

BROWARD

\$3.00

Legacy

"A Journal of South Florida History"

WINTER/SPRING 1989

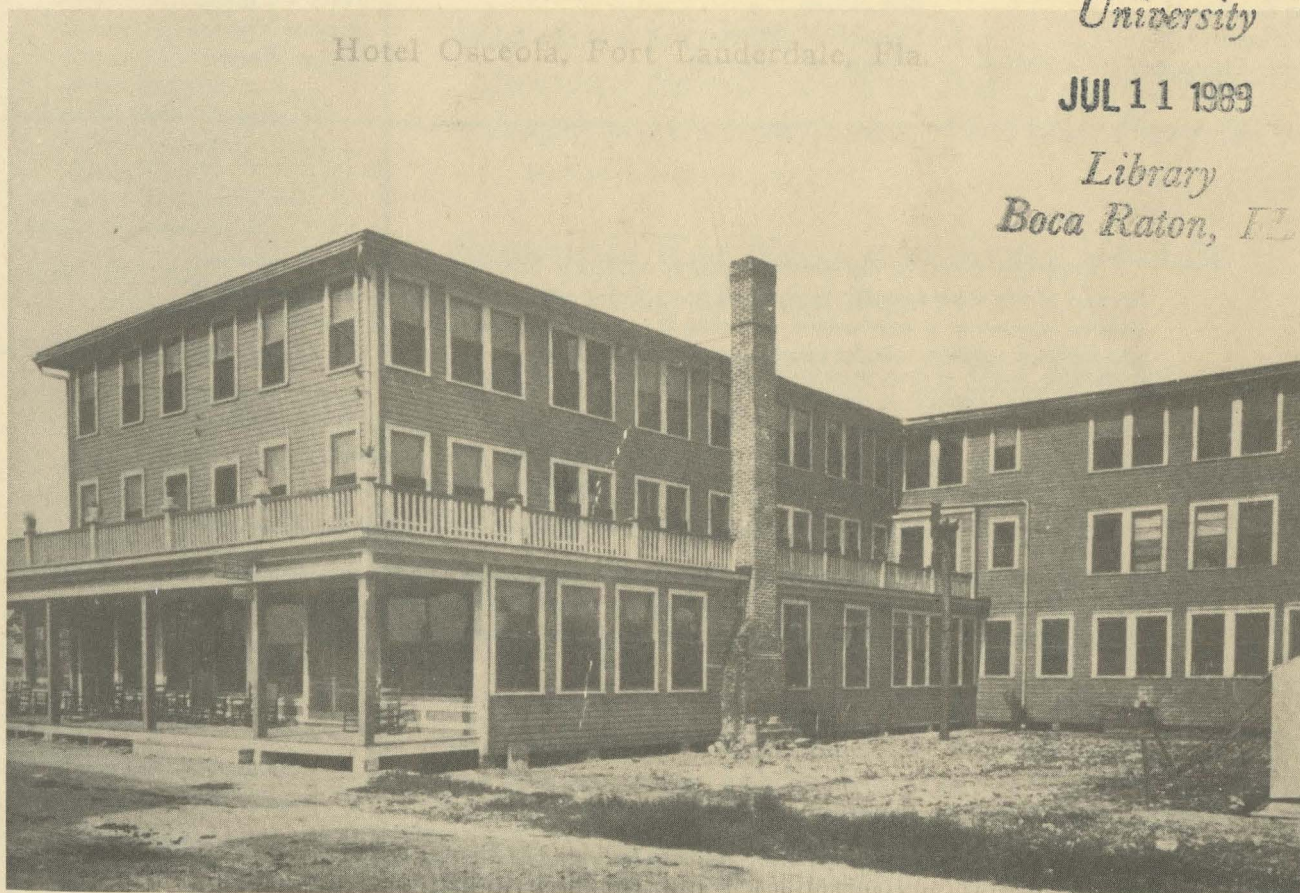
Vol. 12 — Nos. 1-2

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Cover photo:

The fifty-room Osceola Hotel on Brickell Avenue was Fort Lauderdale's largest when it opened in January 1911. Constructed by Everglades land developer Don Farnsworth to accomodate buyers of recently reclaimed 'Glades farmland, the hotel became a local landmark before burning to the ground on July 17, 1913.

THE ABORTIVE ATTEMPT TO CREATE BROWARD COUNTY IN 1913

by Cooper Kirk

The unsuccessful attempt to create Broward County from Dade and Palm Beach counties in 1913 had been preceded by an eight-year period of high expectations, some remarkable accomplishments, many disappointments and considerable judicial litigation. A consideration of some of the highlights and vicissitudes of these hectic years will illuminate and provide a context for an examination of the reasons for the attempt to create a new county, and for its failure, on the southeast coast of Florida extending from the Hillsboro River on the north to the Snake Creek on the south. It should be noted at the beginning of this examination that the topography of this "new county" area heavily contributed to the attempt and to the failure. More than any other, this area was impacted by an excess of swamps and overflowed lands, both of which features delayed and hampered settlement and development, but lands which held rich promise when drained and reclaimed.

Prior to 1905, the State of Florida had given away approximately twenty million acres of land, or more than one-half of the land of Florida, mostly to corporations as an incentive for them to construct railroads and canals. Thus, when Governor Napoleon B. Broward signed the Drainage Tax Law on May 27, 1905, levying a tax of five

cents annually per acre for lands lying in the drainage district, plans were set in motion to drain and to reclaim the Everglades, much of which the railroads and canals laid claim to but had done nothing to develop. Many Floridians applauded the effort of Governor Broward to reclaim the vast wasteland, a gigantic undertaking, while others considered the drainage plan a pipe-dream by a reform-minded governor. But nine large corporations with claims to Everglades land, headed by the Florida East Coast Railway, set up an information bureau in Jacksonville to generate literature designed to turn Floridians in favor of drainage against it. Broward, however, boldly fought back by waging his own literature campaign. As expected, the corporations, whose 4,500,000 acres of Everglades and swamp lands had been in most cases an outright gift of the legislature for internal improvements, took the governor to the federal courts, which in late 1906 declared section two of the 1905 law unconstitutional.

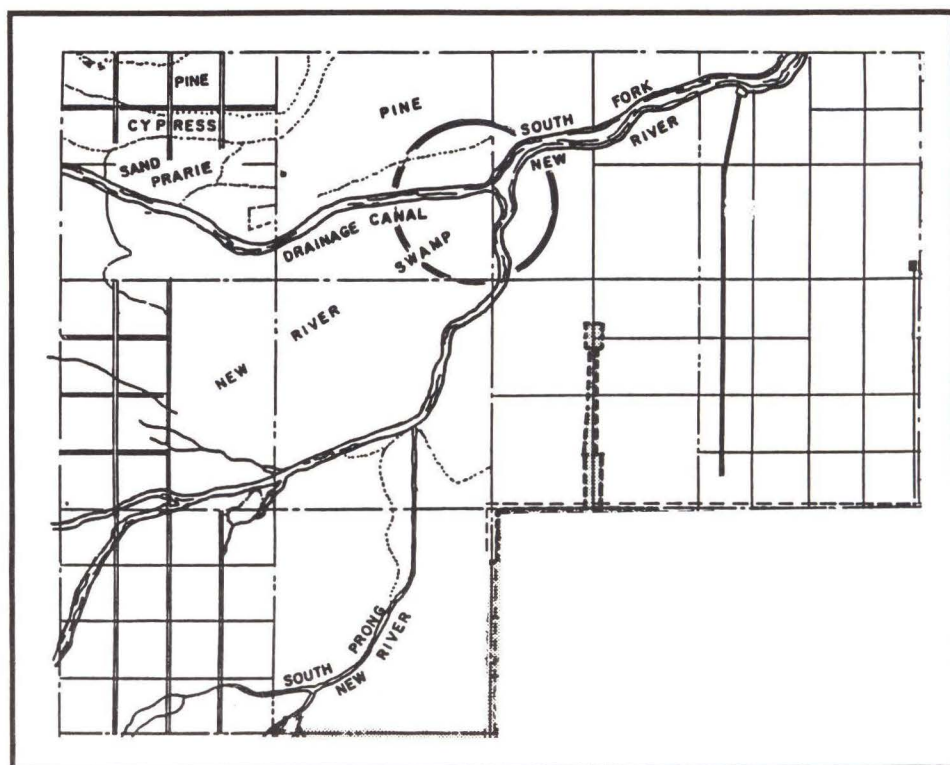
In drawing up the 1905 drainage law, Governor Broward and the legislature anticipated corporate opposition and made provision for the drainage to proceed in the face of opposition. They secured the assistance of the United States Department of Agriculture, which eventually lent the State the services of Engineer J. O. Wright who

drew up a competent plan for drainage and reclamation. In addition, by an overwhelming vote, the legislature passed a constitutional amendment by whose terms the State would have carte blanche authority to remove all obstacles to drainage and reclamation of the Everglades which constituted the drainage district. The legislature and governor also prepared a standby plan in case the proposed constitutional amendment failed and the court challenges succeeded. In case of failure, the indefinite language of section two of the 1905 drainage law would be replaced with language composed by ex-Governor W.S. Jennings. The corporations succeeded in the courts and the 1907 legislature passed a Revised Drainage Tax Law which withstood scrutiny by the courts. Whereupon the nine corporations in a signed agreement dropped their opposition to drainage, agreed to pay their arrears taxes and promised hereafter to cooperate with the State government.

Meanwhile the constitutional drainage amendment went down in overwhelming defeat. In a campaign which convulsed Floridians like nothing else since Civil War Reconstruction, Governor Broward and the opponents of Everglades drainage fought a bruising battle. Partially because of the well-financed program of the corporations who claimed Everglades lands, many

Floridians had become convinced that the drainage and reclamation of the Everglades was too vast an undertaking for one of the poorest states in the South. Broward and leading state legislators, however, fought valiantly for the constitutional amendment which would have insured the completion of the great work Broward had undertaken. But on November 8, 1906, the amendment went down to defeat statewide by an almost two to one majority. Even a majority of those living within the proposed drainage district voted against the amendment. While Fort Lauderdale and Pompano upheld the amendment by votes of 24 to 4 and 21 to 2, Dania and Miami voted against it by votes of 16 to 15 and 210 to 127. Fortunately for Everglades drainage, as noted above, the state legislature the next year passed a revised section two of the 1905 bill. Drainage then proceeded under the provisions of the revised 1907 bill.

Despite the litigation of the 1905 law in the courts, Governor Broward personally took charge of construction of two 105 by 38 foot drainage dredges on New River, located twenty-five miles north of the Bay of Biscayne. The *Everglades* was launched and began digging westward on the north fork of New River beginning at Sebaste Creek on July 4, 1906. On April 1, 1907, the *Okeechobee* was launched and began digging westward on the south fork of New River. The objective of both dredges in general terms was to dig two sixty-foot wide and eight-foot deep drainage canals to Lake Okeechobee which engineers assured Governor Broward would be almost adequate to drain the 'Glades for settlement. Broward put the whole drainage operation under the superintendency of localite



Everglades drainage operations began at Sebaste Creek on the New River, just north of the present State Road 84 bridge over the river's South Fork. From this spot, marked with a circle, the dredge *Everglades* cut the North New River Canal (marked "Drainage Canal" on this map) into the 'Glades (map by Kenneth J. Hughes).

Reed A. Bryan, then twenty-nine years old and a member of a politically powerful family. Governor Broward and State cabinet members, who composed the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund which controlled State lands, early had been advised that four smaller canals of approximately six miles in length could complete a canal system adequate to

reclaim the Everglades provided that individual land owners cut lateral canals and ditches to connect with the State constructed canals. It was the failure to fully implement the latter provision which more than any other matter slowed, and often prevented adequate drainage, which in turn resulted in the Everglades never being fully drained or reclaimed.

The opening of southeast Florida to settlement, a process begun by the completion of the F.E.C. Railway to Miami, and accelerated by the Everglades reclamation project of the 1900s and 1910s, doomed the governmental unity of the region as residents of Dade County's far-flung and diverse communities sought political autonomy and convenient access to governing institutions. The longstanding division between Biscayne Bay and Lake Worth interests was formalized in 1909 with the creation by the latter of Palm Beach County.

At the same time, the concentration of Everglades drainage efforts and related land sales in the vicinity of New River fostered a spirit of self-determination which crystalized in early 1913 when Fort Lauderdale civic leaders began efforts to create a county of their own. The resulting struggle monopolized area politics for the remainder of the year and was closely intertwined with a number of other controversial issues of the

day. Although this initial effort failed, it lay the groundwork for the successful attempt to create Broward County two years later.

Overshadowed by the achievement of 1915, this first endeavor to carve out a new county centered around Fort Lauderdale and extending deep into the Everglades has been largely overlooked in accounts of the area's history. Using a wide variety of primary sources, including government documents and a myriad of contemporary newspaper accounts, Broward County Historian Cooper Kirk has traced the origins of the movement to create the county, reconstructed its progress and demise, and analyzed a number of related issues, including Everglades drainage and land sales, Prohibition, and deep water harbor construction. A brief summary of this article, entitled "The Failure to Create Broward County: 1913," appeared in the Summer/Fall 1988 issue of *Broward Legacy*.

Under the passionate leadership of Governor Broward, the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund intended to build a total of six dredges for drainage and to finance all their operations through two means. The 1907 drainage law would provide a tax of five cents per acre annually on the property in the drainage district which would be the seed money for all operations. This tax applied to the State's 3,000,000 acres in the district. In addition, with the money derived from the sale of State-drained lands in the district added to the annual tax, the trustees expected and advertised at least verbally that the drainage and reclamation of the Everglades would be completed in 1910. Furthermore, Governor Broward hired as special counsel, ex-governor W. S. Jennings, to institute legal proceedings to reclaim for the State all of the land acquired as land grants for internal improvement by corporations, all of whom had not fulfilled the improvement obligation. Jennings' efforts more often than not were successful. Consequently, the State had a huge reservoir of Everglades land for sale. To prevent disappointment by purchasers and possible litigation, the State reasonably adhered to its policy to sell land and to deliver a deed for the same only in the areas where dredging operations had been completed or else were fully underway.

The first large sale of Everglades land by the State occurred in the second week of June 1908, when R. P. Davie and his business partner J. R. McKinnie, both of Colorado Springs, Colorado, purchased 28,000 acres located in Townships 51 and 52 South and Ranges 41 and 42 East. Davie and McKinnie were vice-president and president respectively of the Colorado-based Western Sugar and Land Company whose vast sugar beet enterprise employed hundreds of colonized laborers. Upon the purchase of this vast acreage, which amounted to over forty-three square miles of rich muck land, Davie and McKinnie organized the Everglades Sugar and Land Company, with a capitalization of \$1,000,000, to manage their land operations. They intended to plant sugar cane and also to operate an experimental farm to determine what other crops could be grown on reclaimed Everglades soil. Although later land purchases exceeded in size the Davie-McKinnie acquisition, none proved as successful as a farming operation. By August 7, 1908, Davie had engaged John M. Bryan, Jr., to put the experimental farm into operation, which Bryan did in short order with the assistance of 100 laborers. At the same time sub-

contractor Thomas M. Bryan, a brother of Reed and a cousin of John Bryan, had more than half completed a two-mile lateral canal through the Davie property and the canal emptied into the South New River Canal. That Davie, McKinnie and associates intended to do more than to farm sugar cane and to operate an experimental farm is made evident by their charter which prescribed their corporation could also sell, lease, own, mortgage, convey and hold land, operate canals, and make all improvements necessary for a successful venture.

While the Davie land purchase initially brought some needed money into the drainage operation, like other land purchasers Davie only paid for the land in small portions, that is, as he sold land to settlers. Also, dredging operations were proceeding slowly in late 1908, as Broward's term of office drew to a close. Part of the trouble was that the State built and operated the dredges, and in this area the State did not have much expertise. The record reveals that Broward accomplished little in actually dredging canals for when he left office on January 1, 1909, only a total of 13.24 miles had been dug, 6.52 miles on the North New River Canal and 6.72 miles on the South New River Canal.

Governor Broward had high political ambitions for a national office, and in the pursuance of his ambition he met a man who in fact saved Broward's plans for drainage of the Everglades. In mid-1908 things looked gloomy for the continuance of Everglades drainage, for Albert W. Gilchrist, the leading candidate to succeed Broward as governor, saw little future for drainage because of the lack of money and the opposition expressed in the defeat of the constitutional amendment. On the other hand, William J. Bryan looked like a shoo-in for the presidential nomination at the Democratic National Convention being held in Denver, Colorado, in mid June 1908. Whereupon, Broward went to the convention and unsuccessfully campaigned there for the second place on the Bryan ticket. Although Broward failed to further his political ambition for national office, he made a connection at the convention which saved Everglades drainage and at the same time boosted his reputation within the state. At the convention R. P. Davie introduced Broward to Richard J. Bolles, already a "Colorado Silver King," a western land developer extraordinaire and as bold and far-seeing an entrepreneur as Florida has ever seen.

With some reputed millions to invest in high risk ventures, Bolles fell under



Rare photograph of Governor Napoleon B. Broward in the Everglades.



Superintendent of Everglades Drainage Reed A. Bryan of Fort Lauderdale, in a c. 1903 portrait.

the magnetism and succumbed to the charisma of Broward and offered to purchase over 500,000 acres of Everglades land still under water and to assume full responsibility for draining the vast acreage. This offer appealed to Broward for it would get the State out of the drainage business. But, getting wind of the proposed Bolles deal, Attorney-General W. H. Ellis, like Broward a trustee of the Internal Improvement Fund, publicly announced in mid-October 1908, that he would not sign the necessary papers to consummate a deal for \$1.00 an acre when the land was actually worth twenty times as much. Broward, however, was getting desperate, although to put the best face on things he reported that land sales were on the upswing. In Miami on November 6th Broward announced that since June 4th the State had sold a total of 114,568 acres, the largest purchase being for 80,000 acres. All these land sales were located between Fort Lauderdale and Miami. But in such large land deals money came into the State coffers slowly for purchasers made very low down payments and only paid for the land as they sold it.

Governor Broward's intense apprehension that his gubernatorial successors would not embrace Everglades drainage passionately enough to overcome persistent criticism that the world's greatest drainage project was nothing more than a huge boon-doggle

in which reckless entrepreneurs and innocent investors alike would lose everything, ended eight days before the governor left office. On December 23, 1908, the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund signed a comprehensive contract with Richard J. Bolles for the purchase of 508,000 acres of Everglades land at \$1.00 per acre. But to keep the dredges digging, the contract also specified that Bolles would pay \$1.00 additional per acre, which payments would be placed into a special drainage fund and would be expended only for drainage and reclamation purposes. Bolles agreed to advance the Trustees \$50,000 to keep drainage operations afloat. In addition, Bolles agreed to pay \$50,000 "cash in hand" on January 1st in the years 1910 to 1914, and \$100,000 on January 1, 1915, then \$200,000 on January 1st each succeeding year until full payment was made for the 508,000 acres specified in the contract and located solely in Dade county. On the other side of the ledger, the State agreed that after each payment it would give Bolles a "good and sufficient deed" for the land he had paid for under the contract. In addition, the State agreed to construct four specified canals on the lower east coast and to lower Lake Okeechobee four feet, which meant the State intended to drain and reclaim the Everglades as rapidly as practical. This latter matter became of prime importance when years later land purchasers claimed Bolles had promised their land would be completely drained two years from the date of their land purchase. Bolles successfully pleaded, and the State officials backed him, that he had no control on the speed with which drainage would be accomplished, that this was a matter the State had reserved for itself.

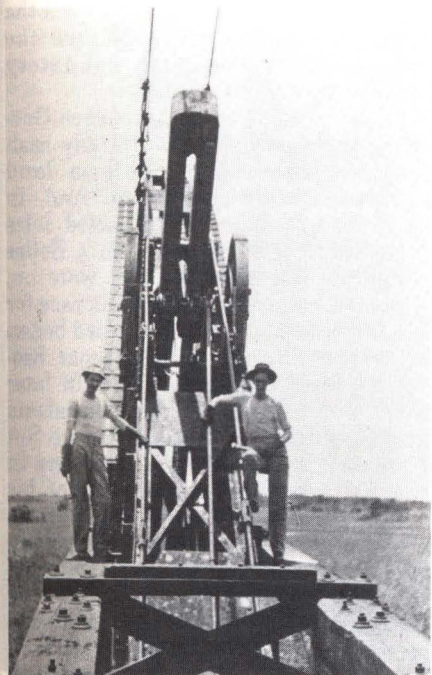
A matter not thought to be of great significance in the contract at the signing later became of surpassing importance. To feed Bolles' financial mill, the State expedited the issuance of "good and sufficient deeds," so that Bolles could furnish a good deed to purchasers. But the contract with Bolles stated that the State would hold a first mortgage on all the land Bolles sold until he had paid for the entire 508,000 acres listed in the contract. In 1907 the State had revised its official map of the Everglades and any land lying within the mapped section of south Florida became subject to the annual five cents per acre drainage tax. In years to come the State had a double claim to Everglades land sold by Bolles. If any of the terms of the contract were not met by Bolles or purchasers of land from Bolles, the

land in question would be escheated to the State. And any defalcation of the drainage tax would land Bolles and purchasers in the same boat. Bolles, however, was not singled out for special treatment, for essentially the same terms applied to all other purchasers of Everglades land.

Immediately after his purchase of the 508,000 acres, Bolles organized and owned the Florida Fruitlands Company and sold to this company 180,000 acres, which it was expected would be the first to be drained and reclaimed by the State. This 241 square miles sold by Bolles extended from just north of Miami to opposite Lantana, and was located just east of the proposed Miami Canal which the State intended to construct from Miami to Lake Okeechobee. From his headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri, Bolles hired a public relations firm for \$400,000 to spread the gospel of economical and productive Everglades land to be had for a pittance. This company hired agents for Bolles throughout the north central, mid-western and mountain states. The agents most generally set up offices and sold Florida Fruitlands Company land on a commission basis.

While the Florida Fruitlands Company brochures stated the company stood behind everything printed in them, they added a disclaimer as to what enthusiastic salesmen might claim in order to make a sale. The company divided its holdings into ten-acre plots, enough land calculated to make the purchaser a self-sufficient farmer. To supply the large enterpriser and the speculator, however, the company divided a small portion of its vast mileage into twenty acre plots and multiples of twenty up to 640 acres. Generally the land went for either \$20 or \$24 per acre, payable in twenty-four monthly payments interest free. Thus for either \$220 or for \$240 a farmer could acquire from the company sufficient acreage of the "world's richest soil" to enable him and his family to live comfortably in the world's "most desirable climate." Compared to most other land companies, Florida Fruitlands offered the lowest price and the easiest terms, for some Everglades land went for up to \$80 an acre with a substantial down payment. Yet, in fairness to other land companies, it must be said that some of them offered land much closer to settlements than did Fruitlands, and in some cases purchasers secured land with lateral ditches, but not dikes, already in place.

Although other land development companies beside the Davie-McKinnie combine had purchased from the State Everglades holdings for exploitation before Bolles came on the scene, Bolles'



Workers standing by the boom of the dredge *Everglades*, excavating the North New River Canal, c. 1907.

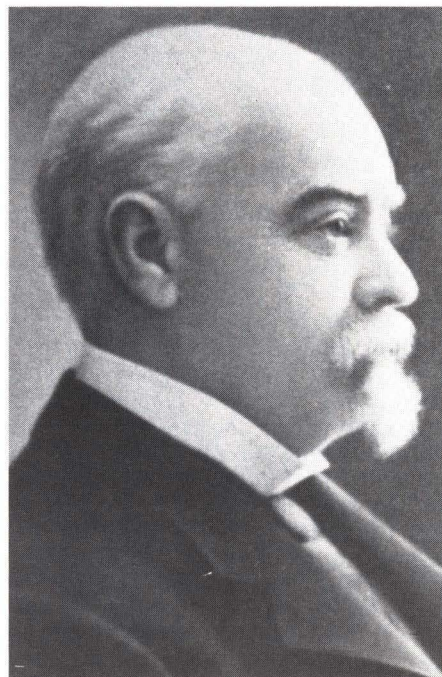
acquisition acted as a catalyst for other substantial purchases. The Tatum Brothers of Miami added acreage to the 30,000 they already owned. In early 1909, R. P. Davie formed the Davie Realty Company, absorbed the J. R. McKinnie and associates holdings, then steadily added to his holdings, and in December of that year the Davie Realty Company sold 46,080 acres to the newly-formed Everglades Land and Sales Company headquartered initially in Kansas City, Missouri. Powered by Vice-President H. G. Ralston and Director Victor W. Helms of Chicago, this company accelerated the development of the really valuable Davie Experimental Farm by digging canals, by installing huge suction pumps, and by the spring of 1910 had located enthusiastic settlers on the farm from all over the United States. Raising its sights even higher, the Everglades Land and Sales Company purchased the 25,000 acre Royal Palm site contiguous on the west and sold ten acre farm plots. Eventually, this company became the premier developer of land west of Dania and Fort Lauderdale along the North and South New River canals. The experimental farm and adjacent lands eventually became Zona and then Davie, Florida.

Sparked by either Bolles' daring or faith, the somnolent Florida Fibre Company caught fire. Headed by Florida's future United States Senator Duncan U. Fletcher of Jacksonville, the fibre company had purchased over 1,310 acres in 1890-1891, located between the forks of Middle River and had unsuccessfully tried to raise and process the sisal plant. When the Flagler railroad came through in 1896, the company platted the community of Progresso from part of its land, but company affairs languished until brought to life by Bolles' venture. As a consequence, in September 1909, the fibre company took a new lease on life. It put its lands on the market, hired salesmen and widely advertised its lands as being adjacent to the "Garden of Eden" created on the Fort Lauderdale beach by capitalist-lawyer Hugh T. Birch of Chicago, and "Hon. Thomas E. Watson of Georgia, the great historian and political leader."

After the businessman and "old timers" of Miami aborted an attempt in 1907 to create Palm Beach County from northern Dade County, citizens in the proposed county continued their fight and won the support of State Senator Fred M. Hudson of Miami. People living in the northern part of Dade County had powerful arguments for a new county, for Dade County in 1907 contained over 5,400 square miles and was larger than the State of

Connecticut. Local needs could be better met by local government, they argued. In 1909, the legislature bought their argument and created Palm Beach County, effective July 1st. The new county took one-half of the land of Dade County and extended from just south of Pompano to St. Lucie Inlet. Meantime Everglades land sales boomed and, at the creation of Palm Beach County, Dade County Tax Assessor Captain J. T. Jaudon announced the assessed valuation of both Palm Beach and Dade counties to be \$6,968,988; \$871,957 of which had been added during the past year. During this year the State had sold 500,003.57 acres to Richard J. Bolles; 6,423.13 acres to Walter R. Comfort; 14,000 acres to the Wisner Land Company and approximately 53,000 acres to P.A. Vans Agnew. Most of these lands lay in the new county of Palm Beach and their sale accounted for almost all the increased valuation.

As Bolles and other land entrepreneurs increased their sales to citizens living for the most part in the northern half of the United States, complaints of fraud began to become public, and northern newspapers ran sensational stories of simple, patriotic citizens being cheated by fraudulent methods and by slick salesmen and their principleless employers. Land speculators or developers heard themselves being denounced as those who sold land not by the acre but "by the gallon," a vivid



1901 painting of Richard J. Bolles, largest Everglades landowner of the early twentieth century (courtesy of The Bolles School).



Robert Parsell Davie, Everglades land investor after whom the Town of Davie was named (drawing from *Alligator Alley*, by August Burghard).

reminder that the drainage of the Everglades had hardly begun. Out of state contingents and individuals who were prospective land purchasers arrived in Fort Lauderdale and Miami by the railroad carloads to conduct an on-the-spot investigation of Everglades lands offered for sale. For the most part their inspection consisted of being taken up New River and Miami River by company representatives in company launches, given an on-the-spot spiel, then returned to their respective lodgings. The next day the chief Miami newspaper interviewed them, and the paper invariably only printed the favorable and highly laudatory responses.

In early 1910, an out-of-office Governor Broward in need of ready cash lent his name to overblown land companies' advertisements. And, in fact, the ex-governor conducted sales tours into the Everglades in a Bolles company launch. As 1910 wore on, Broward began to heat up his race for the United States Senate. Word began to seep out to the public about Broward's land dealings, which in later times would have caused a scandal and probably driven him from the race. But Broward in Miami and elsewhere in the state met the accusation of his opponents head on and did not flinch. On the public platform Broward admitted that he did indeed own 27,000 acres of Everglades land given to him by Richard J. Bolles. Although Broward could usually successfully defend himself, in this case he received timely aid from R. P. Davie, who publicly asserted that Bolles had given Broward the 27,000 acres out of gratitude for Broward's introducing him to the sale of Everglades land on good terms.

