbreak of the Third Seminole War in December 1855, particularly at the military base first established in 1837 by the U.S. Army at the former Richard Fitzpatrick/William English plantation along the north bank of the Miami River and named Fort Dallas (after Navy Commodore Alexander J. Dallas), which, in no small measure, served as the catalyst for a permanent settlement that would eventually become the City of Miami.

A portion of the U.S. Army map of southern Florida, entitled “Sketch of the Southern part of Florida,” ca. 1842. This portion depicts the area from around Fort Dallas north to Fort Lauderdale. Courtesy of the Broward County Historical Commission.

The following letters, transcribed and edited from collections in the National Archives, have never before been published and they provide new insight into better understanding the lives of those individuals who blazed a trail in this tumultuous period of the area’s past while laying a foundation for its present and future. The Seminole War era drew to the area many officers who had distinguished themselves in prior service, or who would serve with distinction in the coming Civil War for both Union and Confederate forces. The letters these officers produced have been transcribed as written, complete with original spelling and punctuation, and have been annotated to provide the reader with a better understanding of each document’s author and its recipient, and of South Florida history generally.
These writings also demonstrate the relative isolation of the Fort Dallas command from others in central Florida and farther north along the Atlantic coast and Gulf of Mexico. Being stationed at Fort Dallas carried with it additional burdens from most other postings. It was a place apart. Because of its isolation, the military turned to letter writing as one way to counter this remoteness.¹

In July 1850, when these letters begin, fifty-one men were enumerated by County Marshall W.C. Maloney for the purpose of the federal decennial census as being stationed at the “Garrison at the Miami River.” Brevet Major Francis Woodbridge² of Vermont commanded the fort with Lieutenant J.A. De Sagnol³ of New Jersey and Lieutenant James M. Robinson⁴ of New Hampshire as junior officers. The fort’s surgeon was Isaac L. Adkins⁵ of Delaware. The average age of these officers was twenty-eight.

Among the 47 soldiers counted in the 1850 census, 33 of the men—70 percent—were foreign-born. Twenty-five were Irish (53 percent of the total), 5 were German (11 percent of the total), 2 were Scots, and 1 was English. Half of the 14 native-born soldiers were from New York and only two were from Southern states (one each from Georgia and North Carolina). The average age of the troops was twenty-seven. Not only were these men stationed in a forbidding and foreign environment during a time of military tension, but they were truly foreigners themselves—either to the region or to the nation as a whole. Fortunately for them, the first group of soldiers discussed below were only stationed at the fort from September 1849 until the end of 1850.

Letter from Lieutenant Beekman DuBarry to Major Allen Lowd, 18 July 1850

Lowd, Maj A⁶
Comm’d in Indian River
Ad: Gen’s of the Troops in Fla.
Tampa Bay July 18th 1850

Sir,
The Colonel Comm’d in Fla. directs me to say that he wishes you to forward, via Savannah, a semi-monthly field return of your actions and (as far as heard from) (say for the 15th day) & directs that you send your monthly
returns by express party across the country, to leave your post about the 3rd day of each month, should you not have received the return from Fort Dallas, do not detain the express, but from that post, return via Savannah—

I have the honor to be &

B. DuBarry
Lieut. & A. Asst. Adjt. Genl:

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Beekman DuBarry to Major Allen Lowd, 19 July 1850

Lowd, Maj A
Comm* in Indian River

Sir,
The Colonel Comm* in Florida district directs me to say, that if the Depot Commissary at Indian River has not in hand supplies for the troops at Forts Capron and Dallas, to the 15th of November next, you will direct him to make, immediately, requisitions for whatever is necessary required to provision those forts to that date. As soon as a sufficient quantity is obtained, Fort Dallas will be supplied to the 15th of November next.

Yours sir &c -
B. DuBarry
Lieut. & A. Asst. Adjt. Genl:

---

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Thornley S. Everett to Major William W. Morris, 23 September 1850

Morris, Maj. W.W.*
Comm*: Key West

Hd. Qrs. Troops in Florida
Tampa, Sept. 23, 1850

Sir,

By direction of the Col. comm*, I have the honor to enclose herewith a communication for the Com*, Officer at Fort Dallas, which the Col. wishes you to forward by the earliest opportunity to which may chance to offer.

I am Sir Very respectfully
Your Obt. Servt.
Between 1850 and 1854, the Army, acting on behalf of the federal government, attempted to encourage those Seminoles who had evaded capture to remove west to the Arkansas territory. In July 1848, tensions between white settlers and Indians had once again erupted in violence with attacks on white settlements along the New River near the old Fort Lauderdale and along Pease Creek northwest of Lake Okeechobee. The New River attack had sent the settlers fleeing south to Key Biscayne where a Coast Guard cutter found them. A subsequent patrol by Lieutenant Commander B.W. Couch of both the New and Miami Rivers found no signs of Seminoles in the area.

Because the white settlers implored the government for additional military protection, forts that had been abandoned after the end of the Second Seminole War in 1842 began to be reactivated in late 1849—as Fort Dallas was—and 1850. Leading up to the outbreak of hostilities in December 1855, a gradual stepping up of military activity began to occur throughout the state. To the military, if the Seminoles could not be forcibly led out of the peninsula, then one tactic would be to harass them to such an extent that emigration would be preferable. Indians found outside of the territory assigned to them that covered the southwestern portion of the state—from the western boundary of Dade County, north from the Shark River at the southern end of the Everglades to the Kissimmee River above Lake Okeechobee, and west-southwest from the Kissimmee over to the Gulf of Mexico at Charlotte Harbor, and south-southeast back to the Shark River—were subject to seizure by the Army. Nevertheless, the military did require its officers and troops to avoid the occasion for conflict with the Seminoles; thus, an uneasy detente existed.

---

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General Thomas J. Haines to Colonel Samuel Cooper, 10 October 1854
Cooper Col. S.  
Adjt. Gen. U.S.A  
Washington  
D.C.

Head Quarters Troops in Florida  
Fort Brooke,  
10th October 1854

Sir,

In compliance with your instructions of September 21st. I have the honor to submit for the consideration of the Secretary of War, the following reports, in relation to the future disposition of the Troops in South Florida, for the purpose of restraining the Indians, and of impressing them if possible, with the necessity of emigrating.

There are six companies on this side of the Peninsula, (3) three now at Fort Meade, 46 miles East of this Post on Pea River, and three at Fort Myers, 15 miles above the mouth of the Caloosa Hatchee at the highest point on that river, that can be occupied during the rainy season, with disregard to the health and comfort of the Troops.

Details from these companies furnish a Guard, mechanics, laborers and teamsters for this Depot.

I propose, in obedience to your instructions, to open a road from Fort Meade to the Caloosa hatchee with a branch to Fish Eating Creek, or some other point on Lake Okee-cho-bee, and another from Fort Myers to the same point, this last road to pass up the south side of the Caloosa Hatchee as far as the ford at Fort Thompson.

I am at present of the opinion that it is impracticable to construct a road along the Southern Shore of Lake Okee-cho-bee as the waters of that Lake are continuous with those of the Everglades and that all transportation in the middle of the Peninsula and South of Okeechobee, must be by water and in boats or canoes.

The troops now at Fort Meade, can occupy the position on Okee-cho-bee during the winter and spring months, and with a few boats can command that Lake. The exploration of its outlets, more particularly those into the Everglades will be an important duty.

If time permits, during the ensuing season, I further propose to open roads South of the Caloosa hatchee to one or more of the principal Indian Landings on the west side of the Everglades, to Miami river, and other points on the Atlantic side.

All these avenues will be immediately required in the event of hostilities, and in the meantime will greatly annoy the Indians, and tend to confine them to the country South of the Caloosa Hatchee.
I am of the opinion that no location can be found on or near Okeechobee which will be healthy during the rainy season, the whole country being at that time under water. I would therefore suggest that during that portion of the year the Troops near Okeechobee should be withdrawn and either return to Fort Meade or be stationed at Fort Myers and Tampa Bay as many at that time be deemed expedient unless some unforeseen circumstances should dictate a different policy.

On the Atlantic side of the Peninsula, there is but one company, now at Fort Capron, near Indian River Inlet. I do not think that the removal of that force to the vicinity of old Fort Jupiter would be of any advantage; while it would entail much additional trouble and expense in supplying it, as Jupiter Inlet is believed to be so obstructed as to render it nearly if not quite inaccessible even to the smallest coasting vessels.

If any force is considered necessary to give confidence to the frontier Settlers on Indian River, the present Post at Fort Capron is as good as any for that purpose—but I regard the occupation of Key Biscayne Bay as of vastly more importance.

The strip of land between the Everglades and that Bay, although outside the Indian limits, is frequently visited by them. There they procure their chief supply of Koontee, besides it is a favorite hunting ground, and probably the only point where they may procure supplies by contraband trade.

I therefore recommend that two companies be stationed there and that they may be supplied with suitable Canoes for navigating the Everglades.

In case of hostilities a force can move by water from that position across the Everglades to the immediate vicinity of the Indian Settlements. The knowledge of the fact will not be without its influence upon the Indians and a military force at or near the Miami, will annoy them more than would the occupation of any other point.

I shall of course require some additional means of transportation, tools, &c. for the Quarter Masters Department and estimates will be forwarded to new Orleans as soon as practicable.

It is well known to the Department that the operations herein suggested, extend over a very large surface of country and as the force under my control is very limited, the heavy details required to meet the great demand for transportation and labor would reduce the present companies too much to allow of the necessary Guards and of a proper military display. I would urgently recommend that the Companies of
this Command be increased to 74 Privates, under the provision of the Act of June 17, 1850. These views are submitted after free consultation with Capt. Casey.

I have to request that the Topographical Bureau may be directed to furnish me with all sketches of and information concerning the Southern part of Florida, which it may have in its possession.

As it is not proposed that the Garrison at Key West shall take any part in the operations and it is advisable that the officer second in rank and upon whom the command may devolve should be upon the ground and acquainted with the country and operations in progress, I would recommend that the Post be detached from this command.

I am Respectfully
Your Very Obedt. Servt.

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General Thomas J. Haines to Captain Bennett H. Hill, 11 December 1854

Comd’g Officer Batt. 1st Arty. ) Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Near Fort Dallas ) Fort Brooke Dec. 11. 1854
Key Biscayne Bay )

Sir,

The Colonel Comd’g directs that you take post with your command at or near Fort Dallas. The material objects in establishing this Post, are to prevent the Indians from visiting the Koontee grounds to procure Koontee, to confine them within their limits, and to prevent all trade with them in violation of the laws of Florida.

All Indians found without their limits are liable to seizure and will be taken and sent to Fort Myers when practicable, but they will not be fired upon unless it becomes necessary for the safety of the Troops, or some act of hostility shall have been committed by them.

Ten canoes are now being constructed for the use of your command in exploring the Everglades and will be sent you as soon after being furnished as transportation can be procured. You will make requisitions direct upon the Quarter Master General for such other transportation /land and water/ as you may require.

You will cause New river to be examined with a view to the establishment of a small Post, at or near the site of old Fort Lauderdale.
I transmit herewith for your information & guidance copies of the law with reference to trade and of a letter from Capt. J.C. Casey, in charge of Indian Affairs. Also such other information with reference to the country in the vicinity of Key Biscayne bay, as I have been able to obtain.

You will transmit to these Head Quarters, such reports relative to the condition of your Post and vicinity as you may deem necessary for the information of the Colonel Commanding.

Very Respectfully,

Your Obedt Servt.

T.J. Haines

1st Lieut. 2nd Arty.

A.A.A. Genl.

---

Letter from Brevet Colonel John Munroe to Major General Thomas S. Jesup, 19 December 1854

Jesup. T.S.

Mr. Genl.

Washington

D.C.

Head Quarters Troops in Florida

Fort Brooke, Dec. 19, 1854

General,

I have the satisfaction to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th Inst.

The Barges, Whale and Durham Boats which you have providently ordered for the service in Florida being excellently adapted to the uses designed, will with those constructing here pretty much supply our wants in that species of transportation.

In relation to your suggestion of a steamer to be placed on Lake Okeechobee, I am of opinion that rowboats will answer every end proposed as well as any other description of vessel. The Lake is not necessarily so much of a highway as to compel the Indians to make use of it should they desire to migrate, since safe avenues by the Everglades are open to them. A considerable portion of its Circuit has a wide margin of Swamp and the influence of malaria on health in Summer would cause its abandonment during that season.

The Canoes which are constructing for the Okeechobee and the Everglades do not progress so rapidly as we could desire, but the
labor of working them into shape exceeds our estimate of that species of work.

I regret that delay has occurred in sending the Steamer Fashion here. I am informed that she will not be despatched so as to arrive at Tampa until after the beginning of next month.

The companies destined for Key Biscayne I have directed to take post at Fort Dallas, or its vicinity—seven or eight feet of water can be carried within less than half a mile of that point, for this distance a lighter will be required.

The means or wants of the company at Indian River, intended for Fort Jupiter, I am not acquainted with, a depot which I called for some time since not having been received here. It was intended to embrace a reconnaissance as far as Jupiter, and I directed that a duplicate of should be sent direct to the Adjutant General.

I am Respectfully
Your very obedt. Servt.

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Thomas J. Haines to Captain Bennett H. Hill, 29 January 1855

Hill Capt. B.H.
Comd'g Fort Dallas Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Fla. Fort Brooke, January 29, 1855

Sir,

I am directed by the Col. Comd'g to acknowledge the receipt of your communications of January 13th & 18th. It is desired by the Col. Comd'g that the Troops be comfortably quartered, and such are the directions of the Quarter Master General. Such measures as you may think necessary to take for that purpose will be reported direct to the Quarter master General.

A Paymaster was ordered to this Post in August last but has not yet passed.

The Col. Comd'g proposes soon to visit your Post and will then confer with you further relative to the subjects mentioned in your letter.

Very Respectfully
Your obed. Servt.

T.J. Haines
1st Lieut. 2nd Arty.
A.A.A. Genl.
Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General Thomas J. Haines to Brevet Major Joseph A. Haskin, 2 February 1855

Haskin Maj. J.A. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
1st Arty. Comd’g Fort Brooke February 2, 1855
Fort Capron

Sir,

In accordance with instructions from the War Dept: the Col. Comd’g directs that you move with your Command to Old Fort Jupiter, or such other point in its vicinity as you may deem advisable.

The object of establishing a Post at that point was stated in my letter of Nov: 26 ’54. A Blockhouse will probably be erected upon the Eastern Side of Lake Okee-cho-bee, or its site selected before you arrive at Fort Jupiter, and in locating the Post you will keep in view facility of Communication with the block house & of procuring your supplies.

As it is probable that you will be obliged to draw your supplies from Fort Capron, you are authorized to leave at that Post a sufficient guard to protect the Stores and other public property there.

Your letter of Decr. 25 ’54, and the accompanying report of land and water transportation were received; should you deem more necessary, the Col. Comd’g. Directs that you make Requisitions for it (as also for all other Quarter Master Supplies) direct upon the Quarter Master General, as with the present means of communication with your post much delay would be occasioned by sending them to these Head Quarters.

It is hoped that after your arrival at Fort Jupiter more frequent and expeditious communication may be established with you, via Fort Myers & Lake Okee-cho-bee.

As no report or acknowledgment of the receipt of the communication to you from these Head Quarters dated Nov. 26 ’54 has been received, I transmit herewith a copy of that Communication.

Should the examination directed have been made, You will send a copy of the Report to these Head Quarters by the Express rider in his return. You will also send to Fort Dallas copies of all communications sent to this Post by the Express rider, as the Col. Comd’g. Proposed in a few days to visit that Post.

Very Respectfully
Your obedt. Servt.

T.J. Haines
Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Thomas J. Haines to Captain Bennett H. Hill, 2 February 1855

Hill, Capt. B.H.  Head Quarters Troops in Florida
1st Arty. Comd'g  Fort Brooke February 2, 1855
Fort Dallas

Sir,

I am directed by the Col. Comd'g to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of Jany. 2d and to inform you that no mules or horses can be sent you from this side of the Peninsula: you will therefore make requisitions for such as you may require direct upon the Quarter Master General (in accordance with instructions from these Head Quarters, Dated Dec. 11, 1854.).

Very Respectfully
Your obed. Servt.
T.J. Haines
1st Lieut. 2nd Arty.
A.A.A. Genl.

Letter from Brevet Colonel John Munroe to Colonel Samuel Cooper and Major William W. Mackall, 11 February 1855

Cooper, Col. S.  Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Adj. Genl. U.S.A.  Fort Brooke Feb. 11, 1855
Mackall, Maj. W.
Asst. Adj. Gen'l.

Sir,

The Steamer Fashion leaves here to day for Key Biscayne Bay with canoes prepared here for the service of the Troops at Fort Dallas.

I avail myself of this opportunity to make an official visit to that Post. During my absence, Capt. Casey, Subsistence Department, will take charge of all public documents received at these Head Quarters, and distribute such orders as may require it.
I am Sir Very Respectfully
Your obdt. servt.
John Munroe

Letter from Brevet Colonel John Munroe to Brevet Major Joseph A. Haskin, 19 February 1855

Haskin, Bvt. Maj. J.A. 1st Art. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Comds. Fort Jupiter, Fla. Fort Dallas, Feb. 19, 1855

Major,
The Colonel Comds. Directs that you open a practicable road for wagons from Fort Jupiter to the Blockhouse to be established upon the Eastern side of Lake Okeechobee. Cap' Harvey A. Allen, 2nd Art. Has been directed to blaze the above mentioned route.

As soon as the Blockhouse is constructed (which will be done by Capt. Allen, or some other officer detached from the command upon the Caloosa Hatchee), you will send a Detachment consisting of one Comd. Officer (if practicable), one Sergeant, one corporal and twenty Privates to garrison it. They will draw their supplies from Fort Jupiter, and be relieved from time to time by other details as you may direct.

Should it become necessary to communicate with Capt. Hill without delay via Jupiter, you will be informed of the fact, and will forward to him, by Express such communications as may be sent you for that purpose from these Head Quarters or from Bvt. Colonel Harvey Brown, 2nd Art.

Very Respectfully
Your obdt. servt.

Captain T.J. Haines    John Munroe
Actg. Asst. Adj. Genl.  Commanding

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Thomas J. Haines to Captain Bennett H. Hill, 19 February 1855

Hill, Cap'. Bennett H. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
1st. Regt. Artillery  Fort Dallas, Feb'y. 19, 1855
Comdg* Fort Dallas, Fla.

Captain,

I am directed by the Colonel Comdg. To inform you that (to carry into effect the instructions of the Sect' of War) he desires that the different routes (water trails) from Miami & New rivers to Shark River, Prophets Landing & other points on the Western side of the Everglades & routes between these latter points and also the chief inhabited Islands in the Everglades, be carefully explored.

He directs that you will with as little delay as practicable organize a command of about 75 men, to cross the Everglades from Miami to Prophets landing or some other point in the Everglades in its vicinity.

A Command from the Caloosa Hatchee is now engaged in opening a road to, and along the Everglades and a Blockhouse will be established at some point between Prophets & Waxy Hadjo's Landings, probably near the latter.

By skirting along the Everglades between these two landings, the site for the Blockhouse may be found. Your command will communicate with that at the Block House, and after recruiting, return to your Post, by such route as you may direct.

After the return of the command, you will make such of the other examinations desired, as you may deem advisable with as little delay as practicable. The organization of the parties required, and the roster to be examined are left to your discretion, but it is desirable that parties be in motion through the Everglades as much as practicable. Reports of the Explorations will be forwarded to these headquarters.

Should your command meet with Indians without their limits, they will be governed by the Instructions previously given you. Should any be met within their limits, they will not be molested, unless forcible opposition be made by them which must be repelled and the explorations continued.

The parties will not seek communication with the Indians, but should it be sought by them (within their limits) they will be informed that you are carrying out the orders of the President, that you have none but friendly intentions, but that if opposition be made, you are prepared to repel it, and the consequences must rest on their own heads.

Very Respectfully
Your obdt. serv'.

