

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

THE CHARLES DEERING ESTATE
AT CUTLER

Janet Snyder Matthews, Consultant

May 1992

"What hammock do you suppose will be left in a few years? But what do the inhabitants care?"

Charles Deering, May 12, 1925.

"From Eden to Sahara — Florida's Tragedy' should be published as a protest against the reckless wholesale destruction of things natural in Florida."

Dr. John Kunkel Small to Deering, June 23, 1925.

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for Metro-Dade County Parks and Recreation Department

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary	iii - xxxv
Attachment 1, Interpretation Recommendations	xvi
Attachment 2, Interpretive Themes Map	xxv
Attachment 3, Site Graphics	xxvi
Historical Documentation	1 - 157
(Pre-Deering Period 1821 - 1912)	
The Land and Man	1
Addisons' Landing	8
Dr. Cutler, the Town of Cutler and the Perrine Claim	17
Dr. Richmond, The Perrine Grant Land Company & the F.E.C.	28
(The Charles Deering Estate Period 1913 - 1927)	
Charles Deering, selected general biography pre-1913	50
Charles Deering and the Cutler Years, 1913 - 1927	60
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering	83
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering	98
End Matter	158 - 209
Appendix A. Armed Occupation Claims 1843	158
Appendix B. Henry E. Perrine, <u>Biscayne Bay . . . Florida, 1876 and Some Eventful Years in Grandpa's Life, ca. 1885</u>	159
Appendix C. Post Office Department Location Paper, 1884 Post Office Department Statement, 1900	160
Appendix D. Ralph Munroe photographs of Addisons, ca. 1890s	161
Appendix E. Caroline Rockwood, "Seminoles At Home," ca. 1890s Sketch of John and Mary Addisons' house and kitchen	162
Appendix F. Photographs of Cutler and Richmond Cottage	163
Appendix G. Charles and Marion Deering Family photographs (Marion Deering Danielson Campbell Collection)	164
Appendix H. Mar y Cel at Sitges, Spain. Seventeen photographs depicting interiors, artwork and courtyard spaces. (Barbara Strachan Deering Danielson Collection)	165
Appendix I. J.K. Small photos of Charles Deering Estate at Cutler (Marion Deering Danielson Campbell, FSA and FTG collections)	166
Appendix J. David Fairchild photos of Charles Deering Estate (Fairchild Tropical Gardens Research Center)	167
Abbreviations	168
Endnotes	169
Bibliography	203

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
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71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100

Executive Summary
The Charles Deering Estate at Cutler
Janet Snyder Matthews, Consultant

CONTRACT REQUIREMENTS
October 1991

The contract required the consultant to compile and analyze significant periods of human activity on the Charles Deering Estate site at Cutler, to complete historic documentation, or to "fill gaps" in historic information, regarding the Deering Estate site from the 1820s to 1927, the year of Charles Deering's death.

Significant interpretive themes were to be drawn from the documentation and used to identify "key portions or rooms within the existing buildings suitable for historical interpretation . . . in concert with a planned Interpretive Center." Historical documentation was to encompass site-specific activity within certain time periods, specifically:

- a. Settlement prior to, between and following, Seminole Wars (1821-1870).
- b. Continuous Settlement (1870 - 1896)
- c. Town of Cutler and F.E.C. (1896 - 1914)
- d. Deering Family (1914 - 1927)."

The research information was designed to "identify and describe the prominent archeological, pre-historic, and historic themes . . . that could form the basis for public programming and interpretive displays. Also identify and locate possible display material supporting or illustrating key people, features, or events."

The research to complete the documentation of the estate was carried out in two phases. Phase One (completed December 14, 1991) was to identify documentary sources and locations. Phase Two (to be completed May, 1992) was to produce a report to Metro-Dade County Parks and Recreation Department, including "representative copies of plans, illustrations, maps, letters or other references required to support any narrative histories."¹

An Executive Summary of the report includes condensation of historic topics, Interpretation Recommendations (Attachment 1) and Site Graphics (Attachment 2). Interpretation Recommendations allocate specific themes to site elements. Site Graphics are selected for reference to the historical documentation.

¹ Contract of September 10, 1991, signed October 9, 1991 for historical documentation for the Charles Deering Estate at Cutler, proceeding from October 1991 through May, 1992 for Metro-Dade County Parks & Recreation Department.

EXECUTING THE TASK

The purpose of the report is to provide an historic understanding of the Charles Deering Estate and its application for interpretive public programming in 1992. The format employed is chronological and represents influences and activities that defined today's site. The site-driven search pulled together materials into a context unavailable elsewhere.

The search through archival materials and with human resources produced site information not previously known. In some instances, the historic context was identified, and within each context known events took on new significance. Site history, therefore, was periodically influenced in the typical mode--by outside events at state, federal, and international levels.

Reference materials defined the order and emphasis. For instance, pre-Deering occupations ultimately fell into three contextual categories. Within these, six specific themes emerged. The presentation within themes is specific and prioritized rather than comprehensive and summarized.

The bulk of the work was necessarily directed toward Charles Deering, the definer of today's site. The Deering section stresses Charles Deering's sentiments and efforts in order to illumine the site and the man through his words--available even six decades following his death. The best source for understanding Charles Deering became his letters and those of his correspondents. They are extensively used within the final report, often verbatim, so that all aspects of various subject areas--botany, environment, art, history, biology--are available within the final document.

CONTEXTS AND THEMES

The time periods fell into four contextual categories and produced a total of seven themes. Within each theme, the report offers relevant firsthand information applicable to site programming and physical management.

Context A: Before Man

Theme I. The Land: The Ridge, the Sea and the Everglades [geology]

Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction

Theme II. The Land and Man: [from archaeological report, forthcoming]

Theme III. The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine (1821-1851)

Theme IV. Addisons' Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - 1911)

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential

Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler and the Perrine claim (1883-1897)

Theme VI. Dr. Richmond, the Perrine Grant Land Company & the F.E.C. (1896-1913)

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)

A Century of Plant Introduction: Perrine to Deering (1827-1927)

(Context A: Before Man)

Theme I. The Land: The Ridge, the Sea and the Everglades

[from archaeological report, forthcoming]

(Context B: Before Subdividers: The Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction)

Theme II. The Land and Man

[from archaeological report, forthcoming]

Available materials revealed a uniqueness apparent throughout the location's known past. For instance, the site was among only a few at Biscayne Bay supporting human habitation during pre-historic and early historic periods-- ranking with those at the Miami River, Little River, Cape Florida and Coconut Grove. The site's natural resources, which dramatically distinguished its pre-history, ultimately inspired its modern preservation story.

(Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction)

Theme III. The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine (1821-1851)

Early settlers on the site, previously unknown, have been identified through records of the Department of Natural Resources in Tallahassee, Florida. Their occupations predate by a quarter century those generally regarded as first. Several men--John DuBose and Reason Dukes--pre-empted land, cleared and planted during the 1830s. Four men of Key West and Indian Key--Antonio Giraldo, Frances Mabrity, Robert R. Fletcher and John Walters-- staked claims in summer of 1843, each claiming 160 acres offered by the Armed Occupation Act passed by Congress in 1842 to end the Second Seminole War. The claims occurred while Florida was yet a U.S. Territory. The settlers built houses and constructed a wharf onshore. These structures were previously unknown in the history of the site.

In 1845, Florida became a State and federal surveyors arrived. They saw the houses. They described fields planted in orange trees, corn, sisal hemp and pulque (used in 19th century Mexico to produce beer). These facts and associated documents provide a new insight into the singularity of this coastal site. The documentation will support a public understanding of Territorial Florida's southern community--its mode of transportation, its integrated coastal seafaring community, its ethnic diversity.

Documentation of settlers of Hispanic descent is particularly significant in light of today's requisite considerations for interpretation of historic sites. The experience of native-born and immigrant Floridians who were in Florida when it was a Spanish possession (Mabrity, Giraldo and others), introduces a theme vital not only to historic South Florida but critically important to today's population. Potential visitors and supporters, such as Hispanic Americans, must be enabled to relate personally to site-specific history. Across the nation, programming is beginning to demand documentary relevance to the contemporary population to be served through sites. In southern California, as well as South Florida, this forward-thinking approach has demanded new research to reconsider cultural and economic diversity and to redesign interpretation on

established historic sites. Such revisionist study, for instance, has been the subject of recent conference presentations offered by the National Trust for Historic Preservation.²

The discovery through research of these Territorial Floridian residents offers Metro-Dade County a timely opportunity to address population-driven considerations at the Charles Deering Estate in this initial phase of planning for interpretation and programming. The material suggests a broader context-- that of Florida's past as a Spanish (and once British) possession. The material also suggests the importance of further work, such as further search regarding pre-emption claims to federal lands and Seminole war-related materials relevant to the time period and historic archeological work to determine site locations.

During the 1840s federal surveyors continued into the uncharted southern wilderness of the new State of Florida. In addition to those who ran township, range and section lines, coastal surveyors charted shorelines and water depths for maritime traffic. In researching these federal records available in Florida Department of Natural Records collections, new material supports another opportunity for interpretation. From the beginning (1840s), the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey teams recognized on the site a vital natural resource accessible to passing vessels. At the site they placed on the first published charts of coastal Florida the label, "Fresh Water." The water flowed through the limestone-lined creekbed from the Everglades and became an officially-advertised stopping point for American maritime traffic along the Atlantic coast.

Today's creekbed and its changed condition offer a site-specific opportunity to interpret the evolving environment. This might be accomplished by use of historic firsthand description, along with federal charts and maps. Interpretation may also employ some insightful comparison regarding travelers' needs then and now, i.e. the label "Fresh Water" on a mid-19th century coastal chart is comparable to a sign, such as "McDonalds," appearing along today's interstate highway. (Corporate funding may apply appropriately to such signage and educational materials.)³

The Perrine Grant was a township (typically 23,040 acres divided into 36 Sections of 640 acres each) of tropical land conditionally granted (1838) by Congress (but not located). The petitioner for the grant, Dr. Henry Perrine (with two others), was a medical practitioner originally from Illinois and former consul to Campeche in the Yucatan. There he had responded to an 1827 federal request for collecting and transporting seeds and plants for introduction into the southern portion of the new Territory of Florida, the tropical tip of the continental United States. The Congressional grant anticipated "immediate domestication of . . . valuable vegetables

² "Interpretive Planning for Historic Sites: Two Case Studies," National Trust for Historic Preservation 45th national conference (October 1991, San Francisco), Session 37. [Available on audio tape.]