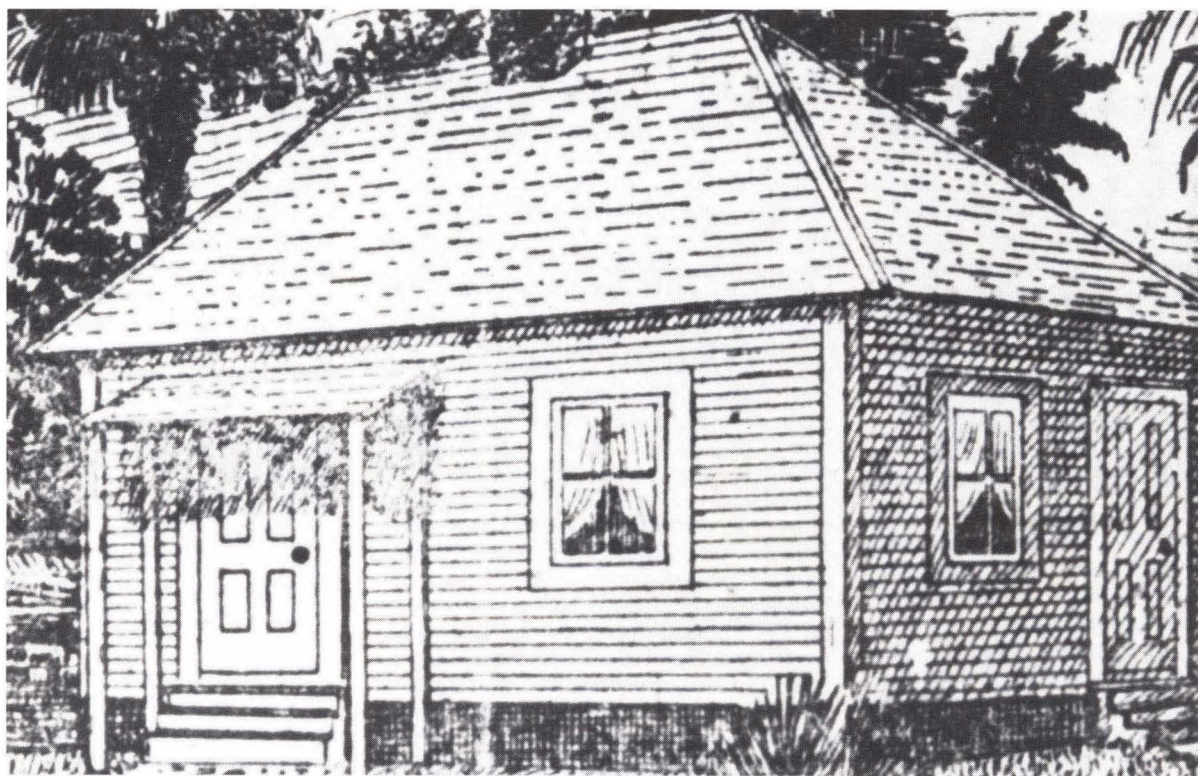
This vast acreage immeasurably assisted Broward's financially hard-pressed family after the triumphant senatorial candidate died on October 1, 1910, a few months before he was slated to be sworn in as one of Florida's two senators. About a decade later Broward's widow realized a net profit of \$167,500 from the sale of this land.

As an entity which cashed in on Broward's land sales endorsement, Don Farnsworth and Associates of Chicago cut a swash-buckling figure. Farnsworth advertisements blared forth that his company had "handled" 300,000 acres of land, had operated in eleven states during the past four years and was even now in the process of opening forty offices in various cities of the United States. While Farnsworth customarily sold Everglades land in twenty acre plots for \$1,600, or \$80 an acre, he sweetened the deal by offering ridiculously easy terms and stretching out interest free payments over a ten year period. But his clincher consisted of offering to deliver free to each purchaser "a three-room bungalow, a neat house complete with plans, specifications and lumber ready to set up." Farnsworth, R. P. Davie and Victor W. Helms of the Everglades

Land and Sales Company appear to have had some common interests for all three operated along the North and South New River canals and they offered buyers an interest in the Davie Experimental Farm located on the south canal in Davie. But Farnsworth in the company of ex-governor Broward began a feature that Bolles and other land speculators later emulated. He established the Waverly subdivision in Fort Lauderdale in 1910 and either sold or gave away town home lots to Everglades land purchasers. Farnsworth acknowledged his indebtedness to Broward when he publicly asserted that Broward had selected the site for the beautiful Waverly community.

As the number of land speculators or developers increased in number so did their advertisements increase in spewing forth unfulfillable promises. Consequently, non-Florida newspapers increased their condemnation of Everglades land sales practices and they brought to the attention of the public specific cases of land fraud or at least sales abuse. Except for some very hardy souls indeed, purchasers of Everglades land could not live on their ten-acre plots because the uncompleted

drainage canals hardly made a dent in the vast amount of water which covered the 'Glades for much of the year. Scoffers of drainage claimed that even when the canals were completed to Lake Okeechobee they would be wholly inadequate to handle the volume of water which flowed from the lake and also the vast quantity of rainfall which fell in the 'Glades between the lake and the ocean. Some of the immediate problems connected with drainage rested with the State of Florida whose State-constructed dredges and State drainage personnel did not have either the capacity or the expertise to operate the world's largest drainage and reclamation project efficiently. In the eyes of the experts in drainage adequate drainage could only be achieved if the whole project was placed in the hands of professional drainage personnel. Certainly the State had acted in an irresponsible manner in view of the prospects it held forth to prospective settlers that the drainage project would be complete before the settlers had completed their payments for their acreage. For during the eighteen months from January 1, 1909, to June 30, 1910, the State had dug only 15.84 miles of canals, and since dredging began in 1906, the total



Drawing of one of the free bungalows offered by Don Farnsworth and Associates to purchasers of twenty-acre Everglades plots. These houses, located in

present-day Davie, were the first to be built on reclaimed Everglades land.

miles of canals dug was less than thirty out of a projected total canal system of well over 200 miles.

The State of Florida muted much of the onus cast upon it for its dilatoriness by turning over the chief part of the Everglades drainage project in mid-1910 to the Furst-Clark Construction Company of Baltimore, Maryland, a company with a proven track record for getting big jobs done on time. Concurrent with its Everglades drainage work the company would continue the dredging of the Cape Cod Canal in Massachusetts from Barnstable Bay to Buzzard's Bay, an undertaking, however, dwarfed by the 'Glades contract. Frank A. Furst, president of the company, admitted the contract signed with the State of Florida on June 15, 1910, which called for the completion of Everglades drainage within three years or by July 1, 1913, had raised eyebrows, but he was confident of success. Furst declared that the Everglades drainage project was the largest work of its kind in the United States. His company, he said, must dig 184 miles of canals sixty feet wide and ten feet deep, one-third of it through coral rock covered with a layer of soft muck. A total of 25,000,000 cubic yards of rock and muck would have to be removed at a cost to the State of from \$3,000,000 to \$4,000,000. As a part of the deal, Furst-Clark would purchase from the State four dredges for \$145,000. When completed, Everglades drainage would drain some 6,000,000 acres of land, a territory that equalled the combined size of the states of Connecticut, Delaware and Rhode Island. Showing that it meant business, shortly after it commenced work on July 1, 1910, Furst-Clark placed some of its work on a twenty-four hour basis in order to complete its contract on time on the five canals it had contracted for. Later, the State awarded contracts to other companies to dig the West Palm Beach Canal and several short canals of approximately six miles in length and which flowed into the ocean along the lower east coast.

As the digging of canals accelerated after mid-1910, land entrepreneurs sped up their sale of water-logged acreage. Their advertisements made it plain that the State of Florida had guaranteed to drain and to reclaim the Everglades, and when publicly charged by newspapers and land purchasers with land fraud for selling undrained land, or when pleading their case in the federal courts, the speculators invariably denied fraud on the valid claim that the State of Florida had put its faith and credit on the line when it sold Everglades land and gave

"sufficient deeds" for the same. No doubt land purchasers did not always read, or else misunderstood, the fine print in the land sales contracts, and this led to acrimonious charges which could rarely be proved in the courts.

With such a raft of land sales advertisements, and with so much coming and going into the Everglades for inspection by prospective and actual buyers, combined with a nation-wide network of land sales offices, it might be assumed that the population of Dade County increased rapidly after Governor Broward began drainage operations in 1905. Such was not the case, however, for in 1905 Dade County, which then included Palm Beach County, boasted a cosmopolitan population of 12,089, and in 1910 the combined population of Dade and Palm Beach counties only totaled 17,510, most of whom lived outside the few incorporated communities. The predominance of population increase on the farms points up the fact that Dade Countians made their living mainly by following agricultural pursuits. The only two incorporated towns of any size in 1905 were Miami and West Palm Beach, and in the five year period to 1910, these communities only had increased in population from 4,733 to 5,471 and 3,511 to 3,844 respectively. As for the communities which would later be in Broward County when it was created in 1915, they likewise showed an unimpressive population growth from the time Everglades drainage began until it was put in the hands of drainage experts. In 1905, Fort Lauderdale precinct had a population of 219, Dania 193, Deerfield seventy-eight, Pompano seventy-three, and Hallandale and Ojus combined 282. The Thirteenth United States Census of 1910, vividly revealed the slow growth of these same communities or precincts, for Fort Lauderdale only had increased to a population of 296, Dania 283, Deerfield 287, Pompano 350 and Hallandale minus Ojus had a population of 245 inhabitants. Whether the large percentage-wise increase of Deerfield and Pompano precincts resulted because they were now in Palm Beach County and the size of the precincts had been enlarged, has not yet been determined. Although by 1910 only Pompano and Dania of the future Broward County communities had incorporated, the population in all the communities or precincts included the inhabitants both in the communities and the nearest outlying areas.

In addition to the soil and climate, the prohibition movement affected the pattern and rate of population growth on the southeast Florida frontier

during the period under consideration. Built around a moral core and fueled by both emotion and economic concerns, the prohibition movement exerted influence for several decades. Forces propelling the prohibition cause redoubled their efforts nationally and locally particularly during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Proponents believed grass roots enthusiasm and hard work would result in local options for prohibition, states would follow by becoming "dry," and eventually enough states would support a constitutional amendment to prohibit the manufacture, sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages. The emotionally laden contests between "wets" and "drys" often forged alliances whose residual influences could be harnessed in behalf of causes diverse indeed from prohibition.

In the spirited referendum campaign over prohibition in Dade County in the fall of 1907, many prominent citizens publicly espoused the dry cause. The Dade County Prohibition League boasted as chairman Fred M. Hudson, state senator of Brevard, St. Lucie and Dade counties, and Alabamian S. Bobo Dean, publisher of the dominant *The Miami Metropolis* newspaper, as a member of the executive committee. The several Women Christian Temperance Unions joined the league in sponsoring the appearance of local and national speakers and in obtaining testimonials from prominent men and women, even some with a national reputation. *The Miami Metropolis* printed testimonials from officials and prominent citizens from cities outside of Florida who testified to the great economic and moral benefits prohibition had brought to their city. Crime had decreased, drunks were no longer in evidence on the streets and public places, lives had been rehabilitated and industry had boomed, asserted the alien prohibitionists. On the local scene, Fort Lauderdale's part-time resident Thomas E. Watson, of national fame, wrote Editor Dean a testimonial favoring prohibition and stated among other arguments that: "I have no hesitation in saying that the driving out of whiskey and the vice and crime which are its inseparable companions, Dade County would certainly not be less attractive than it is now to such men as myself visiting your section." But testimonials and speeches did not prevail in the October 15th referendum between the wets and the drys, for the former triumphed by twenty-five votes, although the contest would have been much closer had Fort Lauderdale's vote of twenty-two drys and three wets been counted instead

of being disallowed because the election inspectors failed to fill out the election return properly. A plus for the drys was that they could look forward to the day when Palm Beach County would be created, which would remove from Dade County a heavy wet vote from West Palm Beach.

With the exodus of Palm Beach County in 1909, the wet and dry forces tangled again in November 1909. After a hotter contest than that of 1907, the wets won again and this time by a forty-four vote majority. Two factors of considerable weight came to light and were emphasized by the dry forces in explaining their defeat. First, Miami's vote was the controlling factor in the wet victory. Miami contained four precincts and together they cast a majority for the wet cause of 124 votes. But in no other precinct in Dade County other than North Miami did the wets win by more than four votes. Fort Lauderdale, Dania and Hallandale, the only communities remaining in northern Dade County after Deerfield and Pompano went with Palm Beach County, voted dry by a majority of sixty to forty-one. Second, in addition to tipping the electoral scale in favor of the wet cause, Miami was the only community in which a substantial number of Negroes voted. This further chilled the whites against the blacks. *The Miami Metropolis* headlined "The Negro Vote Decided Saturday's Contest." In developing its story the *Metropolis* employed considerable guess work as to how Negroes voted, evident in its statement that "... it is generally conceded that the large negro votes carried the election wet, there being in the neighborhood of 125 negro votes, and it is safe to estimate that half the negroes voted wet at all." A residue of bitterness against the City of Miami, and Miami Negroes in general for their defeat, remained with many of the proponents of prohibition, and they vowed to keep up the fight to make Dade County dry.

With the exception of Bolles' Florida Fruitlands Company, no land company advertised more widely, sold more property and brought in at their own expense more prospective purchasers of Everglades land, than did the Everglades Land Sales Company, whose land sold from \$50 to \$100 per acre depending on its location. Beginning in 1910, this company, under the energetic leadership of director Victor W. Helms, purchased additional land as it sold to eager buyers and increased its sales force, particularly in Illinois and Indiana, and more specially in Chicago. In a November 1910 advertisement the company asserted that northerners, easterners and wes-

terners had purchased a total of 25,000 Everglades farms, and the reason was the value of Everglades soil. Some farmers even then were getting a return of from \$500 to \$1,000 per acre, far above the national average, and throughout Dade County farm income averaged \$469 per acre, a figure much above the national average.

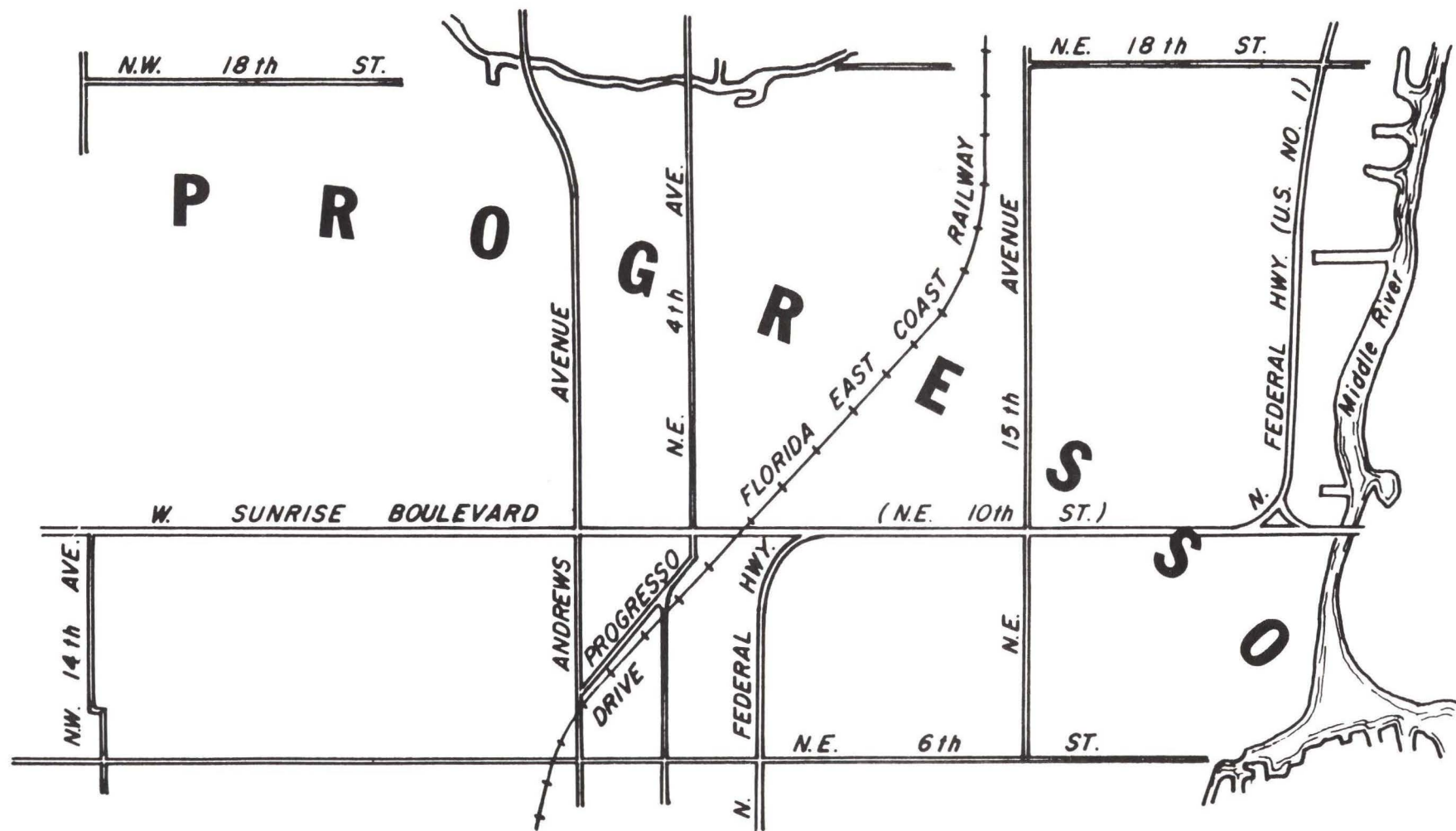
Helms stated his own company had prospered and it was even then installing powerful pumps to service the seventy square miles of Everglades land it had already sold. His own company now controlled 70,000 acres of the best located lands in the Everglades. Helms pointed out that his company had greatly benefitted Fort Lauderdale, Dania and Hallandale for its lands were located principally along the North and South New River canals and west of these three communities.

By mid-1910 people had begun to hail Fort Lauderdale as "The Gateway to the Everglades," for both the Bolles land and the Helms controlled property would be most accessible, as would be Lake Okechobee itself, through the North and South New River canals whose eastern entrepot was Fort Lauderdale. Monthly hundreds of prospective settlers from beyond Florida boarded boats at Fort Lauderdale for a tour and inspection of Everglades land. Much of the time three out of four of these inquirers purchased either a ten or a twenty acre farmsite on easy terms, and some purchased the same amounts for their stay-at-home neighbors. But as the population figures already cited for 1910 reveal, most of the purchasers returned home to wait for the Everglades drainage operation to progress to the point where their land was sufficiently drained so homes could be built and farming operations begun full-scale. Although small in absolute terms, Dade County's population, nevertheless, did increase 280 percent from 1905 to 1910, compared to an increase of 42.1 percent for the State of Florida during the same period.

When land companies sold Everglades land they certified to the purchaser that the land had not been surveyed. This meant that purchasers only had a claim to some portion of unsurveyed land whose exact location would await an official survey, something the State of Florida promised would come at the earliest possible moment. But purchasers clamored for an exact location of their land so as to begin farming operations at once. Early on the Florida Fruitlands Company revealed it would conduct a lottery of its 180,000 acres on March 11, 1911, at Progresso, the new com-

munity the company would begin about one-half mile north of the recognized limits of Fort Lauderdale. In March purchasers would be given a more exact location of their Everglades land, although still a location not yet surveyed by the State. In addition they would be given gratis a twenty-five or fifty foot house lot in Progresso, the sub-division recently purchased by Bolles from the Florida Fibre Company, and enlarged by other land purchases. Thus, purchasers who wished to farm their Everglades plot, which had not as yet been completely drained, could build a house in Progresso and either travel to their farm each day or else build a "lean-to" and stay on the farm under very adverse conditions. With its 12,000 small and medium-sized lots, Progresso could furnish homesites for the same number of purchasers. In planning the Progresso community, the Florida Fruitlands Company had made ample reservations for churches, schools, and other public buildings. From the 12,000 purchasers of Everglades land from Bolles' Florida Fruitlands Company, company officials expected anywhere from 3,000 to 4,000 would attend the lottery and that some would remain on to build on their Progresso lot and would commence farming operations on their farms located over twenty-five miles west of Progresso. In anticipation of the land lottery, which was announced in December 1910, and subsequent developments, prominent Fort Lauderdaleians began to organize and expand various operations which hitherto had been somewhat haphazardly conducted. In December 1910, Cromartie and Berryhill opened their big general store and joined the Oliver Brothers in this trade. Some "Fort Lauderdale Folks" organized the Commercial Club, forerunner of the Board of Trade, itself the predecessor of the Chamber of Commerce. Speculator Don Farnsworth and Associates of Chicago in January 1911 built the fifty-room Osceola Hotel on Brickell Avenue to handle their own clients and others who might need accommodations. At nine o'clock on the morning of February 1, 1911, the Fort Lauderdale State Bank opened as the town's first financial institution, capitalized at \$15,000.

J. L. Billingsley, owner of one of Miami's 290 registered cars, respected attorney and vice-president of the Florida Fruitlands Company and a director of the new bank, "motored up to Fort Lauderdale with a potato sack full of money to make change with," on the morning of the first. Even in the Lilliputian society of Fort Lauderdale some men had risen to the top. So, respected men such as Frank



Location of Progresso in relation to present-day Fort Lauderdale streets (map by Kenneth J. Hughes).

Stranahan, Frank R. Oliver, H. G. Wheeler, Frederick A. Barrett and Thomas M. Bryan joined Billingsley as directors of the new bank which seems to have been heavily supported by Bolles and his company. Colonel George G. Mathews of Bartow, Ocala and other places came to Fort Lauderdale in January 1911, ready to begin a second newspaper which would offer competition to barrister-educator William Heine's *Fort Lauderdale Herald* which had begun operations late in 1910.

Meanwhile the Commercial Club had evolved into the Fort Lauderdale Board of Trade and during the first week of February 1911, it appointed a committee to plan for the incorporation of Fort Lauderdale. At the March 2nd meeting of the board whose membership had risen to 102, the board "decided to incorporate as soon as possible and a committee consisting of W. H. Marshall, H. G. Wheeler, Frank Stranahan and J. L. Billingsley was authorized to take steps necessary to complete the incorporation." The next morning the committee posted notices which called for a meeting of all parties interested in incorporation for March 27th. The inchoate political situation which had prevailed in Fort Lauderdale for years crystalized, and with incorporation Fort Lauderdale took the political leadership of northern Dade County, and its influence even extended to Deerfield and Pompano, then located in Palm Beach County.

As Everglades drainage proceeded feature articles about the operations appeared in northern and western newspapers and periodicals, and government officials added their voice of praise to the undertaking. In February 1911 the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* asserted the drainage and reclamation of the Everglades "ranks with the greatest reclamation work done east of the Mississippi." The *Ledger* stated federal engineers predicted that within four or five years large steamboats would traverse the Everglades from the ocean to the gulf, and when the Panama Canal was completed the Florida transstate canal route through the Caloosahatchee River would become one of the United States' great waterways, for it would be utilized by vessels, at least coasters, both to and from the Panama Canal because it would save some 300 miles of navigation around the dangerous keys of southern Florida. Simultaneously, Dr. H. W. Wiley, Chief Chemist of the United States Department of Agriculture, was asked by Secretary James Wilson to visit the Everglades and to make a report thereon. After the visit, Wiley reported to the secretary

New Town of Progress 1911.
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.



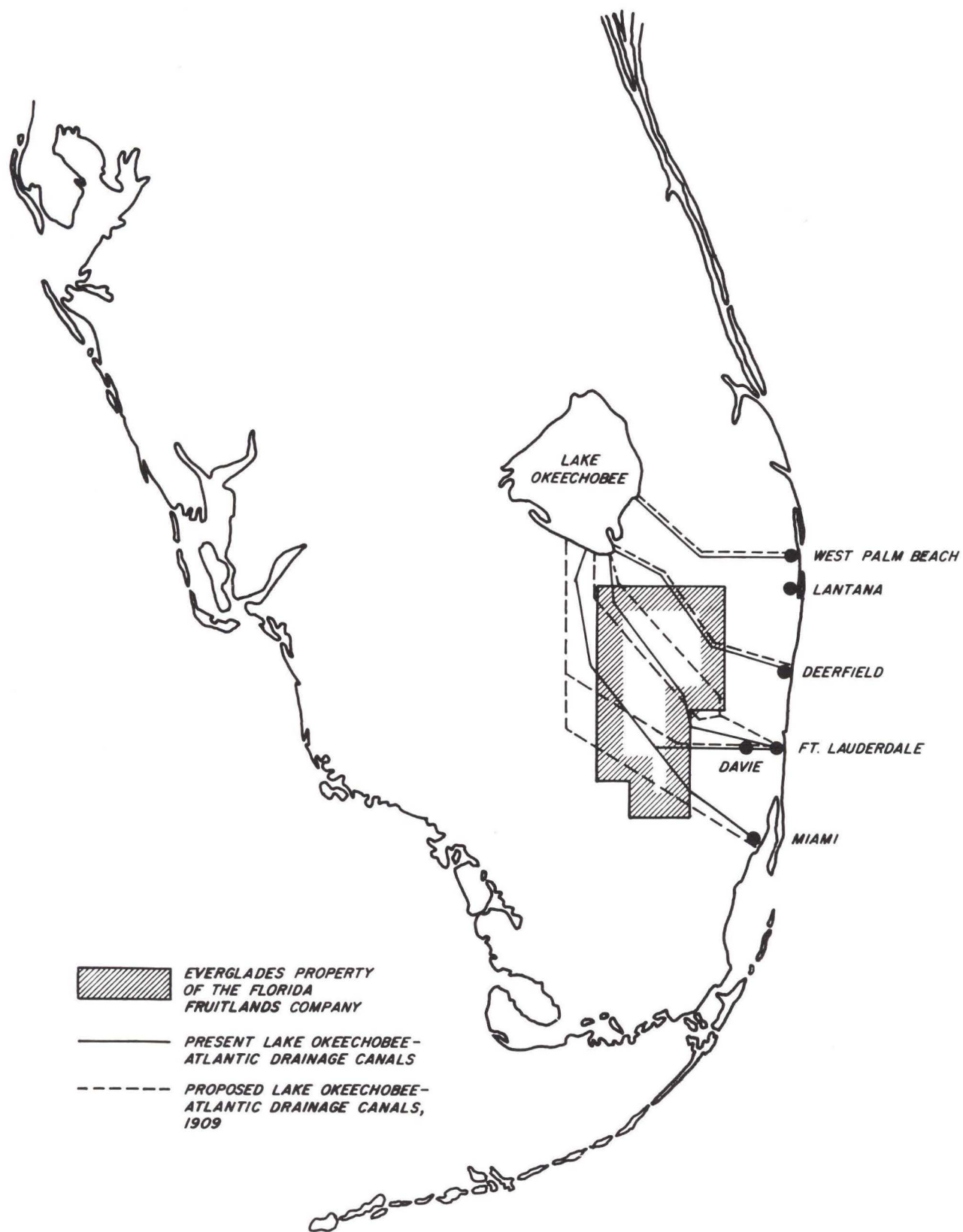
Tent city at Progresso, 1911.

that nowhere in the world was there such a body of land containing such remarkable possibilities of development than did the Everglades. In his own words Wiley reported that "this land affords promise of development which reaches beyond the limits of prophecy." In commenting upon Wiley's laudatory report, the *Ledger* lamented: "Unfortunately, the people of the North, generally, have no conception of the magnitude of the work [of drainage and reclamation]."

As March 11, 1911, the date set for the opening day of the land lottery, approached, southeast Floridians began to organize on a scale they never before had attempted. J. L. Billingsley, counsel and head of operations for the Florida Fruitlands Company, stated that every mail brought news from the mid-west that another Pullman was leaving for Fort Lauderdale, and men in touch with the situation estimated that a crowd from 2,000 to 6,000 would arrive. Sheriff Dan Hardie prepared his deputies for the work of policing the crowd "from crooks and rogues," and they would also guard the new state bank where special arrangements had been made for the storage of visitors' valuables. The post office department trained personnel to systematize the serving of the huge crowd. At a mass meeting of Fort Lauderdale citizens, committees were appointed to handle hundreds of details. A canvass ensued to find every available bed in the town and environs. Stores laid in a supply of extra provisions and the three principal hotels prepared for enormous crowds. The land company obtained two "circus tents" in which to stage the general meetings, and it

also secured two railroad cars of small tents "for sleeping apartments for the contract holders." Citizens rose to the occasion and promised to furnish cots by the hundreds, but topping everyone was Joe O'Neill, proprietor of the new hardware store, who promised the use of 300 cots.