T.J. Haines
Letter from Brevet Colonel John Munroe to Colonel Samuel Cooper, 25 February 1855

Cooper, Colonel S. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Adj' Genl. U.S.A. Fort Brooke Feb'y. 25th 1855

Sir,

I reported in my letter to you dated Fort Brooke Feb'y. 11th that I would avail myself of the opportunity presented by the Government transport steamer Fashion carrying canoes from here to Fort Dallas, to visit that Post.

I left here on the 12th and returned on the 24th and visiting Punta Rassa, Fort Myers, and Key West on my outward trip, and Key West and Punta Rassa on my return.

Copies of my Instructions to Cap' Hill, 1st Artillery commanding at Fort Dallas, and also those for Captain & Bvt. Major Haskins, 1st Artillery, Commanding at Fort Jupiter, are herewith enclosed.

Lieut. Haines, 2nd Art'y. Actg. A.A. Genl., who accompanied me, I left at Fort Dallas, to execute Special Orders No. 14, which orders are also remitted you herewith.

I am, Very Respectfully
Your obdt. servt.
John Munroe
Commanding

Letter from Brevet Colonel John Munroe to Major General Thomas S. Jesup, 25 February 1855

Jesup, Maj. Genl. T.S. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Q't. M't. Genl. U.S.A. Fort Brooke, Tampa Feb'y. 25 1855

General,

I have received your letter of the 14th inst., time is not left me to reply to it in a satisfactory manner. Having returned but yesterday from a visit I
made in the Steamer Fashion to Fort Dallas, Key Biscayne, where she
delivered the ten canoes built in this vicinity for the Everglades.

I regret that I have not at present an available officer to detach on an
examination of the Kissimmee river.

Lieut. James Totten of the 2nd Artillery now on the Coast Survey, and engaged on the survey of the Florida reef, but whose four year tour has expired, would be a most competent person to perform the duty, and I have a reason to believe that it would not be in opposition to his wishes.

I presume that on your application no difficulty would be presented to his being relieved, when I could place, at once, at his disposal the men and boats necessary for the service.

I am Respectfully
Your very obdt. serv'.
John Munroe
Commanding

Letter from Brevet Colonel John Munroe to Major William W.
Mackall, 28 February 1855

Mackall, Maj. W.W. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Asst. Adj. Gen'. } Fort Brook. Feb'. 28 1855
H4 Q5. Dep' of the East

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose you for the information of the
Commander of the Department, and transmitted to General Head
Quarters, Copies of the following enumerated papers, which I have trans-
mitted to the Adj'. Gen'. Of the Army viz.

1. Letter to the Adjutant General
2. Instructions to Capt. Hill, 1st Art'. Com'. at F'. Dallas

I am Very Respectfully
Your obdt. serv'.
John Munroe
Commanding
Letter from Brevet Colonel John Munroe to Colonel Harvey Brown, 7 March 1855

Brown, Col. H. Maj. 2nd Art. (Head Quarters Troops in Florida)

Com’d. Troops on the Caloosahatchee (Fort Brooke March 7, 1855)

Fort Myers

Sir,

I send by the “Texas Ranger” which leaves tomorrow, A.W. Thompson, a deserter from Bvt. Major Haskins Comp’y. D 1st Art’y. who surrendered himself at this Post on the 23rd ultima; be pleased to forward him by the first conveyance that presents itself. Enclosed is a letter to Major Haskins which I request may be transmitted at the same time.

Capt. Montgomery takes with him to Fort Myers a quantity of Carpenter’s tools, should this supply be insufficient, you will have an estimate made out for such articles as may be required. This estimate to be substituted for the last forwarded here by Major Anderson, which in some of its particulars appears to me to be unreasonably large.

The Steamer “Fashion” which left here on the 2nd inst: will be detained at New Orleans about a fortnight for repairs, and is expected to return with lumber &c. Any subsistence or other supplies you may need, I desire may be required for at once, so as to avail ourselves of the conveyance she presents.

20,000 blank Cartridges with percussion Caps are sent you for the service of both posts. As none are retained here you will judge of the economy to be used in their expenditure.

Enclosed I forward for your information copies of my instructions to Cap’t. Hill, 1st Art’y. Com’d. At Fort Dallas and to Bvt. Maj. Haskins 1st Art’y. Com’d. At Fort Jupiter. The latter has, you will perceive been directed to furnish a garrison for the Blockhouse on the East side of Lake Okeechobee and supply it with provisions. If he is deficient in transportation it may be necessary for him to draw his supplies of subsistence from the West side, of this Lieut. Haines can inform you, in which case the present instructions will have to be modified.

After the “Texas Ranger” has fully supplied the posts on the Caloosahatchee, Cap’t. Montgomery is authorized to bring her up here, to return with such Barracks furniture, Medical Stores &c as still remains at this Post. He need not relieve Maj. Anderson until after he has performed this duty.
I would have broken up the Hospital Department but for a Surgical case, which will not bear removal, and have to wait until the individual recovers sufficiently for transportation.

I am Very Respectfully

Your obdt. serv'.

John Munroe
Commanding

Letter from Brevet Colonel John Munroe to Major William W. Mackall, 14 April 1855

Mackall, Maj. W.W. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Hq' Qr'. Dep' of East.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit Charges against Private Patrick Donoghue, Co. "M" 1st Art'y. and to request that a General Court Martial may be convened at Fort Dallas for his trial.

I am Sir, Very Respectfully

Your obdt. serv'.

John Munroe
Commanding

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General Thomas J. Haines to Captain Bennett H. Hill, 20 April 1855

Hill, Cap'. B.H. 1st Art'y. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Commd'. Fort Dallas Fort Brooke April 20. 1855

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of March 10th and the accompanying report & instructions.

The Colonel Commd'. is desirous that the Everglades shall be explored as far as practicable, as soon as the state of the water will permit, and it can be done with a due regard to the health of your command, but the
time of making the examination as well as the portions to be examined is left to your discretion.

As the Detachment now at the Block House near Waxy hadjo's landing will soon be withdrawn, it is advisable that any command which you may send across to that point or vicinity, should take with it sufficient provisions to enable it to return to Fort Dallas.

Very Respectfully
Your obdt. servt.
T.J. Haines
1st Lieut. 2nd Aty.
A.A.A. Genl.

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Thomas J. Haines to Captain Bennett H. Hill, 16 May 1855

Hill, Cap'. B.H. 1st Art'.
Comd's. Fort Dallas

Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Fort Brooke May 16. 1855

Captain,
I am directed by the Colonel Com'd: to inform you that he deems it advisable that the Troops at your Post be supplied with fresh beef by contract. The Steamer Fashion cannot be spared at present for transporting the cattle from Tampa, and no suitable vessel can be obtained for the purpose. It is understood that the Contractor for supplying Fort Jupiter would be willing to take the Contract for your Post.

Very Respectfully
Your obdt. servt.
T.J. Haines
1st Lieut. 2nd Aty.
A.A.A. Genl.

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Thomas J. Haines to Captain Samuel K. Dawson, 22 June 1855

Dawson, Capt. S. K. 1st Art'.
Fort Dallas

Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Fort Brooke June 22, 1855
Sir,

I am directed by the Colonel Comdg. to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of May 28, 1855, and to inform you that he does not deem it necessary to take any action in the case.

Very Respectfully

Your obdt. servt.

T.J. Haines

1st Lieut. 2nd Aty.

A.A.A. Genl.

Letter from Lieutenant Lewis Morris to Major General Thomas S. Jesup, 1 July 1855

Major Genl. T.S. Jesup
Quartermaster Genl. U.S.A.
Washington
D.C.

Office of A. Assist. Quartermaster
Fort Dallas Fla.
July 1, 1855

Genl.,

Agreeable to Par 2 of General Orders No. 11, dated War Dep't. A.G.O. Washington May 23, 1853 I have the honor to report that the following barracks, quarters, hospital and other public buildings occupied by Troops have been built since the establishment of this Post on the third day of the present year.

On our arrival here, we found the walls of a two Story Stone building 42 by 20 feet. This building has been roofed, both stories floored, and a piazza ten feet wide added to the front, and is now occupied as quarters by Co. "P" 1st Art.

There was also the first story walls of a stone building 95 by 17 feet. To this has been added a 2nd Story of boards with piazza (eight feet wide) in front. The first story is now used as a Quartermaster & Commissary Store house; And the Second Story is Occupied as quarters by Co. "M" 1st Artillery.

One frame building 30 by 19 feet with piazza (eight feet wide) in front now occupied as Hospital.

One small frame building twelve feet square for Hospital Kitchen.

One frame building 15 by 20 feet for Post Bake House.

Four frame buildings for officers quarters with piazzas (eight feet wide) in front & rear each building Contains two rooms fifteen feet square with a hall between.
Also the following buildings the sides and roofs of which are thatched with palmetto.

One Stable to accommodate Seven Mules.
One Forage House 15 by 20 feet.
One Blacksmith Shop 15 by 20 feet.
One Carpenters Shop 15 by 20 feet.
Two Kitchens for Co' "L" and "M" 1st Art.'

These buildings have been built entirely by the Troops. All the timber for the frames was hewn out here and hauled in by the men at a distance varying from a Mile to a Mile and a half. The boards, shingles &c. were purchased in New York, Savannah and Key West.

I am, Sir, respectfully
Your Obt. Serv'.
Lewis Morris
1st Lieut. 1st Art.
A. A. Qmr. 51

Approved
B.H. Hill
Capt. [illegible]
Cmmd'g Post

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Thomas J. Haines to Captain Bennett H. Hill, 7 July 1855

Hill, Cap'. B.H. 1st Art.
Fort Dallas
Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Fort Brooke July 7, 1855

Sir,

The Colonel Comd', directs me to inform you that as the order directing Bvt. L'. Col Taylor, Major 1st Art', to forward to Fort Dallas, has been countermanded, he does not feel at liberty to grant your application for a leave of absence, unless the "private business" referred to be of great importance.32

Very Respectfully
Your obdt. servt.
T.J. Haines
1st Lieut. 2nd Aty.
A.A.A. Genl.
Letter from Brevet Colonel John Munroe to Colonel Samuel Cooper and Colonel Lorenzo Thomas, 15 July 1855

Cooper Col. S. } Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Thomas Col. L. }
(A.A. Genl.) Hqrs. Army}

Sir,

As the season for active operations in this Peninsula has closed, and the troops have been withdrawn from the field, I deem it proper to report for the information of the Secretary of War, the duties performed during the Season.

In compliance with your instructions of Sept. 21, 1854, I transmitted to you on the 10th of October, my report and view relative to the proposed operations.

On the 13th of October I directed that Lieut. Benson, 2nd Art'., should be sent to examine the country from Fort Myers (via Fort Thompson) to Fort Meade, with a view to the construction of a road between the two posts. I also directed Major Arnold, Comd'g Fort Meade, to cause the country in the vicinity of the Post to be examined with the same view.

The examinations required having been made, Major Arnold was instructed to open a road from Fort Meade to Fort Thompson, and Capt. Pratt to open one from Fort Myers to the same point. Your instructions of Octb'. having been received, orders were issued on the 12th of November for the permanent abandonment of Fort Meade.

As I was unable to determine what point in the vicinity of Lake Okee-cho-bee would be the best for a Post (as contemplated in your instructions) I directed Maj. Arnold to take post with his command (temporarily) at or near Fort Thompson, at which point he arrived on the 23rd of November.

Temporary Store-houses were constructed there and examinations of the country between Fish Eating Creek and the Caloosa-Hatchee and along the Southern Shore of Lake Okee-cho-bee made (by Lieut. Hartsuff) with a view to ascertain if a suitable point for a Post could be found near to lake Okee-cho-bee than that already occupied: an examination of Fish Eating Creek to its entrance into Lake Okee-cho-bee was also made by Lieut. Vincent.
It was found that the whole country examined was subject to overflow and that neither Fort Thompson nor any other point nearer the Lake would be tenable during the rainy season. I therefore deferred establishing the command permanently until I could make a personal examination of the country along the Caloosa-Hatchee below Fort Thompson.

On the 26th of November instructions were issued to Bvt. Major Haskins, 1st Arty. Comd’g Fort Capron to cause the inland water route between Fort Capron & Jupiter and the country in the vicinity of the latter part to be examined with a view to the transfer of his company to that point. The examination was made by Lieut. Hill 1st Arty. who found this route practicable for boats drawing not more than 3 feet. The bar at Jupiter was entirely closed.

On the 11th of December instructions were transmitted to Key Biscayne Bay for the guidance of the officer in command of a Detachment of the 1st Arty. under orders for that point. The principal objects of establishing a post there were to prevent contraband trade with the Indians, to confine them within their limits, and to exclude them from the Koontee grounds.


On the 13th, Col. Brown was placed in command of the Troops serving upon the Caloosa-Hatchee.

On the 16th, I left Fort Myers in company with Col. Brown for Fort Thompson. It being evident from the water marks upon the trees that the country in the vicinity of the Post is covered with water during the rainy season. I deemed it advisable at once to withdraw the command from that position. As the site of old Fort Deynaud appeared to be the most eligible and least liable to overflow. I selected that point for the Post.

On the 20th of January the following instructions were issued for the guidance of Col. Brown.

“You will direct Major Hays to move to Fort Deynaud with the Command, leaving at Fort Thompson a non-Com’ officer & ten men to guard the stores and provisions which may be left there.

At Fort Deynaud will be the Depot for the supply of the Troops on Lake Okee-cho-bee and a position of those in the vicinity of the Everglades. You will cause such stores and blockhouses to be constructed as you may deem necessary for the safety of the public property.
It will be necessary to build a blockhouse opposite to Fort Deynaud and you will cause a bridge to be built across the river or a float to be constructed as you may deem advisable.

After having established his command at Fort Deynaud, Major Hays will detach an officer with a party of men to construct a blockhouse upon Fish Eating Creek near the site of old Fort Centre—another blockhouse will also be constructed upon the East Side of Lake Okee-cho-bee and as far South as practicable.

You will without delay organize a command of about 150 men for the purpose of opening roads in the direction of the Everglades & Indian towns.

A road will first be opened to Depot N°. 1 or some point in that vicinity where you will establish a Depot & construct a Block-house and such other defenses as you may deem necessary.

You will cause the country between the Depot & Fort Deynaud to be examined and if necessary open a road between the two points.

From the Depot you will cut a road to such a point upon the Everglades as may be deemed the most practicable then along the Everglades as far as you may deem practicable.

The organization of the different Commands necessary to carry on the above operations is left to your discretion, but it is advisable that the labor should be equalized throughout your command (officers and men) as much as possible.

You will cause a block-house to be erected at Punta Rassa to protect the store house and a guard will [be] kept at that post after the store house is erected.

Two additional Store houses will be erected at this Post, also a new Hospital or the old one enlarged, additional cantonments will also be constructed for the accommodations of the Troops which it may become necessary to withdraw from Fort Deynaud and vicinity during the Summer months.

In accordance with these instructions Lieut. Robertson 2nd Arty. was directed to examine the trails leading from Fort Myers to Cholalapuko, which having been done, Capt. Pratt 2nd Arty. left Fort Myers on the 25th with companies "G" and "I" 2nd Arty. and accompanied by Lt. Hartsuff as Acting Topgl. Engineer with detailed instructions from Col. Brown based upon the above cited.

He opened a road to Depot N°. 1 and after examining the country in the vicinity with Lieut. Hartsuff, selected as a Site for a Block-house a
pine island about one fourth of a mile from the big Cypress and a mile south from the head. A block-house and picketting were erected at that point and called Fort “Simon Drum”.

On the 17th of February Capt. Pratt’s command was relieved by Co.s “E” & “C” under command of Capt. Elzey 2nd Arty. A road was opened from Fort Simon Drum to Fort Deynaud by the companies, while en-route between the two places—Capt. Elzey after building a causeway across the Okholoacoochee about 2 miles North of Fort Simon Drum, marched with his command on the 23rd of February for Waxy Hadjo’s landing—having selected the most eligible position for a blockhouse in that vicinity he commenced its erection on the 27th. The point selected is the most Southern (near the Everglades) that it is practicable for wagons to reach. A Blockhouse and picketting were erected here and called Fort Shackelford—This work having been completed Capt. Elzey marched on the 13th for Fort Simon Drum at which point he was relieved by Co.s “L” & “K” under command of Bvt. Major Hays 2nd Artillery who proceeded with his command to the Eastward of the Okholoacoochee and established a temporary Depot. After examining the country between the Okholoacoochee and the Everglades he proceeded to the westward of the Okholoacoochee established another temporary depot, and examined the country to the South & West and in the direction Maleo river. Lieut. Platt 2nd Arty. with Co. “K” reached a river supposed at the time to be Maleo, but afterwards ascertained by him to be about 8 miles North of it.

Major Hays and Lieut. Hartsuff, Acrg. Topgl. Engineer, having reported that the exploration had been extended as far as practicable, Major Hays was directed on the 18th of April to return with his company to Fort Deynaud via Fort Thompson and Co. “K” to proceed direct to Fort Myers.

On the 2nd of April I left this Post for Fort Myers. On the 13th instructions were given to Col. Brown to send out another Detachment to visit Fort Drum & Shackelford, make such further examinations as might be deemed necessary and relieve the garrisons at the Blockhouses. In accordance with these instructions Co.s “E” & “C” under command of Capt. Elzey marched on the 2nd of May and reached Fort Simon Drum on the 5th, having performed the duties required, on the 10th the Companies left Fort Simon Drum for their respective Posts.

While these operations were being carried on South of the Caloosa-Hatchee, blockhouses had been constructed near the sites of old Forts
McRae and Centre by Detachments under command of Capt. Allen & Lieut. Vincent 2nd Arty., the former was completed early in April, and the latter late in February, and both were garrisoned until the season was so far advanced as to render their temporary abandonment advisable.

A Store-house and blockhouse were also erected at Punta Rassa.

On the 2nd of February Major Haskins 1st Artillery was directed to move with his command to Fort Jupiter, to open a road to the Blockhouse on the East side of Okee-cho-bee and to garrison that blockhouse but subsequent examinations by Capt. Allen & Lt. Haines showing that it was impracticable to open the road without greater labor than the advantages to be gained would warrant, the latter portion of the instructions were countermanded.

On the 12th of February I left this Post on the Steamer "Fashion" for Fort Dallas with canoes and the Indian guide Chai for the use of the command at that Post in exploring the Everglades. In accordance with instructions which I had given Capt. Hill 1st Arty. Com'd the Post, Capt. Dawson 1st Arty. left Fort Dallas on the 1st of March with a Detachment consisting of 75 officers, Non-Comd. Officers and Privates for the purpose of exploring the water trails from the Miami to Prophets Landing, after proceeding to a point some 23 miles South and 20 West from the Miami he was obliged on the 4th to turn back, there not being sufficient water to allow of further progress.

Instructions have been given to Capt. Hill to attempt the explorations again as soon as the water has risen sufficiently.

On the 18th of April Lieut. Benson left Fort Centre with a Detachment of men to examine the Kissimmee river from its outlet to Lake Kissimmee, and from that Lake to Lake Tohopkeliga with a view of ascertaining if the Kissimmee river and the Lakes North of it were navigable by a light draft Steamer. He examined the Kissimmee, Lakes Kissimmee and Cypress, and the outlet of Lake Gentry, but was unable to enter lake Tohopkeliga on account of obstructions caused by water lettuce, willows, grass and briers. On his return he coasted along the shore of Lake Okee-cho-bee and relieved the garrison at Fort McRae.

From the report of Lieut. Benson it appears that the Kissimmee is impracticable for boats of greater length than 60 or 70 feet or of greater draft than 3 or 4 feet, on account of the short bends, strong currents, narrow channels and shallowness of the water, it being at some points not
more than 4 feet in depth. Pine wood can be obtained only at one point, and that 29 miles above the mouth of the river. On the 18th of April, Capt. Pratt 2nd Arty. left Fort Myers with his company to examine the rivers and keys South of Maleo River as far as practicable. He extended his examination as far as Pavillion Key and returned to Fort Myers on the 3rd of May.

Lt. Platt subsequently examined the shore and rivers from Punta Rassa to Maleo.

Between Fish-Eating Creek and the Caloosa-Hatchee, and South of that river, many Indian huts and small fields were found, but few Indians however were seen. They had generally abandoned their homes and sought to avoid the Troops.