³ The presence of "coontie," or "comptie" at the Hunting Ground, as indicated by Seminole wars-period chart notation, suggests interpretive use of this historic natural food product, a major food staple manufactured by both Seminoles and citizen settlers, see Arva Moore Parks ms., "Historical Significance" of the Charles Deering Estate:2.

... [and] profitable plants of the tropics." The act required the participation of settler farmers, rather than planters, and offered each settler 640 acres-- a Section of the township.⁴ Perrine's response to the Circular and his subsequent history fascinated botanists associated with the Deering site a century later.

Not until 1847--well after Perrine's death (1840), the Second Seminole War (1835 - 1842) and Florida statehood (1845)-- was the township physically located. It was laid out with Perrine representatives, who met on the site with Deputy Surveyor John Jackson during the course of his regular work under contract with the U.S. Surveyor General. The eastern edge of the Perrine Grant extended into the study site (about 300 acres-- the fractional eastern half of Section 26, Township 55 South Range 40 East). Thus, the famous Perrine story of plant introduction became part of the site history. The survival of Ann Perrine and their children after the violent 1840 death of Dr. Perrine, was to become a haunting aspect of the site. It complicated private title to site lands until 1897 when settlement succeeded through the partnership of influential northern capitalists whose development plans required resolution of the claim.

Thus, the story of Dr. Perrine together with the major developers of the 1880s and 1890s (such as Henry Flagler), supports an interpretive theme present within overlapping periods. Changing land values of the naturally-strategic site became apparent in the status of the principals involved. Though the help of Dr. William Cutler has been generally known (through promotional Flagler publications), the corporate makeup of the Perrine Grant Land Company and its inter-relationship with Flagler interests appeared through search of corporate records of the Perrine Grant Land Company housed in the collection of the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum archives in Palm Beach, Florida. New information regarding Cutler and the Perrine grant also appear in Congressional proceedings, further defining Cutler's work and accomplishments on his off-site parcel.

Rising real estate values during the final two decades of the 1800s, in contrast to the preceding four decades (1840 - 1870), offer another site-specific interpretive opportunity. That documented story line includes the work of Dr. Perrine, the tenacity of Henry E. Perrine in pursuing the family claim to a wilderness site, and the economic elevation of that wilderness to highly-marketable development potential. The story may represent, in microcosm, the context of federal activities in a new Territory and the historic spiralling of statewide land values after the Disston purchase (1881). Thus, the well-known facts of Dr. Perrine, supported and interpreted in a newly discovered context, "puts a new spin" on the story, and introduces the impact of developers' interests readily apparent in site history as south Florida began to attract northern development capital.

(Context B: Before Subdividers: The Frontier and Tropical Plant Introduction)
Theme IV. Addisons' Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - 1911)

The residence of John and Mary Townsend Addison has long been part of the site history. They made their home in the hammock clearing from 1864 through the first decade of the 20th century.

⁴. Senate Bill 300, March 12, 1838 [to accompany bill S. No. 241], 25th Congress, 2d Session (1 - 41): 1, 2 and 5.

Research materials introduced during this work support a significant broader context--that of the Florida Cracker, a generic theme uniquely present on this extreme southern tip of tropical Florida. The Florida Cracker experience was that of certain distinctive colonial immigrants. Typically migrating to the British colonies from England, their descendants continued a migration from the Virginia and Carolina colonies ever southward. Their migration produced a distinctive lifestyle. Their occupations and attitudes came through adaptation to the regional southeastern United States. Their economy depended upon certain crops and upon the raising of foraging livestock, such as swine and cattle. They acclimated to extreme social isolation, often responsible for generations of illiteracy. They learned to herd and drive cattle. The routine of commercial cattle-production in wilderness Florida resulted in a distinctive name--Florida Cracker--derived from the resonant, cracking sound emitted by the skillful cowman's handling of his braided, homemade leather whip.

Materials support some interpretation of both John and Mary Addison and their unique lifestyle at today's site. Their backgrounds include documented accounts of the typical migration pattern and of John's (1850s) Third Seminole War involvement. Materials mention their livestock and crops onsite. Personal dialogue was extensively preserved in a popular magazine interview of both John and Mary. Illustrations included line drawings of the two and the interior of their detached kitchen-building. During the 1890s, several clear and artful photographs were taken onsite by Coconut Grove settler Ralph Munroe.

Firsthand references to John's gun, dogs and fearlessness are balanced by firsthand observations regarding Mary's cooking, her clothing, her mannerisms-- and her thoughts regarding their frontier situation. Isolation of the pioneer-- a significant theme from the historic woman's perspective, becomes supportable through Addison's interview. Additionally, George Parsons's diary (1874-1875) as a boarder and Henry E. Perrine's account as neighbor (winter of 1876 - 1877) provide significant insightful information. Both the Parsons and Perrine accounts importantly represent historic lifestyle on the ridge prior to canal drainage of the inland, "the prairie."

Several separate onsite features merit interpretation. A former well shaft-- carved squarely through the limestone, offers an opportunity for future interpretive design following historic archaeological study. Analysis of findings may date and define this site, possibly within the time frame of Addison occupation and by private title. Several other homesites (ca. 1840s and 1900) may have been located at today's clearing areas and require future research and study. Another site--Addisons Landing, repeatedly appears in sources, both as a landmark and a placename. Archaeological investigation is recommended to locate Addisons Landing on the shoreline. Once located, this feature will afford interpretation of diverse happenings as yet unrepresented elsewhere on site, such as local men landing in sponge boats for fresh water and Seminole families arriving by dugout to set up camp in the clearing. (Historic fragmented rock walls onsite, coupled with historic archaeological work to identify settler sites of the 1830s and 1840s, may offer future additions to interpretive locations.)

Like the Perrines, John and Mary Addisons' experience emanates through several site themes defined here. Also like the Perrines, new research brings to light the fact that their legitimate interest in the land was rewarded by ownership only with the influential arrival to the area of Henry Flagler's F.E.C. Railway interests. (Themes IV. and V.)

(Concept C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential)

V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler and the Perrine claim (1883 - 1897)

The original town of Cutler was generally thought to have been situated inside the Deering Estate site and razed by development of the Estate itself. Documents suggest, however, that the community called Cutler began during the 1880s along the northeastern boundary, on the edge of today's estate bounds and the then-unsettled Perrine township. Cutler began on adjacent acreage purchased in 1883 and extensively improved by Dr. William Cutler of Massachusetts and by William Fuzzard, Cutler's friend and associate, who actually settled inside the grant, buying and improving additional adjacent acreage. The official name came with William Fuzzard's successful 1884 application for a U.S. Post Office, which he named Cutler. Fuzzard drew a map for the postal authorities, indicating his proposed site. The mail was to be delivered by boat-- "No roads," Fuzzard wrote on his map.

The post office stood in the northwestern quarter of Section 25 (Township 55 South, Range 40 East). Fuzzard placed an 'X' on the spot, near today's S.W. 152nd Street/Coral Reef Drive. Material suggests that the road to the wharf for Cutler was, apparently, the eastern segment of today's Royal Palm Drive.⁵

Specific identification and understanding of Fuzzard's clearing and the original Cutler post office, Dr. Cutler's development, and associated wharf location is recommended through research and historic archaeological work.⁶ Once located off the site, these features will afford an opportunity in the northeastern extremity of the Deering Estate site to interpret the original Cutler--the community landing and post office; Fuzzard's and Cutler's plantings, houses and industry; the first road to Coconut Grove; and the Cutler community changed dramatically by development plans, including the dramatic and apparently-unexpected F.E.C.-backed Perrine Grant

⁵ A 1935 USCGS Topographical Chart locates an early western configuration of wharf road, also visible in an 1990 aerial photograph (REDI). Fuzzard placed in 1900 the post office site on the west side of the only road-- the road connecting his post office to the one at Coconut Grove. Documents including Fuzzard's postal location site reports (1884, 1900) suggest the post office site may lie along the 300-foot dogleg road. It strikes 152nd about 150' east of the Section line and Royal Palm Drive 75' east of the Section line. Also see report text for Fuzzard affidavit in Senate Committee report 1574.

⁶ With reference to the historic archaeological work, compare also the comment of S.H. Richmond, the surveyor, who indicated that "a long, double row of Royal Palms, by far the finest in Dade County" stood as a memorial to Dr. Cutler, from Richmond, "The Perrine Grant," The Tropic Magazine (June, 1915):13. See also the photo, "Dock at Cutler, The Fuzzards," AMPC and HASF. Depicting Royal palms, the c. 1920s photo taken from the Bay, shows a wooden dock at the foot of a road and bears the label, "Dock at Cutler, the Fuzzards."

settlement of 1897. The significant origins of historic Cutler (1884 - 1900) are unrepresented in interpretation recommended elsewhere on site.⁷

(Concept C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential)

VI. Dr. Richmond, the Perrine Grant Land Company & the F.E.C. (1896 - 1913)

The town of Cutler was also a name commonly applied to a subdivision platted by Dr. S.H. Richmond and recorded in 1899. The complete plat subdivided the site (and some outlying acreage) into some 110 blocks of land later deeded to individuals and corporations, such as John Addison, Fuzzard and the Perrine Grant Land Company. Though the plat is well known in Dade County records, Richmond's involvement as agent for Henry Flagler's F.E.C. Railway-related interests is a new element introduced through reference to materials including the Perrine Grant Land Company records, Congressional reports and the F.E.C.'s Cutler-related promotions.

Promotional publications of the F.E.C., such as The Miami Metropolis, The Tropic Magazine and The Homeseeker, featured the town of Cutler as a thriving developers' community--a place where activities revolved largely around incoming settlers, picnics, weddings, verdant gardens, abundant tropical fruits, new roads across drained fields, delighted visitors, and the newly-developed Richmond Cottage operated by Edith Richmond.

"For several years," Dr. Richmond wrote, the Richmond Cottage "had the proud distinction of being the most southerly hotel on the mainland of the United States."⁸ (Professional paint analysis additionally may find the inn/addition to have been "Flagler yellow.") The Register of the Richmond Cottage, housed within the collection of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, records the signatures of Henry Flagler and F.E.C. officers among the first guests.

Documentation suggests a new dimension to understanding the significance of this building. The Richmond Cottage, rehabilitated and occupied by the Deering family, may merit statewide significance for its historic association with famous individuals and state history, as well as for its architecture. It represents an invaluable resource for interpretation. Its very existence constitutes a rarity among South Florida tourist facilities of frame-vernacular construction. It alone remains among such prominent local hostleries as Peacock Inn and Royal Palm Hotel. The

⁷ U.S.G.S. Topographical Chart T - 5626, 1935, Florida Department of Natural Resources; Dade County #308 aerial and graphic maps, REDI; Wm. Fuzzard Post Office Department Location Papers, August 18 1884 and February 2, 1900, National Archives Record Group 28. Fuzzard noted in 1900 that 1) the location was the northeasterly quarter of Sec. 26 (rather than the northwesterly quarter of Sec. 15) and that 2) delivery remained the same-- "mail usually carried by boat." Fuzzard's 1900 road configuration across today's site area reflects Richmond's subdivision roadways. Events merit interpretive graphic representation of the overland route from the 1884 post office site to the onsite relocation.