Disappointment and no little chagrin reigned when March 11th arrived and only 1,000 contract holders had arrived in Fort Lauderdale. Train delays occasioned by the railway union personnel strictly adhering to union rules as regards hours of labor received the blame for the foul up in plans. A good deal of grumbling on another matter by the early arrivals alerted company officials who sought to allay suspicions and reasons for complaint. No one grumbled over the Everglades land *per se*. Complaints revolved about two matters, one of which the land company could remedy and the other over which it had no ameliorative power. The matter of too many lots for business in relation to residences in Progresso could easily be adjusted. But the company had no answer to the complaint that Progresso was separated by too many miles from the Everglades land which belonged to the contract holders. The company did make a concession by allocating much more land to Progresso along the Florida East Coast Canal, a waterway the holders would have to utilize in order to get to their Everglades farms, farms which the individual could not as yet learn the exact location. But ex-Governor W. S. Jennings, closely connected with the Florida Fruitlands Company, in a speech calmed many fears. He pointed



Everglades property of the Florida Fruitlands Company, shown in relation to the Everglades

drainage canals and major east coast towns (map by Kenneth J. Hughes).

out that the Everglades land would soon be surveyed by the State but for the present it was not possible for purchasers to locate the precise site they would eventually get.

It was indeed a motley crowd that gathered in the piney woods of roadless Progresso in early March 1911. J. H. Reese of *The Miami Metropolis* described the variegated assemblage for his readers and in part his description ran:

They are all sorts and conditions of men in the crowd, running in dress and appearance from the city-bred chap with a flamboyant necktie to the old hayseed of the west with amber screenlots trickling down from the corners of his mouth and clad in keeping with this untidy sign of careless habit.

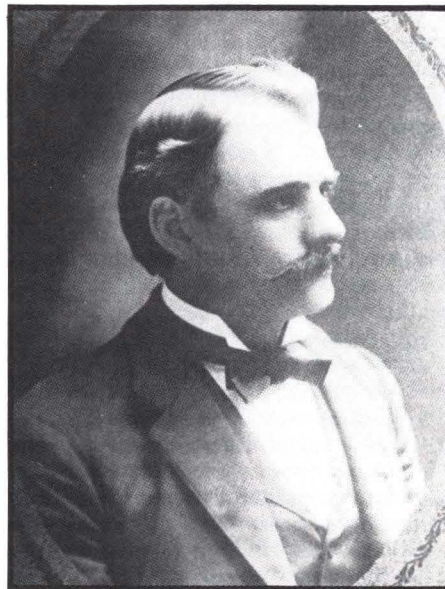
Before the official lottery proceedings began and during their continuance the crowd had its minds taken off the discomforts attendant upon their primitive way of life in Progresso and environs by the almost continuous auction of Fort Lauderdale lots which took place on a platform located in the midst of the tents. Most generally, purchasers to expedite matters only put down five dollars on their purchase, but a more substantial payment was due before the buyer left Fort Lauderdale. In particular, Don Farnsworth had great success in selling lots in his new Waverly sub-division.

Finally, after a two-day delay, the lottery or auction of Everglades land by Bolles' company began on March 13th and concluded on March 24th. Approximately 3,500 contract holders participated and between them they also represented by proxy many of the other 8,500 contract holders resident in many sections of the United States. Contract holders elected three trustees, and in this election 9,320 ballots were cast in person and by proxy. Elected from three different sections of the United States, the trustees' mandate included receiving the conveyance of 180,000 acres of Florida Fruitlands Company land in trust and the managing of the contract holders' interests until the latter received a clear title to their Everglades land and a fee simple interest in a twenty-five or fifty foot homestead in the Progresso sub-division which it was expected would evolve into an incorporated city of 10,000 inhabitants in the near future. Just as importantly, the trustees must monitor drainage and reclamation progress until the contract holders could occupy a dry plot of Everglades land, an undertaking which could possibly last for years. Bustling in and out of every conference, answering questions when button-holed and casting oil upon

every semblance of troubled waters, Bolles' top trouble-shooters, J. L. Billingsley and ex-Governor W. S. Jennings, kept a volatile situation fairly well under control.

Before the land lottery actually got underway, contract holders had maps issued to them showing the location of every one of the 12,000 plots which had been purchased. If anyone wished a particular plot favorably located, for example, one contiguous to one of the State canals, he might bid a higher figure than the regular \$20 or \$24 per acre. The highest bidder obtained the plot, the money paid higher than the \$20 or \$24 per acre was placed in a special fund, and eventually contract holders would share proportionately in this dividend. These plots were removed from the lottery which followed.

The object of the lottery was to



Governor William Sherman Jennings (courtesy Florida Photographic Archives).

assign Everglades land to every contract holder. And the method employed to do this consisted in the drawing of the name of a contract holder from a container and the simultaneous drawing from another container of a piece of paper with a plot, section and township number. The name drawn now "owned" the land described on the paper drawn. When the State surveyed the land, hopefully within a year or two, the contract holder would get a clear title through the trustees, provided he had made all the monthly payments. Thus, the lottery and future dealings with the Florida Fruitlands Company had to be conducted through the three trustees, who ostensibly

worked for the benefit of the contract holders. At least in the beginning the trustees did wring some concessions from the land company, including several additional sections of land to compensate for land removed by lateral canals and ditches. In an interview Jennings gave some revealing statistics about the 180,000 acres of land distributed. Altogether there were 11,972 contract holders divided as follows: ten acre plots, 8,000; twenty acres, 3,600; forty acres, 250; eighty acres, 20; and 640 acres, 2. Of these land purchasers, 2,000 had paid in full for their tracts and none had made less than seven payments.

No doubt the March 1911 land lottery put Fort Lauderdale and the Everglades on the national map. Yet, few of the contract holders remained in either Fort Lauderdale or Dade County for long for they could not as yet occupy or cultivate their Everglades holdings. A small but influential group did, however, remain in Progresso and they built their primitive houses on their twenty-five or fifty foot lots. Secure in their belief the three trustees would satisfactorily handle matters for them, most holders returned home to prepare for the spring planting. But shortly the trustees became embroiled with the land company over details of their contract with it. At the same time some contract holders became disenchanted with the enormous charges the trustees levied against the Florida Fruitlands Company for services rendered, and they carried the former into court in an effort to oust them. Then, early in 1912, Representative Frank Clark of the eastern Florida district publicly charged Bolles and other land speculators with fraud and this led to a congressional investigation. Bad publicity resulted, for over 2,300 United States newspapers ran articles scathingly denouncing all Everglades land speculators and developers. The investigation and the newspaper publicity dealt a stunning set back to the sales of Everglades land and its subsequent drainage and reclamation and made south Florida land in general less sought after. Depreciation of land sales resulted in a sharp slow down in drainage operations by the State, and many contract holders, in despair and disgust of ever farming their holdings, failed to pay their drainage tax and their lands thereby were escheated to the State. In one year alone, over 1,500 plots were escheated, whereby the land purchasers lost all their investment. Bolles, the mastermind of land sales and the lottery, was himself tried several times by federal officials, but each time he was exonerated when state officials, including

the governor, testified in his behalf by declaring that the State and not Bolles controlled the quality and speed of drainage operations. But Bolles and others of his genre had a difficult time overcoming the charge, which obtained national currency, that they sold Everglades land not by the acre but "by the gallon."

Clearly the operations of Richard J. Bolles which led to the land lottery were epochal. Perhaps the *Fort Pierce Tribune* engaged in considerable exaggeration, but nevertheless it had a kernel of truth in its comment upon the land lottery. Opined the *Tribune*: "The great land drawing at Fort Lauderdale which is taking place this week is undoubtedly the greatest event ever transacted in the State of Florida and columns could be written upon it." The modicum of reality in this statement is that for the first time in history a phalanx of individual farmers had obtained a bona fide title to the richest soil in America and one of Florida's last frontiers had been breached. Following up on the *Tribune* statement, it might be added that in time some absentee contract holders retained their Everglades land, returned and farmed it, thus making a dent in the watery wilderness which for almost a century had defied American settlement and cultivation.

A spin-off of Bolles' activity and influence climaxed on March 27th, three days after the completion of the land lottery at Progresso, when more than two-thirds of Fort Lauderdale's electorate gathered in the school building and proceeded to incorporate the Town of Fort Lauderdale under the provisions of a special state statute. Forty-two Lauderdaleans attended the meeting at which J. L. Billingsley, vice-president of the Florida Fruitlands Company, acted as the legal godfather and Edward S. Myers, land agent of the same company, was elected chairman. Citizens nominated William H. Marshall and Joe G. Farrow as mayoral candidates, and when the votes were counted, the former defeated Farrow by receiving thirty votes. Councilmen elected were W. C. Kyle, W. O. Berryhill, E. T. King, W. H. Covington and Tom M. Bryan. Frank A. Bryan received the nod as the new town's clerk. Three days later the councilmen elected King as the president of the town council. In June 1911, the state legislature ratified the incorporation of the Town of Fort Lauderdale.

The newly incorporated town appears to have embraced the one square mile area comprising the "Town of Fort Lauderdale" which Mr. and Mrs. William Brickell had had

platted in 1895 by the land department of the Florida East Coast Railway Co. For surveying the town section and grubbing out trees and brush from the platted streets and avenues, the railway company received alternate blocks of land from the Brickells. Consequently, people who originally purchased land in Fort Lauderdale bought it either from the Brickells or else from the Fort Dallas/Model Land Company, the legal holders and developers of the railroad lands.

Little noticed by the public of Dade County at this time, but a matter of some consequence in the creation of Broward County in 1915, was the resignation of County Commissioner Frank R. Oliver of Fort Lauderdale in June 1911, and the appointment and subsequent election of Frank A. Bryan of the same town to replace Oliver as commissioner of the First District. By 1913 Bryan had become chairman of the county commission and a political power house in the county. The first public intimation that the Fort Lauderdale power structure headed by Bryan wanted to create a new county to be named "Everglades County" came on February 21, 1913, when the *Fort Lauderdale Herald* carried a blistering story to this effect and bragged that Representative George A. Worley of Miami emphatically favored the creation of the new county from Palm Beach and Dade counties.

Agitation for a new county began to crystalize after the Dade County Board of Commissioners on February 7th voted in favor of a referendum by the qualified electors for a vote on an approximately \$400,000 bond issue for the purchase of up to twelve blocks of land located on Miami's Biscayne Bay. This projected land purchase from the Florida East Coast Railway Company would be used in the creation of a deep water harbor in the county seat, but it was hailed by its promoters as a harbor to benefit all the people of Dade County not just Miamians.

The matter of a deep water harbor at Miami had developed, by 1913, into a deeply confused issue with many unpredictable facets which to some also seemed unfathomable. Miami had been unsuccessfully attempting to gain a deep water harbor since 1902, when the federal government spent \$100,000 to deepen a 100-foot channel from the ocean to part of the way through Biscayne Bay. At the same time the government signed a contract with the Florida East Coast Railway Company which required the latter to complete the bay channel to the mainland. The railway at that time operated a fleet of ships which needed a deepened harbor channel. Since 1902,

however, the railway company had done nothing to complete the channel, and as a consequence, the federal government refused to make further appropriations until the railway company or the City of Miami fulfilled the channel contract. For some reason not made entirely clear to the public, the railway company refused to complete the channel, but it did offer to sell to the City of Miami bayfront property and riparian rights for a deep water harbor for \$415,000, provided that the city fulfilled the government contract for the channel. Neither the railway company nor the city had received a firm figure of the cost to complete the channel, but the best estimates hovered around \$400,000. Consequently, a bond issue of \$400,000 would not insure a deep water harbor for Miami and the thought of an outlay of over \$800,000 for a channel and the city blocks necessary for terminals terrified many in the northern part of the county. Fear of future county insolvency on the part of many seems justified when the county's total budget for the upcoming year amounted to only \$252,000 and the \$800,000 figure equalled one-tenth of the value of all the property in Dade County.

Editor-owner William Heine of *The Fort Lauderdale Herald* minced no words in stating Fort Lauderdale's opposition to Dade County bonding itself for a deep water harbor in Miami, an improvement which would primarily benefit Miami through lower transportation rates, something all of south Florida needed, dependent as it was upon the railroad for transportation. Heine asserted his town's opposition in some mordant language:

Now that the County Capital of Dade has completed all the arrangements to bond the county to purchase wharfage for the ambitious city, the people of the north end of the county have completed their plans to avoid participation in the cost of this luxury by having the legislature set off Everglades County from the northern end of Dade and the southern end of Palm Beach counties, and form the new county of Everglades.

The Fort Lauderdale editor-educator continued by stating it was the purpose of those in favor of division to proceed to bond Everglades County so that funds might be raised to straighten New River and to open and deepen the mouth thereof and thus to facilitate greatly the drainage of a large scope of farm land adjacent to New River.

This will be a much more equitable use of money raised by the scheme of bonding than that of purchas-



Fort Lauderdale, looking west up New River from the Wheeler Building on Brickell Avenue, c. 1910-12 (above), and a North New River Canal scene showing dam erected by the Furst-Clark Company during excavation, c. 1912 (right).



ing city dockage for Miami, that the White City might avail herself of federal appropriations otherwise denied her. The plan to have the whole county, over half a hundred miles square, join in the expense of building up the County Capital is an ambitious scheme and very adroitly laid, and since the population of the county centers about Miami, there is little hope of escaping the net laid except by getting out of the county.

Heine further excoriated Miami by declaring that city bankrupt and a city with a record of "mendacity" in its dealings with the other communities of Dade County. Furthermore, Fort Lauderdale looked forward to success in its undertaking, for Representative Worley had promised to assist in the passage of a bill "that will free us from participation in the expense of Miami's future great prosperity."

Soon the influential *Miami Metropolis* expressed unqualified support for the division of Dade County, not into two counties, however, but into three, and the newspaper hoped it "may be accomplished with harmony and dispatch." In the March 7th issue, editor-publisher S. Bobo Dean averred there should be a new county centered around Fort Lauderdale, one centered around the Redland district, leaving the central area around Miami as Dade County. In this sentiment, the paper merely echoed Representative Worley. Dean asserted that a new "agricultural empire" was opening up in the reclaimed portion of the Everglades west of Fort Lauderdale and that a series of roads should be built north,

south and west of Fort Lauderdale and the whole territory should be improved as a county unit. Dean also saw small as good, for "by centralizing their interest in the smaller district, by boosting for 'Everglades County' with their proverbial enthusiasm, the people of the northern section of the present Dade and the southern section of Palm Beach County would have something well worth working for and all the lower East Coast would be benefitted." Such a county could almost support itself on the fee system common to Florida and this would cover salaries for officials and also improvement expenses. Dean foresaw some difficulties, however, for some people would oppose county division and these would probably be the same people who opposed the creation of Palm Beach County, for they "are proud of the State of Dade," and its romantic history. But, asserted *The Miami Metropolis* newsman, most everyone agrees the division of four years ago has proved very beneficial to both Dade and Palm Beach counties.

Considered Lilliputians by the Gullivers of Miami, the power structure in miniscule Fort Lauderdale plowed ahead with county division undaunted. On the same day that S. Bobo Dean's editorial appeared in *The Miami Metropolis*, Colonel George G. Mathews' *Fort Lauderdale Sentinel* reported a meeting of "a committee," at the office of Mayor William Marshall on March 3rd to discuss dividing Dade County. Those present elected sixty-three year old W. P. Brobeck, a highly respected citizen employed in the haberdashery department of the

Oliver Brothers General Store, chairman, and thirty-six year old William Heine, lawyer, educator and editor, secretary. Present besides Brobeck and Heine were these driving entrepreneurs, who represented a mixture of youth and experience: Thomas M. Bryan, Frank R. Oliver, William H. Marshall, E. C. Parker, George G. Mathews, Frank A. Bryan and Edwin T. King. These politically ambitious men appointed committees to visit Deerfield, Pompano, Fort Lauderdale, Dania, Hallandale, Ojus and Boca Raton citizens to get them to sign a petition for the division of Dade County. The coterie agreed to hold a mass meeting in Fort Lauderdale on March 15th for the people in the proposed new county to hear the "best orators that can be procured," and the group asserted that "with the birth of Everglades County we will take on a new life. Wealth and population will increase so fast until we will excite the wonder of the world [sic.]" In succeeding editorials Mathews urged the citizens of the proposed county to strike while the iron was hot. But rather than name the new county Everglades, as had been the unanimous choice so far, Mathews proposed: "Let us name the county Broward in honor of Florida's most distinguished son. It will be a fitting tribute to one who commenced the drainage of the Everglades." Lest complacency set in because the division cause had the overt support of powerful Representative Worley and the tacit backing of Senator Fred M. Hudson of Miami, and legislatures uniformly deferred to the judgment of local legislators on local bills,

Mathews urged that it would take more than talk and the naming of committees: "We must work!"

Simultaneously, Heine of the *Fort Lauderdale Herald* candidly stated on March 7th that division concerned the matter of "local aspirations." Areas near Miami should support the Miami harbor bond issue but for areas further away such would be unfair for the harbor would be of little benefit for them. But Heine really touched one of the central issues of division when he editorialized that "It is a serious inconvenience for the Fort Lauderdale citizens but more still for the Everglades people to get to Miami to transact their courthouse business." Only one narrow rock road led from the northern section of Dade County to Miami, and cars in 1913 were a scarce commodity among an agricultural society. Wagons and buggies still monopolized transportation. Although only twenty-five miles separated Fort Lauderdale from Miami, a round trip to the courthouse in the latter city even on the train consumed the better part of a day. Open air buses or taxis between the two cities remained two years down the pike.

No one denied that the division of Dade County fell into the big business category. Division would intensify the activities of local government. It would mean a whole new cadre of officeholders who would feed at the local tax trough. A new county would increase the accessibility of courthouse affairs to a whole new range of citizens. As President Woodrow Wilson took office he promised New Freedoms to business and to individuals, and his administration was brought close home to Dade Countians as the president appointed the county's most famous citizen to the office of secretary of state. The new secretary, William Jennings Bryan, had endeared himself to every section of the county by his own purchase of Everglades land and by his tireless promotion of the 'Glades as the bread basket of the United States. An air of expectancy gripped Dade County as the year 1913 wore on.

Were the citizens of Dade County primed for the accomplishment of big things? The answer appears that they were, particularly in light of recent south Florida events. The Florida East Coast Railway Company in 1912 had accomplished an engineering feat at one time thought impossible when it completed an overseas railway to Key West. Carl G. Fisher and John S. Collins had begun to develop a mangrove swamp which soon became famous as Miami Beach. In addition a number of communities sprung up adjacent to Miami and the latter city

began to incorporate them and thus it greatly expanded its borders. Simultaneously, Miami and Fort Lauderdale and the nascent community of Davie split the economic affairs of the largest financial and land developing company, with the exception of the railroad, in Dade County. For three large Everglades land companies merged into one during the division fight. Capitalized at \$1,000,000 and controlling more than 75,000 acres of choice 'Glades land mostly located near Davie, the consolidated company's salesmen operated primarily from Fort Lauderdale, but the new company monopolized the banking system of Miami. The merger of the Everglades Sugar and Land Company, the Everglades Land and Sales Company and the Everglades Land Company into the Everglades Land and Sugar Company brought new operating efficiency into a hitherto chaotic muddle.

In the tri-company consolidation, R. P. Davie of Los Angeles, president of the first named company; A. J. Bendle, president of the latter company; and Victor M. Helm of Chicago, formerly president of the second named company, all retained their connection with the Everglades Land and Sugar Company: Davie and Bendle as directors and Helm as the chief executive officer. To increase sales and settlement of their Everglades land, Helm announced plans to build dikes around all the company's land and to install an elaborate system of huge pumps which would prevent the lands from being overflowed by water from the adjoining tracts, and to effectively drain the new company's land during the wet season. With the sales of land expected to rise sharply through these improvements, a courthouse located near the sale of these lands would facilitate the issuance of deeds, the recording of sales and the approval of plats. Thus, the location of a courthouse in Fort Lauderdale had obvious advantages for the Everglades Land and Sugar Company over the Miami courthouse.

As the state legislature prepared to meet in Tallahassee, interest in Fort Lauderdale centered on many happenings besides county division. In a heated political campaign, two divisionists ran for mayor, with Colonel Mathews defeating incumbent William H. Marshall 104 to 84. Sensing the strength of the prohibitionists, hitherto anti-prohibitionist Mathews proclaimed for the elimination of the saloon and for the municipal ownership of utilities. The divisionists, instead of obtaining signatures on petitions for division, pointed to the many improvements underway

around Fort Lauderdale and argued that these alone merited the creation of Everglades County. Within the past year 135 new dwellings had been constructed within the vicinity of the town and Fort Lauderdale had become the entrepot for the whole Okeechobee country with the opening of the North New River Canal in 1912. So long term growth seemed inevitable. With Frank A. Bryan as chairman of the Board of County Commissioners a new era in road construction seemed in the offing, particularly since commissioners had promised to assist Frank Stranahan in extending the beach road to New River Sound, and maybe in the near future the commissioners might assist in building a bridge to extend the boulevard all the way to Las Olas beach. In addition, the high railroad tariffs might be skirted through the enlargement of the East Coast Canal from Jacksonville to Miami, an improvement which would permit large-scale canal shipments. This canal improvement had been assured by the award of a dredging contract to the Ben Johnson Dredging Company by the Florida East Coast Canal and Transportation Company, owners of the canal. Finally, the Furst-Clark Construction Company, which had the prime contract to complete the system of canals thought necessary to provide adequate drainage and reclamation avenues for making the Everglades entirely habitable and arable, announced it would complete its work on June 30, 1913, the scheduled completion date.

Possibly, the lack of overt opposition from Miami interests lulled Fort Lauderdale divisionists into thinking they could obtain a new county without much effort. Consequently, the Fort Lauderdale lobbying delegation, composed of Mayor Mathews, Reed A. Bryan and Matthew A. "Mack" Marshall of Dania, arrived in Tallahassee the first week in May and found no organized opposition. The delegation would have pushed for the name of the new county to be Broward instead of Everglades except that another county in north Florida had already opted for division and it had already selected Broward as the name of its new county. Although when this pressure delegation arrived in the capital they found no opposition from Miami interests larger than their hand, such could not be said for Palm Beach County, for Representative H. E. Bussey adamantly opposed slicing Deerfield and Pompano from the southern end of his county to be added to the northern section of Dade to form Everglades County. Then, the divisionists' ace-in-the-hole began to waver, for Represen-



Captain James Franklin Jaudon, Dade County tax assessor and opponent of the creation of Broward County.

tative Worley let it be known that he would not support division if a delegation from Dade County appeared in the capital to oppose it, and Senator Hudson privately confided to friends that he would oppose division if the "proper protest was made at once."

Still thinking themselves home free in the county division matter, Mathews, Bryan and Marshall sounded the trumpet of victory, bragging that Worley and Hudson would vote for division, although they had no ready answer for the opposition of Bussey, except that maybe the divisionists of Deerfield and Pompano could come en masse to the capital and change Bussey's mind. But Dade County Tax Assessor J. F. Jaudon, in Tallahassee on business, while posing as a friend of division, Doeg-like wired the Miami Board of Trade: "Is there any opposition to the county division in Miami? If so, you had better get busy." Upon receipt of Jaudon's wire, President Pro-Tem E. C. Romfh galvanized a coterie of board members and called a secret meeting of the board. Of the 480 board members, only twenty-eight attended the hastily-called meeting. From the outset of the meeting, whose attendees pledged the newspapers to secrecy for the time being, it was apparent that all present opposed county division except H. G. Ralston, who was connected with a land company which owned land near Davie. Ralston argued opposition to the creation of Everglades County would endanger the all-important vote on the bond issue for money to construct a deep water harbor for Miami.

But others asserted there were no more than 300 votes in the Fort Lauderdale precinct, that even in that precinct not all favored county division, and certainly not all in Deerfield and Pompano favored a new county. Miami Mayor J.W. Watson asserted he had visited Fort Lauderdale recently to ascertain the sentiment there on county division and he had found no unanimity for division. On the contrary, some Fort Lauderdaleians defected from division when Mayor Watson promised that if the county bond issue for a deep water harbor at Miami passed, then Miami would assist Fort Lauderdale in getting it a deep water harbor. When put to a vote as to whether the Miami Board of Trade would oppose county division the vote was twenty-six to two in favor of opposition. Consequently, banker E. C. Romfh wired Senator Hudson that the Miami Board of Trade, "composed of 480 members, unanimously passed a resolution opposing the division of Dade County."

The divisionist committee in Fort Lauderdale responded to the action of Romfh and company with bitterness and warnings. The people in Miami had treated division as a joke until over 500 voters from the northern end of Dade County had enthusiastically petitioned for county division. Committee members castigated some trade board members as making absurd statements and telling "down right lies." In continuation of their offensive, the divisionists asserted the division petition from Fort Lauderdale contained over 350 signatures, the one from Dania nearly 100, and both Dania and Pompano had sent pro-division delegations to Tallahassee, and over thirty telegrams had been sent from Fort Lauderdale to Representative Bussey of Palm Beach County urging division. "Does that look like apathy or division of opinion?" asked the division committee. Miami must wake up to the fact that Fort Lauderdale is growing too rapidly to be treated as a ten year old schoolboy any longer. In a revolutionary vein, the divisionists of New River blurted out: "Miami will soon learn that north-end citizens are about to throw off the yoke of oppression which they have worn too long." Do division opponents say there are only 300 votes in the Fort Lauderdale precinct? "Wait till the votes are counted after the bond election — if it ever comes." Lauderdaleians boasted that the over 700 voters in the north end of the county would gain the inevitable victory. If victory for a new county did not come this year, it would when the legislature met again in 1915, "and we will not leave a stone unturned

to defeat the proposed bond issue emanating from Miami to buy her municipal docks," retorted the divisionists.

No one raised a more powerful voice for division than did *The Miami Metropolis*, not even the *Sentinel* and *Herald* in Fort Lauderdale whose editors were both rabid divisionists. In a penetrating editorial on May 9th, Editor S. Bobo Dean put the interests of Miami and Fort Lauderdale in juxtaposition and examined them, finding in the process no conflict of interest when the two communities pursued their own self interest. Miami's greatest interest was in developing its harbor, the development of the tributary country, the bringing in of more factories and commercial enterprises, the expansion of the city in all directions, and the construction of more and more highways in the city's immediate vicinity. Fort Lauderdale interests, however, were in many ways different on account of the town's relation to the Everglades, but the Fort Lauderdale section needed the attention and development that could only come from a centralized government whose main idea should be the "advancement of the great territory that would be comprised in the new county. Is it fair for Miami to stand in the way of this advancement?" queried Dean. Dean flayed the Miami Board of Trade for requesting reporters at the hastily called board meeting not to report the meeting for fear it would arouse the ire of Fort Lauderdaleians. The editor saw through the hypocrisy of some board members who claimed that the new county would now take "the cream of the Everglades" when only a short time previously the same people "asserted that these same Everglades were not worth a continental." There can be little doubt that the fervid support of Dean and his paper helped to keep Representative Worley on the firing line for division and prevented Senator Hudson from paying too much attention to the shrill protests emanating from such board members as C. D. Leffler, E. C. Romfh, John Frohock, John Seybold, Judge A. E. Heyser, E. B. Douglas, J. E. Lumnus, Brossier & Son, the Tatum Brothers and Frank B. Shutts, the latter destined within a generation to make the *Miami Herald* Miami's dominant newspaper, all men whose influence Miami felt for two generations.

The wire service from Tallahassee on May 15th reported that "Enthusiasm For County Division Dampened," despite the fact that W.O. Berryhill had joined the Fort Lauderdale delegation in Tallahassee and the Dania and Pompano delegations had arrived to

add their weight to county division. Enthusiastic when they had first arrived in the capital, now the delegation members were rather discouraged as they left for home on May 15th. Although Representative Worley had passed without opposition the bill to create a new county, a drastic change in the bill had reduced the new county to an area in north Dade County but had excluded Deerfield and Pompano and had left them in Palm Beach County. The name of the new county had been changed from Everglades to Broward when the previously introduced bill to create Broward County in northern Florida was defeated. Even this bob-tailed county bill had bogged down in the Senate because of the Miami Board of Trade opposition, for Senator Hudson decided to sit on the bill to await further adjustment of views.