The Country examined South of the Caloosa-Hatchee so reported as entirely worthless for agricultural purposes with the exception of a few small scattered Hammocks, and in the summer season, nearly the whole of it is under water.

Soon after the withdrawal of the Troops from the field, the command at Fort Deynaud was attacked with the Scurvey and dysentery, and upon the recommendation of the Medical Officer, I directed the command (with the exception of a guard of Officers & 40 men) to encamp near Fort Myers, where it is proposed to retain it during the Sickly Season.

I transmit herewith an extract from the report of Col. H. Brown, Major 2nd Arty. of the operations of the troops under his immediate command, also an outline sketch of a portion of the big Cypress Swamp. A Map of the whole country in which the Troops have been operating during the winter will be forwarded as soon as it can be prepared.

I am Sir, Very Respectfully
Your Obedt. Servt.

John Munroe
Commanding

Letter from Brevet Colonel John Munroe to Colonel Samuel Cooper, 15 August 1855

Cooper Col. S. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Adjt. Genl. Fort Brooke, August 15. 1855
Sir,

I have the honor to report for the information of the Secretary of War that Capt. Dawson, 1st Arty. left Fort Dallas on the 19th of June with a Detachment comprised of two commissioned officers and 63 Non-Comd. Officers and Privates for the purpose of coasting the Everglades and reaching Waxy Hadjo's Landing if practicable.

With great difficulty he succeeded (on the 25th of June) in reaching a point "North of Prophets Landing and Six miles East of it" but was unable to proceed farther North, for want of water. The men being unable to drag the canoes through the mud, the nearest approach that could be made to the Big Cypress was at a point some few miles South of Prophets landing and here they were unable to approach nearer than three miles.

The men having been "entirely worn out" they were allowed to remain in Camp on the 26th commenced their action on the 27th and arrived at Fort Dallas on the 30th.

Capt. Dawson estimates the distance passed over to be "something like two hundred and forty miles" and that the canoes were dragged something like thirty-six miles, at times the utmost exertion being required with the crews doubled to force them through the saw grass.

No Signs of Indians were seen.

The Indian guide (Chai) who accompanied Capt. Dawson represents that the country is greatly changed since he crossed it Sixteen Years ago. The Keys having become larger and more numerous.

Capt. Hill Comd'g Fort Dallas reports that Citizens who have resided from 10 to 12 years on the Miami inform him that there has been a very perceptible filling up of the Everglades and that at no time is there much water there as formerly.

The two attempts made to cross them tend to show the Truth of these Statements and they are also confirmed by the Indian Guide, who formerly lived on one of the Keys passed by Capt. Dawson.

I transmit herewith a tracing from Lieut. Langdon's sketch of the route pursued.

I am Sir, Very respectfully
Your Obedt. Servt.
John Munroe
Commanding
Letter from Brevet Colonel John Munroe to Major William W. Mackall, 15 August 1855

Mackall Maj. W.W. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
A.A. Genl. Fort Brooke August 15. 1855.
Hq. Qrs. Dept. East

Sir,

I have the honor to forward herewith for transmittal to the Head Quarters of the Army, an extract from my report to the Adjutant General relative to an explanation of the Everglades made by Capt. S.K. Dawson, 1st Arty.

I am Sir, Very respectfully
Your Obedt. Servt.
John Munroe
Commanding

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General Thomas M. Vincent to Commanding Officers at Fort Myers, Camp Daniels, and Fort Dallas, 30 October 1855

Commanding Officer ) Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Fort Myers ) Fort Brooke, October 30. 1855.
Fla. ) Sir,

Commanding Officer ) By direction of the Colonel Commanding
Camp Daniels ) I have the honor to forward you a
Fla. ) Skeleton Sketch of a portion of South

Commanding Officer ) Florida, for the use of the Post, and for
Fort Dallas ) which the commanding officer will
Fla. ) please hold himself responsible.

I am Very Respectfully
Your obdt. Servt.
T.M. Vincent
2d Lieut. 2d Artillery
A.A. Adjt. Genl.
Letter from Brevet Colonel John Munroe to Colonel Samuel Cooper, 8 December 1855

Cooper Col. S. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
   Comd'g Troops on C.H.⁸⁵ } Fort Brooke. Dec'. 8, 1855.
   Fort Myers. }

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27ᵗʰ ultimo,⁶⁵ directing that the Post of Fort Jupiter be abandoned and suggesting that I cause the garrison (Company "D" ¹ᵗ Arty.) to move to Fort Dallas or the Caloosa-hatchee, “with a View to ulterior operations in the Indian Country.”

In exercising the discretion confided to me, I have —thinking it the most expedient— ordered that Company to the Caloosa-hatchee.

I am, Very respectfully
Your Obedt. Servt.
John Munroe
Com'g

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Thomas M. Vincent to Captain Bennet H. Hill, 15 December 1855

Hill Capt. B.H. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
   Comd'g Ft. Dallas Fort Brooke Dec'. 15, 1855
   Fla.

Captain,

I am directed by the Colonel Commanding to inform you that with the ultimate view of having a connected route between the Miami and Kissimmee Rivers, he wishes you to detail an exploring party consisting of a Commissioned officer and a detachment adequate to the duties of the exploration —to examine a route for a wagon road from the bluff on the Ratones to Fort Jupiter— so as to connect with the road leading from there to Fort Basinger.

It is believed that the bluff about three miles from the mouth of the Ratones will be the best point of departure for the road, so from that point to Fort Dallas water communication could be effected. It would be desirable
that the road might lead from a point nearer Fort Dallas, or direct from Fort D. if practicable. The selection, however, of the point of departure is discretionary with yourself.

The officer in charge of the exploration will make a detailed report to you to be forwarded to these Hds: Qrs: concerning the character of the Country embracing the nature of the soil, that of the water courses, kind of timber met with &c &c. He will accompany his report by a sketch, exhibiting the topographical features of the Country examined.

I am Very Respectfully
Your obdt: Servt.
T.M. Vincent
1st. Lieut. 2nd. Artillery
A.A. Adjt. Genl.

Second Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General Thomas M. Vincent to Captain Bennet H. Hill, 15 December 1855

Hill Capt. B.H. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Comd’g Fort Dallas. Fort Brooke. Dec’ 15. 1855
Fla.

Captain,

I am directed by the Colonel Commanding to inform you that in relation to Indian Affairs, he deems his instructions to you of Dec’ 11. 1854 and Feb’y 19th 1855, as embracing all that is essential to the Subject.

The Colonel’s anxiety to have the Indians kept within their boundaries—and more particularly to exclude them from the Koontee Grounds—induces him to desire that you will keep parties in constant motion.

The Colonel has been informed that the line of Coast extending North and South from Fort Lauderdale furnished Koontee as abundantly as that South of the Miami.86

I am Very Respectfully
Your obdt: Servt.
T.M. Vincent
1st. Lieut. 2nd. Artillery
A.A. Adjt. Genl.
On December 7, 1855, an exploring party under the command of Lieutenant George L. Hartsuff left Fort Myers with two non-commissioned officers, and eight privates and headed southeast into the Big Cypress towards the settlement of Seminole leader Holata Micco, or Billy Bowlegs. On several occasions over the next several days, the soldiers caught fleeting glimpses of Seminoles, who avoided contact with them.

On December 18, the party came across the settlement’s deserted fields and houses. Though there is disagreement over the significance of the arrival of Hartsuff’s troops into Bowlegs’s settlement and whether it was the actual cause of the Third Seminole War, the presence of the soldiers—who apparently trampled some of the crops and took some of Chief Bowlegs’ bananas from his gardens—may well have incensed the Seminole leader for its disrespectful quality. As the soldiers pressed on the following day they found several other Seminole encampments and villages and learned that both Fort Simon Drum and Fort Shackelford had been burned.87

Then, on the morning of December 20, set to return to Fort Myers, Hartsuff’s soldiers were attacked. Four men of the detachment were killed, several were injured, and Hartsuff himself—seriously wounded by three shots—was separated from his men and hid from his attackers until he made it to safety on December 23. The correspondence below reflects the initial information received after several privates from the detachment reached Fort Myers late on December 21 to alert the command of the attack. War had once again begun.

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Thomas M. Vincent to Captain Bennet H. Hill, 22 December 1855

Hill Capt. B.H. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Comd’g Ft. Dallas Fort Brooke. Dec. 22d 1855

Captain,

I am directed by the Colonel Commanding to enclose you herewith, some communications for Major Haskin Commanding at Fort Capron, and request you to forward them to Major H. with all possible dispatch. The communications refer to the late outbreak by the Indians (the particulars of which I herewith transmit) and the movement of Major H’s command to
Fort Myers. It is necessary that Major H. should receive the communications without delay.

I am Very Respectfully
Your obdt: Servt.
T.M. Vincent
1st. Lieut. 2d. Artillery
A.A.Adjt. Genl.

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Thomas M. Vincent to Captain Bennet H. Hill, 23 December 1855

Hill, Capt. B.H. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Comd'g Fort Dallas. Fort Brooke. Dec'. 23d. 1855.

Sir,

I am directed by the Colonel Commanding to inform you of the attack of an exploring party under command of 1st Lieut. G.L. Hartsuff 2nd Arty. by the Indians. In consequence of this outbreak the instructions contained in my communication of the 15th inst: Concerning the survey of a road to Fort Jupiter—are suspended.

I send you a copy of the Peninsular Extra which will serve to inform you of the particulars of the attack so far as ascertained. All Indians met with will be considered as hostile. It is important that parties sent out for explorations &c. Shall be sufficiently strong for their own protection.

I am very respectfully
Your obedt: Servt.
T.M. Vincent
1st. Lieut. 2d. Artillery
A.A.Adjt. Genl.

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Thomas M. Vincent to Captain Israel Vogdes, 23 December 1855

Vogdes, Capt. I. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Comd'g Key West Bks. Fort Brooke. Dec'. 23d. 1855.

Captain,

I am directed by the Colonel Commanding to inform you that
Captain J.M. de'Oca of the Schooner “Experiment,” and bearer of this to you, has in charge some very important communications concerning the late Indian Outbreak, which it is necessary for the commanding officer at Fort Dallas to receive as soon as possible. The Colonel therefore requests that you will see the communications referred to forwarded without delay. Capt. Casey has written Mr. Baldwin requesting him to forward communications by the Revenue Cutter —Lieut. Randolph Commander— if she should be in port, if the Cutter cannot take them to Fort Dallas and the regular mailboat is not about to leave immediately, then Captain De Oca is to take the communications to Fort Dallas with his own vessel.

The enclosed Copy of the “Peninsular Extra” will serve to inform you of the particulars of the outbreak so far as ascertained. Several communications were sent to Commanding Officer at Fort Dallas via Key West in the last steamer, if they have not yet left Key W. will you please see them forwarded also.

I am very respectfully
Your obedt: Servt.

T.M. Vincent
1st. Lieut. 2nd. Artillery
A.A. Adjt. Genl.

Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Thomas M. Vincent to Captain Bennet H. Hill, 24 December 1855

Hill. Capt. B.H. Head Quarters Troops in Florida
Comd’g Fort Dallas. Fort Brooke, Dec’. 24. 1855.

Captain,

Since writing my communication of the 22d. The Colonel Commanding has directed me to call your particular attention to his previous instructions to you concerning explorations of the Koontee Grounds and Everglades. It is the Colonel’s desire that you keep parties of sufficient Strength constantly moving through the Koontee region, and if the Stage of water permits —through the Everglades taking advantage of every opportunity presented to act offensively with the Indians.

I am very respectfully
Your obedt: Servt:
Letter from Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
Thomas M. Vincent to Colonel Harvey Brown, 24 December 1855

Brown, Col. H. Head Quarters Troops in Florida

Colonel,

The Colonel Commanding directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 21st inst. Your report of the attack on Lieut. Hartsuff’s party, with the report of the Col: Commd’g has been forwarded to Washington.

If the exigencies of the Service require, the assemblage of the Regl. Board on the 7th prox: will be suspended. The Colonel will visit Fort Myers the next trip of the Ranger early enough to make proper disposition of the case. If the services of the Ranger can be dispensed with, it is the Colonel’s wish that she should return to this post early enough to permit him to visit Fort Myers and to be there at least two or three days previous to the 7th prox:

The mail Schooner “Experiment” has been sent to Key West with dispatches for the Miami —to proceed to the Miami if necessary— you will please make other arrangements for sending the mail from your post next Sunday.

Temporarily, until the authorities at Washington can be heard from —your Qr: Master will be authorized to draw Subsistence from the Commissary for the Crew of the Ranger.

By direction of the Col. Comd’g I have made a requisition on the Commissary at New Orleans for 50,000 rations of subsistence, one half of the Quantity to be forwarded immediately to this post —the remainder to Punta Rassa.

The Colonel presumes there was no intention of Sending Sampson out with the Troops, and Capt. Casey has mentioned to the Col. that under Such Terror of the Indians it would have been worse than useless to have employed him in that way.

M’. Stevens the Beef Contractor visits you, for the purpose of making additional arrangements concerning the delivery of Beef.
A supply of ammunition goes down in the Ranger.
I am very respectfully
Your obedt: Servt:
T.M. Vincent
1st. Lieut. 24th. Artillery
A.A. Adjt. Genl.

Letter from Brevet Colonel John Munroe to Colonel Samuel Cooper,
26 December 1855

Cooper, Col. S.
Adjt. Genl.

Head Quarters Troops in Florida

Colonel,

I have the honor to report, that in consequence of the recent Indian outbreak, requisitions have been made on the Qr: Master's Dept. at New Orleans for additional means of transportation for the Troops serving on the Caloosahatchee. I have made a requisition of a similar character but limited in amount for this post —draft mules, wagons, horses, and forage, &c.

I made a requisition on the Commissary of Subsistence at New Orleans for Fifty Thousand rations of subsistence in addition to the ordinary estimates —one-half to be delivered at Fort Myers, and the other moiety at this post.

I sent by way of Key West (the vessel sailing on the 24th.) instructions to the Officer Commanding at Fort Dallas, informing him of the changed condition of our affairs with the Seminoles —that they were to be treated as enemies— and that his command was to be kept in constant activity.

An Express left this post by land yesterday morning with instructions to Major Haskin, Commanding at Fort Capron who had received previous instructions to transport his company to the Caloosahatchee by water, and his teams to Fort Myers by land via: Fort Deynaud, that they were so far modified, as that the teams would be protected by a suitable guard, and to proceed to Fort Meade.

Immediately after receiving the news of the outbreak I extensively informed the Citizens on the frontier of the occurrence, and had it urged upon them to Fort themselves for mutual protection and not to think of falling back on the interior settlements. I hope and believe that the most of them will act on that view.
It might be expedient temporarily and until other arrangements can be perfected—to call out a limited number of Volunteer Companies—say three. One Company to defend the line of Pea Creek, thence toward the Kissimmee, and serve as escorts for the Beef Contractors Cattle to Fort Deynaud—to be supplied at Fort Meade from Tampa. One Company about Fort Gatlin and that section to be supplied via the St. Johns. One Company to protect the intermediate settlements and connecting with the other two—supplies drawn from Tampa.

I wrote to Department Head Quarters on the 1st inst. stating that the officers serving with the troops were too few, and that the service must suffer if the number was not materially increased, desiring that the Communication might receive such direction and consideration as its importance merited. That was before the outbreak, and the reasons assigned will apply now with redoubled force. I have therefore to regard that the subject may receive your earliest attention.

I am very respectfully
Your obedt: Servt:
John Munroe
Comm'g

These letters serve to illuminate the details of the circumstances that led to the outbreak of the Third Seminole War in late December 1855. They show both the isolation and the interconnectedness of Fort Dallas to the other Army command centers throughout South Florida and its importance to American military strategy by serving as an outpost in patrolling the Everglades, in preventing contraband trade with the Seminoles, and prohibiting their use of the coontie harvesting areas in the extensive pine forests east of the Everglades.

In retrospect, it was perhaps inevitable that the tactics used by the Army in restricting the Seminole people would lead to conflict. Unfortunately, the contents of these documents do not provide any evidence of the perspective of the Indians regarding the conflict that engulfed the parties, but they do show how the events leading up to December 20, 1855, became the prelude to the last war between the U.S. military and the Seminole people.
Notes

1 For example, one letter sent by Brevet Major Woodbridge, the commander of Fort Dallas on May 25, 1850, requesting leaves of absences for men in Company “F” of the Second Artillery stationed at Miami, did not arrive at Fort Brooke until June 14, 1850, and a second letter sent on July 1, 1850, was received on July 17, 1850. See National Archives, Letters Sent, Roll 1, Target 9, Registers of Letters Received by Head Quarters Troops in Florida, Vol. 1, June 1850-December 1854, pp. 123 “W” and Letter 7.

2 Woodbridge was a 1837 graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York, who was elevated to Brevet Captain and, later, Brevet Major for gallantry and meritorious conduct after several battles during the War with Mexico in 1847. He was formally raised to the rank of Captain in December 1847. The distinction of Brevet allows an officer to use the brevetted rank as a title while getting paid at the highest formal rank, in this case as Captain.

3 Nothing has been found concerning the background of De Sagnol. His place of birth is given as New Jersey in the U.S. Census of 1850, however, the official Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, as well as several other sources contain no information about him. De Sagnol is a fairly uncommon French name and the Jersey City, New Jersey, city directories from 1889-1893 do list the family of a French coppersmith, Etienne Sagnol, as residents, but it is not known whether they were related or not.

4 Robinson, who would later change his name to “Robertson”, rose from the rank of private upon joining the army in December, 1838 to that of Second Lieutenant in the Second Regiment of Artillery by June, 1848. He was later elevated to the rank of First Lieutenant in September, 1852 and, by the outbreak of the Civil War, was Captain in May, 1861. As a Union officer, he was brevetted for conduct in battle to Major in June, 1862 (following the Battle of Gaines Mill, Virginia), to Lieutenant Colonel in July, 1863 (after the campaign at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania), Colonel in May, 1864 (after the Battle of Cold Harbor, Virginia), and Brigadier General in March, 1865 for service while attached to the Army of the Potomac.

5 Adkins served only briefly as a military surgeon, his service running from his enlistment on November 23, 1849 to his resignation on October 9, 1852.
Lowd, a Massachusetts-born officer who entered army service in 1814 as Second Lieutenant, was raised to the rank of Major for gallantry in the defense of Fort Brown (Brownsville), Texas, during the War with Mexico, May 9, 1846.

"Commdg." or "comd'g." are all variants of the abbreviation for "commanding" and are often paired with "Col.", as in the "Colonel commanding" the post that is being referred.

Abbreviation for "Adjutant General."

DuBarry was a New Jersey-born graduate of the United States Military Academy (1849) at West Point who achieved the rank of Second Lieutenant of the Third Artillery, February 13, 1850. He would achieve the rank of Colonel as a Union officer during the Civil War and rise to the rank of Brigadier General by the time of his retirement from the army in 1892.

Morris was an 1820 West Point graduate who was brevetted to Major during the Second Seminole War on January 27, 1837 for gallantry and effectiveness in his command within Florida. He achieved the rank of Brigadier General for the Union in 1862 during the Civil War and was elevated for service during that war to the rank of Major General on December 10, 1865. He died the next day.

A copy of the communication being referred to was not found.

Abbreviation for "Obedient Servant," a traditional form of polite closing, which also acknowledges the military hierarchy, though the form was not confined to the military.

Everett was a Virginian who entered the Army as a private in October, 1841 and who rose to the rank of Second Lieutenant by September, 1848. He resigned his commission in 1852, but, though a Southerner, entered service as a U.S. Army Captain in August 1861. He again resigned active military service in April, 1862, but remained as a civilian employee for the Union Quarter Master's Department. Captured in April, 1864 by Confederate forces, he died four months later at Andersonville Prison, Georgia.


Haines was a New Hampshire-born West Point graduate (1849) and a classmate of Beekman DuBarry. Rose to the rank of Colonel and Assistant Aide-
de-Camp during the Civil War in 1862 and Brevet Brigadier General in 1865.