⁸ S.H. Richmond, "The Perrine Grant," The Tropic Magazine (June 1915):13.

Richmond Cottage currently suffers from water damage as well as security and stabilization problems. The centrality of the building to the historicity of the site calls for featuring of it through a well-designed plan for restoration, rehabilitation and management.

In addition, Richmond Cottage offers a critical location for site-specific interpretation of diverse historic roles: the only known surviving 19th century house at Cutler; the important legal and technical role of a civil engineer in subdividing frontier land for development; the challenging role of a woman proprietress in boarding sophisticated entrepreneurs comfortably and appealingly amid relative isolation; the newest southern link in the chain of Flagler's railroad and associated inns; the media-hype of such an inn and surrounding community as an enticement to prospective buyers; and, finally, the central site dominance of the building in the Deering Estate plan--a central design role strategically utilized in moving the landing away from the hammock and designing the boat channel/turning basin on a line with the central hallway of the Richmond Inn. The centrality of the inn was undiminished (even intentionally more pronounced) with construction of the adjacent, juxtaposed stone house (1922).

(Concept D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy)

**Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and the Pinelands (1913 - 1927)
A Century of Plant Introduction: Perrine to Deering (1827 - 1927)**

From the beginning, the physical components of today's 308-acre estate site drove the research effort to address certain overriding questions regarding Charles Deering's motivations and accomplishments. Deering was the first chairman of the board of International Harvester, the corporate giant backed by J.P. Morgan in New York City at the turn-of-the-century through a merger of The Deering Harvester Company with McCormick Harvester and several other major competitors. Charles Deering, his brother James (builder of Vizcaya), and their father William began wintering in Miami years earlier. Materials of the pre-Deering periods support the fact that Deering intentionally defined the design, character, components and survival of today's site.

Deering's interest, intelligence, artistic sensitivities and financial commitment (1913 - 1927) to the remarkable resurrection and restoration of today's 308-site are supported by numerous resource materials. Site locations to tell the Deering story include: the stone house, the extant Estate buildings and systems, the channel and turning basin, the clearings, the citrus/mango/avocado groves, the old Cutler road that was ultimately replaced by today's "Cutler Road/Ingraham Highway," the native rock perimeter wall paired with S.W 72nd Avenue as an interpretive site entry drive, the original Estate entrance gates, the old remnant rock wall sections, reconstructed bird houses of various designs, the bridges, the Small-designed reconstructed hammock and pinelands south of the house which replaced public roadways and clearings; J.K. Small's palm plantations, and the preserved hammock and pinelands north of the house.

Apart from the obvious houses, estate buildings and above-ground features, the essential Deering story has not been known outside of the Deering family. Materials which reveal the force of Deering's intent and commitment also reveal the personality of a retiring, self-effacing man who knew the value of his preservation contributions. Biographical materials and voluminous botanically-related correspondence (in Miami and Tallahassee collections) provide detail. They support the multi-faceted aspects of the total estate as a reflection of the man

himself. The interpretation of Charles and Marion Deering and their family on the site offer a rare interpretive theme, coupling environmental concern (far ahead of its popularity enjoyed today) and agriculture within a conservative approach to estate design born of a first-priority ranking of native hammock and pinelands and native flora and fauna.

To understand Charles Deering--his motivations and his methods--one must study his words. Deering was a man of letters, even as a youth. In his later years, his deafness only added to the allure of the literary, the scientific and the visual. In his artfully scripted hand, Charles Deering left a vast record. In particular, his letters to associates, Small and Fairchild, have been preserved in various archival collections.

Even during Deering's childhood, his father's letters guided the motherless son's early path. Many friends-- fellow Naval officers and struggling artists-- add to the record. Fellow captains of industry, fellow farming enthusiasts, and the world-famous botanists then fascinated with Florida's unrecorded botanical secrets appear in Deering materials, suggesting significant continuity of diverse loyalties and interests. Deering's restoration projects in Spain, occurring late in his life, influenced his final construction decisions at the Cutler estate.

In accordance with this report approach and its format, the general Deering narrative is organized separately from selected correspondence between Deering and David Fairchild, the U.S.D.A.'s first Chief of the Plant Introduction Section, and between Deering and John Kunkel Small, Director of Research and Curator of the New York Botanical Garden. Whereas Fairchild's interest primarily centered around funding for and establishment of a modern arboretum or a Plant Introduction Station (at Chapman Field), Small focussed upon preservation and study of Florida's disappearing natural environment, seen in his Deering-supported explorations, publications and the estate's site design.

The Fairchild and Small materials are segregated within the report, not as an indication of lesser importance, but for purposes of understanding in context Deering's botanical activities and the influence of John Kunkel Small upon the site. The format of this report regarding Deering, therefore, continues not as a comprehensive narrative, but as a working document for the various tasks at hand and an indicator of study topics for the future.

Charles Deering's years of work with the Cutler site extended at least from 1913 until his death in 1927. He devoted his energies and resources to recapturing a multitude of ownerships into a single title--that effort alone required a decade of acquisitions of site parcels making up today's Estate site. Oriented to the Bay and designed with grounds planned to preserve the natural and botanical south Florida environment and to establish additional agricultural production areas, the site was routinely called "the Deering reservation" by John Kunkel Small, whose career work won his reputation as an environmentalist, botanist, author and explorer. The Charles Deering Estate site supported Small's carefully-selected and sometimes endangered tropical plant stocks.

Dr. Small implemented Deering's plans and plantings for groves, windbreaks, coastal vegetation, irrigation and fire protection for the large native hammock and pinelands at the estate. Materials indicate that at the Cutler site Small played a day-to-day role in administering and directing operations. Small's conviction that Florida's natural environment was doomed and Deering's concurrence and active support, influenced work at Cutler. Deering's dramatic efforts

to effect an estate plan faithful to the natural environment (and to agriculture and to introduced stock then in favor with botanists such as Small and Fairchild), is the legacy of today's site.

Materials largely missing here relate to Charles Deering's wife, daughters, brother and sister, brother-in-law, son-in-law, International Harvester history, and the two sites Deering restored in Spain-- Mar Y Cel at Sitges and Tamarit near Tarragones. Accession records received from the Registrar of The Art Institute of Chicago include information regarding Deering's collection acquired for a planned art center at Sitges and shipped from there to Chicago and Cutler in Fall of 1921 and winter of 1921-1922. The Institute staff urged, however, the project historian's personal search of the extensive records associated with Deering during the Cutler period. Also potentially productive is future reference to historic materials within the Deering corporation and those contained in a manuscript collection given to Northwestern University and described as relating to Deering, Marion Deering, William Deering, Chauncey McCormick, "and other family members" and a privately published book regarding Mar Y Cel.⁹

Deering's historic reclamation of the sensitive Estate site preceded by decades such massive public projects as planned reclamations within the Everglades. Both the drainage of the Everglades and Okeechobee projects-- and the future impact on environment--were decried by Small and Deering in correspondence and publications. It was Small's compulsion to record and classify South Florida's rapidly-disappearing natural and cultural resources that apparently attracted Charles Deering to associate--personally, philosophically, familiarly and financially--with John Kunkel Small.

CONCLUSION

The research clearly reveals the history of a site uniquely endowed with natural and cultural resources of a consistently significant character. The natural resources supported a series of prehistoric and historic events which ultimately evolved to a remarkably modern story of preservation. History at the Charles Deering Estate at Cutler progressed from native Americans to frontierspeople, developers, farmers, botanists and environmentalists. Additionally, a century of tropical plant introduction is marked between the official onset of Dr. Perrine's work (1827) and the year Charles Deering died on the site (1927).

The final report provides detailed information within four contextual categories: [A] Before Man; [B] Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction; [C] After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential; and [D] Preservation of a Tropical Legacy. Within the categories, seven themes emerged: [I] The Land: The Ridge, the Sea and the Everglades; [II] The Land and Man; [III] The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine; [IV] Addisons' Landing: Florida Crackers; [V] Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler, the Perrine Grant Land Company & the F.E.C.; and [VII] Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (A Century of Plant Introduction: Perrine to Deering).

⁹ Records of the U.S.D.A. Bureau of Plant Industry in the National Archives in Washington D.C. and the New York Botanical Gardens archives in New York City bear further preliminary investigation prior to future determination of site-specific research materials.

Charles Deering's initial focus at Cutler lay with preservation of the hammock and pinelands. For Deering, John Kunkel Small designed and executed additional groves, hammock, palm and cactus plantations, and other features--all cloistered within the perimeter wall and the public road, which was moved to the west just outside the wall.

Today the site offers the State of Florida and Metro-Dade County the opportunity to continue Charles Deering's progressive preservation of resources confined within the wall. Materials will support potential interpretation/public programming designs to offer a site-specific story not duplicated among Florida sites.

SOURCES AND CONTRIBUTORS

The work began in October of 1991 at the Charles Deering Estate at Cutler. Following onsite study, the work proceeded to various repositories and private collections, to personal interviews and onsite considerations, over the course of study extending into July of 1992. The consultant is particularly indebted to Arva Moore Parks McCabe and Joe Knetsch. Mrs. McCabe made available her private collection relating to Perrine, Flagler, the Cutler site, Charles Deering, the Cutler community, and miscellaneous transcripts of 19th century diarists and reporters. She generously shared professional expertise and knowledge gained through years of research regarding Miami history. Dr. Knetsch offered his expertise regarding historic records of the Florida Department of Natural Resources as well as federal documents related to official survey and Armed Occupation claims, and Congressional documents pertaining to the Perrine claim proceedings.