Reed A. Bryan, W.O. Berryhill, Mathew A. "Mack" Marshall and Mayor George G. Mathews of Fort Lauderdale; F. R. Smoak from Pompano; and Colonel Robert J. Reed, E. W. J. Parish and Andrew C. Marshall of Dania composed the final delegation members who lobbied for division in Tallahassee. The force of this lobby weakened when close inspection revealed evidence of "double crossing," for petitions for and against division appeared in Tallahassee signed by the same writers on both sides of the division question. This undoubtedly operated to confuse the issue. Further gloom descended upon the divisionists when they considered that this session of the legislature had not been enthusiastic to create new counties. Three bills to create new counties had already failed, two others looked as if they would fail, leaving the feeling in Tallahassee that although the Broward County bill was still alive it had little chance to pass. Representative Worley stood fast on the compromised bill creating a truncated Broward County but Senator Hudson sought the views of Danians and Hallandadians and he stated he would listen to Miamians opposed to county division provided they brought forth substantive arguments but he would turn a deaf ear to opposition primarily based upon economic hardship. After ten days spent lobbying in the state capital for the creation of Broward County, the delegations from the three towns returned home to report to their constituents.

On Monday night, May 12th, while the divisionist lobby was still in Tallahassee, the Miami Board of Trade held an open meeting with many of their own members present, along with deputations from Dania, Hallandale,

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This 1907 professional directory of Miami lists several men who became involved in the struggle over the creation of Broward County six years later.

Fort Lauderdale and Fulford. A full and free discussion took place, after which the board passed resolutions opposing county division. The resolutions alleged that the elimination of any part of Palm Beach County and Hallandale from the new county would make the tax base too small to support a county and that a poorly operated county would damage the entire east coast; that the recently passed \$300,000 bond issue for new Dade County roads would be jeopardized; that the proposed new county would take only one-sixth of Dade County's school enrollment, yet the new county would include one-third of Dade's assessed valuation; and finally, there

was no necessity for a new county because Fort Lauderdale could get to Miami in twenty-five minutes on the two daily trains, plus there was a fine rock road and a navigable canal to Miami. A number of Miamians, however, favored division, including influential A. A. Boggs and H. G. Ralston, an attorney and a land developer respectively.

Four spokesmen from the proposed new county spoke, and Miamian T. V. Moore claimed he represented Andrew C. Marshall of Dania, who had been sent to Tallahassee to oppose division but who succumbed to the arguments of his brother "Mack" Marshall and fought for division, but who now,

according to Moore, had had another change of view and now opposed division because Deerfield and Pompano had been eliminated from the new county. William H. Marshall of Fort Lauderdale adopted an irenic posture, avowing that while Fort Lauderdale favored division, they would remain friends of Miami regardless of whether Broward County was or was not created. W. Quince Bryan of Dania admitted that prior to the elimination of Palm Beach County territory for the new county many Danians favored division but that he now had a petition with the signatures of 107 Danians opposed to division. E. E. Sommers of Hallandale stated that the southern division line of the new county placed the school building, the two churches and the residences of his community in Broward County and all their farmland in Dade County. Consequently, he didn't believe anyone in Hallandale favored division, and Dade County public school superintendent Robert E. Hall supported Sommers. Crusty old Andrew C. Frost of Dania thundered that Fort Lauderdale had "over reached itself," that Dania was "sore" at it and that Dania opposed division under any circumstances. In a conciliatory manner, Miami lawyer and civic leader Boggs related that Senator Hudson had written Boggs several times asking for the sentiment of the community, Hudson saying that "he wanted to give the people what they wanted. Boggs assured the Dania and Hallandale representatives they had nothing to fear because their protests would be relayed to Senator Hudson.

Coincidental with Senator Hudson's county division dilemma, he worked to get passed a bill which embodied the issue which ostensibly caused Fort Lauderdale to seek the creation of a new county in the first place. Without opposition Hudson prevailed upon the Senate to pass a bill which gave the people of Dade County the authority to hold a referendum to vote on a bond issue, the proceeds of which would be used to construct a deep water harbor at Miami's Biscayne Bay. No referendum, however, was ever held to vote the bond issue up or down. Proponents of the bond issue and, therefore, opponents of county division, feared voters in the northern section of Dade County might defeat it.

The division-pot boiled in Fort Lauderdale itself during the ten day period in early May 1913, when the divisionist lobby, led by Mayor Mathews, button-holed legislators in Tallahassee. Groups of men could be seen on the town's streets at all hours of the day and late into the night discussing the probable action of the legislature on

division. Every telegram received from Tallahassee on the subject passed from hand to hand. When the news arrived that the county's boundary lines must be shortened because of Palm Beach County's opposition, considerable discussion arose, but the large majority thought this smaller county better than nothing, and with the news that the division bill had passed the House on Saturday, May 10th, a feeling of relief swept Fort Lauderdale.

Back home from Tallahassee, mayor/editor George G. Mathews had nothing but praise for state legislators, particularly Democratic Representative George A. Worley, who had come from north Georgia to Miami in 1897, and who used both a small "d" and a capital "D" when he referred to his political ideas and party. Editorialized Mathews: "When we feel that humanity is losing caste, that it is deteriorating, a trip to Tallahassee always restores our faith, and for the moment we believe there is hope ahead." Mathews, himself a lower house legislator of Florida in the 1890s and in 1907, rhapsodized that the 300 pound Worley "... is a magnificent looking man, and is possessed of intellect and justice in proportion to his weight." Always on the right side of every issue, Worley "... believes the people should rule." In speaking to several legislators on the porch of Tallahassee's Leon Hotel, Worley remarked, "... that he would rather have his right arm cut off than to vote for any measure that the people did not want." But, went on Mathews, even Worley's unexcelled eloquence failed to persuade the disgruntled Danians that the new county would have an assessed valuation of \$2,000,000, a tax base sufficient to support Broward County, adding the fact that office holders would be paid on the fee system and thus reduce the need for taxes. Worley's assurances to Danians on the tax score, instead of assuaging Danian fears, only seemed to confirm them in the suspicion that ambitious Fort Lauderdale would get all the political appointments and thereby dominate the new county.

For a mass meeting held in Dania on May 17th to discuss county division and details concerning the proposed Broward County, almost every automobile in Fort Lauderdale was pressed into service, as was the Everglades Grocery Company's big truck, which was loaded to capacity. Mayor Colson of Dania presided over the stirring meeting and speeches poured from the mouths of Mayor Mathews, Andrew C. Marshall, W. Quince Bryan, Samuel L. Drake and Guy Sherman, some pro, some con, on division. The enthusiastic Fort Lauderdaleians, one hundred

strong, displayed friendliness and the Fort Lauderdale band blared forth its best music. While the Danians listened attentively to the speeches and cheered the band, hardly anyone could fail to see they saw no future for themselves in Broward County and that they would like to see the county division bill die in the legislature.

No one had plumped harder and more enthusiastically for Broward County than had Matthew A. "Mack" Marshall, brother of Andrew C. and William H. Marshall, the first from Dania and the second from Fort Lauderdale. "Mack" Marshall owned vast acreage in the "Dania District," itself northwest of Dania but not within the corporate town limits, part of which he farmed and part of which he sub-let. In an interview with a reporter of *The Miami Metropolis* given after the Dania mass meeting, Marshall expressed himself as feeling that county division was dead. If, however, Dania's opposition could be removed, the House-passed bill would be introduced in the Senate by Senator Hudson, but Marshall believed that even division's strongest supporters doubted that Dania could be budged. Marshall said that Hudson had repeatedly told him that unless Dania's objections were removed he would not support division. Hudson added that the south line for Hallandale must be changed to suit the people there, for the House-passed bill had intolerably put the business district in Dade County and the schoolhouse and churches in Broward County.

Hope for the creation of Broward County oscillated from despair to jubilation, and vice versa, throughout the proposed area of the county, depending upon the particular set of circumstances or rumors, and the latter spread rapidly. On May 30th the circumstances seemed upbeat as Editor Mathews' *Sentinel* carried the headline "Broward County Seems Assured," the news of which seemed the opposite of Mathews' story the previous week that division seemed dead. In the latest chronicle of events, Mathews asserted divisionists in Dania and Hallandale had come to realize, as had the citizens of Fort Lauderdale, the present recommended itself as the most auspicious time for the creation of Broward County. Numerous consultations between the leading men of all sections of the proposed county had resulted in a proposition to be submitted to the citizens of Fort Lauderdale, which if supported by them, would mean Hallandale and Dania would support the House passed bill for the creation of the new county. The agreement pre-

pared for the signatures of Fort Lauderdale's voters and taxpayers contained this substantive feature: "That Fort Lauderdale would guarantee a site for the courthouse and jail in this city, that the city would, until the county should build a courthouse and jail, pay the rent on temporary buildings necessary for county business and that for two terms they would support for county officers only citizens of Dania and Hallandale." This latter provision, it was presumed, would do much to ameliorate the bitter charge that Fort Lauderdale intended to engross from the beginning all the political plums while imposing on Dania and Hallandale the permanent status of helots, a helotism with no promise of relief.

Men of the stature of plasterer and justice of the peace Samuel L. Drake and farmer and baseball umpire extraordinaire Captain William J. Reed, both identified with Fort Lauderdale, circulated the agreement in the New River town preparatory to presenting it at the Fort Lauderdale Board of Trade meeting called by President Thomas M. Bryan for the evening of May 28th. Citizens filled city hall that evening and before the meeting ended 119 signers had affixed their signatures. Whereupon, a unanimously passed resolution declared the agreement signed by the citizens should also become the obligation of the Board of Trade. Signers expected the citizens of Dania and Hallandale would be satisfied with the concessions granted in the agreement, and with these two communities mollified, instructions would be sent to Senator Hudson to pass the Broward County bill in the Senate, which he had failed to do because of the opposition of these two communities. These communities, besides fearing dominance by Fort Lauderdale, strongly suspected the optimistic claims made by the New River town that the bob-tailed county would have an area of 800 square miles, a property assessment of \$2,000,000, a figure guaranteed to supply \$100,000 in annual tax revenues and with the State's officer fee system in force, the total county income would not only defray expenses but would also leave a healthy balance in the county coffers.

After the Fort Lauderdale ratification of the concessive agreement, Andrew C. Marshall, Matthew A. "Mack" Marshall and W. Quince Bryan traveled to Tallahassee to represent Dania and Hallandale in negotiations with Senator Hudson. They presented him with a division petition signed by a majority of the citizens of the two communities who

avored the new county. Some unnamed die-hard opponents of division, however, still had the ear of the legislator. Thus, when Senator Hudson passed the Broward County local bill on June 4th, the bill set up two districts in the proposed county and called for a referendum in which the majority of each district would have to approve the creation of the new County of Broward before the county could come into existence. Fort Lauderdale, whose electorate had demonstrated they seemingly favored division because no word of dissent had arisen there, was placed in District One, and Dania and Hallandale, and where dissent had manifested itself, were placed in District Two. Fort Lauderdale seemed pleased with the referendum arrangement since passing the concessive agreement with Dania and Hallandale, and Lauderdaleians felt confident ratification of division amounted to hardly more than a formality. Contrariwise, Senator Hudson flatly turned down the repeated pleas of the Miami Board of Trade to quash the division bill for it "would be hurtful," asserted Miami merchant Charles D. Leffler. Hudson, on the other hand, asserted that the board's requests were "... merely an opinion unsupported by evidence or argument."

Although dead less than three years, the name and memory of former governor Napoleon B. Broward evoked almost worshipful comments from devotees of the Florida Democratic Party and a hardly less respectful attitude among Floridians in general. Consequently, when Governor Park Trammell signed the bill creating Broward County on June 6th, the first major memorial to the already legendary governor became a reality. Upon signing the bill, Governor Trammell presented the gold pen to Representative Worley, thereby recognizing that this Miamian had earned the sobriquet "Father of Broward County," for all his valiant labors in its behalf. On June 5th the House had concurred in Hudson's changes in the bill calling for a referendum, and Governor Trammell had received the bill in its final form only a few minutes before affixing his signature. House Speaker Ion Farris and Senate President E. J. Drane likewise had used the gold pen in placing their signatures on the county document. President Drane alluded to the eponymous use of Broward's name as he signed: "I wish to call the attention of the senate to the fact that I am about to sign the bill creating the new county of Broward. It gives me great pleasure to be able to put his name on the map, for it is already written on the hearts of the



Governor Park Trammell (courtesy of Florida Photographic Archives).

people of the state. It is also fitting that I use a gold pen in signing the bill, for his heart was golden, and it is also fitting that the county should be located at the point of his greatest and most enduring work."

In an editorial of June 20th, *The Miami Metropolis* gave a clear perspective of the fundamental matters which surrounded the new county of Broward, matters which would, as the event proved, outlive the results of the referendum set for July 8th. Editor S. Bobo Dean began by rightly reminding everyone that the future of Broward County lay in the hands of the voters of District Two, namely, those of Dania and Hallandale, for it appeared that the District One voters of Fort Lauderdale almost unanimously supported division, a commendable conviction. Dean went on to assert that the earnest, intelligent men who were leading the division project could see in the making of a new county unit a chance for a development which could not be attained in any other way, and the insinuation of "political trickery" or other underhandedness "... for the winning of the issue are unworthy the thought of any clean-thinking man." Fort Lauderdaleians, more than any other people, realized the future value of Everglades reclamation and settlement. Still seeing Broward County's future prosperity and greatness tied to the Everglades, Dean stated that the people of Fort Lauderdale had repeatedly seen the wonderful harvests from the 'Glades land then under cultivation and they were confident that the day was near at hand when the territory of Broward County would be one of the

greatest farming regions in the world, with Fort Lauderdale as "the Gateway to the Everglades." Furthermore, the people of the new county "are energetic, ambitious and progressive, admirable traits, and they feel they can make the greatest progress by having the reins of county government in their own hands." But whichever way the referendum went, *The Miami Metropolis* believed the people of northern Dade could be trusted to act wisely, for they were intelligent and could settle matters rightly.

The referendum provision of the Broward County Act immediately drew the sharp scrutiny of Miami lawyers, some of whom gave out opinions to the effect that the legislative act which created the new county was unconstitutional. The unconstitutionality of the act lay in its delegation to the people the power to legislate where the provisions of the fundamental law of Florida reserved this right to the legislature. Predictions flew around that a test case might be made by those opposed to county division. But those who favored division alleged that other counties of Florida had been created by a similar process. Opposers retorted that even if such was the case the constitutionality of the referendum still remained to be tested in the courts. Some legal experts took a different tact by asserting that the Supreme Court of Florida might rule the referendum section unconstitutional but would leave the balance intact. This latter position raised the interesting possibility that Broward County was already a reality and had been ever since the governor signed the division bill on June 6th. As if the foregoing did not create uncertainty enough as to the status of the new county, the July 8th referendum itself increased the possibility of total confusion. If, of course, a majority in each of the two districts favored the new county, then there would be no need for a decision by the Supreme Court. The confused state of things received an unexpected impetus from a man in authority. County Attorney L. R. Railey asserted that the legislative act was unconstitutional because of illegal deputation of legislative power to the people, but he also believed Broward County to be a present reality because only that portion of the legislative act was illegal which referred to a referendum.

Voters defeated the creation of Broward County on July 8th, when District Two, composed of Dania and Hallandale, cast ballots against county division, the former community by a vote of fifty-four to sixteen and the latter by a twenty-nine to ten margin. District One, comprising Fort

Lauderdale, by an almost unanimous vote of 208 to 3, approved the new county. Thus, had it been left to the majority of voters in the proposed county, division would have carried overwhelmingly by a vote of 234 to 86. The campaign had been hard fought on both sides since the governor signed the Broward County bill into law, a fact reflected by the great excitement at Dania which caused a phalanx of deputy sheriffs to be stationed at the polls for fear of violence.

The excitement hatched from the fact that eighty citizens, mostly from Davie or Zona, had been registered by the supervisor of registration after the governor had signed the division bill and it was well known that most of them favored division. Alleging that the registration supervisor had illegally opened his books, opponents of division obtained an injunction and carried the case to the federal court in Jacksonville where it was dismissed shortly before the referendum. Those in Hallandale and Dania who brought the suit to destroy the allegedly illegal registration books constituted some of these communities' most upright and prominent citizens. Included from Hallandale were W. A. McRae, L.H.O. Sjostrom, H. T. Geiger and Charles Ericson, and from Dania objectors included John W. Mulliken, Martin C. Frost, S. M. Alsobrook, E. M. Nelson, H. T. Tubbs and James M. Holding. Although the suit to prevent recent voter enrollees from voting failed in the federal court, nevertheless, Dania election inspectors John W. Mulliken, F. G. Taylor and P.H. Roper refused to allow fifty-five Zonians to cast their ballot, ostensibly in favor of division. Incensed Fort Lauderdaleians declared the referendum invalid on several scores and threatened to take the matter to the Florida Supreme Court for adjudication.

In a post election editorial Mayor Mathews of the *Sentinel* sought to define the role of a majority in a democracy, in discussing the just concluded referendum in the light of what he called "... the cardinal principal of this government" which is based upon the rule of the majority. The Broward County Act was, as far as Mathews knew, the only one ever passed where the minority secured a place above the majority. Thus, the Broward County Act might be illegal. Mathews cited the fact that in the case of the recent creation of Pinellas County, its acceptance depended upon a favorable majority in a referendum. But the citizens of the entire county voted without the use of districts. Had Senator Hudson given the divisionists the chance they would have won by

a majority of 145, but as it was, Hallandale and Dania with only a fifty-seven majority was more powerful than Fort Lauderdale with over a 200 vote majority. Mathews did not question Senator Hudson's right to refuse to pass the bill if the majority of the people of Dania and Hallandale objected to a new county. But when Hudson passed the bill creating Broward County and gave the minority the right to rule the majority, this was contrary to the fundamental principle which in our government gives the majority the right and power to rule. Certainly, Mathews continued, the referendum provision as framed by Senator Hudson "seems absurd and cannot be upheld by the State constitution."

An article which appeared in *The Miami Metropolis* shortly before the July 8th referendum and entitled "Are Voters Registered in Broward Qualified?" raised some questions which puzzled many of the best minds in south Florida, including the legal mind. Asked the *Metropolis*: "If the approximately one hundred citizens permitted by County Registrar A. L. LaSalle to register in northern Dade County between June 14th and the 17th are legally registered, will they be qualified to vote in the wet and dry election expected this fall?" Most of the registrants were believed to be in favor of division. Eventually, County Attorney Railey ruled the newly registered were not eligible to vote in the wet and dry referendum. After Railey's ruling following the July 8th referendum, LaSalle felt he owed the people of Dade County an explanation of his actions. LaSalle asserted he permitted citizens in northern Dade to register for three days because he thought the division referendum was a local election solely for county division. On July 25th, consonant with Railey's ruling, LaSalle erased the names of the newly registered voters, thereby assuring that these northern county citizens were barred from voting in the forthcoming wet and dry referendum, a move some thought could have serious repercussions for alcoholic inhibition and division matters.

Miami's dominance of Dade County affairs at this time appears no where more striking than in the county's assessed property valuation and public expenditures for 1913-14. Tax Assessor J. F. Jaudon announced in the summer of 1913 that the total property valuation for the county for the next fiscal year would amount to \$7,900,000, \$5,000,000 of which represented Miami's assessment. At the millage rate of 40.5, the same as the previous year, Dade County would raise in the forth-

coming year a total of \$237,000 in taxes. In contrast, Fort Lauderdale, next to Miami in importance in the county, voted its first bond issue on September 9th, a paltry \$16,000, which included nothing for road construction. Meanwhile, for years Miami had been constructing unpaved rock roads which made it the envy of all Florida. That Fort Lauderdale needed to replace its sand streets with rock roads seems obvious in light of the town's miserly expenditure of only \$2,800 for roads in its two and one-half years of corporate existence. Even the bond issue did not escape the scalpel of the sumptuary-minded Lauderdaleans who pared the \$20,000 bond issue to \$16,000, eliminating in the process \$4,000 for the extension of the water and sewage facilities.

In opposing the \$400,000 bond issue to build a deep water harbor at Miami, an enormous indebtedness which all the citizens of Dade County would have to pay, leading Lauderdaleans had early expressed their intention to build just such a harbor for world trade near the New River Inlet. On September 4th, these Lauderdaleans began to take the first steps in making good their intention as they gathered in Oliver Hall. They heard Mayor Mathews assert the move to assure a deep-water harbor constituted the most important undertaking ever made in Fort Lauderdale. The Town, however, needed the support of the surrounding area, particularly that of the owners of Everglades land. A harbor, Mathews continued, would break the tyranny and high rates of the Florida East Coast Railway Company, and simultaneously and immediately it would add 200 per cent to the value of all property south of Lake Okeechobee. Following Mathews' hip-hip-hooray remarks, a general discussion ensued. One of the overly optimistic predictions to float to the surface among the discussants was that within ten years after the completion of the harbor Fort Lauderdale would reach the 50,000 mark in population.

To solidify sentiment and to push forward plans for a deep-water harbor, Mayor Mathews appointed a Promotion Committee which those present made permanent. Prominent Fort Lauderdale merchants, lawyers and newspaper men made up the membership of the committee whose task involved the developing of plans for a harbor as well as the creation of a public sentiment favorable to the successful completion of the harbor. Evidence that the harbor plan had long been in the works was provided when Dade County Engineer Hobart Crabtree presented at the meeting a

detailed report and blueprint for an adequate harbor. Crabtree's plans called for a twelve foot deep channel at New River Inlet, a 1,000 by 1,500 foot turning basin and jetties, all of which would require the removal of 555,000 cubic yards of materials, an undertaking which would cost \$200,450. As the federal government was expected to spend its harbor money at Miami, only twenty-six miles distance, Crabtree said that Fort Lauderdale should not expect financial help from the government but there should be no difficulty in Lauderdaleans securing a government permit to modify New River Inlet. With enthusiasm running high, in October 1913, the participants in the September meeting organized the "Deep Water Harbor Company, Inc.," with William H. Marshall as president and with a capitalization of \$500,000. Apparently, the organization of the harbor company did not mean the dissolution of the permanent Promotion Committee whose membership consisted of Frank R. Oliver, Frank Stranahan, Guy Sherman, William Heine and H. G. Wheeler.

As had been long dreaded by the wets but just as eagerly anticipated by the prohibitionists, early in September 1913, the Dade County dry advocates presented to the Board of County Commissioners a petition for a referendum to make the county dry. Defensive wet forces challenged the right to vote of many of the petitioners and for one reason or another the number of petitioners slipped from 996 to 900, but still sixty-three more signers than the twenty-five percent of qualified voters needed to force the referendum. For only 836 signatures from the qualified voter list of 3,344 was needed to force the showdown between the wets and dries. Even with this reduction on the petition, the wets still claimed that at least 100 additional signatures were invalid and they obtained a temporary injunction, then went into the federal court at Jacksonville in an attempt to make the injunction against the referendum permanent. But Federal Judge Simmons denied their claim for he ruled the wets had presented no evidence of forgeries and he ordered the referendum to be held on October 30th, as scheduled.

With Senator Fred M. Hudson heading the Dade County Anti-Saloon League as president, reinforced by many other prominent Miamians, and supported above all by *The Miami Metropolis* published by S. Bobo Dean, the dries waged a dignified but vigorous campaign for prohibition of alcoholic beverages, for this unnecessary drink corrupted private and public life.

In several trenchant sentences in one hard-hitting editorial, Dean summed up opposition to the saloon by asserting: "THE OPEN SALOON HAS NO EXCUSE FOR EXISTENCE. IT REAPS A HARVEST OF MANHOOD AND GIVES NOTHING IN RETURN; it is a curse in every community in which it is allowed to run; it causes more suffering, more heartache and more misery, than all other agencies combined. FROM BOTH A BUSINESS AND A MORAL STAND POINT IT SHOULD BE ABOLISHED."

Not having a newspaper as a vehicle to express their side of the matter, the wets relied upon placards and word of mouth communication to sway the populace. Their two main arguments stressed the right of individual freedom and that to maintain and to enhance the developing tourist trade, saloons were needed. In the advancement of the latter argument for saloons, wet advocates asserted that many well-to-do people coming south expected to find hostelries in Miami which dispensed "refreshments." In rebuttal of this argument, however, *The Miami Metropolis* declared that:

In Miami any argument that the saloon is needed for the tourist business, is an insult to both the tourist and the home people. Tourists of the class that are a benefit to any town do not demand the saloon, while the type of settler attracted to this section should unquestionably be the man who is looking for a place to live in the best environment and to rear his children under the best moral influence. Miami is building for the future.

As if the combined weight of people of prominence and the most influential local newspaper tipping the scales heavily against them were not handicap enough, the wets further suffered from a new law which went into effect October 1st. For on that date a state law mandated the removal of screen obstructions to licensed drinking places and it was now possible for street and sidewalk passersby to have a clear and unimpeded view of the inside of saloons and particularly that part immediately outside the bar, rail or counter.

Although Lauderdaleans had amongst themselves many quality elbow-benders, in the fall of 1913 the dry forces had things fairly well in hand and Lauderdaleans prone to visit the saloon found none in Fort Lauderdale. But some wets, among them Mayor Mathews, who later candidly testified he imbibed in 1913, drank in their homes and so did not defend with

much vigor the "open saloon" where a man could easily make a fool of himself to his neighbors and family. As the date for the referendum approached, the firmly convinced of the drys argued their case with ever increasing fervor in an effort to secure the largest possible majority for the elimination of alcoholic use in Fort Lauderdale and, indeed, in Dade County. Mayor Mathews and his cohorts, still rankling from the county division defeat and the deep water harbor proposal for Miami, saw the referendum as an opportunity to humiliate proud Miami.

Crowded Mathews on October 17th, two weeks before the referendum: "This is one time that Miami is looking with fear on the power of Fort Lauderdale. They claim down there that this place will decide the wet or dry election. Then they are fearful that we will get a deep water harbor before they do." Known as a man who did not scruple when it came to the consumption of hard liquor, Mathews publicly revealed his new-found anti-saloonism and declared: "For the benefit of a few who assert that I am wet, I will say that on the 30th of this month I will vote dry as sure as I live to get to the voting place." Vehement emotional appeals exemplified by an article which appeared in Mathews' *Sentinel* titled "How Are You Voting My Brother, Wet Or Dry?" sought to publicly castigate wets who would "... license the liquor traffic that ruins body and soul." Fundamental to all dry endeavors stood the Women's Christian Temperance Union, a largely

Protestant organization by which the women flexed their moral muscle. The W.C.T.U., as it was universally known, aroused men, women and children to fight "demon rum." In Fort Lauderdale, as elsewhere, as the fray heated up, the W.C.T.U. sponsored a dramatic street demonstration in which singing children adorned with banners and horns paraded through the streets of the town and together with the women listened to a fiery dry speaker at the Dade Theatre. In the evening before election day the men of Fort Lauderdale received the same dose of anti-rumism at the theatre located on Wall Street.

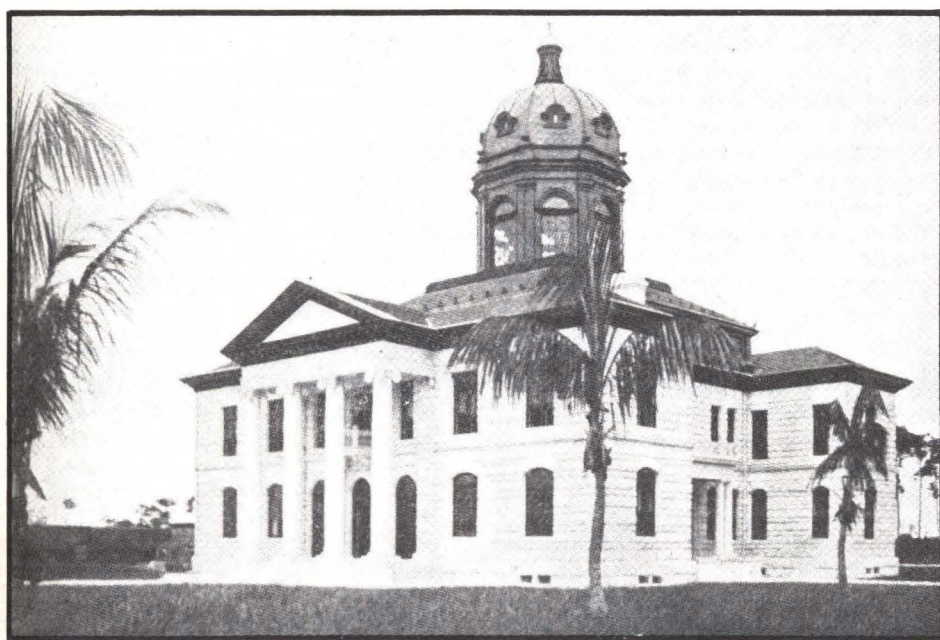
Heavy rains driven by high winds on referendum day prevented many from getting to the polls. In Fort Lauderdale the polls closed early at 4:41 p.m., and the poll inspectors counted the ballots and immediately wired the results to the courthouse in Miami, but most other county precincts reported more slowly. Unsurprisingly to most political observers, Fort Lauderdale went heavily dry by a 138 to 31 margin; Dania and Hallandale followed with dry margins of 51 to 40 and 23 to 9 respectively, or a dry majority from northern Dade County of 130. Miami, on the other hand, voted wet by a margin of 453 to 264, or a wet majority of 189. When the votes from all the county's twenty precincts were counted, however, drys won by a vote of 978 to 863, a 115 dry majority. Now for the first time since its settlement in the 1830s, Dade County had officially gone into the dry, or rather the anti-saloon, column. Up to 1895 the

county was dry since there were no towns and no places for saloons. In 1895, however, a referendum was held and the county voted wet. Several times since 1895, referendums had been held and each time the wets won, but sometimes by small margins. Only six years previously, in 1907, the wets had won by the exceedingly small margin of six votes, so that the October 30th referendum result had been anticipated in many quarters.