17 Cooper, a New York native and Military Academy graduate, entered the service as a Brevet Second Lieutenant of light artillery in December, 1815. Elevated to the colonelcy in May 1848 for service during the War with Mexico, he resigned his commission as a Federal officer in March, 1861 and entered the service of the Confederacy as a General of the Adjutant-General and with the Inspector-General from 1861 through 1865.

18 Fort Brooke was located in present-day Tampa.

19 Also known as Pease Creek that enters into Charlotte Harbor on the Gulf of Mexico. Today this is known as the Peace River.

20 Fort Meade was on the upper reaches of Pease Creek and almost sixty miles north of the Caloosahatchee.

21 Fish-eating Creek enters Lake Okeechobee on its western shore above Fort Centre.

22 Fort Thompson is about three-quarters the distance upstream on the Caloosahatchee between the Gulf of Mexico and Lake Okeechobee.

23 Fort Capron was located just a little north of Fort Pierce along the western shore of the Indian River lagoon.

24 Coontie (Zamiaria pumila) is a native plant in the cycad family, similar to the exotic ornamental sago palm commonly planted today, that has a large root that produces an edible starch that was an important dietary staple and cash crop for both the Seminole and early white pioneer populations.

25 Contraband trade had long been carried out with the Indians of Florida, with the Seminoles at this time and even earlier with the Tequesta and Calusa, by fishermen and other mariners coming over to Florida from the Bahamas and Cuba since at least the early eighteenth century.

26 "An Act to Increase the Rank and File of the Army, and to Encourage Enlistments" was passed by the 31st Congress and signed by President Zachary Taylor, himself a veteran of the Florida Wars, and it allowed the President, if he believed necessary, to increase the number of privates in a light artillery company that is stationed on the frontier to 74, as a deviation from the standard number of 64.

27 Captain John Charles Casey was an Englishman by birth and a graduate of the U.S. Military academy in 1829. He participated in the Battle of Okeechobee—the largest land battle between American troops and Seminole warriors fought during the Florida Wars— on Christmas, 1837. In 1848, he was appointed as an agent for Indian Affairs and sought to rebuild trusting relationships between the Indians and the government.
It was Casey who was also authorized to serve as an intermediary with the Indians following the attacks of 1848 and, later that same year, given the authority to provide a bounty of one hundred dollars to be paid to any Seminole (man, woman, or child) who would agree to move west. Casey had believed that if the Indians could be assured that they would be left alone by white settlers, hostilities would end. See Peters, *The Florida Wars*, pp. 267-279. Casey died Christmas, 1856.

Hill was a native of Washington, D.C., and had entered the Army directly from West Point (1837) as a Second Lieutenant of the First Battalion of Artillery. He rose to the rank of Captain on January 12, 1848. In 1849, he has established Fort Steilacom at Puget Sound, Washington, to protect American fur trading interests there. Hill would later be brevetted Colonel and Brigadier General during the Civil War in January, 1865.

Munroe, a native of Scotland, graduated from West Point in 1814 and served with great distinction in the War with Mexico. He is credited with gallantry and for helping to turn the tide of potential defeat at the Battle of Buena Vista, February 23, 1847, during the War with Mexico. He was elevated to the rank of Major over the Second Regiment of Artillery in August 1846.

Jespup is one of the seminal figures of the Seminole Wars. Born in Virginia and raised in Ohio, he entered the military as a Second Lieutenant of the Seventh Regiment of Infantry in May, 1808 and quickly rose through the ranks. He was brevetted Lieutenant Colonel for his service at the battle of Chippewa, Canada on July 5, 1814 and elevated to Colonel following the Battle of Niagara on July 25, 1814, during the War of 1812.

By May, 1818, he was a Brigadier General for the Quarter Master General. In May, 1828 he was made a Major General. In the spring of 1836, Jesup was made Commander of the Florida campaign under Territorial Governor Richard Keith Call, who was appointed by President Andrew Jackson, but he did not arrive to take actual control of the troops until December, 1836. From that point forward, Jesup’s career was inextricably intertwined with the Florida Wars.

“Instant,” meaning of the present month, in this case December 7, 1854.

General William T. Sherman makes mention of traveling on the government transport steamship *Fashion*, in 1843, in his *Memoirs*. She is also listed in the newspaper *New Orleans Picayune* on December 23, 1847, as carrying officers from Vera Cruz, Mexico during the War with Mexico. See transcription at the internet web site, *TheShipsList*
A lighter is a type of shallow draft barge that would be used to ferry supplies from a larger ship when circumstances prevent the larger vessel from docking directly at the unloading point.

Copies of these letters were not found.

Haskin was born in New York and graduated from the Military Academy in 1839. He was brevetted Major on September 13, 1847 for gallantry and meritorious conduct at the Battle of Chapultepec in the War with Mexico. He would achieve the rank of Brigadier General by the end of the Civil War.

Mackall was born in the District of Columbia and graduated from the Military Academy in 1837. He served with distinction in the War with Mexico and was brevetted the rank of Captain in fighting at Monterey in September, 1846 and Major in August, 1847 after battles of Contraras and Churubusco. He was made Brevet Major and Assistant Adjutant General in August, 1853, and would resign his Army commission in July, 1861 to join the Confederate forces. He served for the Confederacy as a Brigadier General through the end of the Civil War.

“Bvt. Col.” is the abbreviation for Brevet Colonel, a rank Munroe was provided for meritorious conduct in the War with Mexico in 1847.

Allen was a North Carolinian who graduated from West Point in 1841. He is noted as serving with distinction in the War with Mexico in 1847. He would later be promoted to Captain in November, 1854 and, during the Civil War, was elevated to the rank of Major in the Union forces in August, 1863. From 1866-1868, Allen was stationed near the Canadian border in Washington and later, during Reconstruction, he was posted in Raleigh — in his old home state — as part of the military occupation. He retired from service in 1879 with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

Brown graduated West Point in 1818 and had achieved the rank of Major by January 1851. He had already distinguished himself in service during both the Second Seminole War in 1836 (and was brevetted major) and during the War with Mexico in 1847 (brevetted Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel). In November 1861, he was again brevetted to the rank of Brigadier General for his conduct during the engagement between Union and Confederate forces at Fort Pickens, Pensacola Harbor.

The Secretary of War throughout the period covered by these letters
was Jefferson C. Davis. Davis was himself a Military Academy graduate (1828), served as Secretary of War from March, 1853 to March, 1857 (during the presidency of Franklin Pierce), and later became the only President of the Confederate States of America from 1861-1865.

41 Prophet’s Landing is located on the boundary between the Big Cypress Swamp and the Everglades, about 50 miles due west of Fort Lauderdale.

42 Waxy Hadjo’s Landing was about halfway between Prophet’s Landing and Lake Okeechobee, near Fort Shackelford, or a little more than 20 miles due south of that lake.

43 Totten was an 1841 graduate of West Point from Pennsylvania who went to work for the U.S. Coast Survey under Superintendent of the Survey Alexander Dallas Bache. Bache, today recognized as one of the preeminent scientists of the 19th century, was the great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin and an 1825 graduate of the U.S. Military Academy. Bache was appointed in December, 1843 by President John Tyler as Superintendent and is the person most instrumental in preparing an exacting and invaluable survey of the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts of the United States over the next two decades. Because the Coast Survey used Navy and Army officers to supplement its civilian staff, Totten served under Bache in Florida surveying the Keys, the area of Key Biscayne, and the Florida Reef; accurate maps of this area were of tremendous value in saving millions of dollars in shipping from wrecking. He would later gain note in February, 1861 by successfully negotiating the peaceful relinquishment of his command and the safe passage of his men from the federal arsenal in Little Rock, Arkansas upon its siege by state militia on the eve of secession.

44 This is a reference to the steamship Texas Ranger that was operating at this time.

45 Probably Alexander Montgomery, a Pennsylvanian who graduated West Point in 1834. He became a Captain and Assistant Quartermaster in May 1846.

46 Either Brevet Major Robert Anderson of Kentucky (West Point 1825) or Brevet Major Samuel S. Anderson of Virginia (West Point 1841).

47 Donoghue was not among the soldiers listed as being stationed at Fort Dallas in 1850, but was, like many of them, probably a recent Irish immigrant and recruit.
The content of Captain Dawson’s letter which prompted this reply is unknown but may have dealt with a disciplinary action of a soldier, perhaps the Donoghue case noted earlier.

Morris, a New Yorker, entered the Army in March, 1847 as a Second Lieutenant. He was then promoted to First Lieutenant in December, 1847. He would later enter the Civil War with the rank of Captain in 1861 and lead a New York regiment in service as a Colonel in 1862. He was killed at the Battle of Cold Harbor, Virginia, on June 4, 1864.

This letter does not come from the collection that every other letter contained herein was found. It is from a photocopy of an original letter contained in the “Cooper Kirk Collection” (Broward County Historical Commission, Fort Lauderdale, Florida), Folder 67, but whose original source is likely the National Archives.

“A. A. Qmr.” is the abbreviation for Acting Assistant Quartermaster.

Due to the isolation of and the length of time being stationed at Fort Dallas, Hill likely had requested a leave of absence to take care of a private family matter—difficult to accomplish from his Post—or to simply visit with his family. However, in the mind of his superior officer, Brevet Colonel John Munroe, his importance as commander of Fort Dallas prevented him from being granted permission to do this.

Thomas was an 1823 graduate of West Point from Delaware. He had been brevetted the rank of Lieutenant Colonel during the War with Mexico after battles in Monterey, Mexico, in September, 1846. He was elevated to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and Assistant Adjutant General in July, 1852 and would later be promoted to Brigadier General with the Adjutant General in August, 1861.

Henry Benson, a New Jersey native, rose through the ranks from his enlistment as a Private in June, 1845 to the rank of First Lieutenant by March, 1853. He was again promoted to Captain in the Union Army in May, 1861, and he would later be killed in action at Malvern Hill, Virginia in August, 1862.

Lewis G. Arnold was a New Jersey native who graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1837. He was brevetted to the rank of Captain and then Major following engagements in the War with Mexico in 1847. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was promoted to the rank of Major in the Union Army, but was brevetted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel for his service during the Confederate bombardment of Fort Pickens, Florida, in November, 1861, where he
served with Brevet Colonel Harvey Brown, mentioned above, in the same engagement.

56 Henry Clay Pratt was a Massachusetts native who graduated from West Point in 1837. He was brevetted Captain during the War with Mexico in 1847 and promoted to Captain in 1848.

57 George Lucas Hartsuff, a New Yorker, graduated West Point in 1852. He was promoted to First Lieutenant on the March 8, 1855. He would later serve with distinction in the Civil War as a Union officer, being brevetted Colonel following the Battle of Antietam, Maryland, in September, 1862 and later Brigadier General in March, 1865 for his efforts against the command of Confederate General Robert E. Lee.

58 Thomas McCurdy Vincent was an 1853 West Point graduate from Ohio and was serving as a Second Lieutenant at the time of this letter.

59 A sand bar had formed at the mouth of Jupiter Inlet and closed it to navigation.

60 Fort Deynaud, or sometimes “Denaud”, was located about twenty miles up the Caloosahatchee from Fort Myers and roughly twenty miles west of Lake Okeechobee. It was about four miles downstream from Fort Thompson.

61 Hays was a Virginian by birth, a Tennessean by residency, and an 1840 graduate of West Point. He was brevetted first to Captain and then to Major in 1847 for his service during engagements during the War with Mexico. He was promoted to Captain in October 1853. During the Civil War he became a Brigadier General in the volunteer service for the Union in November, 1862.

62 Fort Center was located about eighteen miles northeast of Fort Deynaud and was located several miles west of the northwest shore of Lake Okeechobee along Fish-eating Creek.

63 Cho-la-la-pul-ko is an area about twenty-two miles south of Fort Deynaud, near the Seminole settlement of Billy’s Town.

64 “Acting Topographical Engineer,” to be in charge of mapping the countryside for the benefit of military planning in the area.

Information from the military exploratory parties described in these letters was compiled by the Army and printed as the “Military Map of the Peninsula of Florida South of Tampa Bay” prepared by Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives of the Topographical Engineers and printed by the War Department in April, 1856. It is commonly known as the “Ives Map.”
The writer is describing a location near the northern reaches of the Big Cypress Swamp.

Fort Simon Drum was about twenty miles south of Fort Deynaud and about six miles east of Cho-la-la-pulko. Captain Simon Drum (West Point 1848) was an army officer killed on September 13, 1847 during the American assault on Mexico City during the War with Mexico.

Elzey was born Arnold Elzey Jones in Maryland in 1816. Following his graduation from the Military Academy in 1837, he changed his name to Arnold Elzey, both to honor his maternal grandfather of the same name who was an army surgeon from 1814 until his death in 1818 and to distinguish himself from numerous other Joneses then in military service. He served with distinction in battle during the War with Mexico and was made a Major General of the Confederate Army from 1861-1865.

The Okaloacoochee is a large slough that runs south from Fort Simon Drum through the Big Cypress Swamp to the Fakahatchee, a slough that runs southwesterly into the Gulf of Mexico.

Fort Shackelford was located near Waxy Hadjo’s Landing.

“Maleo” is a misspelling of the “Mateo” River, a small stream that leads out to the Malco Inlet on the Southwest Gulf Coast above Cape Romano and Gallivans Bay.

Edward R. Platt was a New York native and a West Point graduate (1849) who had been promoted to First Lieutenant in October, 1853. He would later enter the Civil War as a Captain in the Union Army and was brevetted for service during the Battle of Fredericksburg to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in December, 1862.

Probably Caxambas Pass.

Fort McRae was located about forty miles directly east of Fort Center across Lake Okeechobee upon its central eastern shore.

Punta Rassa is located on the south bank of the mouth of the Caloosahatchee across the inlet from Sanibel Island. Fort Dulaney was established here by the Army.

Chai was a Creek Indian who had first served as a U.S. Army guide during the Second Seminole War from 1835-1842. Chai had a Seminole wife, Polly, who had also served as a guide during the prior war. Soon after the war broke out in December, 1855, Chai committed suicide rather than serve again as a guide against his fellow Indians during another war. His wife Polly survived him and later married a Cuban fisherman that lived in Charlotte Harbor. See James W. Covington, *The

78 “Non-commissioned officers” above the rank of private, such as Corporal and Sergeant.

79 Lake Kissimmee is located fifty miles north of Lake Okeechobee and Lake Tohopekaliga above that in the Kissimmee Chain of Lakes.

80 Lake Gentry is located in Osceola County.

81 Pavilion Key is located at the southern end of Gallivans Bay about fifty miles due south of Fort Simon Drum.

82 Loomis Lyman Langdon was a New York native who graduated from West Point in 1854 and was serving as a Second Lieutenant at the time of the letter. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was elevated to the rank of Captain in the Union Army and was brevetted a Major after the Battle of Olustee, Florida, in February, 1864.

83 Camp Daniels was located near Fort Myers.

84 “C.H.” is the Caloosahatchee.

85 “Ultimo” is a Latin word standing for the phrase “ultimo mense” or, in English, “in the last month”; in this instance meaning November, 1855.

86 Coontie once grew abundantly in the extensive pinelands that covered much of what is now modern Broward County, as well as extending south into Miami-Dade County, as well as north into Palm Beach County.


88 Vogdes was a Pennsylvanian who had graduated the Military Academy in 1837 and been promoted to Captain in August, 1847. He would later enter the Civil War as a Union Major in 1861, become a Brigadier General over volunteer troops in November, 1862, and would be brevetted a Brigadier General in the regular Army in April, 1865.

89 “Bks” is the abbreviation for the barracks at Key West.

90 There was U.S. Navy Schooner Experiment employed for the Coast Survey from 1835-1839. This may be the same vessel.

91 This means the convening of the regular board on January 7, 1856 (the “7th proximate”) will not be held, if the situation so requires.

92 Sampson was an African-American man employed by the Army to serve as an interpreter with the Seminoles. See Covington, The Seminoles of Florida, p. 116, and Peters, The Florida Wars, p. 269.

93 “Moiety” is the other half.
“Teams” meaning those wagons that would need to be sent.

Fort Gatlin was where Orlando was later established.

The St. Johns River.
Historical Association of Southern Florida
Membership List

Members of the Historical Association of Southern Florida enjoy a wide variety of benefits. These include free admission to the museum; subscriptions to three museum periodicals: Tequesta, South Florida History and Currents; invitations to special events; use of the Research Center; discounts on purchases at the museum store; discounts on educational and recreational programs; and reciprocal memberships with many museums nationwide through the Time Travelers program. For inquiries, call Hilda Masip, the Historical Museum’s Membership Coordinator, at 305.375.1492.

The following listing is in descending gift order, as of October 1, 2002. Any changes on your category or gift level transacted after that date will appear in the 2003 Tequesta. Thank you for supporting the Historical Museum of Southern Florida through your membership and endowment gifts.
The Comptie Constituency

The Comptie Constituency is a distinguished society established to honor donors who have already supported the endowment in a significant way, or who have made specific provisions in their estate plans that will benefit the future of the Historical Museum of Southern Florida. The museum created this society as a way of recognizing and thanking donors for gifts that will impact the museum for years to come.

Charter Members

Mr. Mitchell Wolfson, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Louis N. Tilley
Mr. & Mrs. John C. Harrison, Sr.
Mr. & Mrs. William A. Graham
Mr. & Mrs. Arnold C. McLean
Mr. & Mrs. Lewis M. Kanner
Mr. & Mrs. David Mesnekoff
Ryder System Charitable Foundation, Inc.
John S. & James L. Knight Foundation
Mr. & Mrs. Allen Carson
Estate of Thomas B. Haggard
Estate of Phyllis M. G. Dawson
Mrs. Avis Kent Goodlove
Northern Trust Bank of Florida
Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau
Mr. Peter L. Bermon & Family
Mr. & Mrs. Charles P. Munroe
Barnett Bank of South Florida, N.A.
The Miami Herald
Knight Ridder, Inc.
Miss Lamar Louise Curry
Mrs. John W. Prunty
Mr. & Mrs. Teofilo A. Babun
Burger King
Estate of John M. Frohock
NationsBank
BellSouth
SunTrust
Estate of Elizabeth H. Peeler
Mr. & Mrs. Douglas Erickson
Mr. & Mrs. Clifford Russ
Mr. & Mrs. David Younts
Deloitte & Touche
Mr. & Mrs. William D. Soman
Mr. & Mrs. R. Layton Mank
Mr. & Mrs. Alvah H. Chapman, Jr.
The Dunsaugha-Dalton Foundation, Inc.
First Union Foundation
Greenberg, Traurig
Hoffman, Lipoff, Rosen & Quinmel, PA.
Millar Family Foundation
Mr. & Mrs. Cal Kovers
Mr. David C. Neale
Dr. & Mrs. T. Hunter Pryor
Mr. Samuel J. Boldrick
Mr. & Mrs. Marshall S. Harris
Mrs. Shirley Haverfield
Mr. & Mrs. Lee Hills
Sears Roebuck & Co.
Mrs. Peyton L. Wilson
Mr. & Mrs. James A. Wright, III
Mr. John S. Sherman
Mr. & Mrs. Randy F. Nimnicht
Mr. & Mrs. Jack Lowell
Blackwell & Walker, PA.
Estate of Dr. Herman Selinsky
Mr. & Mrs. Raul Rodriguez
Mr. & Mrs. Carlton W. Cole
Mr. & Mrs. William G. Earle
Mr. & Mrs. Robert C. Hector
Mr. & Mrs. Arnold L. Greenfield
Mr. Walter R. Ferguson
Ms. Sally M. Kennedy
Ms. Lamar J. Notiega
Silver Springs Foundation
Dr. & Mrs. Joseph H. Fitzgerald
Mrs. Tom Lynch
Mr. & Mrs. Walter Shockey
Mr. John W. Thatcher
Dr. & Mrs. Howard Zwibel
Mr. & Mrs. C. Feasuer Knight
Mr. & Mrs. Lon Worth Crow
The Batchelor Foundation
Mr. & Mrs. John M. Brumbaugh
Mr. & Mrs. Dennis M. Campbell
Mrs. Sue S. Goldman & Family
Mrs. Leatrice Aberman & Family
Mrs. Rosemary Domermerich Stiegitz
Mrs. Eleanor Bristol
Ms. Judith A. Hunt & Dr. Ronald K. Wright
Ms. Linda Lubitz
Mrs. Cynthia Lawrence
Mr. Earl Mizell
Estate of Evalene K. Angus
Dr. Ronald K. Wright
Dr. & Mrs. Lon Dowlen
Mr. Dan Laxson
Mr. & Mrs. Stuart Block
Mrs. Ruth D. Myers
Mr. Sam La Roue, Jr.
Mr. Mitchell S. Green
Mr. & Mrs. Ben Battle Jr.