Reference work also included materials housed within the following collections: Charles Deering Estate files housed in the portable Metro-Dade County Parks and Recreation office onsite; Charles Deering Estate records of Metro-Dade County Parks and Recreation Planning Division; Dade County Records of the Clerk of Circuit Court; the 1992 site report of Metro-Dade County Archaeologist Robert Carr report (forthcoming); Historical Association of Southern Florida collection in Miami; Rebecca Spain Schwarz private collection at St. Petersburg, Florida; the Florida State Archives Photographic and Manuscript collections at Tallahassee, Florida; the Master Files of the Division of Corporations, Florida Department of State; the Charles Deering correspondence files and John Kunkel Small photographs deposited at Fairchild Tropical Gardens in Miami; Bureau of Survey and Mapping of the Department of Natural Resources in Tallahassee, Florida; National Archives Record Group 28 (Records of the Post Office Department); National Archives Record Group 23 (Records of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey); The Art Institute of Chicago, records of the Director of Registration; archives of Navistar (formerly International Harvester) of Chicago; Henry Flagler Morrison Museum archives of Palm Beach, Florida; private genealogical collection of Harriet Liles of Coral Gables; private collection of Ferguson Addison of West Palm Beach; private collection of Marion Deering Danielson Strachan Campbell of Groton, Massachusetts; private collection of Barbara Strachan Deering Danielson of Miami.

The bibliography provides information on specific source materials-- primary and secondary. In addition, it is important to recognize other contributors. The quality of this project significantly increased with their interest, energies and effectiveness. Some offered complete files from private collections or offered advice, even observations; others searched attics and basements or estimated collection materials to the search, or suggested a knowledgeable colleague.

Contributors for this search include Arva Moore Parks, historian; historian Dr. Joe Knetsch of the Florida Department of Natural Resources; Metro-Dade County staffers: archaeologist Bob Carr, historian Margot Ammidown, Parks & Recreation planner and project liaison Kevin Asher, site staffers Debbi Carr, Marianne Olson, Rob Line; architectural consultant Rebecca Spain Schwarz of St. Petersburg; archivist Becky Smith and Dawn Hughs of the Historical Association of Southern Florida; Joan Morris of the Photographic Collection of Florida State Archives, archivist Susan Potts McDonald and historian David Coles of the Florida State Archives; Bert Zuckerman and botanist Carol Lippincott of Fairchild Tropical Gardens Research Center; Susan Tillett and Archie Motley of the Chicago Historical Society; Dr. Althea Jenkins of the American Library Association in Chicago; Finlay Matheson of Miami; Elizabeth Peck of the Florida Division of Corporations; Dr. Allan Fusoni of the U.S.D.A. archives in Beltsville, Maryland; archivist Greg Lennes of Navistar in Chicago; registrar Mary Solt of the Art Institute of Chicago; Ferguson Addison of West Palm Beach; genealogist Harriet Liles of Coral Gables; Louise Yarborough of Dade Heritage Trust; Susan Fraser of the New York Botanical Garden; Rollins Coakley of Venice; art historian Mary Crawford-Volk of Harvard University; Joan Runkel and Tom Prendegast of the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum archives.

This report is particularly indebted to descendants of Charles and Marion Deering--Marion Deering Danielson Strachan Campbell and Barbara Strachan Deering Danielson--who loaned original personal materials and provided firsthand information regarding the site and family histories and, again, to Arva Moore Parks McCabe who organized initial contacts.

Executive Summary
The Charles Deering Estate at Cutler
Attachment 1: Interpretation Recommendations
Linda K. Williams, Museum Exhibit consultant.¹⁰

INTRODUCTION

As noted in Metro-Dade County's preliminary management plan, the Charles Deering Estate is listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and indeed, "few properties anywhere can compare with the richness and diversity of the resource base that is found" on the site. Therefore, interpretation must include not only the importance of the environmentally sensitive natural areas, including pineland, hammock, salt marsh and mangrove forest, but also the relationship between man and the site.

The story of man on the Deering Estate begins with the first native populations and continues through the 19th Century experiences of the Perrine family, Addison's occupation, and the influence of Dr. Cutler on the area's development. The 20th century is rich with the story of the Richmond Inn and the F.E.C. Railroad, which is soon followed by the dramatic presence of Charles Deering. Running throughout a century of human experience is man's study and growing appreciation for the tropics. It is what brought Henry Perrine to South Florida (only to meet his death on Indian Key during the Second Seminole War), it was continued by settlers like John Addison, and it powerfully motivated Charles Deering.

GENERAL SITE INTERPRETATION CONSIDERATIONS

Prior to development of specific exhibits, certain basic assessments should be addressed. These include the following:

1. **Audience evaluation.** Potential audiences for the site should be evaluated regarding their needs, interests, and concerns. Educational experiences can be designed to motivate and benefit the various types of people who will visit the site. For example, Dade County's Hispanic residents and visitors might identify with the colonial-period settlers, Giraldo and Mabrity. That population might additionally appreciate Perrine's 1827 negotiations with the Spanish government (pre Mexican revolution) at Campeche on the Yucatan Peninsula for tropical plant introduction into the United States. Likewise, black heritage education might incorporate the residency of early Bahamian landowners such as the Stirrup family. Interpretation of additional cultural diversity may be defined through future research.

¹⁰ Work began in October of 1991 at the Charles Deering Estate at Cutler and proceeded through May of 1992. Recommendations resulted from a series of cooperative work sessions with Janet Snyder Matthews and Rebecca Spain Schwarz.

2. **Site Distinction.** Another consideration should be an evaluation of the other historical, archaeological, and environmental opportunities already serving the Dade County community. Although it is very important to allow the site to direct interpretation instead of the objectives of Parks and Recreation Department directing site use, it is also prudent not to duplicate services. Programs and exhibits offered at other locations, such as The Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Fairchild Garden, Vizcaya and other Dade County parks, interpret area history, archaeology, botany and environmental science. Programs and exhibits at the Charles Deering Estate should be designed to complement these other area offerings. Such an evaluation should be addressed as part of the interpretive planning process.

3. **Director.** In regard to administering a cohesive overall interpretative program, the Charles Deering Estate would be best served by a full-time site director. This museum professional would oversee the curatorial, educational, and site maintenance staff in order to guarantee that this unique resource is properly preserved while still delivering vital services to the public.

4. **Curator.** A professional curator should be added to the site's management staff. It was observed during site visits that significant artifacts are not being cared for properly (i.e., a box of plant identification signs, dating to the work of John Kunkel Small, were haphazardly piled in a box in the kitchen of the Richmond Inn). Professional attention is required for such artifacts, plus others which may be procured in the future through donation or loan from site descendants, museums, and other sources. In addition, the Curator would direct future research for temporary exhibits and assist the education staff with site interpretation.

5. **Interpretive center.** As noted in the management plan, a modern visitor center should be constructed outside of the Deering perimeter wall, removed from the environmentally, historically, archaeologically, and interpretively sensitive site. Ideally, the visitor parking lot should be adjacent to the new center. The property west of Southwest 72nd Avenue or south of Southwest 168th Street appear most feasible. Other historic sites have successfully dealt with this issue. For example, the Thomas Edison house in Fort Myers, a site which attracts tens of thousands of visitors annually, placed its visitor center across the street. This has allowed for the expansion of public parking and other support services as required without impacting the historic character of the home and gardens. An added benefit of an off-site location for the Deering Estate visitor center is the convenient accessibility for nighttime activities. Meetings and programs could be held without opening the principle Deering estate. Modern public restrooms, auditorium, classrooms, staff offices, and site maintenance storage areas could be incorporated into the new complex, which would be 100% handicapped accessible and environmentally controlled. An exhibit gallery, designed to introduce visitors to the site and its history, would also serve as a gathering place for school groups and other tours.

6. **Site entry.** If feasible, visitors to the Charles Deering Estate should approach the site via the road along Deering's perimeter stone wall, crossing the Deering bridge and proceeding to the new visitor parking lot and interpretive center outside the wall. Through introductory exhibits and audio-visual programming within the modern building,

visitors will be oriented to the site and its treasures. Equipped with either a tour map or accompanying a tour guide, visitors will enter the historic site through the original Deering auto entrance gate in the stone wall.

Key to a successful site interpretation is development of exhibits which provide a complete message. It is recommended that themes at each location be designed so that each stands alone. For instance, the first, middle or last stop on a visit should independently convey its own storyline. Ideally, site interpretation should not depend upon a tour guide.

7. **Restoration.** The historic fabric of the entire complex should be authentically restored or rehabilitated, including buildings, drives, turning basin, walls and landscaped areas. Restorations should follow The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings. Building interiors should be environmentally controlled to meet present day conservation requirements for historic artifacts. Once restored, the Deering "rock" house, Richmond Cottage, power house, coach house, and water storage building provide useful site-specific space for historical interpretation and the first floors of each can accommodate public access.

Prior to construction of an interpretive center, the upper floors of all historic buildings might be adapted to house various support activities. These might include administrative functions, meetings, educational programs, caretaker lodging and artifact storage.

8. **Exhibit strategy.** It is recommended that all exhibits throughout the estate follow a comprehensive plan featuring coordinated color schemes, formats and designs. Also, it is important that the site visitor be enabled to easily distinguish between what is historic or original, and what is newly added for interpretive purposes.

(See Attachment 2: Interpretive Themes Map, pp. xxvi.)

CONTEXTS AND THEMES

Context A: Before Man

I. The Land: The Ridge, the Sea and the Everglades [geology]

The formation of oolitic ridge, (a rim holding back the waters of the Everglades) and how it led to the future significance of the site, is an important place to begin the story of the Deering Estate. The flow of fresh water from the Everglades at the site became the stopping point for maritime traffic along the Atlantic coast, probably from the time of the area's first inhabitants. Identified as the Hunting Grounds, this source of fresh water supported the hammock, which supported animals, which led to human occupation.

This theme could be part of the orientation center's introductory exhibits. The first surveyor mapped the flow of fresh water into the hammock and a ditch-like flow out to the bay, and this map should be reproduced in the exhibit. The vegetation surrounding the creekbed,

particularly those plants native to the area, could be identified and explained onsite through plant signs.

Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction

II. The Land and Man: The first inhabitants

The consultant did not have access to documentation of prehistoric occupation of the Deering property, therefore no recommendations for site interpretation of this theme have been made.

III. The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine (1821 - 1851)

The internationally famous story of Henry Perrine, his interest in tropical vegetation, life and death on Indian Key, and the lifelong efforts of his family to assert their claim in South Florida to a township of land, is an important, fascinating story. This begins a century of plant introduction on this site.

At the same time, the area was visited and occupied by settlers and mariners. This site was a place to put in for fresh water, as noted by the early United States land and coastal surveyors. The first land claims that we know of, the beginning of the era of ownership, are Antonio Giraldo, Frances A. Mabrity (from Key West), John Walters and Robert Fletcher. The leading character of the site--a source of fresh water-- was known to all travelers, whose only viable means of transportation was by boat.