In an editorial Mayor Mathews played the referendum result to the hilt. With some justification, he asserted that in the wet vs. dry contest Fort Lauderdale played the decisive role. The town would continue to have great influence in future county elections "... if we remain a part of the county." When the registration books again opened, he continued, "... we will have fully 500 votes. With that vote if we handle it right we can hold the balance of power." Although Dade Countians must now go to Palm Beach County to purchase liquor, faithful women would monitor their imbibition pécadilloes or worse lapses. Or as one wag put it:

The county is not wet,
And some people fret,
And are almost ready to cry;
But the women, you bet,
Are on their jobs yet,
And will keep Old Dade dry.

Dominant in Dade County for a generation and bolstered by an electorate almost equal in number to that of the drys, almost immediately after the referendum the wets counter-attacked, determined to win back the saloon, but to win it back on an issue different from the wet vs. dry controversy. The wets instead would "recreate" Broward County and in doing so would make Dade County wet again, for the dry majority derived from the northern section of Dade County would be voided and Dade would again be wet by a majority of fifteen votes. Said to be mostly from the northern section of Dade County, on November 4th, ten men including James P. Paulsen of Dania, protested the referendum result and asked the Board of County Commissioners to canvass the votes from Fort Lauderdale, Dania and Hallandale, as the petitioners stated they believed these three precincts constituted Broward County. Consequently, the electors there had no right to vote in a Dade County referendum. The county commissioners under the chairmanship of Frank A. Bryan of Fort Lauderdale disregarded the petition. Whereupon the petitioners appealed to Federal Judge Simmons in Jacksonville and



The Dade County Courthouse, Miami, as it appeared
in the 1900s and 1910s.

asked him to restrain Dade County Sheriff Dan Hardie from closing the saloons in Dade County. But Judge Simmons declined to issue the requested injunction and Hardie closed the saloons in conformity with the vote of the people that liquor, beer, wine, etc., should not be sold in Dade County.

A more serious move to create Broward County and at the same time save the saloons in Dade County came from the wets of Miami who belatedly posed as Broward County supporters. Engaging the high-powered legal firm of Atkinson, Gramling and Burdine, the wets through their attorneys applied to the Florida State Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus declaring the County of Broward created. R. Freeman Burdine, member of the legal firm, sought the writ on the double ground that the minority ruled in the county division referendum and that Fort Lauderdale, comprising the majority of voters in the proposed new county, had solidly voted for division. In seeking the writ, wets sought to have Broward County declared a county as of the date of the July division referendum, in which case the votes of the three precincts of northern Dade County in the recent wet/dry referendum would be thrown out, and by a majority of seventeen votes [sic.] Dade County would remain a wet county. Much to the consternation of the wets, the State Supreme Court refused to issue the writ, one many observers thought was based on legal fiction.

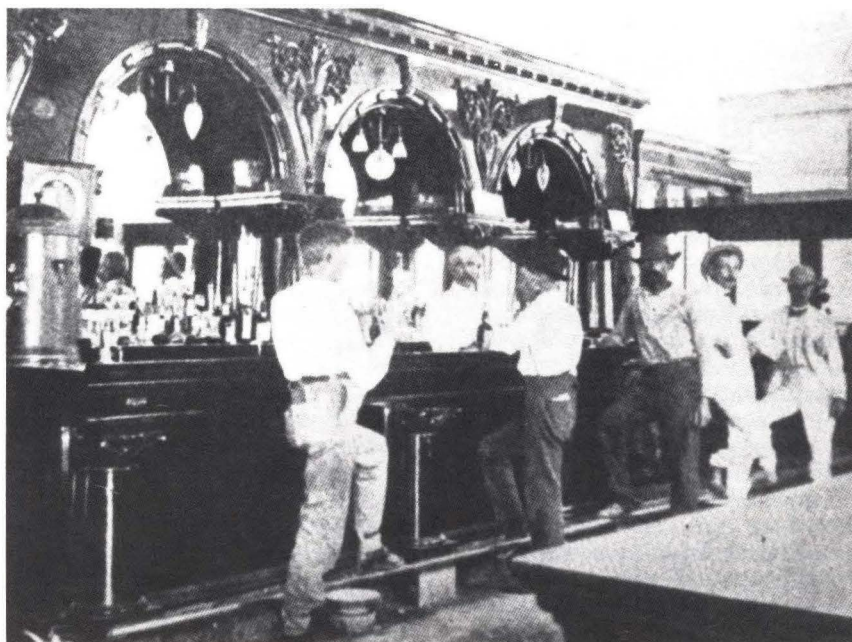
Drys, meantime, rejoiced in the casting out of the saloon and its attendant evils in Dade County. Senator Fred M. Hudson of the Anti-Saloon League talked enthusiastically about Miami's future, declaring that "... Miami dry looks ten times better than Miami wet," and that the "drying" up of Miami was one of the best things which had ever befallen the Magic City. As one of the authors of the Broward County bill which passed the legislature, Hudson asserted that he could not see upon what grounds the wets could construe that document as to make Broward County already a fact. "The bill can only mean what it says," said the senator, "and by its plain provisions the voters declared against the establishment of the county." In commenting upon Hudson's statement that Miami in the recent referendum had made the best move she had ever taken, Editor Mathews in the *Sentinel* corrected the legislator by declaring: "Well, we wish to say that Miami never took the step willingly, that the improved condition is a present that Fort Lauderdale gave her, as Miami gave a large majority

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Dade County saloons, such as this Miami establishment, were closed by the 1913 "dry" vote.

against the town going dry and many of them seem to believe that Miami will never get over the evil inflicted upon them by the changes. We know," continued the Fort Lauderdale mayor, "that Miami is not very grateful for the favor we have done her, nevertheless, feeling that we have but done our duty, we are more than compensated

for voting Dade County dry." Mathews, diplomatically, did not point out that Fort Lauderdale could easier travel to wet Palm Beach County for liquid refreshments than could Miamians and consequently wet Lauderdaleans did not shoulder as heavy a handicap as did their counterparts in Miami.

The wets in Miami, although rebuffed by the Supreme Court, nevertheless refused to leave the field of battle quietly. Through their legal counsel they attempted to secure a temporary injunction in the local circuit court presided over by Judge J. Emmet Wolfe which would restrain officers of the city from molesting barkeepers while they re-opened their saloons. In ruling against the saloon owners, Judge Wolfe held that a temporary injunction would be an improper remedy in a case of this kind, that such a court order could not be granted where its effect would be to change the present status of things. The county was now dry, ruled Wolfe, and it could not be made wet by a temporary injunction. The court held that Dade County could be made wet by the courts only after hearing all the "equities" of the case laid down in a bill of equity. But the wets were persistent if nothing else. For it was only after their sixth legal attempt in early December 1913 to make Dade County wet again that the saloon forces gave up the battle for wetness and for the creation of Broward County.

Mayor Mathews applauded Judge Wolfe's decision which disallowed technical points which hitherto, according to Mathews, had caused the people to lose faith in the courts. Mathews thought Miamians weak on prohibition but he saw his own town as their benefactor. He ironically asserted: "Fort Lauderdale will see that Dade County remains dry. We do not believe that whiskey in any form enriches a town, or in any way improves morals." He hung the wets out to dry when he arraigned them in a terse condemnation by declaring that "Whiskey men are the corrupters of politics" and their business "... produces more immorality than any other line of business in the world." In a righteous display of its role as a guardian of public morals, Mathews' *Fort Lauderdale Sentinel* would accept no more liquor advertisements after the present contracts expired. No more would Jacksonville liquor firms be able to place ads for prepaid brands such as "Red Rock Rye, absolutely pure rye, guaranteed to be seven years old — \$4.00 for 4 quarts," or for "Celery Gin; this article has relieved thousands of kidney and bladder trouble."

With the prohibition movement gaining momentum on all fronts from the local precinct level to the state capitol throughout the United States during the second decade of the twentieth century, ever increasingly the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages became involved in politics.

Since education and exhortation alone could not stem the use of alcohol, reformers gravitated to the ballot box for a remedy which meant that issues other than alcoholic consumption might well be involved when local options were conducted.

The Miami liquor interests, whether consumer or seller, learned a lesson from the two Dade County referendums conducted in 1913, one for the creation of a new county, the other for the local option to determine the future of legal alcoholic sale and consumption. Because the vote of the northern section of the county could be decisive in the matter of the local option, the wets determined that in the next legislative attempt to form Broward County, which would be in 1915, their interests would best be served by supporting this attempt.

The bitterness of Fort Lauderdale toward the Miami Board of Trade for the board's opposition to county division, a bitterness which spilled over into the athletic contests between the schools of the two communities, taught the board members that they should not oppose any further movement to create Broward County, else business relations between the two towns would further deteriorate. Besides, Miami no longer needed the help of all of Dade County to obtain their deep water harbor, the factor which had originally embittered Fort Lauderdale toward Miami.

The matter of the Miami harbor was partially resolved in December 1913, without the intervention of Dade County, when prominent Miami business and professional men headed by attorney Crates D. Bowen, Carl G. Fisher and James S. Collins subscribed enough money to enable the City of Miami to dig the harbor channel across Biscayne Bay irrespectively of whether or not the courts held the Florida East Coast Railway Company liable for the channel under its 1902 contract with the federal government. Concurrently, there was no further necessity for the \$415,000 county-wide bond issue to purchase the land and riparian rights for the harbor from the Flagler railroad interests. This bond issue had been approved by the state legislature on May 29th but it had never been submitted to the people for ratification because of the bitter county division and wet/dry referendums. With Miami experiencing a mild boom partially due to the opening of the Miami Canal to Lake Okeechobee, the city's bonding capacity had been raised to \$600,000, an amount more than sufficient to purchase the railroad land and riparian rights, but it would be many years before Miami would

have a deep water harbor, and even longer for Fort Lauderdale.

Fort Lauderdale learned at least two lessons from the successive referendums and the political/economic struggles which ensued. The New River town became conscious of its political clout vis-a-vis Miami. No longer would Fort Lauderdale think of themselves as economic satellites of the Magic City, even though the latter in size and resources towered like a Colossus over the river town. The riverine inhabitants in the late struggles had developed a yen for political and economic independence from the Biscayne Bay city. As for political matters in northern Dade County, the Fort Lauderdale power structure had demonstrated in the referendums that it could muster an overwhelming majority in matters which affected its relations with Dania and Hallandale. Consequently, when the next legislature would consider the creation of Broward County, Fort Lauderdale would not have to make enormous political concessions to these two communities in order to carry the day for the creation of a county which Fort Lauderdale aspired to dominate.

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Warriors from the Sea

THE SEMINOLE WAR NAVY AND THEIR EXPLOITS IN SOUTHEAST FLORIDA

— PART II —

by KENNETH J. HUGHES

From the beginning of the Second Seminole War, the United States Navy patrolled the Florida Reefs and reconnoitered coastal rivers while assisting the land forces in their endeavors to bring an end to the conflict. The inland boat patrols led by navy Lieutenant Levin Powell ultimately provided the knowledge that south Florida's estuaries could indeed serve as avenues to the haunts of the United States' adversaries. However, the overland campaigns of a series of Florida military commanders — Generals Duncan Clinch, Edmund P. Gaines, Winfield Scott and Richard K. Call — were ineffective in pressuring the Seminoles to accept emigration to a western reservation. These commanders' efforts, from 1835 to 1837, did little more than scatter the concentrated Indian forces and guarantee a long and costly war. Major General Thomas S. Jesup was the first Florida commander to move a large force southward successfully and attempt to establish a barrier between the Seminoles and the settlements. Despite his limited success, Jesup's methods of dealing with the Indians during times of truce became a target of great public criticism. He resigned in June 1838, and Brigadier General Zachary Taylor became the new commander of the Florida theater.

Taylor's campaign strategy was similar to that of his predecessor, except that it placed the majority of his smaller force closer to the north Florida settlements. Taylor planned to drive all Indians below an imaginary line between St. Augustine and Garey's Ferry, thereby keeping them "away from every portion of Florida

worth protecting." Numerous engagements occurred throughout the northern part of the peninsula in consequence of these military operations.

As part of his defensive strategy, Taylor also drafted plans to divide north Florida into eighteen to twenty square-mile sections. Each section was to be garrisoned by twenty soldiers, in hopes that a constant military presence would choke the Seminoles' mobility. Furthermore, the commander contemplated launching a campaign into south Florida, but abandoned this plan out of fear of exposing his troops to tropical diseases. Nevertheless, he made every effort to discourage trade between the Seminoles and Spanish

fishermen, especially since unconfirmed reports indicated that Indians were gathering along the south Florida coast only weeks after Jesup's troops evacuated that region.

As Taylor mapped out overall plans for conducting the war with the limited resources at his disposal, the secretary of war again requested the cooperation of the navy to patrol the Florida coast. In June Secretary of the Navy Mahlon Dickerson authorized Lieutenant John McLaughlin to purchase a schooner for this purpose and assigned him to Commodore Alexander Dallas's West Indies Fleet with forty seamen and officers. Then, in July, the new navy secretary, James K. Paulding, directed

In Part II of "Warriors From the Sea," Kenneth J. Hughes traces the contributions of the United States Navy and Revenue Marines to the Second Seminole War in south Florida from the elevation of Zachary Taylor to the command of the military forces in the territory until the end of the conflict. He details the significant events of that period, including Macomb's Truce and the Indian Key massacre, as well as the numerous reconnaissances into the Everglades and Big Cypress regions conducted by both army and navy personnel. These amphibious expeditions, often characterized as "riverine warfare," constituted some of the earliest exploration of parts of the south Florida interior.

To accompany this article, author Hughes has prepared a comprehensive list of naval vessels, revenue cutters, and contracted army vessels stationed in Florida during the Second Seminole War. A bibliography, from which this valuable research source was compiled, is included.

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the revenue cutter *Campbell* to cruise off the east coast of Florida and in the vicinity of Indian Key. McLaughlin did not arrive in southeast Florida aboard his schooner, the *Flirt*, until early September, owing to severe Atlantic gales, but once in the region he immediately set out to examine every inlet and bay. To accomplish this goal, he placed seamen in the barges *Emmett* and *Schooco* and directed them to begin their patrols among the Keys. They completed this survey in April 1839. In a letter to Navy Secretary Paulding, McLaughlin remarked that the crew of the purchased yacht *Wave* had also rendered important service by determining accurate navigational marks along an otherwise uncertain coastline in a little more than eight months. During this period, McLaughlin's men saw no suspicious vessels inside of the Florida Keys.

The same series of storms which had delayed McLaughlin's arrival continued well into September, causing numerous shipwrecks between Jupiter Inlet and Key West. On the beaches of present-day Broward County, American shipwreck survivors were killed by the Seminoles, while French sailors from a nearby wreck were spared. When word of these wrecks reached the

Keys, Lieutenant McLaughlin with the *Wave* and Second Lieutenant John Faunce of the revenue marines led a group of barges up the coast to the scene of the depredations. On September 18, 1838, they surprised a small band of Indians in the process of salvaging the brigantine *Alna*. A skirmish between the revenue marines and the Indians followed, the latter retreating inland with casualties. An unidentified brig was also reported to be disabled sixty-five miles north of Cape Florida and was assisted by the cutter *Madison*.

Both Commodore Dallas and General Taylor were reluctant to weaken the coastal patrols, especially since they received continuous reports of Indian activity in southern Florida. In addition to the Seminoles salvaging the *Alna*, Sam Jones was said to be at Jupiter Inlet, and revenue marine Lieutenant Napoleon Coste, who was now assigned to McLaughlin's small boat patrols, saw a large number of Indians at the mouth of the Miami River in November. Greatly outnumbered, Coste's small party avoided an encounter.

With such reports increasing in frequency as autumn progressed, the war department requested the navy to

increase coastal patrols along the southern peninsula. Accordingly, Lieutenant McLaughlin chartered the sloop *Panther*, and, one month later, exchanged her for the schooner *Carolina*, which he renamed *Otsego*. The blockade of the peninsula now consisted of three lines of surveillance. Barges reconnoitered the bays and inlets; the *Wave*, the *Otsego*, and the cutter *Campbell* guarded the offshore reefs; and the sloops-of-war *Boston* and *Ontario* patrolled farther out to sea. The "Mosquito Fleet," as the Seminole War navy was now being called, consisted of seven ships, crewed by 622 officers and men.

The recent shipwrecks undoubtedly accounted for the concentration of Seminoles along the coast. Jesup's 1837-1838 winter campaign had kept the Indians in motion so that they could not plant gardens or harvest crops. As a result, many had become destitute, with women and children suffering the most. Consequently, wrecked vessels provided the Indians with a seemingly miraculous source of much-needed supplies.

In November, the Seminoles continued to receive blessings from Providence in the form of gales which cast two vessels upon the coast near Jupiter Inlet. Lieutenant Edmund T. Shubrick of the *Panther* sailed to the aid of one, identified as the steamboat *Wilmington*, rescuing the sixteen-man crew. On his return southward, Shubrick assisted navy Lieutenant Charles B. Howard in the rescue of all crew members and thirty slaves from the second wrecked vessel, an unidentified Spanish brigantine. After transporting the survivors to a safe harbor, Lieutenant Shubrick returned to the brigantine and took off a quantity of lead under the watchful eyes of the Indians.

The arrival of the new year of 1839 brought a change of command in the West Indies Fleet. Commodore William T. Shubrick was appointed to direct the squadron operating in the Indies and the Gulf of Mexico. Commodore Dallas remained in command of Florida naval operations until mid-March. The army also experienced a change in the Florida theater after General Taylor received approval from Washington to instigate his new plan of "section" defense in February of 1839. All active campaigning was thus discontinued, except in West Florida, the Okefenokee region, and south Florida.

Because of recent depredations against shipwreck survivors, United States troops were ordered to reoccupy New River. A temporary post was established there on February 14, about one and one-half miles east of



GENERAL ZACHARIAH TAYLOR, (OLD ROUGH AND READY)
as appeared at the battle of Palo Alto from a sketch by a lieutenant of Artillery.

Sketch of Zachary Taylor, former army commander in Florida and future president of the United States, at the Battle of Palo Alto in the Mexican War (courtesy of U.S. Army Military History Institute).

Major Lauderdale's old blockhouse. From this new station, Lieutenant William B. Davidson's sixty-five men of Company K, Third United States Artillery, could see the distant campfires of the enemy, and when visiting the original fort they discovered that it had been destroyed by fire. Therefore, as a means of maintaining security against a greater force of Seminoles, the garrison was strengthened to 117 officers and men by the addition of the Third Artillery's Company A. In the spring, the army began construction of a third Fort Lauderdale on the beach north of New River Inlet, a location better facilitated for communications and supplies. Most of Davidson's command moved to this new defensive position between May and September of 1839.

In May, General Alexander Macomb, commanding general of the United States Army, concluded two months of negotiations with Seminole leaders by arranging a conference at Fort King. In preparation for these talks, a ceasefire was declared and all aggressive operations were discontinued. Nevertheless, both the war and navy departments ascertained that a guard should be continued along the south Florida coast. In consequence, the U. S. steamer *Poinsett*, commanded by Captain Isaac Mayo, was ordered to cooperate with the land forces, and, during the next six months, both Mayo's and McLaughlin's coastal operations were directed by the war department.

Lieutenant Colonel William Selby Harney also returned to south Florida, notifying the Fort Lauderdale garrison of the Fort King negotiations and ceasefire upon his arrival on May 3, 1839. Sam Jones and several other south Florida Seminole leaders were also informed of the recent events at Fort King.

Thus, comfortable relations were maintained between the Seminoles and soldiers at New River throughout most of the summer. The soldiers and Indians visited each other's camps, as had been the case during Jesup's ceasefire at Fort Jupiter the previous year. Yet, Sam Jones remained cautious, and did not personally venture into Fort Lauderdale until mid-June.

Except for a few isolated depredations committed by small bands of Indians in north Florida, the frontier remained relatively calm during June and most of July. The army took measures not to incite the Seminoles, and posts on both the Atlantic and the Gulf were maintained to prevent Cuban-Seminole trade. In fact, the only notable activity in south Florida involved the opening of a trading

house, near the proposed southwest Florida reservation.

Then, unexpectedly, on July 23, a band of Indians attacked this trading establishment and the nearby camp of Lieutenant Colonel Harney's dragoons, killing two sutlers and eleven soldiers. Following this incident, Sam Jones would no longer come to Fort Lauderdale from the Everglades, although he sent a messenger denying any involvement. Harney, who had barely escaped death, identified the perpetrators as Chekika's "Spanish" (Seminole) Indians from southwest Florida and a band of Seminoles under Hospetarke (Billy Bowlegs). Shortly after the attack on the trading post, Harney sailed for Key Biscayne to prepare for a retaliatory strike should Macomb's treaty falter. General Taylor made similar arrangements for the navy, directing that a small vessel cruise between the Suwannee and the St. Marks rivers, to prevent illegal trade from reaching the Tallahassee Seminoles, and authorizing continued naval operations on the south Florida coast.

Soon afterwards, while patrolling on Biscayne Bay, Captain Mayo of the *Poinsett* seized a band of eighteen to twenty Indians under the leadership of Mad Tiger. These Indians used every exertion to escape, managing both sail and paddles with a great deal of skill. However, Lieutenant Sloan of the revenue marines and Lieutenant John Davis, USN, in canoes, and the captain in a fast-sailing gig, eventually overtook them. Harney also succeeded in capturing Chief Tustenuggee and seven warriors soon after arriving on Key Biscayne. And, farther to the north, a party of fifty-one Indians camping near Fort Mellon was seized by that post's garrison.

As these scattered incidents made the prospects for peace more and more unlikely, the soldiers at Fort Lauderdale noticed the increasingly suspicious behavior of the Seminoles. By August, the Indians were no longer visiting the garrison, and a subsequent reconnaissance of Pine Island failed to discover their whereabouts. In consequence, Captain Mayo with a gun barge and a command of sailors and marines was ordered to reinforce the weak New River post. Mayo stayed at Fort Lauderdale for thirteen days, then returned to the *Poinsett* on September 17, leaving navy Lieutenant Davis and marine Lieutenant Sloan with thirty-two men at New River. They were instructed to afford protection to the fort, and to sail the nearby coast, keeping watch for "illicit traders and vessels cast on shore." Their presence at Fort Lauderdale, according to

Assistant Surgeon Ellis Hughes, made the officers' mess a livelier place. In the meantime, the small navy squadron patrolled the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of south Florida, stopping at Key West, Key Vaca and Indian Key.

Despite the added protection on New River, depredations occurred there late in September 1839. Two soldiers and a black interpreter were ambushed within two miles of Fort Lauderdale, and Acting Lieutenant Levin Handy promptly set out for that post from Key Biscayne with a barge and more reinforcements. Lieutenant Colonel Harney, upon hearing news of this attack, considered the Macomb truce at an end.

Upon the renewal of hostilities, a fort was reestablished by the navy at the mouth of the Miami River. The Florida naval patrol was also transferred from General Taylor's command back to the navy department. Furthermore, the schooner *Flirt* was added to the fleet late in November, and Lieutenant McLaughlin was transferred to her command. General Walker Keith Armistead believed the *Flirt* and a few other vessels that McLaughlin had authorized for construction were unsuitable for service in Florida, since each had excessive draught below the waterline. Nevertheless, the navy needed these vessels as the *Wave* was delayed at Pensacola for repairs, and the *Poinsett* had suffered boiler and engine damage, resulting in her being sent north in early December.

Also in December, Navy Secretary Paulding ordered Lieutenant McLaughlin to make additional surveys of the southern Florida coast. Besides cooperating with the military officers, McLaughlin was advised to provide the usual coastal protection and to induce "every annoyance to the Indians." The latter instruction developed from the navy lieutenant's suggestion that he enter the Everglades. And to this suggestion the navy department offered their support in hopes that McLaughlin could "penetrate the everglades further than has yet been done by white men, surprise and capture the Indian women and children, and thus end a war which has cost so many millions." In consequence, McLaughlin left the territory to procure flat-bottomed boats and long plantation canoes. In the meantime, Captain Mayo placed Lieutenant John Davis in command of the navy and marine detachments along the southern coast. Davis's group commanded several barges for the duration of their patrol.

Lieutenant McLaughlin returned south with the *Flirt* late in January of 1840, bringing the necessary vessels

and supplies to enter the glades, as well as to scour the coast. He established his headquarters at Tea Table Key, where he drilled his sailors in the use of small arms, boats, and canoes. At this time, Lieutenant Davis turned down an offer to retain his command under McLaughlin, thereby leaving the entire responsibility for coastal operations upon the latter. Before Davis's departure, though, McLaughlin arranged for him to place a light on the Fort Lauderdale flagstaff in an effort to guide shipping along the coast.

During the first months of 1840, energetic naval operations provoked the Seminoles into committing additional hostilities. McLaughlin's barges, now under the immediate command of Passed Midshipman Lewis, patrolled Florida Bay between Cape Sable and the Keys. The *Otsego* sailed from the cape up the west coast, while the *Wave* and the *Flirt* reconnoitered the Atlantic shore. On April 16, more than fifty Indians attacked a party of twenty-four sailors and revenue marines from the *Otsego* who were attempting to land at Cape Sable. The ensuing skirmish lasted two and one-half hours before the Seminoles retired with casualties.

Meanwhile, in north Florida, a U.S. Army attempt to introduce Cuban bloodhounds for reconnaissance operations caused a tremendous public outcry. The dogs failed to track the Seminoles effectively, and the constant haranguing of the public over this and other war issues convinced General Taylor to resign in May 1840. He was succeeded by General Armistead. Unfortunately the change in command did not bring the end of the conflict any nearer. The land forces continued their policing operations around the north Florida settlements, while the navy continued to patrol the southern coast without any apprehen-

sion of large-scale hostilities. Depredations did occur once more near Fort Lauderdale, causing some concern among the servicemen in south Florida. Yet nothing was more disturbing than the daring attack on and capture of the Indian Key settlement by the Seminoles on August 7, 1840. This attack resulted in the deaths of the noted naturalist Dr. Henry Perrine and twelve other settlers, some of whom had possibly resided along New River before the war.

The Indian Key attack occurred at a time when the "Mosquito Fleet" was on a reconnaissance and the *Otsego* was in the process of being overhauled at Key West. A few navy personnel from Tea Table Key attempted to dislodge the Seminoles from Indian Key, using a cannon mounted in the bow of a small boat. However, they were forced to retreat from the island when this weapon jumped from its fastenings and fell overboard. Lieutenant McLaughlin returned to the upper Keys a few days after this abortive attempt to recapture the settlement, and transported some of the survivors of the Indian attack to Cape Florida. Many other former inhabitants of Indian Key sought refuge in Key West, causing McLaughlin to place a garrison on that island, under the command of Lieutenant Christopher R. P. Rodgers.

The Indian Key incident clearly demonstrated to the war department both the vulnerability and the strategic importance of the southern tip of Florida. Therefore, General Armistead did not hesitate to comply with the wishes of Key West's inhabitants when they petitioned for 100 muskets and 10,000 cartridges. Armistead also established new regions of command within the Florida theater, placing south Florida within the Atlantic District.