Members

Mr. & Mrs. Henry Z. Norton
Mr. & Mrs. Hunting F. Deutsch
Dr. & Mrs. Michael Rosenberg
Dr. & Mrs. Edmund Parnes
Mr. & Mrs. Lewis Res
Ms. Faith Adams Ress
Ms. Sue Adams Andrews
Foundations
Alma Jennings Foundation, Inc.
Burdines
Citigroup Foundation
D. Richard Mead Charitable Foundation
Goldsmith Family Foundation
J.N. McArthur Foundation
Leigh Foundation, Inc.
Lewis Family Foundation
Nichols Foundation, Inc.
Nina & Ivan Selin Family Foundation
Peacock Foundation, Inc.
Ruth & August Geiger Charity Foundation
Sarah H. Woodruff Foundation
The Kislak Foundation
The Sears-Swetland Family Foundation

Corporate Benefactor
beachsound
Brandsmart, U.S.A.
Club med
Falke Florida, Inc.
Florida Power & Light Company
Gibraltar Bank
Keen Battle Mead & Company
Southern Wine & Spirits

Corporate Patron
4000 Ponce
Anheuser-Busch, Inc.
Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps, Inc.
Beacon Station
Bill Ussery Motors
Brookwood Financial
Chase Construction Company
Continental Airlines
Curbside Florist & Gifts, Inc.
Espírito Santo Plaza
FMT Aircraft Gate Support Systems
Gene’s Catering Service
Kilpatrick Stockton LLP
Lincoln Place
Martayan Lan
Mobile Chiropractic, Inc.
Morgan Stanley-Private Wealth Management
Morrison Brown Argiz & Company
National Distributing Co., Inc.
Prudential Mortgage Capital
Rouse Companies
Salomon Smith Barney
The Old Print Shop, Inc.

Corporate Member
A-Dish Catering, Inc.
Alexander All Suite Luxury Hotel
Alexander’s Catering, Inc.
AON Insurance
Bally Total Fitness
Bilmore Hotel
Borders, Inc.
Bradley DeMoss Air Conditioning
Bravo Musicians
Burell & Associates
Catering Shop, Inc.
Chelsea Hotel
Christy’s Restaurant
DMJM/Harris
Fontainebleau Resort
Geiger-South Florida
Golden Press
Greater Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau
Hilton Singer Island
Oceanfront Resort
Hyatt Regency Cerromar
Beach Resort & Casino
Hyatt Regency Coral Gables
Indian Creek Hotel
Integrated Health Providers Network, Inc.
M & M Backhoe
Magic 102.7
Marriott Lodging at Miami International Airport
Miami Beach Ocean Resort/The Palms South Beach
Paella & Party Creations
Perry’s Ocean-Edge Resorts
Rama Air Conditioning
Ron Flor de Caña
Royal Caribbean Cruises Ltd.
Salomon, Kanner, Damian & Rodriguez, PA.
Sandy’s Tree Delivery
South Seas Resort
Summers Professional Painting
Vick Farms
WDNA Community Radio
Weber/RBB
Welcome to Miami & the Beaches Magazine
Withers/Suddath Van Lines
WLRR Public Radio & Television
Zap Courier Service, Inc.

Corporate Contributor
Advanced Business Valuations
Advanced Roofing, Inc.
Art & Culture Center of Hollywood
Dr. Andrew Alpert
Astigarraga, Davis, Mullins & Grossman
Anthony Baradar Iglesias
Advertising & Public Relations
B.F.I.
Bierman, Shohat, Loewy & Klein, PA.
Bristol Bank
CBIZ McClain & Company
Complete Fitness
List of Members 119

Daniel Electrical
Contractors, Inc.
EAS Engineering, Inc.
Everglades Hotel
Florida LaMark Corporation
Fourtune House
Condominium Hotel
George Glazer Gallery
Hinshaw, Culbertson, et al.

EAS Engineering, Inc.
Everglades Hotel
Florida LaMark Corporation
Fourtune House
Condominium Hotel
George Glazer Gallery
Hinshaw, Culbertson, et al.

Steinbauer Associates Inc.
Temptrrol Air Conditioning, Inc.
The Cardiology Center
The Cellar Club at the Biltmore Hotel
The Companies of R & S
Thompson Legal Services
Yoga Institute of Miami

Fellow Humanitarian
Mr. & Mrs. Peter L. Bermont
Mr. & Mrs. William D. Soman
Mr. & Mrs. Robert H. Traurig
Mr. & Mrs. William A. Graham

Mr. & Mrs. Alvah H. Chapman, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Edward S. Corlett, III
Mrs. Edna Cox
Dr. & Mrs. Joseph H. Fitzgerald
Mr. & Mrs. Bertram Goldsmith

Mr. & Mrs. Jerrold E. Goodman
Mr. & Mrs. Arnold L. Greenfield
Mr. Finlay L. Matheson
Mrs. Betty McCormick
Mrs. Nancy McLamore
Miss Lamar Louise Curry
Dr. & Mrs. Robert M. Oliver, Jr.

Bob & Lyn Parks

Fellow Benefactor
Mr. & Mrs. Alvah H. Chapman, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Edward S. Corlett, III
Mrs. Edna Cox
Dr. & Mrs. Joseph H. Fitzgerald
Mr. & Mrs. Bertram Goldsmith

Dr. & Mrs. T. Hunter Pryor, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Robert J. Shelley, III
Mr. & Mrs. Gerald E. Toms
Mr. & Mrs. J. Calvin Winter
Ms. Jody M. Wolfe
Dr. & Mrs. David Younts
Dr. & Mrs. Howard L. Zwibel

Mr. & Mrs. Carlton W. Cole
Mr. & Mrs. William G. Earle
Mr. & Mrs. Tom Huston, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Jay I. Kislak

Mr. Samuel D. La Roue, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Jay W. Lorspeich
Ms. Linda S. Lubitz CFP
Mr. & Mrs. William T. Muir

Mr. & Mrs. Preston L. Prevatt
Mr. & Mrs. George R. Shelley
Mr. & Mrs. Edward A. Swakon
Mr. & Mrs. David W. Swetland

Mr. Steve Becker
Mr. Benjamin Bohlmann & Ms. Ellen Kanner
Mr. & Mrs. Dennis M. Campbell
Mr. & Mrs. J. Andrew Brian

Mr. & Mrs. Michael A. Falke
Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence M. Fishman
Mr. & Mrs. Mario A. Frexias
Mr. & Mrs. Steve Hayworth
Mr. & Mrs. Robert C. Hecox, Jr.

Mr. & Mrs. Louis J. Hester
Mr. & Mrs. William Ho
Mr. & Mrs. William Holly
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Intriglio
Mr. & Mrs. Lewis M. Kanner

Mr. & Mrs. Mark Karris
Mr. & Mrs. Dean C. Klevan
Mr. R. Kirk Landon
Dr. & Mrs. Thomas Mark

Mr. Bruce C. Matheson
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Neidhart
Mr. & Mrs. Randy E. Nimnicut
Mr. & Mrs. Manuel Nogueira & Ms. Cuqui Beguiristain
Mr. & Mrs. James C. Robinson
Dr. & Mrs. Michael Rosenberg
Mrs. Phyllis A. Shapiro
Dr. & Mrs. Stanley Shapiro
Mr. & Mrs. Brian Snyder
Mr. & Mrs. J. Calvin Winter
Mr. & Mrs. Richard A. Wood
Mr. & Mrs. James A. Wright, III
Mrs. Cicely L. Zeppa

Benefactor
Mr. & Mrs. John Bartosek
Mr. & Mrs. Richard B. Bermont
Mr. & Mrs. Stuart Block
Mr. Jonathan Blum &
Ms. P. Ramsey Sullivan
Mr. Michael Carricarte
Mr. George H. De Carion
Ms. Beth Dunworth &
Mr. Chris Dunworth
Ms. Pamela Garrison

Mr. & Mrs. Louis J. Hector
Mr. & Mrs. Howard Kleinberg
Dennis & Maureen Lefebvre
Mr. & Mrs. Raul P. Masvidal
Mr. Luis Maza
Mr. W. Sloan McCrea
Dr. Raymond McGuire

Mr. John H. McMinn
Ms. Sandra Milledge
Mr. Fred C. Newman
Ms. Betty Osborn
Ruth & Richard Shack
Dr. & Mrs. William M. Straight
Mr. John W. Thatcher

Mrs. Audrey Finkelstein
Dr. & Mrs. J. M. Fitzgibbon
Mr. Richard E. Ford
Mr. William Freeman
Mr. & Mrs. Philip Freidin
Mr. & Mrs. Robert E.
Gallagher, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Tomas F. Gamba
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph H.
Ganguzzu

Mr. & Mrs. Donald F. Gardner
Mr. & Mrs. Arthur Goldberg
Ms. Sue Searcy Goldman
Mr. & Mrs. Martin B.
Goodman

Mrs. Carol-Jane Gottfried
Ms. Dorothy W. Graham
Ms. Helen R. Grier
Mr. & Mrs. Phil Guerra
Mr. & Mrs. Robert D. Guthrie
Mr. & Mrs. Edward P.
Guttenmacher

Mr. & Mrs. Charles L.
Clements, III
Ms. Doris H. Cochran
Mr. Richard P. Cole
Mr. & Mrs. William H. Collins
Mrs. Patricia Crow
Mr. Robert David &
Dr. Lorette David
Mr. & Mrs. Roger B. Davis
Mr. Gary Dellapa
Mr. & Mrs. John Devine
Mr. & Mrs. J. Leonard
Diamond
Ms. Judith Dorry &
Mr. Richard De Zinno
Mr. & Mrs. Rick Dow
Dr. & Mrs. Leonidas W.
Dowlen, Jr.
Ms. Gayle Doyle
Mr. Richard Duffy &
Ms. Isabel Lopez
Mrs. James C. Ellenburg
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Entenmann
Dr. Maria Dolores Espino
Mr. Anselmo Febles

Mr. & Mrs. Cesar Lopez
Mr. & Mrs. John MacDonald
Dr. & Mrs. Anthony P.
Maingot
Mr. Arnold C. Matsen
Mr. Arva Moore Parks &
Dr. Robert McCabe
Mr. & Mrs. Arsenio Milian
Mr. & Mrs. Christopher
Moore
Mrs. Claire W. Moore
Mr. Gerald W. Moore
Mr. Stephen J. Moorman
Dr. Mervin H. Needell &
Dr. Elaine F. Needell
Mr. Bryan Norcross
Mr. & Mrs. Ken Nudelman
Mr. Robert Olenberg
Ms. Barbara J. Parker
The Hon. Ray Pearson &
Mrs. Georgia Pearson
Mr. & Mrs. Galo Perez
Mr. & Mrs. Roderick N. Petrey
Mr. & Mrs. Bernard Plothkin
Ms. Eva-Lynn M. Powell
Mr. & Mrs. George Prochaska
Mr. J. David Puga
Mr. & Mrs. Raul L. Rodriguez
Dr. & Mrs. Theodore Sarafoglou
Ms. Renee Schafer
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Scheck
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Schloss
Ms. Martha M. Scott
Ms. Phyllis L. Segor
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Seitz
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Shumway
Mr. David A. Siegel
The Rev. Mark H. Sims
Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence Singer
Mr. & Mrs. Murray Sisselman
Mr. & Mrs. Donald Slesnick, II
Mr. Brett W. Smith
Mr. & Mrs. Manuel Sola
Mr. & Mrs. Neal R. Sonnett
Mr. & Mrs. Robert P. Soper
Mr. & Mrs. Theodore Spak
Mr. & Mrs. James P. Spillis
Ms. Edwina S. Stitts
Mrs. William G. Story
List of Members

Mr. & Mrs. Raul R. Suarez
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Tapia
Mr. David M. Thornburgh
Mrs. Fran Hutchings
Thorp
Mr. & Mrs. Eugene
Threadgill
Mrs. Roberta H. Turner
Dr. & Mrs. Alfred H.
Underwood
Mr. Pedro L. Velar
Mr. & Mrs. Carl D. Ward
Mrs. May L. Warren
Mr. & Mrs. Tom Weller
Mr. & Mrs. Michael J.
Whalin
Mr. Lewis Whitworth
Mrs. Gaines R. Wilson
Mrs. Peyton L. Wilson
Mr. Mitchell Wolfson, Jr.
Ms. Edna Wolkowsky
Dr. Ronald K. Wright &
Ms. Judith A. Hunt
Mr. & Mrs. Stuart S. Wyllie

Donor

Mr. & Mrs. Charles Allen
Mr. & Mrs. Leonard A. Baker
Mr. & Mrs. Elias Benabib
Mr. & Mrs. Harvey Bilt
Ms. Patricia Birch Blanco
Mr. & Mrs. Daniel T. Brady
Mr. & Mrs. Jack N. Brown
Dr. & Mrs. Chiliano E. Casal
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Cohen
Ms. Lillian Conesa
Ms. Diane Dorick
Dr. & Mrs. Maurice Downs
The Hon. Joe O. Eaton &
Mrs. Patricia M. Eaton
Mr. Alan H. Fein &
Ms. Susan Westfall
Dr. & Mrs. Robert Feltman
Mr. Miguel A. Germain
Mr. David C. Gibson
Mr. & Mrs. William
Goodson, Jr.
Ms. Rosemary E. Helsabeck
Mr. Juan E. Jimenez
Mr. & Mrs. James R.
Jorgenson
Mr. & Mrs. Ralph A. Juncosa
Mr. & Mrs. C.M. Keppie
Mr. & Mrs. Sidney Levin
Mr. & Mrs. David M. Morris
Mr. Theodore R. Nelson
Mr. & Mrs. Samuel Oroshnik
Mr. & Mrs. David Owen
Mr. & Mrs. John Perez
Mr. & Mrs. A. James Reagan, Jr.
The Hon. Judge Eleanor
Schockett
Mr. & Mrs. Warren S.
Schwartz
Mr. & Mrs. Gerald Silverman
Mr. & Mrs. Saul H.
Silverman
Mrs. Ethel H. Sottile
Dr. & Mrs. Thomas B.
Strozier
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas J.
Touchton
Mr. & Mrs. Tom Walters
Ms. Jo Wilder
Mrs. Warren C. Wood, Sr.
Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence J.
Zignmont

Trope Family

Mr. John Adornato &
Mr. David Bogardos
Mr. & Mrs. Emerson Allsworth
Ms. Rosa M. Andreu
Mr. Peter J. Bagrationoff
Mr. & Mrs. Tommy Balzbre
Dr. Ricardo Blondet &
Ms. Natacha Otero Santiago
Mr. & Mrs. John W. Bolson, Jr.
Mr. Shael Brachman &
& Mr. Mohan Thanikachalam
Mr. Hobart Buppert &
Mrs. Christina Buppert
Mr. Michael Capote &
Ms. Helmy Kaddour
Mr. Miguel Carson &
Ms. Marta Ghezi
Mr. & Mrs. Louis Chiavacci
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph M.
De La Viesca
Ms. Diane Deighton
Mr. James Doten &
Ms. Julien Yuan
Dr. & Mrs. William H.
Eaglstein
Mr. & Mrs. Philip R.
Engelmann
Ms. Maria R. Estorino
Mr. & Mrs. David Ferris
Dr. & Mrs. Luis H. Fonseca
Mr. Herbert Garces
Mr. & Mrs. Franklyn B. Glinn
Mr. & Mrs. Jorge Gonzalez
Mr. & Mrs. Jose Gonzalez
Mr. & Mrs. Rob Gordon
Mr. & Mrs. Barry N.
Greenberg
Mr. & Mrs. Jack D. Hahn
Ms. Lucinda A. Hofmann &
Mr. William T. McCauley
Mr. & Mrs. Lee Irvin
Ms. Florencio Jimenez-Marcos &
Mr. Xavier Gonzalez
Mr. & Mrs. Clarke J. Jones, Jr.
Ms. Mary Ann Jordan &
Mr. Chas Price
Mr. & Mrs. Craig Kail
Mr. & Mrs. David Kirsten
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Landon
Mr. Dan D. Laxson, Sr.
Ms. Ann Lee
Ms. Vilma Llerena
Mr. & Mrs. Brian J.
Mahoney, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Christopher R.
Mank
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Martin
Mr. Javier Vega & Ms. Janeau
C. McKee-Vega
Ms. Laura McKinney &
Ms. Allyn McKinney
Mr. Alberto Menendez &
Ms. Maria Santovenia
Ms. Enid Miguez
Mr. Ralph Miles &
Mrs. Helen O’Quinn Miles
Mr. & Mrs. John Miller
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas R.
Mooney
Mr. Wolfgang Mourino &
Ms. Sylvia Barreto
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Munroe
Mr. & Mrs. Mehrdad Nadj
Dr. Thomas Natiello &
Ms. Hilary Natiello
Mr. & Mrs. Abe Ng
Mr. Douglas O’Keefe &
Ms. Alison Gunn O’Keefe
Mr. & Mrs. Augusto Odio
Ms. Belkist Padilla &
Mr. John Holcombe
Mr. & Mrs. J. Michael Pennekamp
Ms. Alodia Perez-Lam
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas E. Pfeiffer
Mr. & Mrs. James M. Pfleger
Mr. & Mrs. Robert H. Pike
Dr. Nat E. Pinnar, M.D.
Ms. Michelle Pivar & Mr. Jack Barr
Ms. Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk
Mr. & Mrs. John D. Portal
Mr. & Mrs. David Pyke
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Raffalski
Mr. & Mrs. Randolph Reich
Mr. & Mrs. Will Robbins
Ms. Paige A. Roden
Mr. Michael Rothschild
Mr. Robert Ruano & Ms. Laura Tapia-Ruano
Dr. & Mrs. Howard A. Rubinson
Mr. & Mrs. A.A. Sakhnovsky
Mr. & Mrs. Rene Sanchez
Mr. & Ms. Julio Sandoval
Dr. Stephen Sapp & Dr. Mary Sapp
Mr. George Savage & Ms. Maria Claudia Moreno
Mr. Pat Schuh & Ms. Karina Ramirez
Mr. & Mrs. Will Sekoff
Ms. Christina Sherry & Mr. Gardo Gomez
Mr. David Sissman & Ms. Daryl Smith
Mr. & Mrs. Brian Spletzter
Ms. Deby Stewart
Mr. & Mrs. Max Strang
Mr. & Mrs. Mario Suerias
Brian & Lisa Tannebaum
Mr. & Mrs. Alan Troop
Mr. & Mrs. Anthony Tuminello
Dr. & Mrs. Alberto E. Vadillo
Mr. Luis Vidal & Ms. Lourdes Gonzalez
Mr. Michael D. Wallace
Mr. Mark Weaver
Mr. & Mrs. Juan Werner
Mr. & Mrs. Craig Wheeler
Mr. & Mrs. Jeffrey Williamson
Mr. Mario Yanez & Mrs. Sara Yanez
Mr. & Mrs. Stefan H. Zachar, III
Mr. & Mrs. Paul D. Zamek