This theme merits attention in the visitor's center. Until then, an interpretive exhibit could be housed within one of the Deering out buildings, perhaps the power house or water storage building. Materials relating to Henry Perrine's life, and his death on Indian Key could be displayed. Recommend that copies of original survey plat map and coastal map be displayed, noting significance in the Gulf Stream and coastal trade routes, as well as the fresh water location, a flowing creek from the Everglades. Also available for interpretation are charts of the land showing houses, plus the early surveyors' field notes describing clearings and plantings. Because the introduction of tropical plants is a major recurring theme for the Deering estate, this exhibit would be a good place to begin interpreting its importance.

Another possible theme is the Second Seminole War adventures of Harney, perhaps leaving from this site prior to attack Chekika. Seminole and military artifacts, illustrations and first person accounts could be incorporated into a display.

Theme IV. Addisons' Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - c. 1911)

The clearing where John and Mary Townsend Addison's house once stood has been identified as such by Robert Carr, Dade County archaeologist. It is an appropriate location for telling their story, a typical pioneer establishment - - house and outbuildings-- lifestyle of planting, hunting, raising livestock and taking in boarders. Surviving in the relative wilderness may be

seen in accounts regarding their clothing, their weapons, their dogs, and even their means of protecting their supplies from insects. Henry Perrine, the son of Dr. Perrine who was killed at Indian Key in 1840, spent the winter of 1876-1877 next door to the Addisons, and his account describes how tough it was to live in such isolation. The contrast between the educated Perrine and the illiterate Addison offers an interesting dimension to the interpretative story.

Because none of the Addison structures still exist, one possible interpretive method is an outdoor kiosk, a covered panel display area providing shade from the Florida sun. Such exhibit fabrications have been done at other parks and historic sites by exhibit firms like Wilderness Graphics, Inc. A bench under the roofed area will allow visitors to rest, absorb the information provided, and enjoy the site. Another possibility, if archaeological research can provide sufficient information, is to create low perimeter walls indicating size and location of the Addison house and outbuildings.

The content at this exhibition should include: the Florida Cracker experience (and overland migration), the Florida mainland to Key West to Havana cattle trade, Florida during the Civil War, pioneer isolation, and lifestyle (i.e., what pioneers did to keep ants out of food, etc.), as well as productive plants of the pioneer experience. Perrine's account, Munroe photographs, and Rockwood illustrations can be used to illustrate these themes.

Another significant area for interpretation is Addison's Landing site, if it can be accurately located through archaeological investigation. Here the importance of maritime traffic throughout the site's history could be shared, perhaps through another outdoor display kiosk.

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential

Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler and the Perrine claim (1883 - 1897)

Across Florida, great stretches of land were open to development after Hamilton Disston purchased 4 million acres from the State in 1881. Investors/developers such as Dr. William Clark Cutler of Boston, MA, arrived to take advantage of a new frontier, exciting coastal, potentially profitable, lands. Cutler, and his associate, William Fuzzard, began purchasing land north of the Perrine Grant and Addison's Landing in 1883. This follows the state-wide phenomenon of outside money being invested in Florida land development.

The official beginning of a new era was marked by the opening of the Post Office, by William Fuzzard in 1884. As with countless other pioneer communities, the post office meant the end of isolation from friends and family left behind and attracted more tourists and potential land buyers. The Post Office was not named after Addison's Landing, but called "Cutler," for the new town to be developed. Fuzzard located the post office on/near Cutler land, at present day S.W. 152nd Street, the northern boundary of the Deering Estate.

Dr. William Clark Cutler, a medical practitioner, apparently recognized the legitimate claims of the so-called "Squatters" Union, the early settlers of the area. The settlement of these claims, those of the Perrine Grant Land Co., as well as other development, necessitated a professional survey by a qualified civil engineer. By 1896, the entire hammock, Addison's

Landing, and surrounding acreage had been subdivided into 110 blocks by S.H. Richmond. When ultimately the Florida East Coast Railway interests were combined with Perrine interests, Richmond became an agent for the sale of lands, and his wife Edith was the proprietress of a FEC-backed inn, called Richmond Cottage.

Perhaps the ideal location to tell the story of Cutler, the "town" as well as the man/developer, is in the earliest section of the Richmond Cottage (Shepard Associates 1988: documentation drawing, room 107). Historic photographs, Richmond's original subdivision plat, early letters, and the Post Office application can be used in interpretive displays, perhaps free-standing silkscreened panels placed within the room. Possible artifacts could include early surveying equipment and period house artifacts.

Theme VI. Dr. Richmond, the Perrine Grant Land Company & the F.E.C.(1895-1913)

The Richmond Cottage exemplifies the arrival of Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway. The inn, officially called Richmond Cottage and built as an eastern addition to the original Richmond house, typified the elegance of Flagler-associated tourist accommodations. It was finished the winter of 1899-1900, three years after Flagler's Royal Palm Hotel opened in Miami, and as his railroad was being extended southward towards Homestead and the Florida Keys. The "modern" facility featured airy open rooms, a bayfront veranda, and a telephone. . . all of which were featured in Flagler's promotional newspaper, the Miami Metropolis.

The two, east front rooms, would lend themselves beautifully to the interpretation of the Flagler/FEC story, the woman proprietress, Edith Richmond, and the tourist industry. The fact that other early wood-framed inns, such as the Peacock Inn in Coconut Grove, have long since disappeared from the South Florida coastline, underlines and dramatizes the treasure represented by the Richmond Cottage.

The Cottage guest register, Richmond and early Deering photographs, Miami Metropolis articles, FEC artifacts, and appropriate artifacts depicting that lifestyle, i.e. telephone, silverware, dishes, trunks, and period furniture could be used to communicate this theme.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913 - 1927)

The historical research reveals two major themes for site interpretation. One is based on Charles Deering's contribution of reuniting many small properties into one large parcel, vacating public ownership of highways and buying back riparian rights sold with subdivision lots. Deering's accomplishment made his custodianship more in keeping with the earlier settlers than with the developers whose ownership immediately preceded his on the site. The second theme focuses upon a remarkable century of plant introduction to the site, (1827 - 1927) which begins with the tropical enterprise (1827) aspired to by Dr. Henry Perrine and continues to the collaboration of John Kunkel Small with Deering until Deering's death (1927). Small's work

with Deering insured the preservation of the hammock plus nurtured the introduction of many tropical plants.

Interpretation of Charles Deering and his estate can be divided into four main topics:

1. The artist. From the time of Charles Deering's officership in the Navy, he was attracted to European artists, their society and their work. He possessed an artist's eye and produced work in various media. Deering developed genuine, lifelong friendships with such noted artists as Anders Zorn, John Singer Sargent, Ramon Casas, and others. His artistic energies exhibited themselves in the events of his life: he painted for one season in Zorn's studio; he produced portraits of his grandfather and others; he restored two estates on the Mediterranean coast; and he was an astute collector of art, including prints, drawings, and pre-Catalan materials, now primarily housed at the Art Institute of Chicago.

In 1921 and 1922, crates of artwork began arriving at the Deering Estate from New York. Simultaneously Deering planned the construction of a fire-proof, Mediterranean style residence to house his treasures. Already dedicated to preserving the hammock, Deering sited his new mansion adjacent to the existing Richmond Cottage, within the original lot lines of the Richmond's property.

The stone house provides an interesting location for interpreting Deering, the artist, to the visiting public. Indeed, even the unusual juxtaposition-- corner to corner-- of the new structure with the existing Richmond Cottage, (was it an artistically motivated decision? or perhaps scientific or environmentally motivated?) offers challenging interpretation opportunities.

The large north, first floor room (Shepard Assoc. #101), designed to house his art collection, is an appropriate location to interpret Deering the artist. The coffered ceiling and clerestory windows afforded diffused lighting appropriate for the display of art. The 17 ft. high ceiling was planned to accommodate generous gallery space. As his granddaughter, Marion Campbell recollects, she could not even put her small fist between the closely hung paintings which adorned the walls and stairwell. Reproduction period pieces of furniture could provide multi-use for the area, including the normal tours plus meetings, conferences and receptions. The possibility of borrowing artwork from the Charles Deering collection at the Art Institute of Chicago to hang on the room's walls should be explored; reproductions is an alternative solution. Free-standing interpretive panel exhibits, with photographs, illustrations and text, will provide important information combined with flexible public use of the space.

2. The industrialist. At the same time that William Cutler was establishing a place called "Cutler," Charles Deering was returning from Europe at his father's request to enter the highly-competitive arena of agricultural inventions and production. Deering was well-equipped for the executive responsibilities, earlier he had graduated second from the Naval Academy, distinguished himself throughout eight years of military officership, and exhibited the Puritan-minded work ethic qualities inherited from his father. By 1902,

Deering became Chairman of the Board of the newly-formed International Harvester Company, headquartered in New York. It was one of the largest, most powerful corporations in the world.

With his brother James, Charles Deering traveled world-wide, negotiating with foreign governments, establishing production plants, and monitoring the all-important sales network.

The south room in the stone house (Shepard Assoc. #103), originally containing bookshelves ordered from New York City, offers a logical location to display Deering as the industrialist. This room was filled with row after row of library stacks, loaded with books on ornithology, genealogy, and naval topics. A buzzer located in the floor in the middle of the room was used to call the servants. As with the north room, the interpretive story here should be communicated on free-standing panels featuring photographs, letters, and text. If sufficient representative copies of the books once enjoyed by Deering can be acquired, bookcases could be located against the walls, accommodating traffic flow of visitors within the room.

Deering's scientific interests compelled his fascination with the changing environment and weather triggered by drainage of the Everglades. The rooftop cupola, by 1930 a U.S.C.G.S. triangulation base, was outfitted with complex equipment to measure and record weather. A display case within the south room could contain meteorological equipment similar to what Deering had.

3. The farmer. Any interpretation of the life of Charles Deering would not be complete without including agriculture. Indeed, the fortune which would finance the development of his estate stemmed from his leadership of the International Harvester Company from 1902 until 1910. After retiring to South Florida, Deering enjoyed cultivating a variety of tropical foods including citrus, mangoes and avocados. And his correspondence with noted botanist John Kunkel Small and others is filled with enthusiastic comments about tasting, serving, shipping and introducing varieties from the groves of his estate.

Additionally, Deering's allocation of portions of his Cutler estate to citrus, avocado and mango groves coincides with an era when South Florida was emerging as an important agricultural producer. In fact, one of the major reasons that Flagler extended his F.E.C. Railway south was to develop and sell farmlands and transport produce to northern markets. Agriculture is a key element to both site interpretation and South Florida history.