As part of the new military build-up

in south Florida following the Indian Key attack, 200 soldiers were ordered to reinforce the coastal forts in November. Lieutenant George H. Thomas, Company D, Third U.S. Artillery, was stationed at Fort Lauderdale, and the regiment's other companies were scattered along the Atlantic coast from St. Augustine to Key Biscayne. William T. Sherman and Stewart Van Vliet, both of Company A, were stationed at Fort Pierce, as was Lieutenant Braxton Bragg, who was temporarily detached to Key Biscayne.

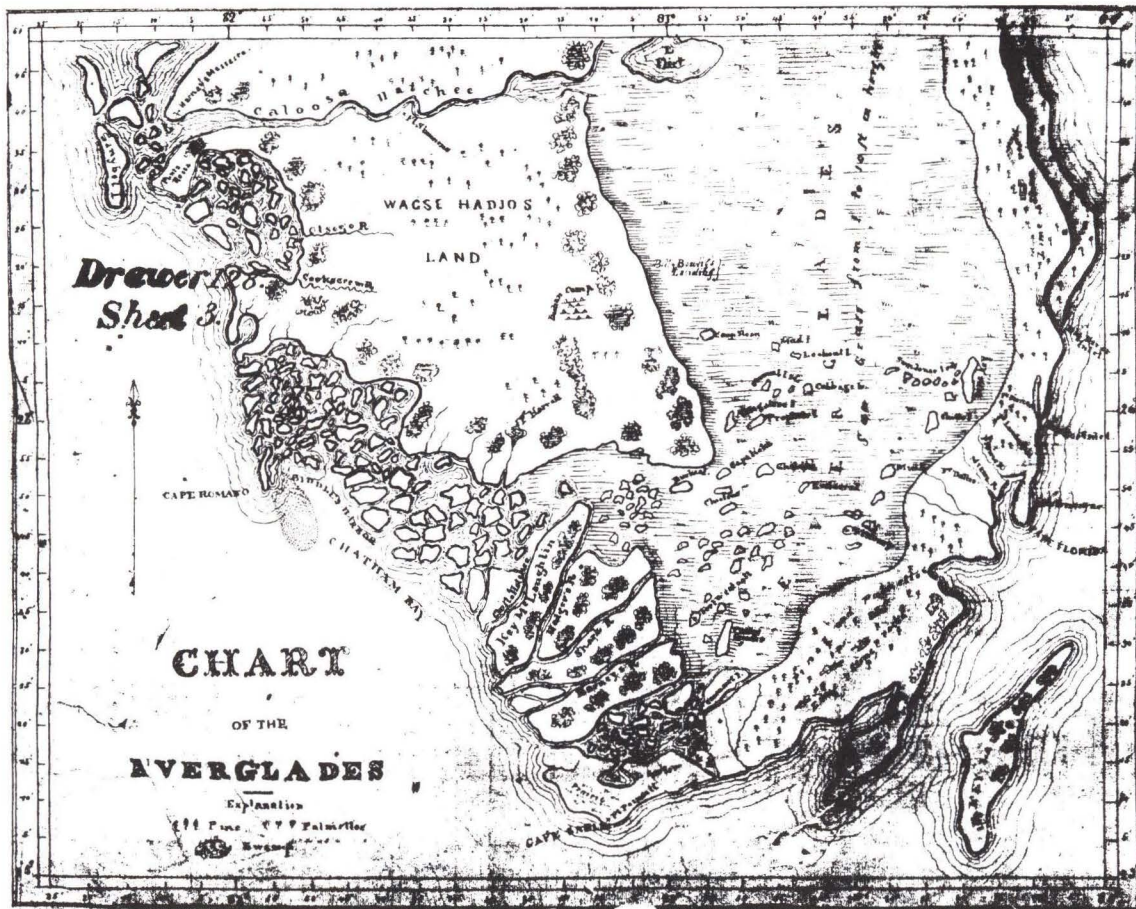
The presence of additional troops in south Florida finally enabled the U.S. forces to pursue the Seminoles into the Everglades. During the first week in December, Lieutenant Colonel Harney's Everglades expedition set out from Fort Dallas with Lieutenant McLaughlin and ninety men, with a Seminole prisoner as a guide, to avenge the attack on the trading post near Charlotte Harbor. This was the first effort to penetrate the Pai-hai-okee since Lieutenant Powell's expeditions in 1838. All members of the expedition disguised themselves as Seminole warriors and adopted guerrilla warfare tactics. In consequence, they surprised and dispatched several warriors, including Chekika, who was responsible for the Gulf coast outrages.

On December 31, a second Everglades expedition set out from Fort Dallas. This force consisted of ninety seamen, sixty revenue marines, twenty dragoons, and seventy artillerymen. They searched the region between Little River and Middle River, including Chitto's Island, southwest of Fort Lauderdale. During the fifth and sixth day of the expedition, they captured the Indian leader Chia, his family, and five warriors, and suffered two casualties in the process.

Having failed to locate Sam Jones, Lieutenant Colonel Harney turned his Indian guides over to Lieutenant McLaughlin and left the southern peninsula. The young navy commander then proceeded westward, visiting several Everglades islands and the Big Cypress Swamp. His expedition reached the west coast of Florida on January 19, 1841, becoming the first American military reconnaissance to cross the extremity of south Florida through the Everglades. Following this success, McLaughlin made several trips to the North, seeking recruits and shipping out sick, disabled, and discharged servicemen. He also visited Washington and presented his superiors with a map of the Everglades, exclaiming that with sufficient men and guides, he could go anywhere in the Pai-hai-okee to bring war to the Seminole nation. Soon after his return,



Dr. Henry Perrine's house and dock at Indian Key, scene of the 1840 Indian attack.



Lieutenant John McLaughlin presented this map of south Florida to navy authorities in 1841, shortly after leading the first expedition to cross the territory's lower extremity (courtesy of Kenneth J. Hughes).

navy Lieutenant Rodgers led a few additional expeditions along the southeast Florida coast, assisted by McLaughlin's patrol.

McLaughlin conducted his first reconnaissance for March in the wilderness between the Harney and Marco rivers, fifteen miles south of the Caloosahatchee. Indian prisoners Chia and his wife accompanied this expedition as guides. McLaughlin led a second expedition to this same area in June, as part of a coordinated military operation against the Seminoles throughout Florida. In central Florida, navy Midshipman John Rodgers accompanied Lieutenants Collison R. Gates and John Sprague, both of the Eighth Infantry Regiment, and sixty volunteers on a canoe expedition from the mouth of the Withlacoochee River to Camp Izzard. United States troops also pursued Seminoles and renegade Creeks in west Florida and southern Georgia.

In 1841, the structure of field operations in Florida experienced further changes. All of Florida's citizen soldiers were discharged from service at the end of March. To compensate for this loss, the number of regulars was

increased to 5,076, the largest concentration of regular troops to assemble during the war. Despite this increase, the number of soldiers and sailors stationed in south Florida did not exceed that of Jesup's 1838 campaign. A change in the presidency also brought changes to the war and navy departments. John Bell of Tennessee replaced War Secretary Poinsett, but served only a few months before and immediately following the death of President William Henry Harrison. In October 1841, after President John Tyler took office, he appointed John C. Spencer to the post. At approximately the same time, Secretary Paulding resigned from the navy department, and was replaced by Abel P. Upshur. With these changes in the highest levels of command, it was not surprising when the United States government decided to seek a new field commander for the Florida War.

In the spring of 1841, brisk fighting in Middle Florida convinced General Armistead that victory was on the horizon. Like Jesup and Macomb before him, he initiated conferences with the Seminoles and suspended hostile operations in critical regions.

Like the earlier truces, Armistead's negotiations were unsuccessful. Subsequently, many soldiers and civilians voiced strong complaints that the Seminoles had only used the ceasefire as a means to replenish their dwindling supplies. When criticism of the truce grew increasingly political, General Armistead resigned. In May 1841, Colonel William Jenkins Worth became the new Florida commander.

Colonel Worth was enthusiastic about pursuing the war in southern Florida. Encouraged by Worth's interest, Lieutenant McLaughlin sent the commander an outline of future plans in the region, and, as a result, the war and navy departments decided to enlarge the Mosquito Fleet. In August, the navy lieutenant received command of the revenue cutters *Madison*, *Jefferson*, and *Van Buren*, in addition to the schooner *Phoenix*.

United States forces returned to the Everglades in the fall of 1841. Captain Martin Burke of the Third Artillery led the first reconnaissance with fifty-four men in the region of Chekika's Island and Shark River late in September. There, his command discovered five or

six islands, recently cultivated with corn, but found no recent signs of Indians. McLaughlin, however, had received intelligence that Sam Jones, the most feared and hunted Seminole leader in the lower peninsula, was in the Big Cypress with fifty-seven warriors. He set out for that desolate region from Indian Key on October 9, with a party of detached seamen and revenue marines. On the tenth, Captain Burke and sixty-four men set out from Fort Dallas to rendezvous with McLaughlin at Chekika's Island. From this point, the combined forces proceeded to Prophet's Landing, then southwest towards the mangroves lining the lower Gulf coast.

The Third Artillery captain described the route as winding through lagoons, lakes, and apparent rivers. They arrived in the "broad everglades" on December 19, with the navy force in advance. Here, the sailors and revenue marines discovered two warriors in a canoe and pursued them to a cabbage hammock and pumpkin field. From six to twelve Indians were camped on this island, and all barely escaped, leaving their canoe behind. Further scouting in the flooded pine lands revealed another abandoned canoe, but the only apparent "back trails" seemed to bear in the direction of the Big Cypress. The navy boating expedition therefore proceeded to Fort Brooke, where McLaughlin conferred with Colonel Worth. The plan of operations they devised called for a major three-prong assault to flush the Seminoles out of the Everglades and Big Cypress. To accomplish this, Major Thomas Childs, commanding the Third Artillery companies in the South Atlantic District, was directed to move his headquarters from Fort Pierce to Fort Lauderdale. Lieutenant McLaughlin then recrossed the peninsula from the Gulf, by way of the Caloosahatchee River and Lake Okeechobee, where an upset boat sent a number of army provisions overboard. Moving through the glades, McLaughlin touched first at Pine Island, then followed the Rio Raton to Fort Dallas.

While this major Everglades expedition was being set in motion, army patrols met with relative success while searching for Indians in other parts of southeast Florida. From Fort Lauderdale, Captain Robert Wade of the Third Artillery, with sixty-three men in twelve canoes, reconnoitered the country between New River and Jupiter Inlet. They encountered Indian bands on November 6 and again on the eighth, each time surprising the Seminoles in their camps. In these two encounters, Wade's men killed a total

of eight Indians and captured another fifty-five, seized thirteen rifles and destroyed twenty canoes.

While Wade's expedition struck the scattered coastal bands, McLaughlin and Childs directed their efforts in the Big Cypress and the Everglades against the elusive Sam Jones. During late November and early December, soldiers, sailors and revenue marines penetrated the interior from all military posts along the east coast, as well as from the Caloosahatchee River. Canoe expeditions and foot patrols searched out such noted Indian strongholds as Prophet's Landing, Bowlegs' or Waxy Hadjoe's Landing, and the Council Grounds. McLaughlin extended his operations as far north as Lake Okeechobee. Despite thorough searching, these extensive patrols found only abandoned fields, villages and trails.

Stopping at Indian Key for provisions on November 25, 1841, McLaughlin forwarded a report to Navy Secretary Upshur, claiming that he had at last gained information about "an extensive country which never heretofore had been explored." He sailed to Key Biscayne two days later to prepare for another major assault, then set out for Prophet's Landing the following morning. Major Childs's artillerymen accomplished a similar deployment from Fort Lauderdale, with instructions to station themselves at Bowlegs' Landing, while Major William G. Belknap moved his troops into the Big Cypress from the Caloosahatchee River, centering them at Fort Keais. Colonel Worth hoped that these operations would prevent the Indians from escaping northward, and force them into the mangroves of southwest Florida. For the most part, however, this deployment proved once more that tropical disease was a greater threat to the armed forces than the Seminoles were. Three canoes with invalids returned to the east coast on December 15, bringing news that Midshipman Hezekiah Niles had died of yellow fever at Fort Simmons on the Caloosahatchee.

The failure to locate Indians in the Pai-hai-okee convinced the United States forces that the Prophet had fled to the mangroves near Key Biscayne, and that Sam Jones had also returned to the east coast, finding shelter on the Loxahatchee River near Fort Jupiter or at Lake Okeechobee. Subsequently, the navy pursued the former without success, while Major Childs was ordered to examine the country north of the Everglades.

When Childs's efforts to discover the hiding place of Sam Jones failed, Lieutenant McLaughlin was ordered to

conduct another search. On December 23, 1841, McLaughlin explained to Navy Secretary Upshur that his whole command accepted their instructions enthusiastically, although most of the men had been in their canoes without intermission since October 9. From Biscayne Bay, McLaughlin's men retraced their route across the Everglades and moved northward, arriving at the headwaters of the Loxahatchee on December 15. The lieutenant described the reconnaissance as "one continuous portage over stumps and cypress knees." A combined patrol of sailors and marines scouted the swamps for six days, finding only three abandoned canoes, three deserted Indian camps, and the evidence of a one-day-old trail, presumably traveled by only one individual.

As a result of his findings, McLaughlin directed his attention to Lake Okeechobee and the Alpatiokee Swamp region near the St. Lucie River. He therefore requested one month's sustenance to be transported in the expedition's boats and another to be deposited at Fort Center on Lake Okeechobee. The marines, presently garrisoning the region's posts, were also in need of equipage, and many had been ejected from the barracks by the sick. In fact, many of McLaughlin's men were so worn out that they were condemned by a board of surgeons as unfit for service. Five of the command died during December, fifty were sent to northern hospitals, and another 100 became ill with a "regular cave-in of the constitutions." The weapons used by McLaughlin's command also suffered from unlimited exposure to the elements. "Five out of thirty Colt Rifles have bursted after being loaded for ten days," the lieutenant complained, "causing serious injury to anyone nearby." He added that his men were compelled to revert to the use of muskets.

On December 19, 1841, about the same time that the navy patrol arrived in the Loxahatchee region, Captain Wade led a second expedition northward from Fort Lauderdale. Nine days of diligent field operations between the New River fort and Jupiter Inlet failed to locate any Indians, but Wade's force reached Lake Worth in canoes and there destroyed numerous vegetable gardens belonging to the Seminoles.

During the early days of 1842, another expedition set out from Fort Lauderdale to Fort Pierce. Proceeding north, Captain John R. Vinton, Third Artillery, directed companies A and F to reconnoiter the Alpatiokee region in canoes and to probe as far north as the region between the St. Johns and Kissimmee rivers on horseback.

Colonel Worth also directed Lieutenant McLaughlin to ascend the Kissimmee River to Fort Gardiner and into Lake Tohopkaliga, as soon as he completed the approaching Okeecho-bee reconnaissance.

Further south, in the Everglades, the United States Army mounted another major offensive against the Seminoles. Numerous reconnaissance patrols scoured all parts of that region from December until February. This offensive proved to be a parting shot. On January 3, the troops at Fort Lauderdale received instructions to prepare for a move from the east coast, and Major Childs at Fort Pierce was requested to notify McLaughlin of the withdrawal. The abandonment of army posts in southeastern Florida had been planned since October of 1841, but had been postponed by the fall campaigns in the Everglades. Now Colonel Worth informed navy "Captain McLaughlin" of his wishes to reduce the number of garrisons on the Atlantic frontier. The colonel suggested that Fort Dallas and Key Biscayne be retained as auxiliary naval stations, perhaps for use as hospitals or for affording an entrance into the interior.

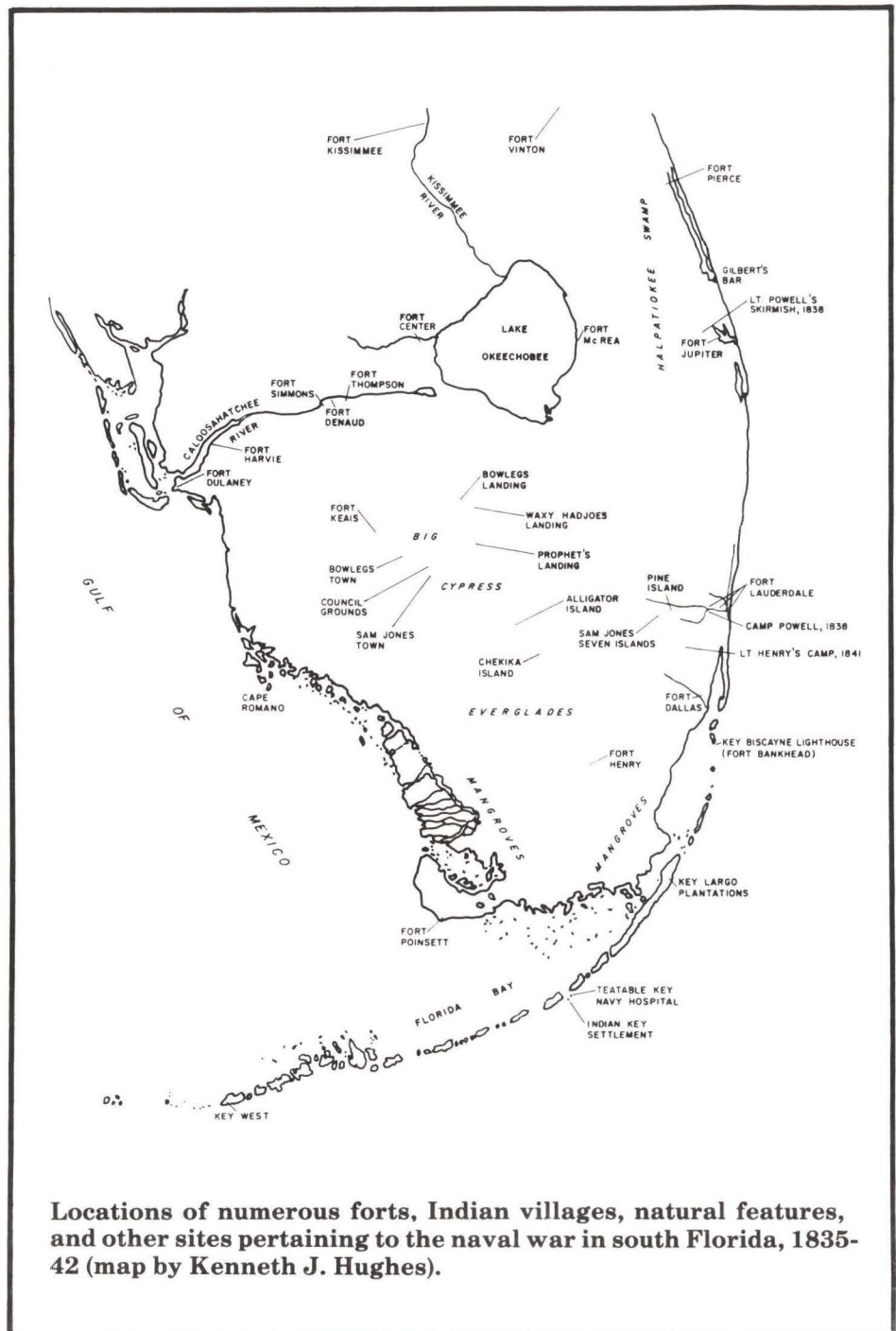
On January 7, 1842, Major Childs informed Worth of the results of his reconnaissances between Forts Lauderdale and Pierce. At present, he indicated, no Indians were residing in the Loxahatchee country, or in the region between Cape Canaveral and Jupiter. A few weeks later, the Third Artillery began pulling out of the region, destined for Gulf coast stations. In addition, the steamboat *Cincinnati* was ordered down from the St. Johns River to collect all Indian prisoners for transportation to the western reservation. Soldiers still patrolling the south Florida interior from posts on the Caloosahatchee were rewarded with the knowledge that, despite repeated rumors to the contrary, the Prophet and his band were still in the Big Cypress. After a brief skirmish, they were last seen retreating towards the southwest coast.

Apprised of this encounter, Lieutenant McLaughlin again shifted his attention southward, and selected February 1 as the date to begin his next Everglades campaign. He planned for two forces to enter opposite sides of the territory "to drive from the southern extremities of the peninsula, through the Cypress, Locha-hatchee and Hal-patiokee Swamp on the east side; and through the Mangroves, Cypress and fields at the headwaters of the Caloosahatchee on the west side into the Okeecho-bee." As the first step in this campaign, Lieutenant John B. Mar-

chand, USN, of the schooner *Van Buren* was sent in pursuit of the Prophet. His patrol entered the southern peninsula through Shark River, exploring the banks of several mangrove lakes which harbored long-abandoned settlements. However, because the water in the Everglades was so low, he could not proceed for any considerable distance. In consequence, the expedition returned to sea by way of the Harney River, and visited an abandoned Indian village on Key Largo, while en route to Indian Key.

The transfer of Key Biscayne and

Fort Dallas to the navy became official on February 1, 1842, per Special Order No. 16 issued by Colonel Worth. At the same time, the soldiers in southwest Florida also withdrew from that region, leaving the entire Everglades and Big Cypress regions to the U.S. Navy patrols. Lieutenant Collison R. Gates of the Eighth Infantry summed up the army's impact in the Big Cypress, "[We] drove the indians out, broke them up, and taught them that we could go where they could . . . soldiers and officers worn down . . . Hard times . . . trust they are soon to end."



Locations of numerous forts, Indian villages, natural features, and other sites pertaining to the naval war in south Florida, 1835-42 (map by Kenneth J. Hughes).

As the army withdrew, Lieutenant John Rodgers of the *Jefferson* entered the Everglades with instructions to hunt the enemy and use any measures of severity against any prisoners he should capture in order to learn the haunts of Sam Jones. In addition to the crew members of his vessel, Rodgers was also assisted by Lieutenant William L. Herndon of the *Madison* and Lieutenants Thomas T. Sloan and Robert D. Taylor of the marines. This expedition entered the Everglades from Key Biscayne and explored the island hammocks northward to Lake Okeechobee, then proceeded up the Kissimmee River to Lake Tohopkaliga.

Eight days later, Lieutenant Marchand set out from Fort Dallas on another canoe expedition in the lower extremities of the Florida peninsula. His force consisted of detachments from the *Van Buren*, the *Otsego*, the *Phoenix*, and the *Wave*. Marchand searched a vast area of the Everglades between Shark River and Long Key, including Cocconut Island, the Pine Keys and Mangrove Keys. On one isolated island, he found and destroyed several articles carefully preserved and concealed by the Seminoles, and in the vicinity of Long Key, his command destroyed an acre of corn and several cultivated fields.

During their forty days of reconnaissance, Marchand's command encountered no Seminoles, and the freshest signs they found were no less than four days old. The lieutenant therefore concluded that the Seminoles were secluded somewhere between Cocconut Island and Cape Sable. His men returned to the east coast in late March in a state of exhaustion brought on by great hardships and prolonged exposure to the wilderness.

Reasoning that Lieutenant Marchand's command was completely prostrated, Lieutenant McLaughlin informed Colonel Worth that his men would not be recuperated for further service until April 20. In the meantime, Lieutenant James S. Biddle, USN, and seventy-five men were sent to scour the mangroves of southwest Florida. Further to the north, Lieutenant John Rodgers continued to pursue the Seminoles along Fish-eating Creek and the Kissimmee River. However, his men were successful only in discovering deserted Indian towns and camps, as well as abandoned and uncultivated fields. They returned to Key Biscayne on April 11, leaving eight men at Fort Center to guard the remaining provisions.

After the return of Rodgers' expedition from Okeechobee, Lieutenant Sloan of the revenue marines was employed in searching the coonti

grounds between the Miami and New rivers. Lieutenant William Herndon returned to Lake Okeechobee by way of the Caloosahatchee, where he had embarked the navy detachment from Fish-eating Creek. By the end of April, Rodgers and Marchand, whose sailors had apparently recovered from their March ordeal, were directed to search for a small party of Indians along the rivers of extreme southwest Florida, and McLaughlin sailed the *Flirt* to a site on the east coast above Hillsboro Inlet, at Latitude 26°26' north, where it was reported that the Indians had salvaged and concealed several bags and barrels of flour.

Lieutenants McLaughlin and Sloan had greater success in discovering the whereabouts of the Seminoles than did Lieutenant Rodgers, but not without great exertions. First, McLaughlin took the *Flirt* and the *Wave* to the shipwreck where the Indians had last been seen. He and several men from those vessels lay in ambush for ten days without success. Then, presuming the Indians had been dispersed by patrols from Fort Pierce, the seamen destroyed 167 barrels of flour and prepared to set sail for Key Biscayne. Shortly before they were to depart, guides discovered the trail of two Indians at the mouth of the Hillsboro River. McLaughlin's command pursued the Seminoles overland for two days, ending their journey in an Everglades hammock at the head of Snake Creek. There, many large fields had recently been cleared, and bananas, sugar cane, corn, and vegetables of every description were growing. McLaughlin returned to his headquarters at Key Biscayne while Lieutenant John C. Henry of the *Wave* and a group of seamen were left in seclusion on the site for several days. This party arrived in Indian Key on May 25 after successfully destroying many fields, but finding no Indians.

Lieutenant Sloan's marines encountered similar results in patrols between the Miami and New rivers. They discovered "five distinct settlements" of Indians along the coast, one located between Little River and Arch Creek, less than five miles from Fort Dallas. Although the Indians scattered as Sloan's men approached, the marines succeeded in destroying eight fields and a large quantity of corn.

Now that spring of 1842 had arrived, the water in the Everglades became too low for boat travel. Despite the dry conditions, Lieutenants Taylor's marines and Rodgers' and Marchand's navy patrols attempted a joint expedition into the Pai-hai-okee. Forced to drag their crafts on skids made from the boats' seats, the command suffered

great fatigue, and one private died from sheer exhaustion. These unbearable conditions compelled Lieutenant Taylor to return abruptly to the coast. Marchand and Rodgers followed on May 20, bringing word that the Indians had abandoned the southern extremities of the peninsula.

Since General Macomb's attempt to end the war in 1839, the Seminoles had remained relatively quiet, engaging in hostilities primarily to defend themselves and to procure cargoes from wrecked vessels. Sam Jones and the Prophet were supposedly somewhere in the Big Cypress, far out of reach of white settlements. Small bands of Upper Creeks were also reported to be roaming west of Tallahassee. Colonel Worth therefore deemed all settlers between Tallahassee and the Caloosahatchee safe from depredations. As summer approached, the United States government called for a suspension of hostilities in Florida, as Congress hammered out the specifics of the Armed Occupation Act, designed to grant 160-acre homesteads to frontier settlers and create a buffer between the remaining Seminole bands and established settlements.

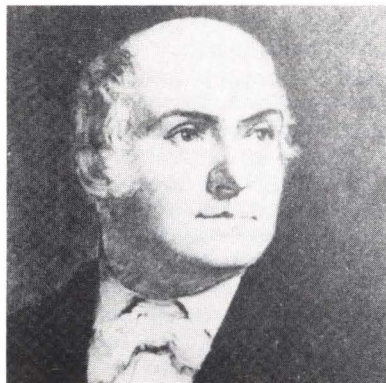
On May 23, 1842, Colonel Worth instructed Lieutenant McLaughlin to make preliminary arrangements with the secretary of the navy to withdraw the Mosquito Fleet from Florida. By mid-June, surplus stores were transferred to the army forces in the territory, and all vessels but the *Flirt*, the *Wave*, and the *Phoenix* sailed for Norfolk, Virginia. Then, on June 20, McLaughlin received an official communication from Navy Secretary Upshur directing him to withdraw the remainder of his force from Florida. To accommodate Colonel Worth's wish to maintain coastal protection, Lieutenant John Henry was ordered to keep one vessel on each coast for general protection, to aid and assist wrecked or distressed vessels, and to guard against trade between the Indians and Cuban fishermen. Even though hostilities were ending, Henry was warned to "be on the alert for treachery and to be prepared to resist it." His vessels operated from the rendezvous point and hospital at Indian Key until their dismissal on September 24, 1842.

Now that hostilities had diminished, the federal government and the Florida legislature pointed the territory in the direction of statehood. The Armed Occupation Act was enacted into law in August. Also, the few remaining Seminoles, numbering about 360, agreed to move onto a southwest Florida reservation. In consequence of these positive developments, the small navy flotilla serving in the Florida War

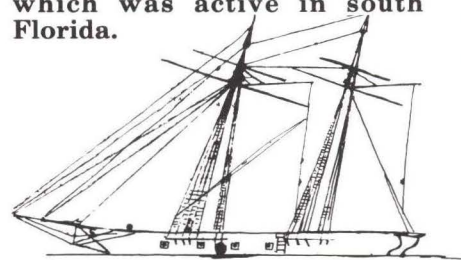
was formally dissolved on August 3, 1842, and Colonel William J. Worth officially announced an end to the war on the fourteenth.