Ms. Rebecca Abella
Mr. & Mrs. Roberto Abrahante
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph P. Adams
Mr. Zafar Ahmed
Mr. & Mrs. Armando Aiguesvives
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Alayon
Mr. David T. Alexander
Mr. & Mrs. Tim Alexander
Ms. Terry Alfonso
Ms. Martha Allen
Mr. & Mrs. Herbert E. Allison
Mr. Al Aschuler
Mr. Enrique Amador & Ms. Fany Aleman
Mr. Craig Anderson & Mrs. Victoria Brewer-Anderson
Mr. & Mrs. Greg Anderson
Mr. Sheldon Anderson
Ms. Tighe Anderson
Mr. Graham Andrew
Mr. & Mrs. Louis Andrews
Mr. & Mrs. Theodore Andros
Dr. Andres Anglade
Mr. & Mrs. Juan Antunez
Mr. & Mrs. Edward M. Archer
Ms. & Mrs. Russell Armour
Mr. & Mrs. William Arrington
Ms. Bonnie Askowitz
Mr. & Mrs. B.G. Atchison
Mrs. C. Clyde Atkins
Ms. Lorna Atkins & Mr. John Bennett
Ms. Adela Azcuy & Mr. Paul de Cotiis
Mr. & Mrs. Matt Bain
Mr. & Mrs. David R. Baker
Mr. & Mrs. John W. Baker
Mr. & Mrs. Scott Baker
Ms. Gail Baldwin & Ms. Antoinette Baldwin
Ms. Carolann W. Baldysa
Mr. & Mrs. Rod C. Ball
Mr. Luis Ballard
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Banazak
Mr. & Mrs. Charles W. Bare
Mr. & Mrs. James W. Barfield
Mr. & Mrs. Paul J. Barko
Mr. Paul D. Barnes, Jr.
Dr. & Mrs. James W. Barrow
Mr. & Mrs. John H. Barry
Mr. Charles Barton
Dr. & Mrs. Robert T. Bass
The Rev. Betty Batey
Mr. & Mrs. Timothy A. Battle
Mr. & Mrs. Joe Bauer
Mr. & Mrs. Gary L. Baumgartner
Mr. & Mrs. Allen M. Beck
Mr. Michael Beeman & Mr. Javier Vergara
Dr. & Mrs. S. Z. Beiser
Mr. & Mrs. Scott Bellows
Ms. Flora Benitez
Ms. Sarah L. Bennett & Ms. Erma J. Johnson
Mr. & Mrs. Randall C. Berg, Jr.
Ms. Ellen Berger
Mr. & Mrs. Robert E. Berkoff
Mr. & Mrs. Bruce Bernstein
Mr. & Mrs. Ron Bernstein
Mr. & Mrs. Ronald Bernstein
Ray & Roslyn Berrin
Mr. Marcos Berrios
Mrs. Florence Birch
Dr. & Mrs. Alan Bino
Mr. & Mrs. Ace J. Blackburn, Sr.
Ms. Cyrille Blackburn
Ms. Carol Blades & Mr. John Softness
Mr. & Mrs. Jose M. Blanco
Ms. Nance E. Blattner
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Bloom
Mr. & Mrs. Ted R. Blue, Jr.
Mr. Samuel Blum & Mr. Milenko Samardzich
Mr. John Bobbin
Ms. Carmen Bobill & Ms. Marianna Romero
Ms. Barbara Bonner
Mr. Jens P. Bornholt
Ms. Lynn Borrow & Ms. Michelle Borrow
Mr. Peter Boswell & Ms. Julie Yanson
Mr. Thomas Boswell & Ms. Anne Freemont
Mr. & Mrs. George Bowker
Dr. & Mrs. Russell Boyd
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Bratz
Mr. & Mrs. L.W. Breeding
Mr. & Mrs. Harry Britton
Mr. Timothy Britton
Ms. Nancy Brook
Mr. Jeffrey P. Brosco
Ms. Susan Brownman
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. August Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Bradford E. Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Elliot Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Harvey Brown &amp; Dr. Marjorie Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. E.R. Brownell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. &amp; Mrs. Thomas Bruce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. John M. Brumbaugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Herbert H. Bryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Robert P. Bryant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. &amp; Mrs. Thomas Bruce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. John M. Brumbaugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Michael Conlon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Gregory Conner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Alex Cornelio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Charles Corradino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Hal Corson &amp; Mrs. Gerri Campbell Corson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Beverly Craig Butler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Robert Curvedo, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Donald W. Curtis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Jeff Cott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Jeff Cynamon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. James Dailey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Bennett David</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. John Davies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Edna Davis &amp; Ms. Edna Carey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Edward H. Davis, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. William L. Davis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Marilyn Davison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Lisa Ann Davison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Margarette Dawson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Sandy Dayhoff &amp; Mr. Fred Dayhoff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Richard A. De Aguero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Leonel A. de la Cuesta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Elaine De Leonardis &amp; Mr. Jim De Leonardis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Raul de Velazco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Eduardo de Zayas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Javier Del Rio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Paul Deleeuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Mary Ellen Devine &amp; Ms. Colleen Mosel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Donna Dial &amp; Mr. Art Bucklew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Janine M. Diaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Maria Elena Diaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Yvonne M. Dietrich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Joe Dillard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. &amp; Mrs. Marko Dimitrijevic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Fred Dion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Ed Donaldson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Frank Donovan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. John Dorschner &amp; Mrs. Kathy Martin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Douglas A. Dozier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Don Drew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Fay Dugas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Deborah DuMond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. E. Sennett &amp; Dr. Dukenhofer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. John E. Duvall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. M. Walker Duvall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. CindyDwyer &amp; Mr. Randall Rakestraw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Sharon Elliott &amp; Mr. Michael Karl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Susan Elson Price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Donna Elswick &amp; Mr. Philip Fortman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Leigh Emerson-Smith &amp; Mr. Glenn Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Ana Erikssen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Eddy Etcheverny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Irving R. Eyster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Joseph Falco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Gordon Fales, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Barbara Faisey &amp; Mr. Sid Reichman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Charles E. Fancher Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. David Farber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Marian H. Faasbach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. &amp; Mrs. Alfred Feingold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. James Felman &amp; Ms. Allison Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Hilda M. Fernandez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Nadine Fernandez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Richard M. Fernandez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Matilde Ferro &amp; Ms. Alicia Diaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. C.S.B Field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Carol Fink &amp; Mr. David Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sue &amp; Ray Fisher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Angeles Fleites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Claudia Fleming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Edward T. Foote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Seymour B. Frank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Dwight E. Frazier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Stephen Freeman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Richard E. Friberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Milton A. Fried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Judith Friedman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Jill Frizzell-Martin &amp; Mr. Carlos Martin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. David Frum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mr. Roger D. Fuentes
Ms. Barbara Gabelman
Mr. & Mrs. Ron Gabor
Mr. & Mrs. Donald C. Gaby
Mr. & Mrs. Arnold B. Galperin
Ms. Elizabeth Garard
Ms. Lottie Garcia & Mr. Richard Hurtig
Mr. & Mrs. Robert W. Gardner, Jr.
Dr. Bruce Garrison
Mr. & Mrs. Peter B. Garvett
Mr. Harold Gelber & Ms. Pat Mackin-Gelber
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Gelberg
Mr. John Genovese & Ms. Lauren Harrison
Dr. & Mrs. Paul S. George
Mr. & Mrs. Samuel Getz
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Gambone
Mr. Gulcin Gilbert
Mr. & Mrs. John Gillan
Mr. & Mrs. Vincent Gilpin, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. John Gladstone
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Gluck
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Gooser
Ms. Lori Gold & Mr. Allan Hall
Mr. & Mrs. Harold Goldberg
Mr. & Mrs. William T. Golden
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Goldsmith
Mr. Harvey Goldstein & Ms. Elena Goldstein
Mr. & Mrs. Seymour Goldweber
Mr. Marcelo Gomes Sabino
Ms. Elvia Gonzales
Ms. Astrid Gonzalez & Mr. Jon Sorensen
Mr. Robert L. Gonzalez
Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin F. Gooden, Jr.
Mr. Ken Goodman
Mr. & Mrs. Reed Gordon
Dr. & Mrs. Richard Gottlieb
Henry & Rachelle Grady
Ms. M. P. Grafon
Ms. Donna M. Green
Mr. & Mrs. Jerry Grey
The Rev. & Mrs. Bobb Grimm
Dr. & Mrs. Lawrence Grobman
Dr. & Mrs. K. Randall Groh
Mr. & Mrs. Carl Grozan
Mr. & Mrs. George C. Grunwell
Ms. Linda G. Guaida
Ms. Sonia Guerra
Mr. Ramon Guillen
Ms. Carol Guzman
Mr. & Mrs. Charles F. Haas
Mr. Stephen F. Hackley
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Haggerty
Ms. Bridget Hagood
Mr. & Mrs. Alan Hall
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Hall
Mr. Frank D. Hall
Mr. & Mrs. John R. Hall
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Halley
Mr. Thomas L. Hambright
Dr. & Mrs. Curtis Hamburg
Mr. & Mrs. Kent D. Hamill
Mr. James Hamilton
Mr. & Mrs. Bruce Hampi
Ms. Lucy H. Hanafourde & Mr. Bradley K. Hanafourde
Ms. Susan Hange & Mr. David Collings
Mrs. Eoline M. Harrington
Mr. & Mrs. James B. Harris
Mr. & Mrs. John C. Harrison, Jr.
Ms. Lanell Harrison & Ms. Norma Wingo
Mr. Albert Harum-Alvarez
Mr. & Mrs. George Harvey
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph J. Hatton
Mr. & Mrs. Maurice B. Hawa
Mr. & Mrs. James Hayes
Mr. & Mrs. W. Hamilton Hayes
Mr. & Mrs. Geoffrey Heath
Robert C. Hector, Sr.
Ms. Chantal Heeb
Mr. & Mrs. Charles R. Helweick
Mr. David Henderson & Ms. Kim Ogren
Mr. & Mrs. Jim Herman
Mr. Richard Hernandez
Ms. Kathy B. Hersh
Mr. & Mrs. Steven Hess
Mr. & Mrs. David Hester
Mr. & Mrs. W. Warfield Hester
Mr. & Mrs. Ron Hill
Mr. Dan L. Himes
Mr. & Mrs. Jack Hodus
Dr. & Mrs. William Hoffman
Mr. & Ms. Neal Holmes
Mr. Larry Hopkins & Mrs. Susan B. Hopkins
Ms. Cynthia Hori
Mr. & Mrs. James A. Horland
Ms. Alice Horn & Mr. Ray Princiotta
Dr. Laurie R. Householder
Ms. Stephanie Howe & Mr. Jerry Talkier
Ms. Sharon Howell
Mr. & Mrs. William Huggett
Mr. Jack Hunter & Ms. Irma Palma
Ms. Susan Hunter
Dr. & Mrs. James J. Hutson
Mr. & Mrs. Jim Hutson-Wiley
Mr. & Mrs. James Hutton
Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth J. Hynes
Dr. & Mrs. George L. Irvin, III
Mr. Charles Iselin & Ms. Helen Decora
Mr. & Mrs. Jay Jackaway
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Jacobs
Mr. & Mrs. T.M. Jacobson
Dr. & Mrs. George Jacobson
Mr. Rick Jacobson & Ms. Lisa Weier
Mr. & Mrs. James R. James
Mr. Richmond A. James, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. John Jensen
Mr. & Mrs. Diego Jimenez
Mr. & Mrs. Lester R. Johnson
Mr. & Mrs. Lester R. Johnson
Mr. & Mrs. Lyle Johnson
Dr. & Mrs. Stanley Jonas
Mr. & Mrs. Daniel C. Jones
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Joyce
Ms. Marcia Juan
Dr. & Mrs. J.R. Jude
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Jungbacker
Mr. & Mrs. John E. Junkin, III
Mr. & Mrs. Louis Jurika
Mr. Dennis G. Kainen, Esq.
Ms. Liz Kaiser
Mr. & Mrs. Steven Kologerakis
Mr. & Mrs. Ian Kaplan
Capt. & Mrs. Kit S. Kapp
Ms. Ann R. Kile & Mr. Lee Price
Mrs. Barbara P. Keller & Mrs. Deborah Keller Prager
Dr. Robert L. Kelley
Mr. Harold E. Kendall
Dr. & Mrs. Norman M. Kenyon
Dr. & Mrs. Kenneth Keusch
Mr. Al A. Key
Mr. Neal S. Keys
Mr. & Mrs. Timothy Kinmon
Mr. & Mrs. Blake King
Mr. & Mrs. Donald King
Mr. & Mrs. Randy King
Mr. & Mrs. Rodney King
Ms. Chris Kirchner & Mr. Michael Malone
Ms. Deborah Klem & Mr. Paul Perakis
Mr. & Mrs. C. Frasuer Knight
List of Members 125

Ms. Jenny Knight
Mr. Homer W. Knowles
Mr. Joel Kolker &
Ms. Jeannine Marsic
Mr. & Mrs. John Kostelak
Mr. Stephen Kravit
Dr. & Mrs. Joseph A. Kreutle
Mr. & Mrs. Alberto Krimer
Mr. & Mrs. Neale Kropff
Mr. & Mrs. David E. Lair
Mr. Eugene Lakin
Mr. & Mrs. Mark Lamb
Mr. Richard Lampen
Ms. Donna Lancaster
Mr. Peter Lara &
Mrs. Mimi Artaud-Lara
Mr. William Larzelere
Mr. Adam Lawrence &
Ms. Bonnie Daniels
Ms. Nan Lawrence
Ms. Sara Lawrence
Ms. Digna Leal &
Ms. Jannell Leal
Ms. Susan Leaventon &
Mr. Marc Sternbaum
Mr. & Mrs. Mark Leckband
Mr. Michael Lederberg &
Ms. Linda Barocas
Mr. & Mrs. Terry R. Lee
Mr. & Mrs. Lewis Lepene
Ms. Laura Levi &
Ms. Pam Gadol
Dr. & Mrs. Richard Levitt
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Lewis
Mr. Gary A. Licko
Mr. Lawrence A. Ligger
Mr. Craig Likness &
Mr. George Thompson
Mr. & Ms. Stuart Lilly
Mr. & Mrs. Jose Lima
Mr. & Mrs. Bernard R. Limegrover
Mr. Nicholas Linfield
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Liu
Mr. & Mrs. Leigh Livesay
Mr. Don R. Livingstone
Mr. Grant Livingston &
Ms. Glenn Allman
Mr. & Mrs. Ray Lorentz
Mr. & Mrs. Tom Logue
Mr. & Mrs. Joe Longo
Mr. & Mrs. Rafael T. Lorie
Mrs. Nereida Lowery
Mr. Howard Lubel &
Ms. Rose Flynn
Mr. & Mrs. Philip E. Ludovici
Dr. & Ms. William Ludwig
Ms. Penny Lunn Pleger
Ms. Sharon Lutz &
Mr. Howard Simon
Ms. Kathryn R. Lynn
Mr. & Mrs. James K. MacAvoy
Mr. & Mrs. Robert
MacDonald
Mr. & Mrs. Alexander C.
MacIntyre
Mr. & Mrs. James L. Mack
Ms. Valerie MacLaren &
Mr. Robert English
Mr. & Mrs. Norman L. Madan
Dr. Frank Maderal
Dr. & Mrs. Robert Maggs
Dr. & Mrs. Bruce Mahaffey
Mr. Neil Maitzer
Mr. & Mrs. Edward K. Malcer
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Mangham
Ms. Carol A. Mangold
Mr. & Mrs. Philip J. Mank, Jr.
Ms. Lydia Manrique
Mr. & Mrs. Tom Mar
Ms. Mary Jane Mark
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Mark
Ms. Audrey Markland
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas E. Marko
Mr. & Mrs. Bill Markus
Mr. & Mrs. Frank C. Martin
Major & Mrs. J. William Martin
Ms. Alba Martinez
Mr. & Mrs. Walfrido J.
Martinez
Mr. & Mrs. Ygnacio Martinez
Mr. & Mrs. Alberto
Martinez-Ramos
Mr. & Mrs. Finlay B.
Matheson
Mr. & Mrs. Edward M.
Mathieu
Ms. Mariel Maxwell
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Maxwell
Mr. Thomas C. Maxwell
Mr. John Maxwell McKenzie
Mr. & Mrs. Max Mayfield
Ms. Valen Mayland
Mr. & Mrs. John A. Mayo
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas F.
McAuliffe, III
Mr. & Mrs. Don McClune
Dr. & Mrs. Donald
McCorquodale, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. John McCready, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. John E. McCulloch
Mr. & Mrs. David McDonald
Mr. J. Gordon McDonald
Mr. & Mrs. Robert
McDougal, IV
Mr. & Mrs. Michael F.
McGlannan
Mr. Brian McGuinness &
Ms. Linda Koenigseberg
Mr. & Mrs. Stuart B. McIver
Mrs. Charles F. McKay
Mr. & Mrs. Steve McNamara
Mr. & Mrs. Robert
McNaughton
Dr. & Mrs. Robert A.
McNaughton
Mr. & Mrs. John McQuade
Ms. Gail Meadows &
Mr. William Robertson
Ms. Raelene Mercer
Dr. George Metcalf &
Dr. Elizabeth Metcalf
Mr. & Mrs. Donald Michelson
Mr. & Mrs. Elio Milan
Dr. & Mrs. Max Millard
Mr. & Mrs. Aristides J. Millas
Mr. Alex Miller
Ms. Eleanor Miller
Mr. & Mrs. H. Dale Miller, Jr.
Mr. Jay Miller
Mr. & Mrs. William Jay Miller
Mr. & Mrs. Frank J. Millero
Mr. & Mrs. John Minore
Mr. & Mrs. Sanford B. Miot
Mr. & Mrs. Karlsson Mitchell
Mr. & Mrs. Larry Mizzach
Mr. & Mrs. Lloyd L. Moeller
Mr. & Mrs. Hector Mojena
Mr. & Mrs. Fawdrey A. Molt
The Hon. & Mrs. Joseph
Monsanto
Mr. & Mrs. Charles H.
Montague
Mr. & Mrs. William Moore
The Hon. Jimmy L. Morales
Mr. & Mrs. Santiago D.
Morales
Mr. & Mrs. Juan Moreiras
Ms. Carmen Morrissetta
Mr. & Mrs. Patrick Morris
Ms. Mary Morrison &
Mr. Justin Prisendorf
Mr. & Mrs. Theodore
Morrison
Mr. David M. Morse
Ms. Yvonne T. Moyer
Mr. & Mrs. Doug Mozealous
Mr. & Mrs. Charles P.
Munroe Sr.
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph T. Munroe
Mr. Rene V. Murai, Esq.
Mrs. Elizabeth Murray &
Mr. Daniel Murray
Mr. & Mrs. Jim Murton
Mr. & Mrs. Donald L. Musser
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Myer
Ms. Barbara Neil Young & Mr. Robert Huff
Mr. Burnham S. Neill & Mrs. Mildred C. Neill
Mr. & Mrs. Fred Newby
Dr. & Mrs. Richard Newman
Mr. & Mrs. Frank O. Nichols
Mr. & Mrs. Sam Normandia
Ms. Bianca Norton
Mr. Alan P. Nowell
Mr. & Mrs. Ronald Nuehring
Mr. & Mrs. Antonio Nunez
Ms. Mary Nunez
Mr. & Mrs. Sandy Nusbaum
Mr. & Mrs. Dan O'Connell
Ms. Jo Ann O'Neill
Mr. & Mrs. Cesar Odio
Ms. Cheryl Oglesby
Mr. & Mrs. Bob Oliver
Mr. & Mrs. Benny Oliver
Mr. & Mrs. William Orcutt
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Orifici
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Owen
Mr. & Mrs. Bruce Ownby
Mr. Manny Palgon & Ms. Abbey Chase
Dr. & Mrs. Robert T. Pane
Dr. & Mrs. Emanuel M. Papper
Mr. & Mrs. Ozzie Pardillo
Ms. Georgina Pareto & Mr. Ed Cutie
Mr. Paul Parisi
Ms. Janet Parker & Mr. David Mycko
Robin & Judy Parker
Ms. Marcia Pawley & Ms. Anita Pawley
Ms. Idania Pazos Garcia & Mr. Guillermo Garcia
Mrs. Marjorie E. Peacock
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Perlmutter
Ms. Barbara Peacon & Mr. Bob Peacon
Mr. & Mrs. David Pearson
Mr. & Mrs. William A. Pena
Mr. John D. Pennekamp, Jr.
Ms. Ana M. Perez
Mr. & Mrs. Jorge Perez
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Perlman
Mrs. Rita Perlman
Mr. & Mrs. Jean Perrod
Mr. Frank L. Perrulli
Mr. & Mrs. Sam Peters
Mrs. Terry Pettit & Mr. Tony Pettit
Mr. Donald Phillips & Ms. Maydeline Alfonso
Ms. Paula Pines
Dr. & Mrs. Paul Plotkin
Mr. Ted Plush & Ms. Nancy Brandt
Mr. & Mr. John Policello
Mr. & Mrs. William Pomerantz
Ms. Jeannette Poole
Mr. Jim Post
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred H. Powell
Mr. & Mrs. Anthony Prado, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Rick Preira
Dr. & Mrs. Eugene F. Provenzo
Mr. Peter T. Pruitt
Mr. & Mrs. Steven Pynes
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Quackenbush
Mr. & Mrs. Herbert S. Quarin
Mr. & Mrs. Barry Ragone
Mr. & Mrs. Constantine Railey
Mr. & Mrs. Jeff Raines
Mr. & Mrs. Oscar Ramirez
Dr. & Mrs. Salvador M. Ramirez
Mr. Guillermo Ramos
Mr. & Mrs. David Ramras
Mr. & Mrs. William W. Randolph
Mr. & Mrs. Stuart M. Rapee
Dr. Alan S. Rapperport
Dr. & Mrs. Charles Rarick
Mr. & Mrs. Steve Rawlins
Dr. & Mrs. Philip J. Reckford
Mr. Barry Reese
Mr. & Mrs. Darius Reid
Mrs. Marie Reilly & Mr. Robert Reilly
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Reisiger
Mr. & Mrs. Sidney Reiter
Dr. Kenneth Relyea & Dr. Tanja Relyea
Ms. Hunter Reno & Mr. Peter Rabbino
Ms. Janet Reno
Mr. & Mrs. Lewis M. Ross
Ms. Barbara Ricano & Mr. Oswaldo Cabrera
Mrs. D.E. Richards
Mr. & Mrs. Frederick Richardson
Dr. Alan J. Richter
Mr. & Mrs. Charles E. Richter
Dr. Dorothy A. Rider & Mr. Mark Bonaparte
Mr. & Mrs. Norman C. Ridgely
Mr. & Mrs. Claudio Riedt
Mr. & Mrs. Karsten A. Rist
Mr. & Mrs. John Ritter
Ms. Grisel C. Rivero
Mr. & Mrs. Patrick Roach
Mr. & Mrs. Robert E. Roache
Mr. & Mrs. Rafael L. Robayna
Dr. & Mrs. James A. Robb
Mr. & Mrs. William R. Robbins, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Neil P. Robertson
The Hon. Judge Steven D. Robinson
Mr. & Mrs. Pedro L. Roca
Mr. & Mrs. Angel Rodriguez
Mr. & Mrs. Manuel J. Rodriguez
Mr. Reinaldo Rodriguez
Mr. & Mrs. Victor Rodriguez
Mr. Mitchell Roffler
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Roman
Mr. & Mrs. Ernesto Romero
Mr. & Mrs. Keith Root
Mr. & Mrs. Mack Roper
Mr. Mario Roque de Escobar
Mr. & Mrs. Stanley Rosenblatt
Ms. Fredlyn Rosenfeld
Mr. & Mrs. Louis Rosenthal
Ms. Jean Ross
Mr. & Mrs. Jeffrey C. Roth
Dr. & Mrs. Eugenio M. Rothe
Mr. Paul Rothman & Ms. Sharon Dash
Mr. & Mrs. Howard Roxborough
Ms. Julie Ruben
Mr. Andrew Russler & Ms. Camille Russler
Mr. Sam Ruth
Mr. & Mrs. Charles P. Sacher
Mr. Herbert Saffir
Mr. & Mrs. Bert Sager
Dr. & Mrs. Gerard Sais
Mr. Israel Jose Salas & Mr. Ricardo Sala
Mr. & Mrs. Luis Sanchez
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Sanchez
Mr. & Mrs. Francisco Santeiro
Mr. & Mrs. Randy Scarberry
Ms. Becky Schaffner & Mr. Darryl Blackstone
Mr. Fritz E. Scharenberg
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Schermagl
Mr. & Mrs. Leo Scherker
Mr. Timothy Schmand & Ms. Janet Kyle Altman
Mr. & Mrs. Allan Schwartz
Mr. & Mrs. Philip Schwartz
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Schwartz
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Sciaciera
Mr. & Mrs. James H. Scott
List of Members