It is recommended that sections of existing groves, perhaps the mango\citrus area north of the entrance drive be used to uniquely interpret Deering, the farmer. An outdoor kiosk similar to the one described earlier for Addison's clearing could include exhibit panels which describe Deering's background in agriculture and his groves at Cutler. One area of the grove could be devoted to cultivating plants grown by Deering. Other areas might be devoted to: tropical plants introduced by Perrine, the U.S.D.A., Richmond and Small, as well as Deering; the history of plants continually prominent throughout historic site cultivation--such as Sisal hemp, corn and oranges; and even

interpretation of the historic Bahamian method of dynamiting a cavity in the limestone for planting each tree in a grove. If future plans call for a restaurant or cafe on the premises, several dishes could feature citrus, mangoes, and avocados. A clever menu could provide a history lesson.

4. The environmentalist. The emergence of Charles Deering's estate in Cutler began in 1913 and continued until his death in 1927. As noted earlier, he devoted his energies and resources to recapturing many land parcels into a single title. His property was oriented to Biscayne Bay and designed to preserve the natural and botanical south Florida environment. Two individuals, David Fairchild, the U.S.D.A.'s first Chief of the Plant Introduction Section, and to a much greater degree, John Kunkel Small, Director of Research and Curator of the New York Botanical Garden, worked with Deering in developing an estate plan designed to preserve and classify South Florida's rapidly disappearing natural environment.

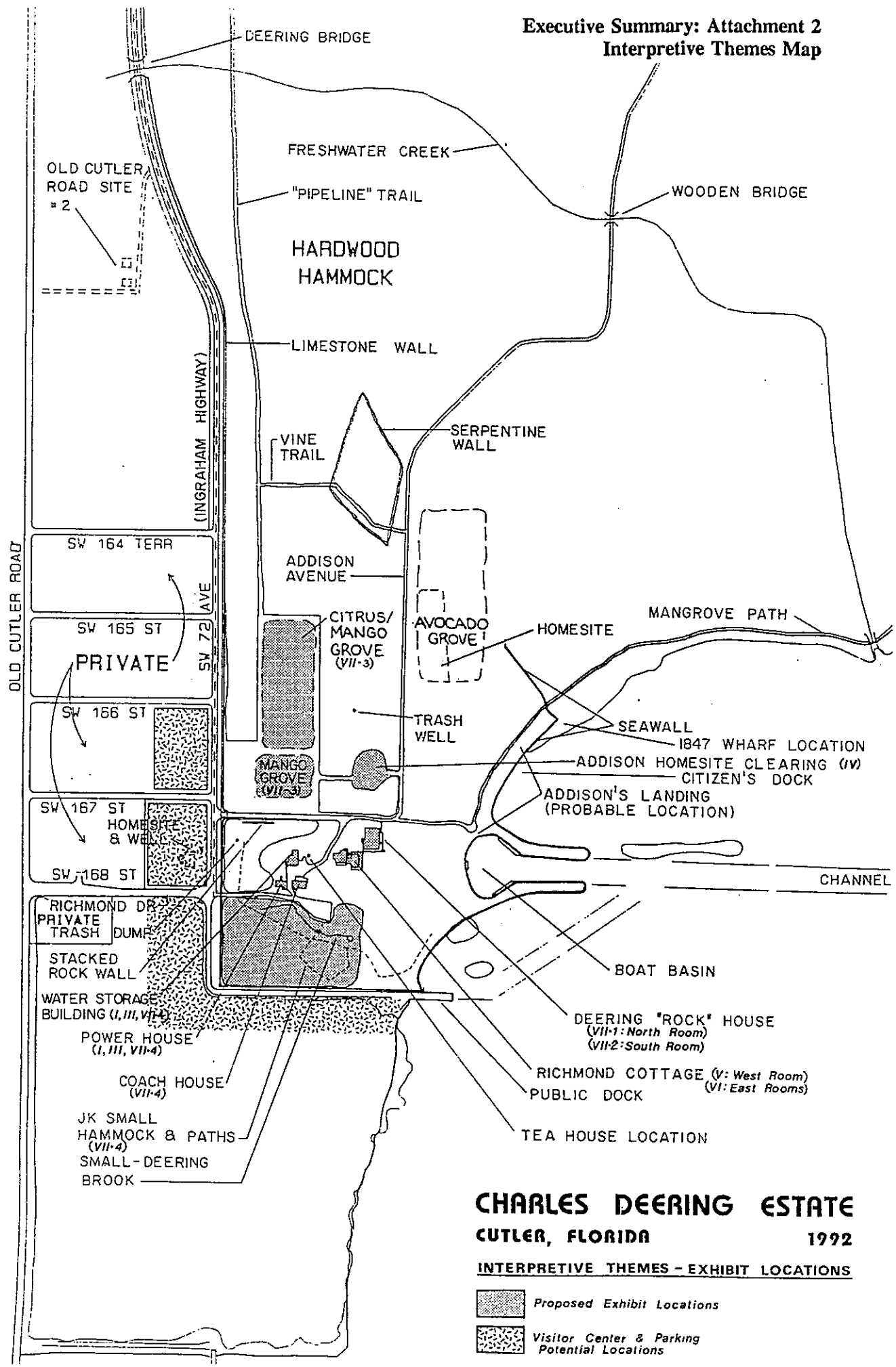
Two interpretive formats are recommended to communicate this aspect of the Deering estate. The first is to use one of the Deering outbuildings (power house, coach house, or water storage building) to display artifacts, documents (primarily correspondence), and photographs relating to Deering's association with Fairchild and Small. Several of the original plant signs and botanical specimens could be displayed. An AV program could present a "first person" conversation based on actual correspondence between Small and Deering. The dialogue could focus upon the fate of the South Florida environment as a result of Everglades drainage. The style and format of the exhibits should match those produced for the other interpretive themes.

A second recommendation is to design a nature trail routed to allow visitors to see many of the plants either planted by Small or representative of those which were introduced or preserved at the site. The trail should include the south section of the estate where Small's brook and hammock still exist. Plant signs could be replicas of those dating to the Small/Deering era, with additional outdoor signs produced to provide additional information.

THE CHALLENGE

The wealth of botanical, archaeological and historic resources preserved at the Deering Estate presents a wonderful opportunity to communicate the story of man in South Florida within the context of modern day concerns and needs. The estate can truly become the County's premiere historic site, contributing far more to the community's understanding of its past than Viscaya, Fairchild Gardens or the other fine parks in Dade County. The Department of Parks and Recreation is faced with the challenge of preserving for the future while still communicating to its present-day audience, a challenge which has been met by historic and environmental sites across the nation.

**Executive Summary: Attachment 2
Interpretive Themes Map**

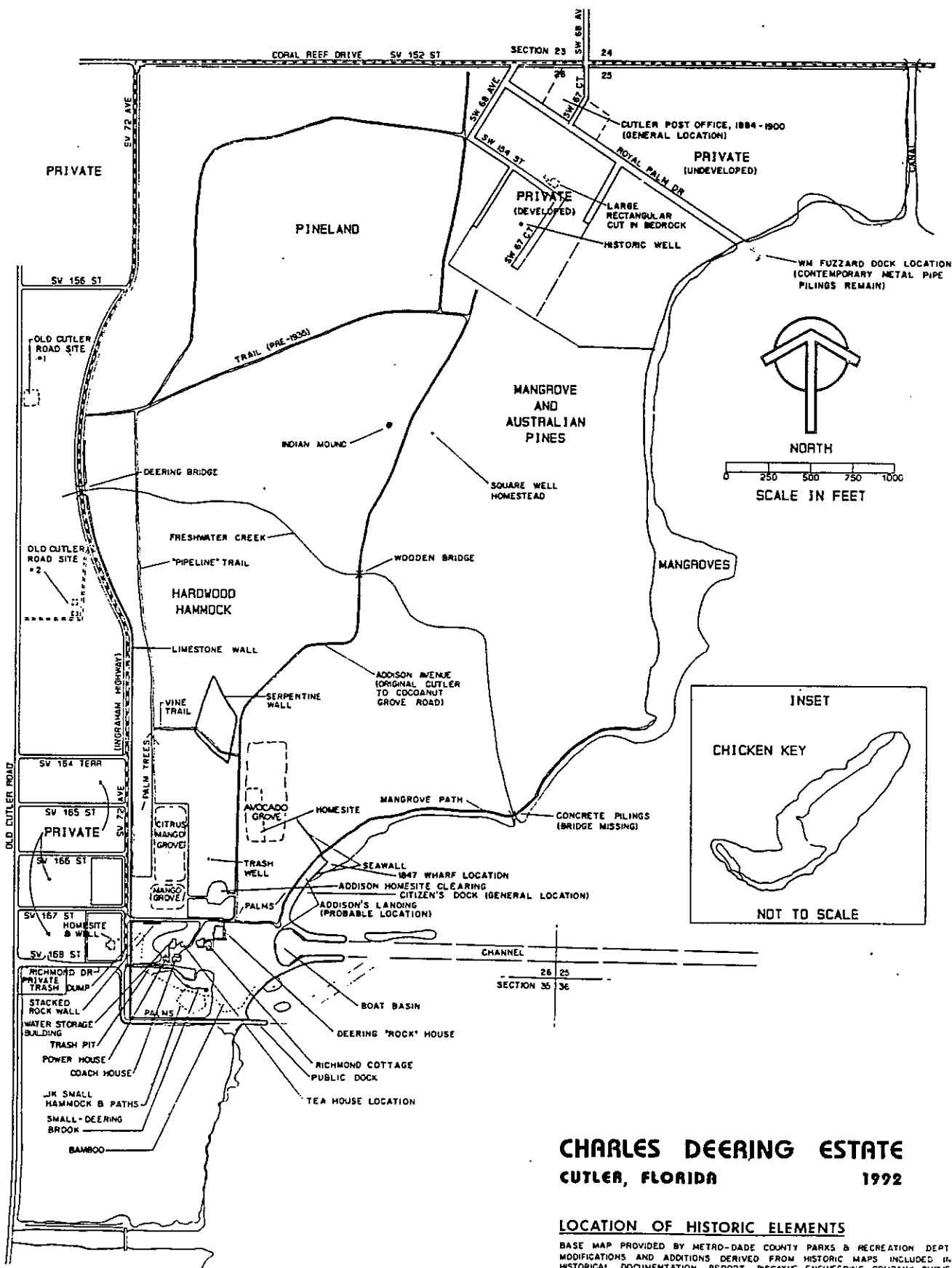




Executive Summary
Charles Deering Estate at Cutler
Attachment 3: Site Graphics
Rebecca Spain Schwarz, Architectural Consultant

Figure 1. Charles Deering Estate site 1992: Location of Historic Elements	xxvii
Figure 2. Plat Map, MacKay 1845, Jackson 1847	xxviii
Figure 3. U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Coast Chart No. 166, 1848-1851	xxix
Figure 4. S.H. Richmond survey, 1899	xxx
Figure 5. Portion of Map of Townships 54 to 58 South, Ranges 38 to 42 East (Showing Perrine Grant Land Company Holdings), 1903	xxxii
Figure 6. Charles Deering acquisitions, 1913 - 1925 Selected List of Sellers, 1913 - 1925	xxxiii
Figure 7. Charles Deering Estate Plat, Cutler, Florida, 1932	xxxiv
Figure 8. U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Topographic Map No. 7-5626, 1935	xxxv





CHARLES DEERING ESTATE
CUTLER, FLORIDA 1992

LOCATION OF HISTORIC ELEMENTS

BASE MAP PROVIDED BY METRO-DADE COUNTY PARKS & RECREATION DEPT. MODIFICATIONS AND ADDITIONS DERIVED FROM HISTORIC MAPS INCLUDED IN HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION REPORT, BISCAYNE ENGINEERING COMPANY SURVEY (REV. 8/8/84), RED-AERIALS, ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS REPORT (1992) ROBERT CARR, CHARLES DEERING ESTATE STAFF, AND SITE VISITS. DRAWN BY REBECCA SPAIN SCHWARZ.