The Second Seminole War was a costly action. Between \$30,000,000 and \$40,000,000 was poured into the six-and-a-half year conflict, and an estimated 1,600 military personnel and volunteers lost their lives. More than two-thirds of these fatalities occurred as a result of disease and accidents. The United States Navy lost twenty-three officers and seamen, and the revenue marines lost seventeen. The Seminole Indians suffered even more so. It cannot be determined how many Indians were killed in battle or died of consequences relating to the war. However, by April 1843, almost ninety percent of the survivors — some 3,824 Indians — had migrated to the western reservation.

The conflict also had a lasting effect on the economics and development of the Florida Territory. Recuperation within the settlements was a slow and tedious process. Moreover, the citizens remained skeptical of those Indians still residing in the peninsula, thus avoiding homesteading too near the reservation. If any positive attribute can be salvaged from such a war, it must be the knowledge obtained by United States forces about a previously unexplored region. In fact, military



Abel P. Upshur (left), U.S. secretary of the navy during the final year of the Second Seminole War. Below is a sketch of the navy schooner *Flirt*, which was active in south Florida.



reconnaissances in south Florida provided valuable data concerning the Everglades, both during and after the war. In 1848, when St. Augustine resident Buckingham Smith compiled an engineering report for the United States government, outlining the advantages of draining the Everglades for agricultural use, navy Commander Levin Powell wrote to Florida's United States Senator J. D. Westcott expressing his "entire conviction of its practicability." Powell wrote that a canal or cut from one of the rivers on south Florida's eastern side would connect Lake Okeechobee with the Atlantic, would open navigation to the interior,

and would effect the desired Everglades drainage. Expounding upon such attributes as the rich soil and tropical climate of the region, Powell expressed his opinion that the results of such a work as this were beyond mere speculation. In conclusion, he stated, the Everglades "would be reclaimed to the use and enjoyment of man." In effect, the Florida War opened new regions for southern expansion, and the subsequent slow but steady increase in population led to statehood in 1845. This goal was reached, in part, by the presence of the United States Navy in south Florida during the war.

SEMINOLE WAR NAVY & ARMY VESSELS

Compiled by KENNETH J. HUGHES

Throughout the Second Seminole War, United States forces found a demand for both large and small vessels. These were needed for duties ranging from coastal protection to transporting troops and supplies, in addition to providing access into shallow bays, rivers, and especially into the Everglades. The first selected water-borne group was one under the direction of the U.S. Treasury Department, which commanded a fleet of vessels to patrol the United States' coastline to prevent illegal commerce. When the Florida conflict became imminent, the Treasury Department's U.S. Revenue Marines were ordered to blockade the peninsula to prevent trade between Spanish fishermen from Havana and the Seminole Indians. Besides participating in these duties, they, too, were eventually detached from their vessels and attached to the

Everglades expeditionary patrols.

The United States Navy joined the Florida forces early in 1836. This occurred when the orders for the revenue marines crossed the desk of Navy Secretary Mahlon Dickerson and he altered them to include one naval vessel for coastal patrols in Florida. His foresight opened the door to naval participation in the Florida War. However, during these early months of the conflict, the commander of the West Indies Fleet, Alexander J. Dallas, could not provide any vessels from his inadequate squadron, and could barely muster enough sailors to man army contracted steamboats.

Manpower shortages also forced the U.S. government to hire private contractors and agents to purchase supplies and forage. Private transports

were contracted to deliver this sustenance to the U.S. forces, and private laborers and teams were hired to ascertain that all goods safely reached their destinations. Spoilage was one of Major General Thomas Sidney Jesup's many concerns as he marched his troops into south Florida in 1837 and 1838. His correspondence often reflected associated problems such as the lack of coffee and the condition of beans that were utterly unfit for human consumption. In fact, troops were employed to construct adequate storage sheds to avoid such aggravations. Jesup also complained about inexperienced laborers and teamsters, whose various blunders created delays in the shipment of provisions, which, in turn, delayed the campaign. Frequent winter gales also hampered delivery schedules. Thus, the responsibility of maintaining supply lines

became a bi-partisan effort between government forces and private contractors. More often than not, army and navy personnel worked alongside the contractors to insure a prompt and safe delivery to the front lines.

Contracted steamboats placed under the direction of the quartermaster's department were Jesup's greatest asset in the effort to supply his troops. These vessels could deliver supplies into most inlets and rivers where private, deep-drafted transports could not enter. However, there are a few instances where even these steamers failed to penetrate the coastal perimeters. One incident, in particular, involved an effort by a steamer to reach the major general's forces at Fort Jupiter. When the vessel could not enter the inlet, the army relied upon Mackinaw boats and barges. Meanwhile, the larger transports were detained at Key Biscayne, the only place on the east coast which could facilitate a safe anchorage. Jesup eventually ordered them to be returned to the north and dismissed from service, after their cargo was placed in the depot on Key Biscayne. Subsequently, there was a great

demand for the use of small vessels in south Florida.

During 1836, when navy Lieutenant Levin Powell assisted Colonel Persifor Smith's Charlotte Harbor and Myakka reconnaissances, all personnel relied upon the use of rowboats, skiffs, and small sailing smacks belonging to the Spanish fishermen along the Gulf coast. Powell recognized the need for a more significant mode of transportation. Therefore, in 1837, while preparing for his first Everglades expedition, he was authorized to purchase long plantation canoes and Mackinaw boats. Jesup described the Mackinaw boats as "square boats from Charleston." Lieutenant John McLaughlin brought more of these boats to Florida during the winter of 1838-1839.

The U.S. Navy also relied upon the use of small vessels as an effective means of reconnoitering the coast. Late in 1838, the barges *Emmett* and *Schocko*, commanded by Lieutenant Charles B. Howard, U.S.N., were removed from the schooner *Wave*, and placed amongst the Florida Keys. The coastal surveys obtained during these patrols provided accurate data for

McLaughlin's Map of the South Florida Peninsula. The forces in Florida also relied on lighters, rowboats, service boats, and dinghies to load, unload, and deliver supplies from the contracted transports. A dredge boat was utilized in opening sand bars on the St. Johns River to facilitate steamer traffic, an "Iron boat" delivered supplies to U.S. forces stationed on the Caloosahatchee River, and captured "Indian dugouts" became a valuable means of transportation for the American guerrilla patrols throughout the Pai-hai-okee.

In summary, the use of vessels along this peninsula was as important to the U.S. forces in bringing the war to an end as was the Seminoles' demand for powder, lead, and sustenance in prolonging hostilities. The land forces certainly would have experienced less success if they had waged a war in the southern Florida wilderness without the presence of transports and smaller modes of transportation. And this task would have been especially difficult without the presence of the U.S. Navy and Revenue Marines to assist with these campaigns.

List of Vessels

I. NAVAL VESSELS

A) U.S. FRIGATES

Constellation

(Captain Alexander J. Dallas), 1835-36.

Macedonian

(Captain Parker), 1837, 1839.

B) GUN BARGES

Benton

(Lieut. John Davis, USN, and Lieut. Thomas T. Sloan, USRM), Southeast Florida, 1839.

Harney

(Lieut. John Davis, USN, and Lieut. Thomas T. Sloan, USRM), Southeast and southwest Florida, 1839.

Mayo

(Lieut. John Davis, USN, Passed Midshipman Strong B. Thompson, USN), Southeast and southwest Florida, 1839.

Paulding

(Lieut. Levin Handy, USN, Lieut. Samuel E. Munn, USN, and Lieut. Thomas T. Sloan, USRM), in southeast Florida and at New River, 1839.

C) SCHOONERS

Bahama

(Lieut. George M. Bache, USN), sailed lower Keys, 1836.

Carolina

Decked schooner (owned by Key West Customs House), on Lieut. Powell's southeast Florida expedition, 1836.

Firefly

Long-centerboard, schooner-rigged whaleboat (owned by Stephen Mallory), on Lieut. Powell's southeast Florida expedition 1836.

Flirt

(Lieut. John McLaughlin, USN), carried six six-pound guns and one twelve-pound gun, 1841-42.

Grampus

(Lieut. J. Cassin, Lieut. Elisha Peck, USN), 1836-40.

Hayes

Mail schooner, at Indian Key, 1841.

Jefferson

(Capt. John Jackson, USRM, Lieut. Commandant [Capt.] John Rodgers, USN), revenue service, 1836-41, naval service, 1841-42.

Motto

(Lieut. Thomas J. Lieb, USN), at New River and Key Biscayne, 1836.

Otsego

(previously the *Caroline*), 1838-40.

Otsego

(previously the *David B. Small*) (Lieut. James S. Bidle, USN), 1840-41.

Perrine

Transported Lieut. Levin Powell from Pensacola, 1837.

Phoenix

(Lieut. Christopher R. P. Rodgers, USN), 1841-42.

Star

(Passed Midshipman William M. Walker, USN), Florida service 1837-41; shipped interpreter "Primus" to Cedar Keys, 1841.

Van Buren

(Lieut. John B. Marchand, USN), 1841-42.

Wave

(Lieut. John McLaughlin, USN, and Lieut. John C. Henry, USN), private vessel purchased by McLaughlin from John C. Stevens; Florida service, 1838-42.

D) SLOOPS-of-WAR

Boston

(Commandant Edward B. Babbitt, USN, Capt. Dulaney, USN), Florida service, 1837-39.

Concord

(Master Commandant Merwine P. Mix, USN), Florida service, 1836-38.

Erie
(Captain Tennick, USN),
Florida service, 1839.

Levant
(Captain Paulding, USN),
Florida service, 1839.

Natchez
Florida service, 1836-39.

Ontario
(Commandant Ferrand,
USN), Florida service, 1837-
40.

Panther
(Acting Lieut. Edmund T.
Shubrick, USN), chartered
from Henry Benners, service
in south Florida, 1842.

St. Louis
(Master Commandant Law-
rence Rousseau, USN), Flor-
ida service, 1835-36; assisted
in 1836 Charlotte Harbor
expedition under command
of Commandant Paine.

Vandalia
(Captain Thomas T. Webb,
USN, Commander Thomas
Crabb, USN), Florida ser-
vice, 1835-38; first naval
vessel to serve in Florida
conflict.

Warren
(Commandant Taylor,
USN), Florida service, 1836-
39.

E) **U.S. STEAMERS**

USS Florence
Tampa Bay and Withlaco-
chee River, 1838,

USS Poinsett
(Captain Isaac Mayo, USN),
Florida service, 1839-40.

F) **U.S. ARMY STEAMERS**
(manned by naval personnel)

American
(Lieut. Stephen Johnston,
USN), Florida service on
Gulf coast, 1836-37.

Lieutenant Izard
Previously the *Yalla Busha*
(Lieut. George M. Bache,
USN), Gulf coast service;
sank at the mouth of the
Withlacochee River, 1836.

Major Dade
Previously the *Southern*
(Lieut. Neil M. Howison,
USN), Gulf coast service,
1836-37.

II. **U.S. REVENUE CUTTERS**

Campbell
(Lieut. Napoleon Coste,
USRM), a small schooner,
Florida service, 1838.

Dallas
(Captain Farnifold Green,
USRM), a small schooner,
Florida service, 1838.

Dexter
(Captain Thomas C.

Rudolph, USRM), Florida
service, 1836.

Jackson
(Captain Philomon Gate-
wood, USRM), Florida ser-
vice, 1836-41; refused by
Lieut. McLaughlin, USN,
owing to excessive draft.

Madison
(Captain William A. How-
ard, USRM), Florida service,
1838-42.

Van Buren
(Lieut. John B. Marchand,
USN), Florida service under
the navy, 1841-42.

Washington
(Captain Ezekiel Jones,
USRM), Florida service,
1836.

*1st Cutter, 2nd Cutter, 3rd
Cutter*

Three small revenue vessels
which provided Florida ser-
vice to the navy and revenue
marines. One of these accom-
panied the barges *Emmett*
and *Schocco* in the 1838-39
south Florida coastal recon-
naissances. Another cap-
sized while landing Lieut. R.
Tansill's marines at Indian
Key in October 1841. The
Vandalia actually carried
four of these cutters. They
were twenty-four and twenty-
five feet in length, averaging
six-foot beams, and were
manned by ten to twelve
oars.

III. **CONTRACTED ARMY VESSELS**

A) **BRIGANTINES**

Alexandria
Florida service, 1839.

Columbia
(U.S. Transport), Florida
service, 1838-39.

Experiment
Florida service, 1839.

General Pickney
Florida service, 1839.

Homer
Florida service, 1838.

Ludwig
Florida service, 1839.

Maria
Florida service, 1839.

Mobile
Florida service, 1839.

Molusca
Florida service, 1838-39.

Orient
Florida service, 1839.

Saratoga
Emigrated Indians to the
west from Tampa Bay via
New Orleans, 1841.

Seaflower
Shipped marines from south
Florida to Tampa, 1836.

Somerset
Florida service, 1838.

B) **SCHOONERS**

Agnes
(Captain Swazey), Florida
service 1838.

Allure
Florida service, 1838.

Caspian
(Captain Swazey), St. Augus-
tine to Fort Pierce, 1838.

Emeline
Florida service, 1838;
grounded at Indian River
bar, then purchased for the
government by Lieut. John
B. Magruder, First Artillery
Regiment, for use as a
lighter.

Erie
Florida service, 1838; this
may be the navy sloop-of-war
Erie, but it is mentioned in
the Nathan Jarvis diary
before the naval sloop was
commissioned.

Exit
Florida service, 1838.

Good Hope
Florida service, 1838.

Charles Howe
Transported messages of
Charlotte Harbor massacre
to Cape Florida, 1839.

T. F. Hunt
Troop transport, Tampa,
1842.

Imperial
Florida service, 1838.

Lebanon
Transported troops from Key
Biscayne to St. Augustine,
1838.

Lauranna
Florida service, 1838.

Maria Estelle
Florida service, 1838.

Medium
(Captain Arthur Magee),
transported troops between
St. Augustine and Mosquito
Inlet, 1837, and from St.
Augustine to Fort Pierce,
1838.

Morgan
Florida service, 1838.

Motion
Florida service, 1838.

Oscar
Transported troops between
St. Augustine and Mosquito
Inlet, 1837.

Peru
Florida service, 1838.

Pilot
Florida service, 1839, trans-
ported cattle.

Polly
Florida service, 1838.

- Randolph*
Florida service, 1838.
- Rodney*
Florida service, 1839.
- Stephen & Francis*
Florida service, 1838.
- Swallow*
Delivered supplies to navy vessels at Key West, 1841.
- Undaunted*
Florida service, 1838.
- C) **SHIPS**
- Artic*
Transported army supplies to Florida, 1836.
- Rosalind*
Emigrated Indians from Tampa Bay to the West via New Orleans, 1842.
- D) **SLOOPs**
- Ada*
Florida service, 1838-39.
- Aid*
Florida service, 1839.
- Jane*
Sailed soldiers from Tampa Bay to Sanibel Island and to Charlotte Harbor, where they discovered massacre, 1839.
- Juventa*
Florida service, 1839, mail sloop and transport.
- E) **STEAMERS**
- Adams*
Transported supplies and soldiers on the Caloosahatchee River to Fort Harvie and vicinity, 1841.
- Alabama*
At New River and Key Biscayne, 1838.
- Alert*
Florida service, 1838.
- Asia*
Florida service, 1838.
- Camden*
On the St. Johns River, 1837.
- Chamois*
Supplied posts on the Suwannee River, 1838-39.
- Charleston*
Florida service, 1838-39; transported troops to Key Biscayne, February 1838.
- Cincinnati*
Contracted supply steamer on the St. Johns River, 1842.
- Comet*
Authorized to propel barges on the St. Johns River, 1837-38.
- DeRussett*
Transported soldiers from Tampa Bay to Fort Simmons on the Caloosahatchee River, 1841.
- Essayon*
Florida service, 1837-39; on the St. Johns River, 1837.

- Florida*
Florida service, 1836-39; transported Major General Edmund P. Gaines and part of Fourth Infantry Regiment from Louisiana to Florida, 1836; transported troops between St. Augustine and Mosquito Inlet, 1837.
- Forester*
Employed on the St. Johns River, 1837-38.
- Francis*
Florida service, 1838.
- William Gaston*
(Captain Abraham King), shipped supplies from Fort Pierce to Gilbert's Bar (present-day Stuart), 1838; south Florida coastal patrols, 1841.
- Isis*
Employed at Black Creek on the St. Johns and at New River, 1837-38; washed aground at Punta Rassa, 1841 (regarded as a good seaboat).
- Izard*
Florida, 1839 (not to be confused with the *Lieutenant Izard*, which sank in 1836).
- Jon*
Florida service, 1839.
- Marion*
Florida service, 1838-39; supplied posts on the Suwannee River.
- John McLean*
Florida service, 1837-38; grounded and lost on reef while transporting Fourth Artillery troops to Smyrna in November 1838; previously had served on the St. Johns and at New River.
- Muskogee*
Florida service, 1838; reached to within five miles of Fort Jupiter by way of Hobe Sound.
- Okeechobee*
Florida service, 1838-39.
- F. N. Page*
Florida service, 1838.
- Richmond*
Transported First Artillery between St. Augustine and New Smyrna, 1837.
- Santee*
On the St. Johns River, 1837; on the Caloosahatchee, 1838; at New River; transported survivors of the Perrine family from south Florida to St. Augustine, 1840.
- Sattorlee*
Florida service, 1838.

- Tallapoosa*
Florida service, 1839.
- Tomochichi*
Florida service 1838.

IV. UNIDENTIFIED VESSELS

- Blackhawk*
Florida service, 1836, (shuttled naval expedition).
- Batteaux*
(Passed Midshipman Henry Waddell), Florida service with navy at Indian Key, August 1839.
- Fairy*
Small craft which accompanied the steamer *Major Dade* on a Gulf coast expedition, 1836.
- S. S. Mills*
Mail packet to St. Augustine, 1837.

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William Cooley

EXPLORES THE EVERGLADES

With introduction by JOE KNETSCH

The name of William Cooley needs little introduction to those even casually interested in the history of south Florida. His leadership of the New River settlement, the massacre of his family at the beginning of the Second Seminole War, and the many important offices he held on the frontier has established him as one of the major figures of the Territorial period. Yet only one important work has been written concerning this recognized leader. (See Cooper Kirk, "William Cooley: Broward's Legend," *Broward Legacy*, vol. I, nos. 1 and 2, 1976 and 1977).

Within the last few months, "new" documents have surfaced concerning the life of William Cooley. For example, in his capacity as justice of the peace at Homosassa, he was active in encouraging federal and state officials to complete the surveys for the settlers of that area (*Letters from Commissioner*, volume 3, 1840-43, pp. 605-06). Because his name appears as the person to whom at least twenty-eight Armed Occupation patents were delivered, it is likely that as justice of the peace he delivered these to their rightful owners as an assumed duty (Senate Executive Document No. 39, 30th Congress, 1st Session). Cooley himself was the recipient of 160 acres under this act of 1842, and the patent says he owned the land at the head of the Homosassa River. The original patent is on file at the Department of Natural Resources, Title Section of the Bureau of Survey & Mapping, Tallahassee, Florida. These "finds" simply add further documentation to the portrait so admirably drawn by Dr. Kirk.

The most significant recent discovery, however, is the ten-page, handwritten letter from Cooley that appears transcribed below. In this remarkable document, Cooley describes his activities prior to and during the Second Seminole War of 1835-1842. What is

more, he goes on to recommend a number of measures that he feels will significantly aid the development of south Florida. These suggestions are not altogether new or original with Cooley or of many other leaders of his day. Among the ideas proposed are the improvement of the "Inland Route" down the east coast of Florida, and the drainage of much of the Everglades. Also included is one of the more vivid descriptions of the southern Florida wilderness that this introducer has ever had the pleasure of reading. It is this description and the tenor of the writing that makes this letter unique and valuable.

It should be explained how Cooley came to write this remarkable letter. He put pen to paper at the behest of land agent John Darling of Tampa. Darling, who had many ideas concerning the development of Florida, was engaged in an active campaign to get the state and federal government more motivated to remove the Seminoles and begin the physical development of the land. He solicited Cooley and others to write him, or the governor, and explain the necessity of developing the land as rapidly as possible. Among the others writing at Darling's request was G. W. Ferguson¹ of "Bermuda, Miami River," who expressed ideas similar to Cooley's, with possibly even more flair. The fact that the internal improvements proposed may have led to additional Indian troubles seems not to have disturbed anyone greatly. Indeed, it was the common frontier assumption of the agreements reached with Billy Bowlegs and other Seminole leaders that the Indians would soon be leaving Florida to join their compatriots in the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River. Thus, Darling, Cooley and Ferguson must have felt relatively free to advocate their common programs.

Whatever the case, on August 16,

1851, Darling wrote to Governor Thomas Brown, explaining Cooley's letter:

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency herewith the letter of Captain William Cooley, narrating several reconnaissances of the Everglades and other portions of South Florida. This letter is obscure in some portions but in general contains much interesting and valuable information, because it comes from a disinterested witness who has no inducement to make a glowing report merely for show.

Whether or not Cooley was a "disinterested witness" may be open to question. The exact nature of his relationship to the ambitious Darling is unknown at this time.

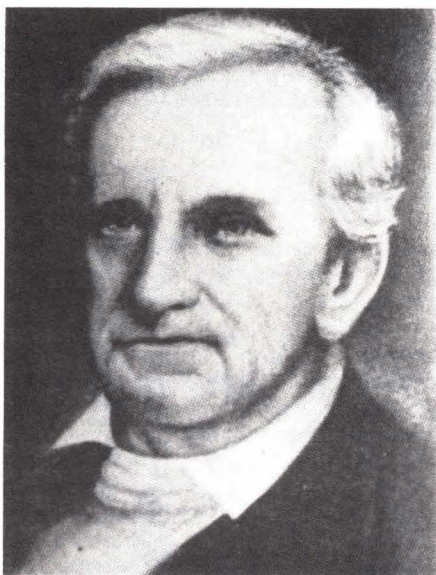
What follows is a complete transcription of Cooley's letter of August 11, 1851. Because of its readability and unique tenor, it has been decided not to "edit" the letter, but, instead, to let it stand on its own merits. No spelling, punctuation or other changes have been made. It is believed that "editing" would detract more than enhance the quality of the document. Any errors of transcription are the responsibility of the introducer. The two footnotes placed in parentheses are Cooley's. The remainder are explanatory notes.

Tampa, Fa., August 11 1851

Dr. Sir;

I resided on New River from 1823 to 1836. During that time I explored the coast and the Everglades every year more or less with different persons. In 1826 with Col. Fitzpatrick² we explored new River and its branches into the Everglades at different points. New River divides itself into four branches or prongs — the south prong, North West prong, North prong, and Snook Creek³ — The south prong is the main channel of New River — all the branches communicate with the Ever-

glades; but during a dry time they are all dry except the south prong (1) — on the head of this River and its branches there is a large quantity of the richest bottom lands which are never overflowed except in a very wet season — these lands extend for miles into the Everglades clear of Rock with a base of Marle — on New River lie Rich Hammock, Pine and Prairie land, which never overflow except occasionally during the Equinoxial Gales but then not enough to do any great damage to crops — Counta⁴ grows here in large quantities, and the land generally must be good because the counta does not grow on Wet land; and the water dries up almost as soon as it reach the land — never lays more than four or five days — I speak of the lands now that lie immediately on the banks of the Main River — I think there is a ridge about one mile wide between Cape Florida & New River that does not overflow — this ridge runs the whole distance about 19 miles — I think that about 3/4 of the lands between Cape Florida and New River are subject to occasional overflow — in places near the, and in the, Main channel when it debauches from the Everglades about 2 to 4 feet under the surface the rock appears (2) — at this point there is a fall of about 6 feet descending from the Everglades — We likewise explored Jupiter River — all the lands between Jupiter and New River are wet except about 1/4 which lie in the Big Cypress⁵ which is celebrated as the place where Genl. Jesup⁶ treated with the Indians on the 9th Feby 1838. The road to New River must pass



Florida Governor Thomas Brown, to whom Cooley's 1851 letter was relayed (courtesy of Florida Photographic Archives).

through it or go along the sea beach — the distance from Jupiter to New River is about 60 Miles — we found good land on Jupiter River and its branches which may be reclaimed for sugar or Rice by Keeping Jupiter Bar open — this bar occasionally closes and when it does so the water rises in the River 6 or 8 feet and flows back on the lands — In the fall of 1827 I went with a party of Indians to the head of the north prong of New River — we travelled on horseback — the season was very dry — The Indians had set fire to the Everglades — I cannot tell how far the fire extended but we rode in a North West direction near 30 miles across the burnt tract without seeing the end of it — along our trail I observed large quantities of decayed vegetation but did not observe any signs of peat, or any place where the fire had taken hold of the soil — along our whole route water was very scarce — To our right as we travelled N.W. lay a dense Cypress swamp or Hammock — The Indians said there was good Hammock in this Cypress area in large bodies — I never saw better land than this prairie across which we travelled — Col. Gadsden⁷ got lost in this Cypress about 11 Days and finally reached New River by following the beach on the east side — He says the land in the Cypress is good and the wet portion can be easily drained, as there is a fall of 6 feet from the Cypress to the sea — In the fall and winter of 1827 I explored the Inland route⁸ from the Indian River Haulover, to Cape Florida in company with Capt. Johnson⁹ a Pilot — we found not less than 2 feet water from the Haulover to Jupiter Bar — from this point we ascended the south Lagoon of Jupiter River about 4 miles with our whale boat, which we had to haul over about 75 yards into what was called Granville Sound, and now Lake Worth — a beautiful sheet of water, very deep — we found not less than 10 feet, though we did not sound many places — we sailed south about 35 miles to what was called Old Granville Inlet — A number of years ago, it was said that there was 2 fathoms of water on this bar — (see Granville's chart) — now the Inlet is closed — I think this Inlet might be easily kept open if necessary — The Conks¹⁰ say a vessel was sunk in this channel — the surface of the ocean is not 6 feet below the surface of the Lake at this point — we hauled our boat into the surf about 15 yards which is the width of the said bank between lake and the sea — If this bar was opened a large quantity of land would be reclaimed — there is a water communication between this lake and Bocal Ratones sound,¹¹ a

distance of about 6 miles but too small for a boat — a small canoe might pass — on this creek which is the only outlet of Lake worth there are the richest red prairie lands I ever saw — we proceeded outside about 6 or 7 miles to what is called the Orange Grove Haulover,¹² near a large sour and bittersweet orange grove of several hundred trees — We hauled our boat at this point into Bocal Ratones Sound, I should think about 250 or 300 yds across the orange grove Hammock — the water from Jupiter to this place is all fresh as it has of course no communication with the sea — we proceeded about 8 miles to Bocal Ratones River, thence by this river 3 miles to Hillsborough River — the water has an average on this section of 5 feet in depdth — thence by the latter River 4 miles into New River — the passage for the last 7 miles is narrow and shallow — we there ascended New River about 8 miles to the Everglades this section is good steam navigation — from this point we proceeded through the Everglades in shallow water full of grass about 10 miles to the head of Rio Ratones¹³ — the water on this section was about 18 inches deep — we proceeded down the Rio Ratones which is narrow, shallow and Crooked 4 miles into Key Biscayne Bay which Closed this reconnoissance — I think it will not require more than 15 miles of wrought canal to open a light draft steamboat navigate inland from Key Biscayne Bay to Indian River Haulover — From 1827 to 1836 I often visited the Everglades with the Indians who lived on New River — we often tried to go to what the Indians called Micaco or Big Water which I suppose is Okechobee — We passed through several fine Lakes and saw a number of small Islands covered with cocoaplum tree — we came to a lake full of Water Lettuce about 15 miles West from the head of new River — the lettuce was so thick we could not penetrate it with our boats — on this route the water on the Everglades is not more than 12 to 18 inches deep except in the channel where it is 2 to 2 1/2, 3 to 4 feet, rocky bottom - The Everglades are covered here with a growth of saw Grass and Maiden Cane — the Indians said that the big water was about 20 miles from where we struck the Lettuce — that the Lettuce came out of the big Cypress between Jupiter and New River and was blown by the wind across into its present position — the Indians stated that they had frequently been through this passage into the big Water — My own opinion is that this Lettuce came out of Okechobee — the Indians also stated that the water from Okechobee runs under the Lettuce thence to New River