Mr. & Mrs. Ivan Selin
Mr. & Mrs. Julius Ser
Mr. & Mrs. Francis X. Sexton, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Martin L. Shaw, III
Ms. Tamra Sheffman & Mr. Ron Mayer
Mr. & Mrs. Barry Sheridan
Mr. & Mrs. David Sherman
The Hon. Judge & Mrs. Robert Shevin
Dr. & Mrs. Robert W. Shippee
Mr. & Mrs. Whit Sidener
Mr. & Mrs. David Siljee
Mr. & Mrs. Gabriel Silva
Mr. Jose Simonet & Ms. Rema Comras
Mr. & Mrs. Donald C. Smith
Dr. & Mrs. Howard W. Sims
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph A. Singer
Ms. Martha Singleton & Mr. Walter Walkington
Mr. David Skolnick
Mr. & Mrs. Teal C. Slack
Mr. & Mrs. Michael C. Slonick
Mr. & Mrs. Bill Smart
Dr. & Mrs. Karl Smiley
Mr. Charles M. Smith
Mr. & Mrs. Donald C. Smith
Dr. Donald G. Smith
Mr. & Mrs. Gary Smith
Ms. Gillian Smith & Mr. Uwe Döringer
Mr. & Mrs. Henry Smith
Mr. & Mrs. McGregor Smith, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. James M. Snedigar
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Snook
Dr. & Mrs. Gilbert Snyder
Mr. & Mrs. Larry R. Snyder
Ms. Lydia A. Solernou
Mr. & Mrs. Cesar J. Sotelo
Mr. & Mrs. Edward Soto
Ms. & Mrs. William Soto
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Sotolongo
Mr. Richard Sox
Mr. & Mrs. Carol A. Spatz
Mr. & Mrs. Martin Spector
Ms. Cecilia Stafford
Mr. James M. Stamps & Ms. Ami Keslov
Dr. & Mrs. L.M. Stanfill
Mrs. Mary Stanley & Mr. Donald Stanley
Mr. & Mrs. Myles Starkman
Mr. Axel Stein
Mrs. Wilma Steiner & Mr. Steiner
Mr. & Mrs. Adolph Steinhauer
Mr. & Mrs. Robert A. Stern
Mr. Christopher Stetser
Ms. Nancy Stevens & Mr. Gary Pappas
Mr. Edwin Streve & Mr. Otto Paier
Ms. Martha M. Stobbs
Mr. & Mrs. Fred Stockhausen
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas J. Stokes
Mr. & Mrs. Saul Strachman
Dr. & Mr. Theodore Struhl
Mr. & Mrs. Morton D. Stubins
Mr. & Mrs. Clifford L. Suchman
Mr. Daniel Suman
Ms. Lynn M. Summers
Ms. & Mrs. John Swain
Bill & Kathy Swank
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas A. Swartz
Ms. Maria Luisa Taleno
Mr. Thomas W. Talmadge
Mrs. Barbara W. Tansey
Ms. Jane J. Taylor
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas T. Taylor
Mr. & Mrs. Ronald E. Temkin
Mr. & Mrs. William D. Tenney
Ms. Peggy L. Test Frankel
Mr. & Mrs. Mark R. Thompson
Dr. & Mrs. Richard J. Thurer
Mr. & Mrs. Tom Thurlow, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. James B. Tilghman, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Gene D. Tinnie
Mr. & Mrs. Robert C. Tipton
Mr. & Mrs. Robert E. Todd
Mr. Gonzalo Torres, Jr.
Mr. Joseph Traba, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Ron Tracy
Mr. & Mrs. Sydney S. Traum
Mr. & Mrs. Antonio M. Tremols
Mr. & Mrs. John G. Troast
Mr. N. Troubetzkoy
Dr. & Mrs. Leo Twiggs
Mr. & Mrs. Christopher G. Tyson
Mr. & Mrs. Jorge Ubica, Jr.
Mr. Ignacio Uriarte
Ms. & Mrs. Franklin Valdes
Mr. & Mrs. William Vallier
Ms. Glendys Valls & Ms. Fernandina Ortega
Mr. & Mrs. William Van der Boon & Mrs. Joan Maximilien
Mr. Charles M. van der Laan
Mr. & Mrs. William P. VanderWyden
Mr. & Mrs. Alvaro Varela
Dr. & Mrs. Andres Vasquez
Mr. & Mrs. Tom H. Veenstra
Mr. Ernesto Vega & Mrs. Melissa Vega
Ms. Michele Velez
Mr. & Mrs. Heber Vellon
Mr. Bob Virna & Ms. Carole Bernstein
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew Vladimir
Ms. Ruth Anne Vogel
Mr. & Mrs. Martin Waas
Ms. Diane Ward
Mr. & Mrs. Stanley Waters
Mr. & Mrs. George E. Watson
Ms. Michelle Weber
Drs. Carlos & Melanie Weiss
Mr. & Mrs. A. Rodney Wellsen
Ms. Carolyn West & Mr. Evan Marks
Mrs. Grayce West
Ms. Patsy West
Mr. & Mrs. Michael P. Whalen
Mr. Harold Whims & Mrs. Cynthia Miles
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew Wicklander
Mr. Joe Wilkins
Mr. & Mrs. Bob Williams
Mr. & Mrs. Eric Williams
Mr. & Mrs. George Willis
Mr. & Mrs. Norman Willis
Ms. Barbara W. Wilson
Mr. & Mrs. George M. Wilson
Mr. & Mrs. John C. Witty, Jr.
Dr. & Mrs. Benjamin Wolf
Mr. & Mrs. William Fred Wolff
Mr. & Mrs. Bernard Wolfson
Ms. Patricia Wood
Ms. Bonnie R. Woolf
Mr. & Mrs. Don Worth
Mr. & Mrs. Hans Wragge
Ms. Dianne G. Wright
Mr. George Wright & Ms. Maya Moore
Dr. & Mrs. Lloyd L. Wruble
Mr. & Mrs. Mark Yaeger
Mr. Robert Yates
Ms. Jean T. Yehle
Mr. & Mrs. Joe Young
Tropee Individual

Mr. Marvin E. Ellis
Mr. Roosevelt Fales
Ms. Yelena Fernandez
Mr. Sixto J. Ferro
Mr. Kevin Fine
Mr. Jeremy H. Finer
Ms. Sunny Fraser
Ms. Denise Freyer
Ms. Denise Galvez
Dr. Les Gerson
Ms. Kharin Gibson
Commander Paul J. Gilson, USNR
Ms. L. A. Glickman
Mr. Adrian Gonzalez
Mr. Alfredo J. Gonzalez
Mr. Eduardo Gonzalez
Ms. Tammy Gonzalez
Mr. William E. Gregory
Mr. Raul Guerra
Ms. Sylvia Gurinsky
Ms. Sarah Hammill
Mr. Charles Hand
Ms. Laina Hanna
Dr. Jerome Harold
Mr. Walter J. Harvey
Ms. Ana Herrera
Mr. Axel Heydasch
Mr. John H. Hickey, Esq.
Ms. Victoria Hoffman
Mr. John Housby
Mr. James Huang
Ms. Louise Jewell
Ms. Alise Johnson
Mr. Stefan Karlsson
Ms. Susan Kawalerski
Dr. Brian J. Kiedrowski
Ms. Wendy Kirby
Ms. Carolyn Klepser
Ms. Stacey Koch
Mr. Craig Koltchow
Dr. Nicholas Lambrou
Ms. Nancy Leeds
Ms. Lori Lefkowitz
Ms. Lisa Levin
Mr. Robert M. Levy
Ms. Rita Llado
Ms. Tania Llado
Ms. Neva M. Logan
Ms. Grace C. Lopez
Ms. Susan Mailaender
Ms. Karen Marchand
Ms. Aida Martinez
Dr. Paul Skoric