Figure 1.
Charles Deering Estate site 1992: Location of Historic Elements



West Florida.

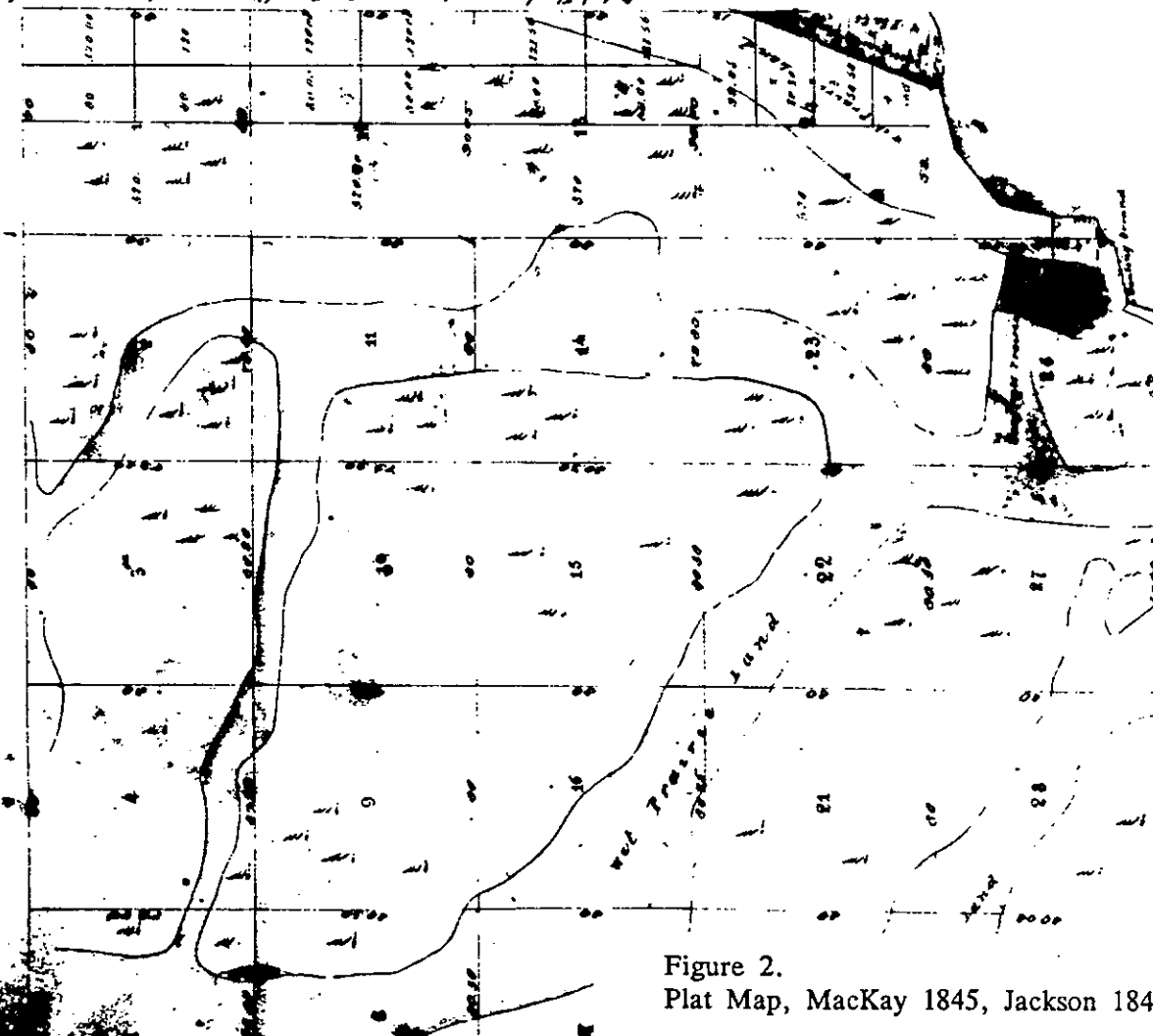
L.V.S.R.XL.E.

Vol. 6 West

No.	Acres	Contents		No.	Acres
		of Acres	of Acres		
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2	1000	1000	1000	2	1000
3	1000	1000	1000	3	1000
4	1000	1000	1000	4	1000
5	1000	1000	1000	5	1000
6	1000	1000	1000	6	1000
7	1000	1000	1000	7	1000
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18	1000	1000	1000	18	1000
19	1000	1000	1000	19	1000
20	1000	1000	1000	20	1000
21	1000	1000	1000	21	1000
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47	1000	1000	1000	47	1000
48	1000	1000	1000	48	1000
49	1000	1000	1000	49	1000
50	1000	1000	1000	50	1000

No.	Acres	Contents		No.	Acres
		of Acres	of Acres		
1	1000	1000	1000	1	1000
2	1000	1000	1000	2	1000
3	1000	1000	1000	3	1000
4	1000	1000	1000	4	1000
5	1000	1000	1000	5	1000
6	1000	1000	1000	6	1000
7	1000	1000	1000	7	1000
8	1000	1000	1000	8	1000
9	1000	1000	1000	9	1000
10	1000	1000	1000	10	1000
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14	1000	1000	1000	14	1000
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44	1000	1000	1000	44	1000
45	1000	1000	1000	45	1000
46	1000	1000	1000	46	1000
47	1000	1000	1000	47	1000
48	1000	1000	1000	48	1000
49	1000	1000	1000	49	1000
50	1000	1000	1000	50	1000

Patented in Providence R.I. Feb. 21, 1847
 The system shown in this plat is the same as that
 patented in Providence R.I. Feb. 21, 1847
 (Compare with the plat of 1847)



Section not marked in the plan is shown by
 John Jackson
 that is shown in the
 plan of 1847
 John Jackson
 that is shown in the
 plan of 1847
 John Jackson
 that is shown in the
 plan of 1847

Figure 2.
Plat Map, MacKay 1845, Jackson 1847





Figure 3.
U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Coast Chart No. 166, 1848-1851