— as far as we went we found a well defined rocky channel having a greater depth of water than the surrounding Glades with considerable amount setting towards New River — I think the lettuce is at least 12 feet above the level of the Ocean — the bounds of the ocean at the same time that they defined the land — form a margin to the Everglades — the tributaries of Okechobee during the wet season pour the surplus water into that Lake & swell its volume which spreads over the Everglades looking for an outlet — the natural outlets not being sufficiently capacious to convey away the surplus water — I think that all that is necessary to be done to drain a large portion of the Everglades is to enlarge the natural outlets — such as the Hillsborough River, the Goose Pond River,¹⁴ the new River and Branches, the Rio Ratones, Arch Creek, Little River, and Miami River — on the eastern side of the Peninsula — the Caloosahatchee River, Marka River,¹⁵ the tributaries of Galveston¹⁶ & Chatham¹⁷ Bays, Shark River, and Black Cesar's Creek,¹⁸ on the western side of the Peninsula — I think that new River and the Caloosahatchee are the two principal outlets — there is a fall on the Caloosahatchee of full ten feet about 3 miles above the old Fort Denaud¹⁹ — Some of the Lakes above mentioned were very deep and on the shores of some of these, the land was perfectly dry — there is very little rock in that section of the Glades — the land between New River and Key Biscayne is inclined to be very rocky, the rock extending to the Glades — the soil of some of the Hammock in the Glades between New River and Cape Florida will burn — between the same points there is a sand Bar about 100 yds wide extending in a due west course into the Everglades — I have followed it in a dry time, but was not able to find the end of it — the water in a dry time on the north side of this bar runs into New River and on the south side into Key Biscayne Bay — In the summer and fall of 1836 I was in the employment of the U.S. Government as a Pilot for the Everglades under the command of Capt. Powell²⁰ of the U.S. Navy — We started from Key West — part of Boats went outside and the remainder went up the Bay by way of Key Largo, to Cape Florida—at Cape Florida the boats divided again part of the boats went up to New River outside and part inside — from Key West to Cape Florida I went with the outside boats and from Cape Florida to New River I went inside — It is about 9 miles from the head of Key Biscayne Bay to New River by land, which is high pine barren covered with a growth of

Counta — When we reached New River I found that my counta Machinery had been burned by the Indians — they had burned my houses & store at the time they murdered my family but they left the Machinery standing — We camped here a few days — the command then divided, a part went on to Indian River and a part into the Everglades — I accompanied that part that went into glades — we proceeded in boats into the Everglades expecting to camp on Big Pine Island²¹ which is about 9 miles from the entrance to the Glades, but the Boats drew too much water and finding no channel to the Island we camped in our boats — The next day we proceeded into the Glades about 30 miles in a westerly direction — with the Spy Glass we saw several large Islands in a north direction from us — at least they appeared to be Islands — this route is from the south prong of New River and to the south - ward of both my previous routes — It was the opinion of the command that the whole of this region could be drained by a large canal to New River — I think the fall is about the same as on the other route — the current setting to New River — the water here on the grassy part of the Glades was about 18 inches deep — this is about the average depth of the water on the largest portion of the Everglades — in the lagoons and channels it is deeper — in a dry time the water is collected in these lagoons and channels — in a dry time the north and west prongs of New River, Snook and Arch Creeks, and Little River go dry, and the Rio Ratones nearly so — upon Arch Creek is a natural arch from which it takes its name — in wet times the water rises & the arch which is so formed that it backs and consequently raises the water about 5 feet and causes it to overflow thousands of acres of land which could be avoided by its removal — the little channels that are observable coursing through the Everglades have one common direction towards the lake Okechobee where the Indians say they all terminate — from this circumstance I conclude that they are fed from that Lake — finding that our boats drew too much water we were obliged to return to Cape Florida — on our way back we explored all the water courses out of the Everglades but observed nothing important more than has already been mentioned — we proceeded from Cape Florida to Cape Sable, part of the boats through the Sandwich Gulf²² along the main land of Key Largo, and the remainder through the Keys inside the Florida Reef by Key Tavernier — all to Cape Sable by the Rabbit Keys — At Key Tavernier we fell in with the Indian

“Chai's Wife” — our boats gave chase but it was no go — Chai reached the main land and we gave up the chase — the Indian and his wife were afterwards captured by Col. Harney²³ between Cape Florida and Cape Sable,²⁴ and they are now living in Sarasota — From Cape Sable we started for Shark River — here I was transferred to Lieut. Waldron²⁵ of the U.S. Marines — We did not find Shark River but we found a river²⁶ beautiful at the mouth emptying into Chatham's Bay, not far from Lostman's Key — we ascended this river in the night time until we reached fresh water — Doctor Lightner²⁷ acted as Pilot — He told us that he had examined the river before the war with the Indians and that there had been an Indian Settlement on the river, but he was unable to find the same place again — the river was very crooked — When we found ourselves the next morning we were about 15 miles from the Starting point and ten or 15 miles from Cape Sable — this river was called Snake River from its course and is to the northwest of Shark River — being tired and sleepy we lay by that day — the next day we proceeded along the coast to Pavillion Key in Chatham Bay — we then went through the Bay to a place called Owl Key, there we went up a small River to a large Indian Town on a Shell Island containing some 500 acres of the best land about 50 acres of which had been under cultivation — but the Indians had retired into the Everglades in their canoes — this river heads in the Everglades but we did not go up so far because our boats drew too much water. From this point we proceeded along the coast to Caximbas which is Cape Roman River or Marko — We staid here some time examining the country — there is a large body of good land in that section — I think that



Section of the 1837 J. Lee Williams map of Florida, showing Cooley's name just above the New River.

is the Little Caximbas which is about half way between Cape Roman and the mouth of Sanybel River²⁸ that is properly called Marko — back of Cape Roman lies the best country I have seen in Florida — high live oak land free from Rock — it appears to be an immense Island for we pursued Indians through it full 20 miles the whole distance of this same Kind of Land, until we came to a Mangrove Slough which we supposed surrounded it and seperated it from the main land — We then ascended the river as far as we could and then walked to the main land — the distance from Caximbas to the main land by the river is about 12 miles — we found the main land a fine high rich pine barren — the pines very tall — this land appeared to be without limit but I did not penetrate far into it — we went to the main land in search of an Indian Town that Capt. Johnson the Pilot said he had visited before the war; but we could discover no traces of Indians — at Cape Romano there are three or four Indian plantations of 25 or 30 acres Each — here we found Bananas, Sugar Cane, and pumpkins in abundance — this whole country has the appearance of being healthy and from the fact of its extensive occupation by the Indians I have no doubt it is the best country in Florida — on the coast at Cape Romano and Cape Sable the country is high but the coast except these points appears to be low and covered with Mangroves — From this point we proceeded to Charlotte Harbor — we spent some time on Caldias Island now called "Useppa" or Fort Casey — while here the country was examined up to Peas Creek²⁹ but I did not accompany the detachment — From this point the command returned to Key West — I accompanied Col. Harney and Lt. Worrell³⁰ on several excursions into the Everglades but did not observe anything more interesting than here related — The next tour I had was with Col. Lawson³¹ in 1838 — we left the Caloosahatchee with three companies of volunteers and some Delaware and Shawnee Indians and went to Cape Sable — then we built fort Poinsett — I was sutler for the command but acted as Pilot — the Delaware and Shawnee Indians were sent out to explore the country back of Cape Sable — they were gone 7 or 8 days — when they returned they stated that they had discovered an immense Cypress swamp about 25 miles in a North direction — they stated that they had spent 6 days in the Cypress which they described as both wet and dry — back of Cape Sable I examined a prairie which is about 15 miles across — it is dry in a dry season — it borders on the Glades and gets

wet at about 15 miles from the coast — it has very little saw grass upon it even in the wet places — the whole is very rich — the growth grass — thistle and Calus — 15 miles of this Prarie from the coast back is dry but may be wet in a very wet season — In the wet Places the water is fresh showing that it has no connection with salt water

— there appears to be a gradual descent to the coast and I think a large quantity of the wet prarie may be reclaimed and the dry Kept from overflow by draining — I have no conception of the whole extent of this prarie — I made 15 miles to the wet prarie in a west of north direction and 15 miles in an Easterly direction towards Cape Florida to Loyds' Lake³²

— if this Prarie could be secured from inundation it would become one of the best producing sections of the State — at Loyds Lake you strike the porous or honeycomb rock which reaches from that point to Rio Ratones — most of this distance this rock appears above ground but in some places it is covered with soil a foot or more — this rock on this route extends some distance into the everglades but I have not discovered it any where else in any

body — There are several large Hammocks whose base is this porous rock — the land or soil is rich but if fired in a dry time it will burn up — the base of the Prarie land above referred to is Marle — I accompanied Col. Lawson to Shark river — we ascended this river to Manatee Lake and encamped on Manatee Island where we saw immense piles of Manatee bones — this is an old Indian camping ground — from this point we tried to get into the Everglades but could not do so for Sawgrass which grows here on the Margin of the Glades to great size — If there is any river running out of the Glades at this point we could not find it — We saw the Big Cypress with the Spy Glass in a northerly direction — the intermediate distance appeared to be covered with Saw Grass, and Mangrove Keys — I have heard that Lieut. Rogers³³ went to the Big Cypress from Manatee Lake to Sam Jones Town in his Boats — The Shawnee & Delaware Indians stated that a belt of land extends from Cape Sable to the Big Cypress wet but passable — I think the Big Cypress can be reached without trouble by land from Caximbas — Chai says there is an Indian trail from Cape Romano to the Big Cypress — I have

Sir, Sir, Tampa, Fla. August 11 1857.
I resided on New River from 1823 to 1836. During that time I explored the coast and the Everglades every year more or less with different persons. In 1826 with Col. Fitzpatrick we explored New River and its branches into the Everglades at different points. New River divides itself into four branches a prong - the South prong, North West prong, North prong, and South Creek - The South prong is the main channel of New River - all the branches communicate with the Everglades; but during a dry time they are all dry except the South prong - on the head of this River and its branches there is a large quantity of the richest bottom lands which are never overflowed except in a very wet season. These lands extend for miles into the Everglades clear of Rock with a bos of muck - on New River lie Rich Hammock, Pine and Prairie lands which never overflow except occasionally during the Equinoctial gales but not enough to do any great damage to crops - Corn &c grows here in large quantities, and the land generally must be good because the Corn &c does not grow on Wet land; and the water dries up as soon as it reach the land - more large more than four or five days I speak of the lands now that lie immediately on the banks of the main line - I think there is a ridge about one mile wide between Cape Florida & New River that does not overflow - this ridge runs the whole distance about 19 miles - I think that about 1/4 of the lands between

First page of the original letter, in Cooley's handwriting.

been from Fort Denaud to Fort Keais³⁴ — the country on this route is flat pine woods —

I am an old man and think I know something about land and a country — In the sections I have discribed will be found at present fit for cultivation immense quantities of Land equal and in most cases better than any other lands in the state, and immense quantities that may be reclaimed at a small comparative expense —

Yours truly

WM Cooley

To J. Darling

A.D.B.I.I.S.L.³⁵

Tampa, Fa.

[Cooley's] Notes —

- (1) That is dry at the heads where they come out of the Everglades
- (2) This rock appears to be composed of Marle, Shell and Sand is Slightly porous and Easily cut with an axe — this rock is most abundant between New River and Cape Florida —

ENDNOTES

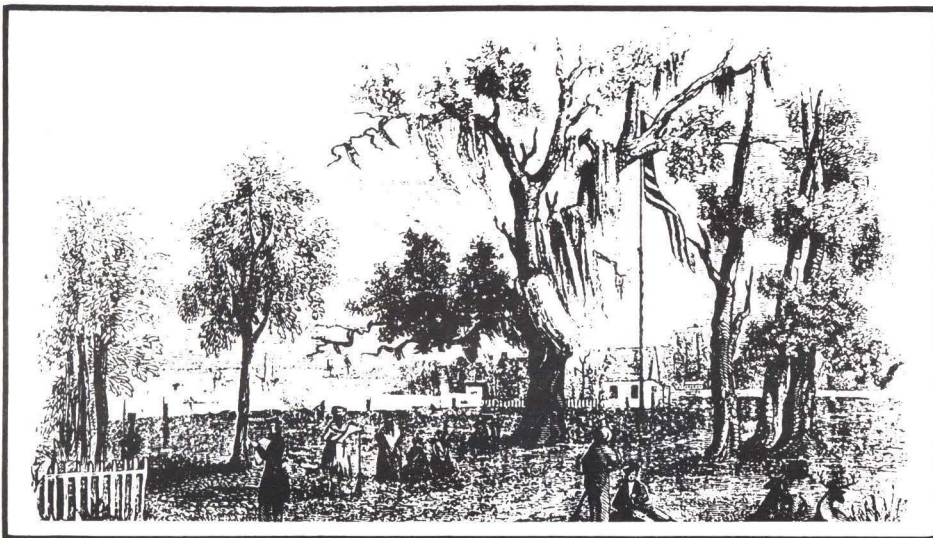
1. G. W. Ferguson is George W. Ferguson who was the postmaster at the Miami River. Walter C. Maloney mentions a G. W. Ferguson joining a company of Union volunteers in Key West on May 16, 1861. This may be the same person. (See, Walter C. Maloney, *A Sketch of the History of Key West, Florida*. Facsimile reprint of the 1876 edition, introduction and index by Thelma Peters. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1968.)
2. Colonel Richard Fitzpatrick is well-known to students of Broward County history as the purchaser of the Frankee Lewis grant. Maloney notes him as an original settler of Key West and states that Fitzpatrick Street there is named for him. As a delegate to the Territorial Legislature in 1836, he sponsored the bill that created Dade County. As a friend and political ally of Governor Richard K. Call, he was entrusted to bring the infamous bloodhounds to Florida for use

against the Seminoles, an experiment that failed to produce anything but trouble.

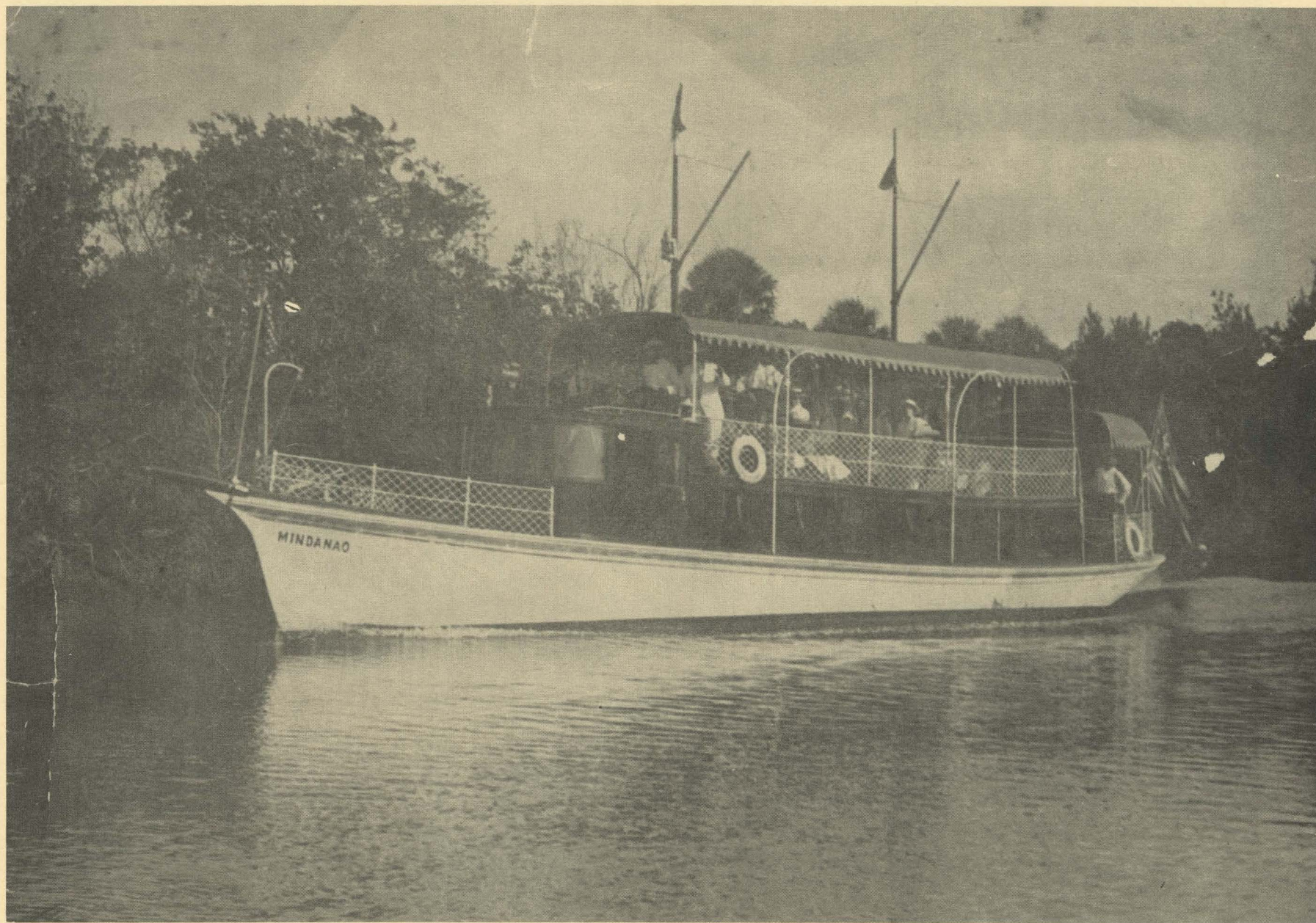
3. Various maps from the early and mid-nineteenth century apply the name "Snook Creek" alternately to Middle River and to the North Fork of New River.
4. The coontie plant, from which Cooley had manufactured arrowroot starch while living on New River.
5. This name was applied to several large cypress stands between the Atlantic coast and the Everglades, and is not to be confused with the Big Cypress Swamp of southwest Florida, which Cooley mentions toward the end of this letter. The particular area he describes here is the site of the Camp Truce conference, located between today's Delray Beach and Deerfield Beach.
6. Major General Thomas S. Jesup commanded the armies in Florida from December 9, 1836 to April 29, 1838. His service to the United States extended from the War of 1812 to his death as Quartermaster General in 1860. According to Professor John Mahon, "Jesup was the most important white individual in the Seminole War." (See John Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842*. Revised edition. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1985.)
7. Col. Gadsden is the famed James Gadsden, one of the most important men in frontier America. His list of accomplishments extends from his service under Andrew Jackson to negotiating the Treaty of Payne's Landing to the famous purchase that bears his name. Gadsden County, Florida, is named for him also.
8. The inland route consisted of a series of lakes, rivers, lagoons, and marshes running parallel to and immediately west of the Atlantic coast and later connected to form what is today the Intracoastal Waterway along Florida's east coast.
9. Capt. Johnson is probably Charles Johnson of Key West, who was described as a "wrecker and pilot" there in the 1830s. (See Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West, The Old and the New*. Facsimile reprint of the 1912 edition, introduction and index by E. Ashby Hammond. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1973.)
10. Cooley here refers to the "Conchs," Bahamian settlers of Florida's lower east coast and Keys, who were well-known as wreckers in the early and mid-nineteenth century.
11. Boca Ratones Sound and Boca Ratones River refer to a natural waterway in the present Delray Beach/Boca Raton area which was also known at various times as the Little Hillsboro and the Spanish River. It is now part of the Intracoastal Waterway. (See Daniel Austin, "Spanish River," *Broward Legacy*, vol. 2, no. 1 & 2, March 1978, pp. 2-5.)
12. The Orange Grove Haulover was located at what is today Delray Beach.
13. Rio Ratones is Snake Creek, which today forms a portion of the Broward-Dade county line.
14. Goose Pond appears as an elongated body of water between Hillsboro Inlet and New River on the Vignoles-Tanner map of 1823. "Goose Pond River" may thus represent a portion of Middle River or Cypress Creek.
15. Marco River, sometimes spelled "Malco" on maps from the Seminole War period, entered the Gulf from the mainland opposite Marco Island.
16. Gallivan's Bay, located between Cape Romano and the Ten Thousand Islands.
17. In the early nineteenth century, the designations

Chatham Bay and Ponce De Leon Bay were interchangeably used to describe an area much larger than today's Ponce De Leon Bay. Some early maps apply these names to all of the Gulf coast between Cape Romano and Cape Sable, others to the region below Pavilion Key.

18. Although Cooley places "Black Cesar's Creek" on the west coast, he is probably referring to Caesar's Creek between Elliott and Old Rhodes Keys in lower Biscayne Bay. This pass was supposedly named for the pirate Black Caesar.
19. Fort Denaud stood on the Caloosahatchee River just west of present-day LaBelle.
20. Captain Levin Powell was a pioneer in "Riverine Warfare" as practiced in Florida. Though Cooley refers to him as Captain, during the 1836 expeditions he held the rank of lieutenant. (For the best account of Powell's exploits, see George E. Buker, *Swamp Sailors: Riverine Warfare in the Everglades, 1835-1842*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975.)
21. Pine Island in the Everglades in what is today Davie, site of a skirmish between the Seminoles and United States troops from Fort Lauderdale in 1838. (See Cooper Kirk, ed. and intro., "Skirmish at Pine Island," *Broward Legacy*, vol. 1, no. 3, April 1977, 16-23.)
22. A name formerly applied to Biscayne Bay, "Sandwich Gulf" here evidently describes Barnes or Card Sound between Biscayne and Florida Bays.
23. Col. Harney is the famed Indian fighter William Selby Harney. His most notable actions in Florida revolved around the surprise attack on his command on the Caloosahatchee River on July 23, 1839, and his relentless pursuit of the so-called "Spanish Indian" Chakaika. He is the subject of a biography by Jules Archer, *Indian Foe, Indian Friend: The Story of William S. Harney*. London: Cromwell-Collier Press, 1970.
24. For an account of the capture of Chia and his wife in 1841, see "Second Expedition of Col. Harney in the Everglades," *Broward Legacy*, vol. 3, no. 3 & 4 (Fall 1979), 19-20.
25. Lieut. Waldron is First Lieutenant Nathaniel S. Waldron, United States Marine Corps. Stationed at Key West under Commodore Alexander J. Dallas, he saw a great deal of action during the Second Seminole War. He frequently went on expeditions with Powell (see footnote 6) and Colonel William Lindsay, United States Army. (Also see Buker's *Swamp Sailors*.)
26. Probably a reference to Lostman's River, although Cooley could be describing any of a number of small, winding rivers entering the Gulf from the Everglades in the extreme southwest tip of Florida.
27. Doctor Lightner is the well-known physician and botanist, Dr. Frederick E. Leitner. He studied medicine under Dr. J. E. Holbrook of Charleston and was a fellow student with Jacob R. Motte, who served as an army surgeon in the Second Seminole War. Leitner was also a regular correspondent with the famed botanist John Torrey, to whom he often sent samples of Florida's exotic flora. (See James F. Sunderman, ed. *Journey Into Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field During the Creek and Seminole Wars 1836-1838* by Jacob Rhett Motte. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963.)
28. Sanybel or Sanibel River was a common designation for the Caloosahatchee on maps from the early nineteenth century.
29. Peas Creek is today known as the Peace River.
30. Edward Worrell of Delaware served as an assistant surgeon in the United States Army from 1832 until his discharge in 1842.
31. Col. Lawson is Surgeon General Thomas Lawson, one-time lieutenant colonel in the Louisiana Volunteers and later Surgeon General of the United States Army. (See Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness*.) The anonymous author of an article appearing in *The News of St. Augustine* in 1841 notes that Fort Poinsett was established by Surgeon General Lawson. (See "Notes on the Passage Across the Everglades: From *The News*, St. Augustine, January 8, 1841." *Tequesta*, vol. 20, 1960.)
32. Lloyd's Lake appears on maps from the Seminole War period at the extreme southeastern corner of the Florida mainland, opposite Key Largo.
33. Lieut. Rogers is most likely Lieutenant John Rodgers, who also commanded the 1842 expedition into the Everglades and up the Kissimmee River. (See George Henry Preble, "A Canoe Expedition Into the Everglades in 1842," reprinted in *Tequesta*, vol. 5, 1945.) Buker notes that Lieutenant John Rodgers commanded the sloop *Wave* after Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin was given command of the *Flirt*. Both of these vessels and their crews figured prominently in the "riverine warfare" of 1837-39, when Cooley remembers these expeditions taking place.
34. Fort Keais was located at the northwest edge of the Big Cypress Swamp, ten miles south of present-day Immokalee.
35. These letters may mean "Acting Deputy for the Board of Internal Improvements, Southern Lands."

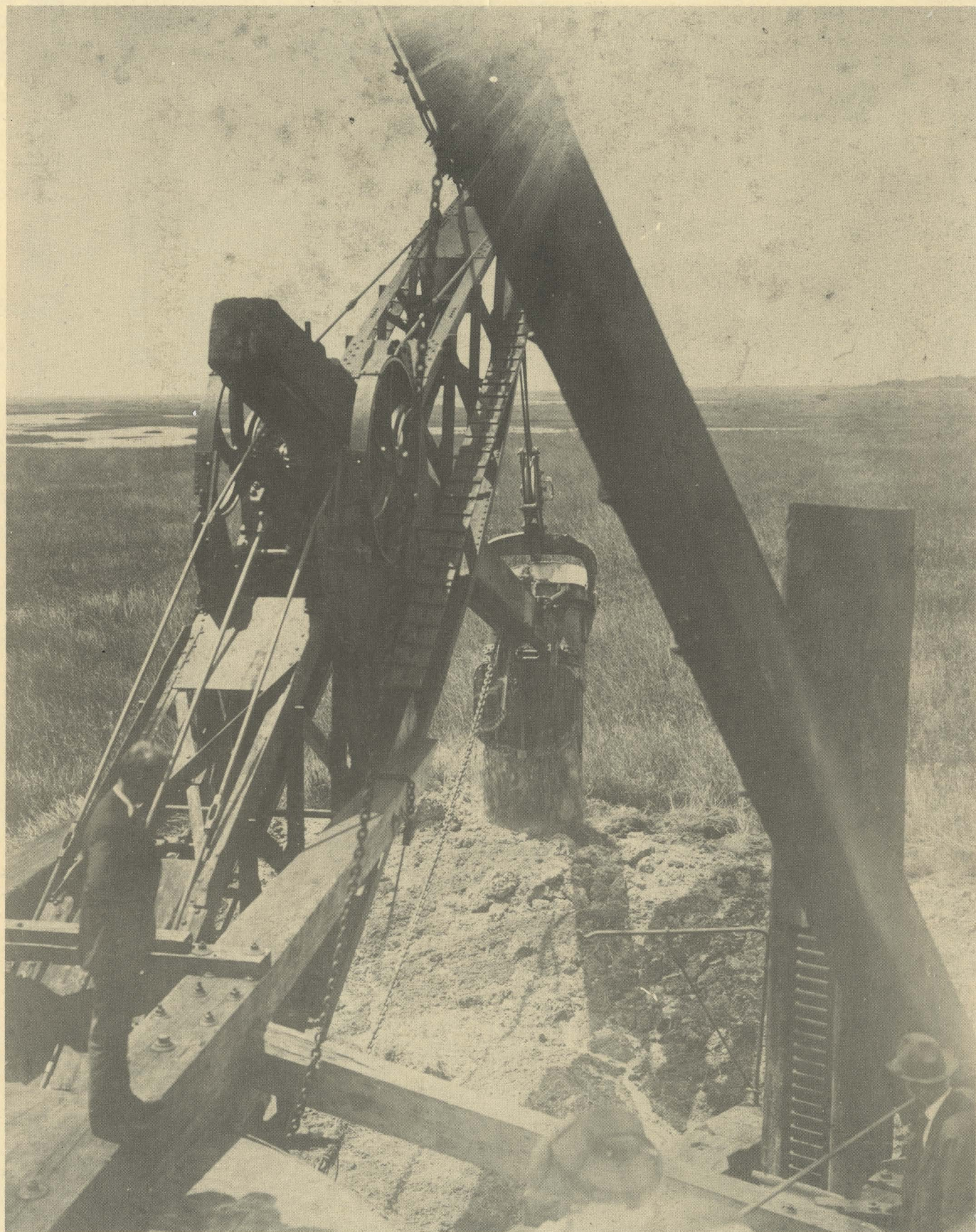


Tampa scene in 1846. Cooley lived in Tampa intermittently from 1837 until his death in 1863.



The *Mindanao*, one of four boats of the Forbes Pioneer Boat Line, on the North New River Canal, 1913. The *Mindanao* carried

passengers between Fort Lauderdale and Lake Okeechobee, making the 134-mile round trip in two days.



Dredge at work on the North or South New River Canal in present-day Broward County, seen in a

dramatic photo taken for Governor Napoleon B. Broward by A. Kaufmann of Miami, c. 1908.