Mr. Raul Martinez, Jr.
Ms. Yovanna Martinez
Miss Hilda C. Masip
Ms. Deborah Matthews
Ms. Sue McConnell
Mr. Joseph M. McDermott
Mr. Peter McElwain
Ms. Ann McGlinn
Ms. Jamie Lynn McKinney
Ms. Margaret McPherson
Ms. Gina Melin
Ms. Alicia M. Menendez
Ms. Ann Merlin
Ms. Sara Munoz
Ms. Aleka Novitski
Ms. Mari Novo
Mr. Felipe Ortiz
Ms. Anna Pacheco
Ms. Natasha N. Parekh
Ms. Morgan E. Park
Mr. Jonathan Parker
Mr. Gregg Pawley
Ms. Janet Pedel
Mr. Paul Penchiet
Dr. Jacqueline L. Pereira
Ms. Elizabeth Phillips
Ms. Sandra Piligian
Ms. Linda C. Piotrowski
Mr. Jorge Plascencia
Ms. Beatriz Portela
Mr. Nelson Prada, III
Ms. Diana Pola Reid
Ms. Mary Reyes
Mr. Rick Reyes
Ms. Mary Grace Richardson
Mr. Matthew J. Ridgely
Ms. Liza Riso
Mr. J.C. Robbins
Ms. Janine Robinson
Ms. Alicia Rodriguez
Ms. Vivian Rodriguez
Ms. Ivonne Roque
Mr. Hugh A. Ryan
Mr. Gregory Saldana
Ms. Claudia Santoni
Ms. Liz Sarachek
Mr. Alex Sarafoglou
Ms. Jacqueline Schwartz
Ms. Sandra L. Scidmore
Ms. Karyn Sederberg
Ms. Kelly Simpson
Mr. Richard Simring, Esq.
**List of Members**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Individual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Robert G. Slater</td>
<td>Ms. Jane Boynton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Betsy Smalley</td>
<td>Ms. Jean Bradfisch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Campbell A. Smith</td>
<td>Mr. Keith Bradley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms.Julia Sobrevilla</td>
<td>Mrs. Martha Lou Bradley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Joseph S. Stewart, III</td>
<td>Mr. Scott Brady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Ramsey Sullivan</td>
<td>Ms. Marilyn M. Brandenburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Mary E. Sutter</td>
<td>Dr. Ellen B. Brandt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Jeff Talbot</td>
<td>Ms. Carol Brennan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Cheryl Tarek</td>
<td>Ms. Erika Brigham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Adam Thompson</td>
<td>Mrs. Ronald Brinsko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Eugenia D. Allen</td>
<td>Mr. James Broton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Gloria S. Alvarez</td>
<td>Ms. Alice Burch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Lino Alvarez</td>
<td>Mr. Brian A. Burlingame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Carl D. Amsterdam</td>
<td>Mr. Charles Burr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Sally Ancona</td>
<td>Ms. Ann Bussel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Cromwell A. Anderson</td>
<td>Mr. Donald H. Butler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Julie Anderson</td>
<td>Mrs. Florence H. Cadwallader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Monte Antikes</td>
<td>McClure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Hope A. Apollony</td>
<td>Mr. Fernando Caicedo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Christine Ardalan</td>
<td>Mrs. Elsa Calderwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. James Armour</td>
<td>Ms. Mairi Callam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Helen Jane Armstrong</td>
<td>Ms. Melissa Campbell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Blanche T. August</td>
<td>Ms. Selma Campbell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Shelly Baer</td>
<td>Mr. Luis Campos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. John L. Bagg, Jr.</td>
<td>Ms. Linda H. Canary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Jerry Baird</td>
<td>Ms. Robin Caple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. Jackson Baldwin</td>
<td>Ms. Elena V. Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Edith Barahona</td>
<td>Mr. Robert S. Carr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Phyllis Barash</td>
<td>Mr. William H. Cary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Ava R. Barnes</td>
<td>Ms. Giselle Chamizo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Michael E. Barron</td>
<td>Mr. David J. Charles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Anne Bartlett</td>
<td>Dr. Josephine C. Chesley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Maria C. Batista</td>
<td>Mrs. Anita Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Jacqueline Beatty</td>
<td>Mrs. Walter J. Chwalik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Mary G. Beazel</td>
<td>Ms. Dana L. Clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Jessica Beedle</td>
<td>Ms. Malinda Cleary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Ed Bell</td>
<td>Ms. Joan Cleveland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Steve S. Benfield</td>
<td>Ms. Cathy H. Coates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Barbara K. Bennett</td>
<td>Mr. Frank Cobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. Forrest Bennett</td>
<td>Mr. John S. Waldo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Cyane H. Berning</td>
<td>Mr. Todd Weinkle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Elsa Biaggi</td>
<td>Ms. Krissy Wiborg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Louis B. Bills</td>
<td>Mr. Robert J. Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Anthony J. Bischoff</td>
<td>Ms. Jacqueline Woodward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Warren R. Bittner</td>
<td>Mr. Bruce Woolley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. John S. Black</td>
<td>Mr. O. Oliver Wragg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Jeffrey Block</td>
<td>Ms. Valerie D. Yaeger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Margaret S. Blue</td>
<td>Mr. Juan C. Zapeger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Tom Bodiker</td>
<td>Mrs. Leslie Dorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Carol Boersma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Arturo Bolivar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryellen Bowen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Rush Bowles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Leonard G. Boymer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mr. Roger Doucha
Mrs. Horace E. Drew
Ms. Ellen M. Dyer
Mr. Bernard Edelstein
Ms. Norma Ederer
Mr. Jim Edward
Mr. Barry R. Eisenberg
Mr. Marty Ellis
Ms. Ruth B. Elasser
Mrs. Richard P. Emerson
Mrs. Harold Emerson Mahony
Dr. Mary Allen Engle
Mr. Don B. Engelebert
Ms. Jacquelyn J. Esco
Ms. Lynn Esco
Mrs. Beatrice Esplin
Mr. Carlos Esteverez
Brother Eugene
Ms. Linda L. Evans
Mrs. Mary Ann Faber
Mr. John C. Farina
Mrs. Diane B. Fascell
The Hon. Judge Peter Fay
Ms. Jane E. Faysash
Mr. J. W. Fell
Ms. Meredith Ferdie
Ms. Gwen Fernandez
Ms. Zenaida Fernandez
Mr. Juan Fernandez-Barquin
Ms. Merika Ficheux
Ms. Ofelia Figueras
Ms. Rosemary Fisher
Mr. Santiago Fittipaldi
Mr. Leopoldo Florez
Mrs. Mary A. Flournoy
Mr. Phil Follins
Mr. Tom Forbes
Ms. Joanna Fronvie
Mr. Donald Frederick
Ms. Carol Freeman
Ms. Janice Freistat
Ms. Lysa M. Friedlieb
Mr. Allen Friedman
Miss Renee Z. Frisch
Ms. Margaret Froehling
Mr. Pedro J. Fuentes-Cid
Mr. Rafael Gallardo
Ms. Uta Ganser
Mr. Juan L. Garcia-Tunon
Ms. Janet P. Gardner
Ms. Helen B. Gardner
Mr. Victor Garlock
Ms. Carolyn Garwood
Ms. Libbie Gersten
Mr. Norman M. Giller
Mr. Robert N. Ginsburg
Mrs. Phyllis Glukstad
Mr. Charles Goldstein
Mr. William Gonzalez
Ms. Betty Ann Good
Mary Ann Goodlett-Taylor
Mrs. Beth Gopman
Ms. Betsye B. Gorman
Ms. Diane Goswick
Ms. Mary Louise Grant
Mr. Andre Green
Mrs. Cami Green
Mr. Mitchell S. Green
Mr. Bob Gregg
Mr. Gordon Gregory
Ms. Ann M. Gribbins
Dr. Zade B. Gross
Ms. Gayle L. Grossman
Ms. Marlene Grover
Ms. Victoria Hadley
Ms. R.A. Haldonado
Ms. Hilda C. Haley
Mr. Thomas Hall
Mr. Jeffrey Haller
Ms. DyAnn Hamilton
Ms. Jan Hanna
Ms. Ingrid Hansen
Mr. John Haralambides
Ms. Mary Alice Harrington
Dr. Gina Harris
Mr. Robert S. Harris
Ms. Inge Hartnett
Miss Wanda Harwell
Mr. Leland M. Hawes, Jr.
Ms. Patricia Hayes
Mrs. Isadore Hecht
Mrs. Ruth Heckerling
Ms. June C. Hefti
Mrs. Gayle Henderson
Ms. Maureen Henry
Ms. Eileen W. Herald
Ms. Darlene Hessler
Ms. Jean M. Hewitt
Ms. Jeanne D. Higgins
Ms. Sharon K. Higgins
Ms. Jeanine Hill
Mr. Herbert L. Hiller
Mr. Richard Hoberman
Ms. Nedra A. Hodge
Mrs. Doris S. Hodges
Ms. Susan Hofstein
Ms. Ritta K. Hogan
Ms. Herta Holly
Ms. Margaret P. Holsenbeck
Ms. Patricia Hooper
Mr. Joseph B. Hourihan
Mr. George B. Howell
Mr. Roland M. Howell
Ms. Alice C. Hudson
Mr. Russell V. Hughes
Mr. Joseph E. Humkey
Mr. George Hunker
Ms. Louise B. Ingalls
Mr. William A. Ingraham, Jr.
Ms. Esther B. Irigoyen
Mr. Al Alan Jacobs
Mrs. Ruth Jacobs
Dr. Helen Jacobstein
Ms. Donna Jacoby
Mr. H.L. James
Ms. Mary C. James
Dr. Eric Jarvis
Mr. Louis M. Jepeay, Jr.
Ms. Georgina Johnson
Ms. Laurie Johnson
Ms. Elizabeth Jones
Mrs. Frank E. Jones
Ms. Gail Jordan
Ms. Claire Jordi
Ms. Marta Junco-Invern
Ms. Roberta Kaiser
Dr. Leonard Kalman
Ms. Barbara M. Kanzer
Ms. Esther Karamanakis
Mrs. Barbara Katzen
Ms. Elizabeth H. Kaynor
Mr. Scott G. Keith
Ms. Joan Keller-Thompson
Ms. Margaret S. Kern
Mr. Oliver Kerr
Ms. Janet Kilgad Barbour
Ms. Betty King
Mr. Robert R. Kinser
Ms. Lillian Kirchner
Mr. Myron Kitchens
Mr. John Klein
Mr. Eliot Kleinberg
Mr. Jeffrey D. Knight
Mr. Clifford M. Kolber
Ms. Kerry Kolsch
Mrs. Patricia M. Kolski
Mr. Theodore E. Koper, Jr.
Ms. Delores Kory
Ms. Jodie Kozdron
Mr. John Kretschmer
Mr. Robert V. Kriechs
Mr. Al Krisciunas
Mr. Tom Kropp
Mr. Donald M. Kuhn
Mr. Eric R. Kuhne
Mr. Dexter La Belle
Ms. Leah La Plante
Ms. Barbara Labuzan
Ms. Marcia Lambert
Ms. Julia S. Lampson
Mr. Richard David Lancaster
Ms. Marlene Land
Mrs. Joan Langley
Mr. Martin J. Lann
Mr. William L. Lashar, Jr.
Idalia Lastra, DMD
Dr. Abraham D. Lavender
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Karen Lawrence</td>
<td>Ms. Rosemarie McIver</td>
<td>Ms. Pearl G. Niemiec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. H.L. Lawson</td>
<td>Mr. Daniel C. McKenna</td>
<td>Ms. Olga Nodarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Robert A. Leathers</td>
<td>Ms. John F. McLean</td>
<td>Ms. Marilyn Denise Noe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Christine C. Lee</td>
<td>Ms. Lou McLean</td>
<td>Mr. B.P. Nuckols, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Jo Lee</td>
<td>Mr. John Fred McMath</td>
<td>Ms. Jeanette O’Connor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Linda Lee</td>
<td>Mrs. Virginia D. McNaught</td>
<td>Mr. Brian D. O’Neill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. David M. Lehman</td>
<td>Mr. Christopher McVoy</td>
<td>Ms. Mary Margaret Odom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Salvador Leon, Jr.</td>
<td>Mr. Oscar Mederos</td>
<td>Ms. Leslie Ole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Joseph S. Leonard</td>
<td>Ms. Lucia Medina</td>
<td>Ms. Audrey Ordone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Nancy L. Leslie</td>
<td>Mrs. Charlotte Meggs Biedron</td>
<td>Mr. Peter Osman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Paul A. Lester</td>
<td>Ms. Toni Metzzer</td>
<td>Ms. Ettelle C. Overstreet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Robert L. Levis</td>
<td>Mr. Jesus Mendez</td>
<td>Ms. John W. Owens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Sara B. Levien</td>
<td>Ms. Marta Ann Menefee</td>
<td>Ms. Connie E. Palmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. Nelson Lewis</td>
<td>Ms. Linda M. Meyer</td>
<td>Mr. Kevin W. Palmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Scott P. Lewis</td>
<td>Ms. Joyce Meyers</td>
<td>Ms. Nancy Pantoja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Jim Lewk</td>
<td>Dr. Joan Mickelson</td>
<td>Ms. Denise Paparella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Lynn Lieberman</td>
<td>Mr. Timothy R. Mielke</td>
<td>Mr. Dabney G. Park, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Mark Lighterman</td>
<td>Ms. Mary A. Millard</td>
<td>Mr. Austin S. Parker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Eddy L. Lima</td>
<td>Ms. Gertrude R. Miller</td>
<td>Ms. Jeanne M. Parks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. M. Diane Linder</td>
<td>Mr. Jarvis E. Miller</td>
<td>Ms. Denise Pasternak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Gordon B. Loader</td>
<td>Mr. Peter Millheiser</td>
<td>Mr. Julio Pastoriza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Judith Loffredo</td>
<td>Ms. Karen Milliken</td>
<td>Mr. Devon Paxson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Robert Lopez</td>
<td>Mr. Manny Miranda</td>
<td>Ms. Jeannie Marie Peacock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Teresa H. Lopez</td>
<td>Mr. Roger G. Misleh</td>
<td>Ms. Madeline S. Pearson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. James S. Lord</td>
<td>Ms. Katherine Mitchell</td>
<td>Ms. Mary Pectora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Mildred A. Love</td>
<td>Ms. Nanci B. Mitchell</td>
<td>Mr. Vernon Peeples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Charles T. Lowe</td>
<td>Mr. Thomas A. Mitchell</td>
<td>Dr. Margaret M. Pelton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Jaywood Lukens</td>
<td>Dr. Raymond A. Mobl, Jr.</td>
<td>Ms. Tammy Perez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Joyce M. Lund</td>
<td>Ms. Diana R. Molinari</td>
<td>Ms. Marta Perez-Pendas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Hillelene S. Lustig</td>
<td>Mr. J. Floyd Monk</td>
<td>Ms. Marielippi Perez-Stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Don MacCullough</td>
<td>Mrs. Cynthia A. Moore</td>
<td>Ms. Julia Perlich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Kathleen Maguire</td>
<td>Mr. Patrick F. Moore</td>
<td>Mr. Manuel C. Pernas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rev. Richard D. Maholm</td>
<td>Ms. Haydee Morales</td>
<td>Ms. Mary F. Perner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Dorothy Malinin</td>
<td>Mr. Mike A. Morales</td>
<td>Ms. Priscilla R. Perry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Jennie S. Malloy</td>
<td>Mrs. Bianca Moreiras</td>
<td>Mr. Joseph Peters, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Chris Mancini</td>
<td>Ms. Cynthia A. Morgan</td>
<td>Mrs. Carmen Pesoûles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Pat Manfredi</td>
<td>Mr. Edwin J. Morin</td>
<td>Mr. Nicholas J. Pisaris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Celia C. Mangels</td>
<td>Ms. Evelyn Morris</td>
<td>Ms. Cindy Pitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Linda W. Mansperger</td>
<td>Mrs. Theodora J. Morris</td>
<td>Ms. Rosa Maria Piasencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Jeanmarie Manze Massa</td>
<td>Ms. Janet Mosely</td>
<td>Ms. Barbara A. Poleo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Catherine Marsecke</td>
<td>The Hon. Judge Marvin</td>
<td>Mrs. Suzette S. Pope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Edna P. Martin</td>
<td>Mounts, Jr.</td>
<td>Mr. Budd Post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Norma Martin</td>
<td>Mrs. Almalee C. Moure</td>
<td>Ms. Justine Postal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Rebecca Martin</td>
<td>Mrs. John H. Moynahan, Sr.</td>
<td>Mr. David Potter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Jane Mason</td>
<td>Mrs. W. W. Muir</td>
<td>Ms. Diana Prain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Robert D. Masterson</td>
<td>Mr. John D. Muncey</td>
<td>Mrs. Maude Primus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. James F. Matheson</td>
<td>Mr. Manuel I. Muniz</td>
<td>Ms. Lucy S. Puello-Capone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Marguerite Mathews</td>
<td>Miss Margaret Mustard</td>
<td>Mrs. Hugh F. Purvis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Judith Mattz</td>
<td>Ms. Patricia Myer</td>
<td>Mrs. Helen Quinton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Jim Allister</td>
<td>Ms. Lillian G. Myers</td>
<td>Mrs. Virginia S. Rahm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Chuck McCartney</td>
<td>Ms. Bettye B. Nagel</td>
<td>Mr. Michael E. Raiden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Helen McCarty</td>
<td>Mrs. Shirley L. Nagy</td>
<td>Ms. Mary Grace Ramos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Frances C. McAuley</td>
<td>Ms. Suzanne Nasca</td>
<td>Ms. Pauline E. Ramos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Nadine S. McConney</td>
<td>Ms. Catherine Nash</td>
<td>Ms. Trish Ramsay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Marion L. McCool</td>
<td>Mr. Donald A. Nash</td>
<td>Mrs. Dorothy Raphaely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Vonda McCoy</td>
<td>Ms. Gay M. Nemeni</td>
<td>Dr. Edward Rappaport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Carmen McGarry</td>
<td>Mr. Robert S. Neumann</td>
<td>Ms. Sandy Ravelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Joy N. McGarry</td>
<td>Ms. Leonore Nick</td>
<td>Ms. Drucilla Raymond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Judy McGraw</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ms. Elizabeth R. Read</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ms. Susan F. Redding
Mr. Paul Reinarman
Mrs. Brenda G. Reisman
Ms. Marya Repko
Ms. Heidi Retting
Mrs. Jay Reubert
Ms. Roseanne Richards
Ms. Mary Richardson Miller
Ms. Juanita G. Rippes
Mr. Bob Risting
Mrs. Fran Risting
Mr. Larry Rivers
Ms. Joanne H. Roberts
Ms. Melissa Rochford
Ms. Ada Rodriguez
Mr. Domingo Rodriguez
Ms. Gladys Rodriguez
Ms. Lilia Rodriguez
Mrs. Rachel P. Roller
Ms. Elizabeth Rom
Ms. Linda D. Romero
Mrs. Lori Rosenberg
Mr. Benard Rosenblatt
Mr. David L. Roumm
Ms. Ginette Rouzeau
Mrs. Eliza P. Ruden
Mrs. Betty Rushmer Adams
Mr. Denis A. Russ
Ms. Nancy Saade
Mr. Alvin M. Samet
Mr. Jorge Sanchez Galarraga
Ms. Shirley Sapp
Ms. Anne Sargent Perry
Ms. Rona Sawyer
Mr. Dennis Scarneccia
Ms. Judith Schalit
Mr. Peter Schmitt
Mr. David Schoenfeld
Mr. Niles Schuh
Ms. Lee Schuster
Mrs. Geraldine Schwartz
Ms. Judi Sebastian
Mrs. Natalie J. Segal
Mr. Robert L. Semes
Ms. Claire Seminario
Mr. Manuel Serkin
Mr. Stuart Serkin
Ms. Aida Setra
Ms. Janet L. Shad
Mr. Cyrus J. Sharer
Dr. Martha Luelle Shaw
Mrs. Vergil A. Shipley
Ms. Christina G. Shoffner
Ms. Suzanne Silver
Dr. Juan Silverio
Ms. Delorise Simpson
Mrs. Eleanor Simpson
Ms. Sheila Sirgo
Miss Beneditte Sisto
Mr. Bill Sketchley
Ms. Marjorie L. Skipp
Mr. David Sloan
Mrs. Evelyn Smiley
Ms. Donella C. Smith
Mr. Emanuel J. Smith
Ms. Eunice M. Smith
Ms. Jodie B. Smith
Ms. June C. Smith
Ms. Kimberly Smith
Mr. Robert O. Smith
Ms. Leslie Smith Porter
Ms. Bernice Snow
Ms. Graciela Solares
Mr. Mervyn M. Solomon
Ms. Suzanne A. Solomon
Ms. Gail Gosby
Ms. Laurinda Spear
Mr. Brent Spector
Ms. Margaret Spencer
Mr. Frederick B. Spiegel
Ms. Jean St. John
Miss Judi Stark
Mr. Neil Sterling
Dr. Elizabeth Stevens
Mrs. Rosemary D. Stieglitz
Ms. Susan L. Stinson
Mrs. Jane Stocks
Ms. Larue Storm
Ms. Gail Storrs
Mr. John Stuart
Ms. Sandra Sullivan
Mrs. Joseph Sures
Mrs. Florence B. Swain
Ms. Bunny Swanson
Ms. Blanche Szita
Ms. Mary L. Taintor
Ms. Carole Taut
Ms. Mary M. Teed
Mr. David Teems
Ms. Laura Thayer
Mrs. Elizabeth D. Theobald
Mr. Phillip A. Thomas
Mr. Richard J. Thornton
Ms. Sandy Thorpe
Mrs. Helen Threadgill Baden
Mr. Craig E. Tigerman
Ms. Russica P. Tighe
Mr. Paul Tisovich
Mr. Michael A. Tranchida
Mr. Tony L. Tremols
Ms. Mary Jo Trepka
Ms. Maria C. Trias
Mr. Arthur Troast
Mrs. Dorothy Tucker
Mr. Clark P. Turner
Ms. Molly Turner
Ms. Linda M. Tutone
Ms. Marilyn Udell
Mrs. Jean B. Underwood
Bette J. Upchurch
Ms. Cheryl Van der Laan
Ms. Eleanor Van Eaton
Ms. Patricia M. Van Ee
Mrs. Clifford D. Van Orsdel
Ms. Rebecca S. Varley
Ms. Juanita Vazquez-Hernandez
Mr. Robert E. Venditti
Ms. Margaret Vento
Mr. John W. Viele
Ms. Norma Villafana
Mr. Juan M. Villamil
Ms. Jo Von Funk
Mrs. Nancy Voss
Mr. Gerard F. Wade
Ms. Kathleen Wagner
Mr. David Walters
Mrs. Edwina Warren
Mrs. Elizabeth Watson
Ms. Sally Watt
Mr. Bob Weeks
Mr. Glen Weinzimer
Ms. Susan Weiss
Mrs. Marcela U. Werblow
Ms. Anne Werner
Ms. Marion L. West
Ms. Anna White
Ms. Brenda L. Whitney
Mr. Don Wiener
Mr. Larry Wiggins
Mr. Lucius W. Wilcox, Jr.
Ms. S. Wilson Wilcox
Ms. Jan Wiley
Mrs. George Williams, Jr.
Ms. Geraldine H. Williams
Ms. Sarah Williams
Mr. David L. Willing
Ms. Lisa B. Wilson
Mrs. Louise D. Wilson
Mr. Pam Winter
Ms. Gerry Witoshynsky
Ms. Jessica Wolfson
Ms. Carolyn Worthington
Mrs. Sharon L. Wynne
Mrs. Dorothy B. Yates
Mr. Harold J. Zabsky
Mrs. Elena A. Zayas
Mrs. Marcia K. Zerivitz
Ms. Frances R. Zierer
Mrs. Betty Zipse
Mr. Vladimir Zzyyd
List of Members

Life
Mr. Maurice D. Alpert
Mr. & Mrs. Mitchell Franklin
Mr. & Mrs. James C. Merrill, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Ralph B. Ryder, Jr.

Honorary Life
Mr. Fred M. Waters, Jr.
Mrs. & Mrs. Wayne E. Withers

Charter Members of the
Historical Association of Southern Florida
Mrs. Patricia Crow
Mr. J. Floyd Monk
Mr. B.P. Nuckols, Jr.
Dr. Martha Luelle Shaw

Institution

ABC-CLIO Inc. Library
African American Research
Library and Cultural Center
Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum
Alachua County Library
Allen County Public Library
American Antiquarian Society
Archaeological Society of
South Florida
Barry University
Boca Raton Historical Society
Boston College
Brandeis University
Broward County Historical
Commission
Broward County Main Library
Broward County North
Regional Library
Broward County Northwest
Regional Library
Broward County South
Regional Library
Broward County Southwest
Regional Library
Broward County West
Regional Library
Brown University
City of Hialeah Library
City of Lake Worth
Clewiston Museum, Inc.
Collier County Public Library
Cornell University
Dade Heritage Trust Historic
Preservation
Duke University
Dupont Ball Library
El Portal Woman’s Club
Florida Atlantic University
Florida Gulf Coast University
Florida Historical Quarterly
Florida International
University North Campus
Florida International
University University Park
Florida Southern College
Florida State University
Fl. Lauderdale Historical Society
Fl. Myers Historical Museum
Harvard College
Highland Oaks Middle School
Historical Preservation Society
of the Upper Keys
Huntington Library
Indian River County Main
Library
Islamorada Branch Library
Janus Research, Inc.
Lake Park Public Library
Law’s Architectural Signs
Library of Congress
Library of Florida History
University of Florida
Martin County Library
System
Miami Dade Community
College Kendall Campus
Miami Dade Community
College Homestead
Miami Dade Public Library
Coral Gables
Miami Dade Public Library
Downtown
Miami Dade Public Library
Miami Beach
Miami Dade Public Library
North Dade
Monroe County Library
Newberry Library
Nova Southeastern University
Office of Historic Preservation
Olin Library at Rollins
College
Panamerican Consultants, Inc.
Preservation Foundation of
Palm Beach
SIRS Mandarin, Inc.
Society of the Four Arts
Library
St. Lucie County Library
System
St. Thomas University
Stanford University
State Historical Society of
Wisconsin
State Library of Florida
Tampa-Hillsborough Public
Library
Tennessee State Library
Archives
The Villagers, Inc.
Tintek, Inc.
University of Central Florida
University of Iowa
University of Miami
University of Michigan
University of South Florida
University of Washington
West Palm Beach Public
Library
Wilton Manors Public
Library
Membership

Fellow ........................................................................................................ $500 (and up)
Corporation/Foundation ........................................................................ $500 (and up)
Benefactor ............................................................................................... $250
Sponsor ....................................................................................................... $100
Donor .......................................................................................................... $75
Family .......................................................................................................... $45
Individual/Institutional ............................................................................. $35
Tropee Individual .................................................................................... $35
Tropee Family ........................................................................................... $50

Please notify the Historical Museum’s Membership Coordinator, Hilda Masip, of any changes to your membership listing or if you were a Charter Member of the Historical Association in 1940 & your name was not recognized.
Telephone—305.375.1492  E-mail—membership@historical-museum.org

Tequesta Advisory Board

Miguel Bretos, Ph.D.  Bill Brown
Cantor Brown, Jr., Ph.D.  Gregory Bush, Ph.D.
Robert S. Carr  Juan Clark, Ph.D.
Donald Curl, Ph.D.  Rodney Dillon
Dorothy Fields Ph.D.  Howard Kleinberg
Eugene Lyon, Ph.D.  Raymond A. Mohl, Ph.D.
Gary Mormino, Ph.D.  Larry Rivers, Ph.D.
Frank Sicius, Ph.D.  Donald Spivey, Ph.D.

Complete Your Library with
Back Issues of Tequesta

Issues of Tequesta are available for years 1941–1979 for $10.00 each & 1980-2001 for $5.00 each plus shipping. Most years are available. Call Hilda Masip to complete your collection at 305.375.1492, or e-mail your request to membership@historical-museum.org.