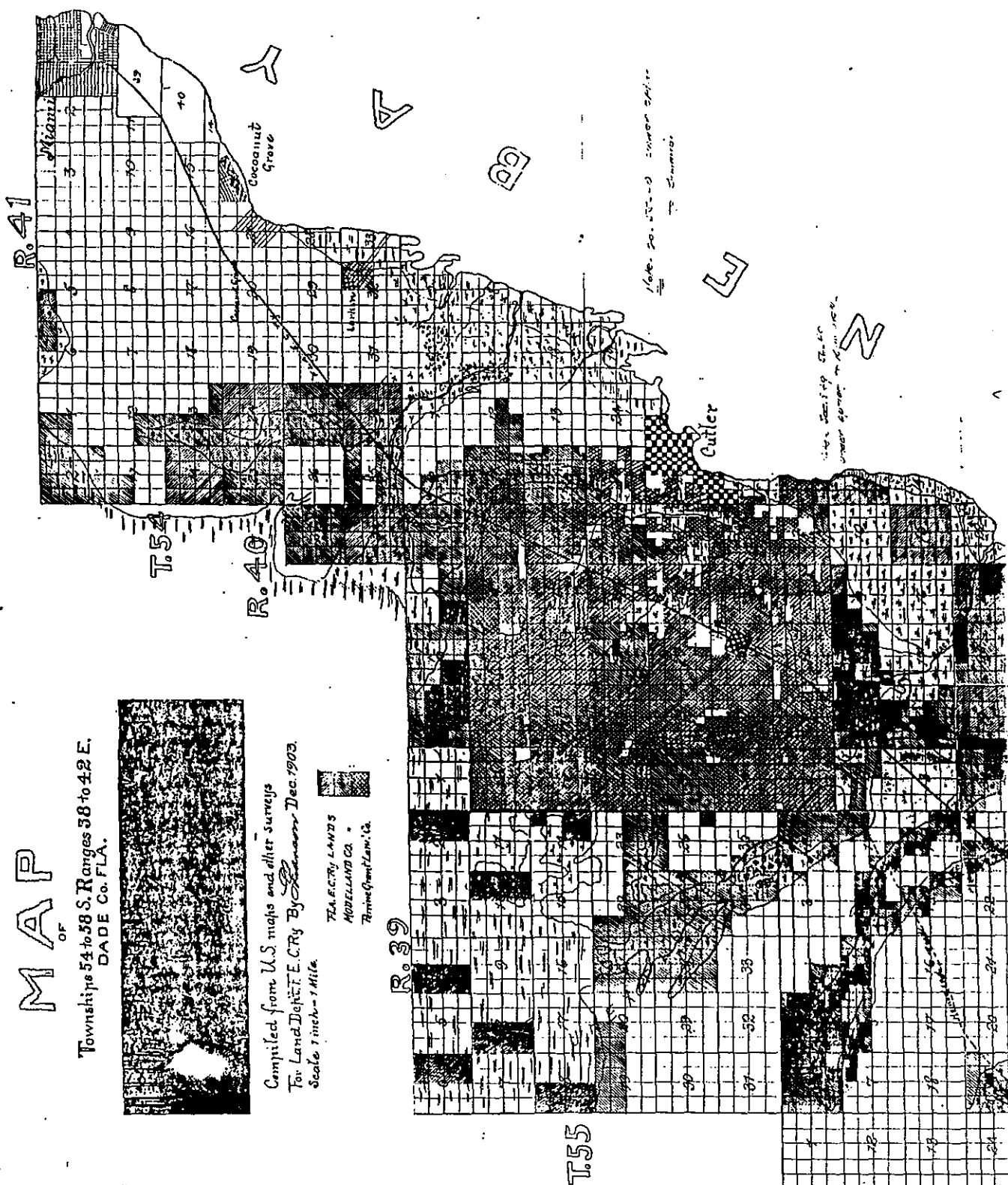
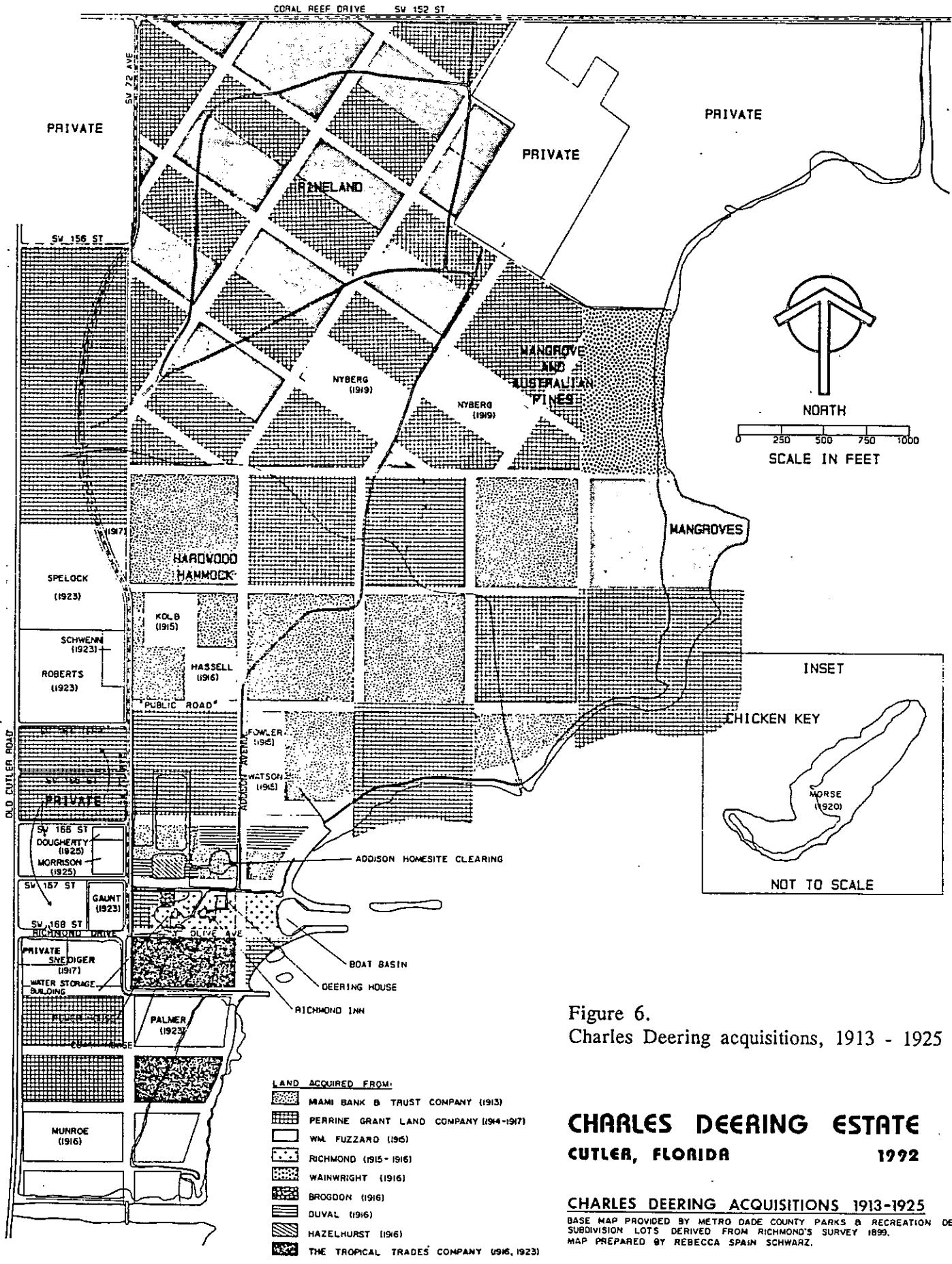


Figure 5.
Portion of Map of Townships 54 to 58 South, Ranges 38 to 42 East
(Showing Perrine Grant Land Company Holdings), 1903





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CHARLES DEERING LAND ACQUISITIONS

1913 MIAMI BANK & TRUST COMPANY
1914 PERRINE GRANT LAND COMPANY
1915 WILLIAM & ANTONICA M. FUZZARD
1915 J. D. & SARAH L. FOWLER
1915 W. C. WATSON
1915 ROLAND S. & MARY R. KOLB
1915 EDITH M. & S. H. RICHMOND
1916 JONATHAN JR. & HAZEL S. WAINWRIGHT
1916 KIRK & MARY B. MUNROE
1916 PERRINE GRANT LAND COMPANY
1916 HENRY M. BROGDON
1916 EDITH M. & S. H. RICHMOND
1916 JOHN M. HASSALL
1916 A. T. & ANNIE T. DUVAL
1916 J. N. & MARY G. HAZELHURST
1916 THE TROPICAL TRADES COMPANY
1917 PERRINE GRANT LAND COMPANY *
1917 LOUIS F. & EDNA M. SNEDIGER
1917 ANNIE A. (formerly Mrs. Alfred
G. Sixby) & JOSEPH SPELOCK

1919 EMMY NYBERG
1920 FREDERICK S. MORSE
1923 THE TROPICAL TRADES COMPANY
1923 SARAH R. W. PALMER
1923 ANNIE A. (formerly Mrs. Alfred
G. Sixby) & JOSEPH SPELOCK

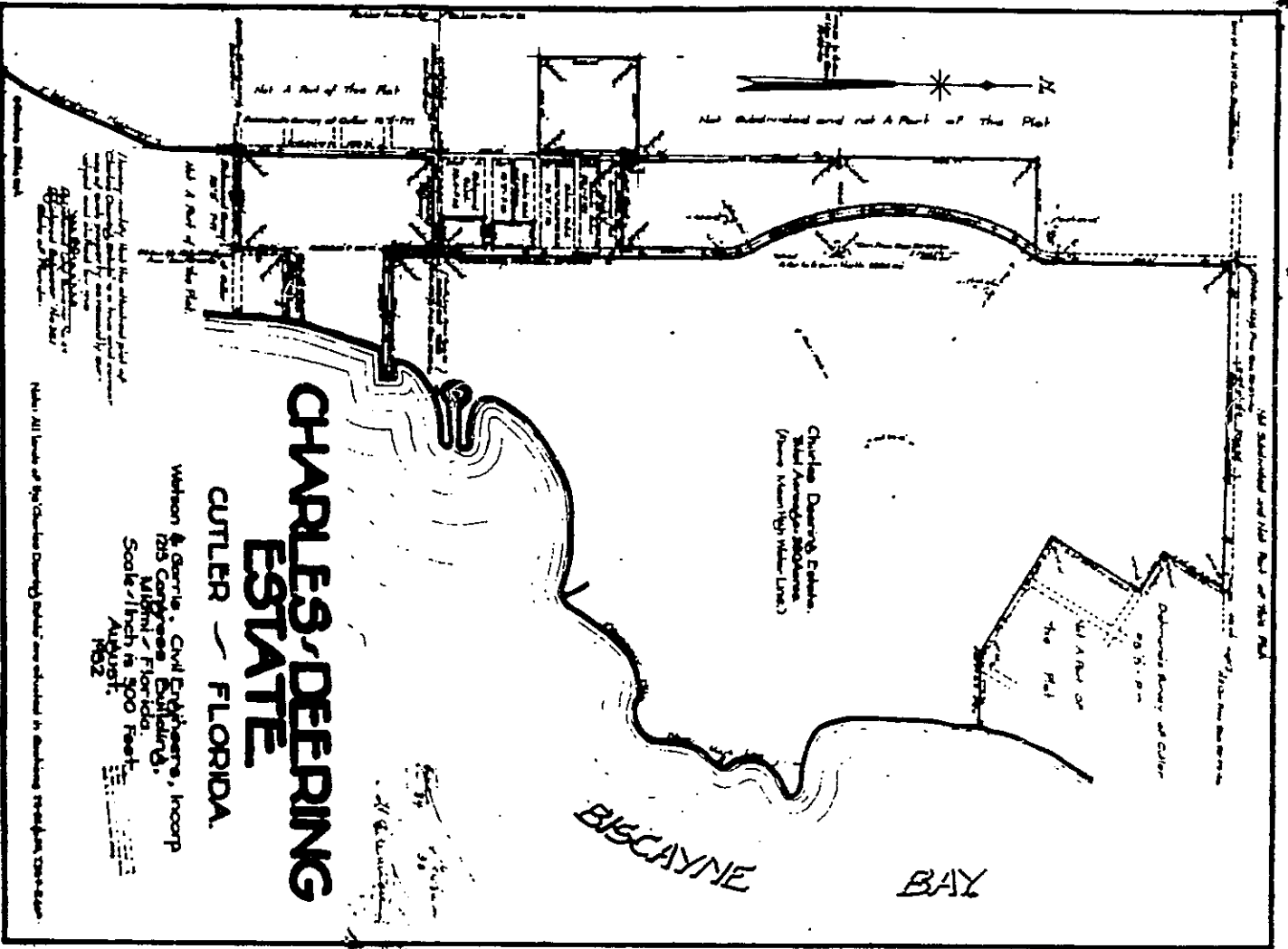
1923 H. & ANNA SCHWENN
1923 WILLIAM T. & MINNIE S. ROBERTS
AND JOSEPH L. & ABBIE L. ROBERTS

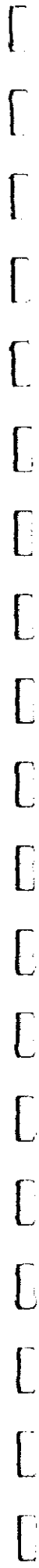
1923 MARY A. & E. C. GAUNT
1925 J. N. & MAMIE MORRISON
1925 W. J. & LILLIAN DOUGHERTY

* (incl. riparian rights and submerged
lands adjoining fractional SE 1/4 of
Section 26, fractional SW 1/4 of Section
25, and north 306.75 feet of fractional
NW 1/4 of NE 1/4 of Section 35, all in
Township 55 South, Range 40 East)



Figure 7.
Charles Deering Estate Plat, Cutler, Florida, 1932





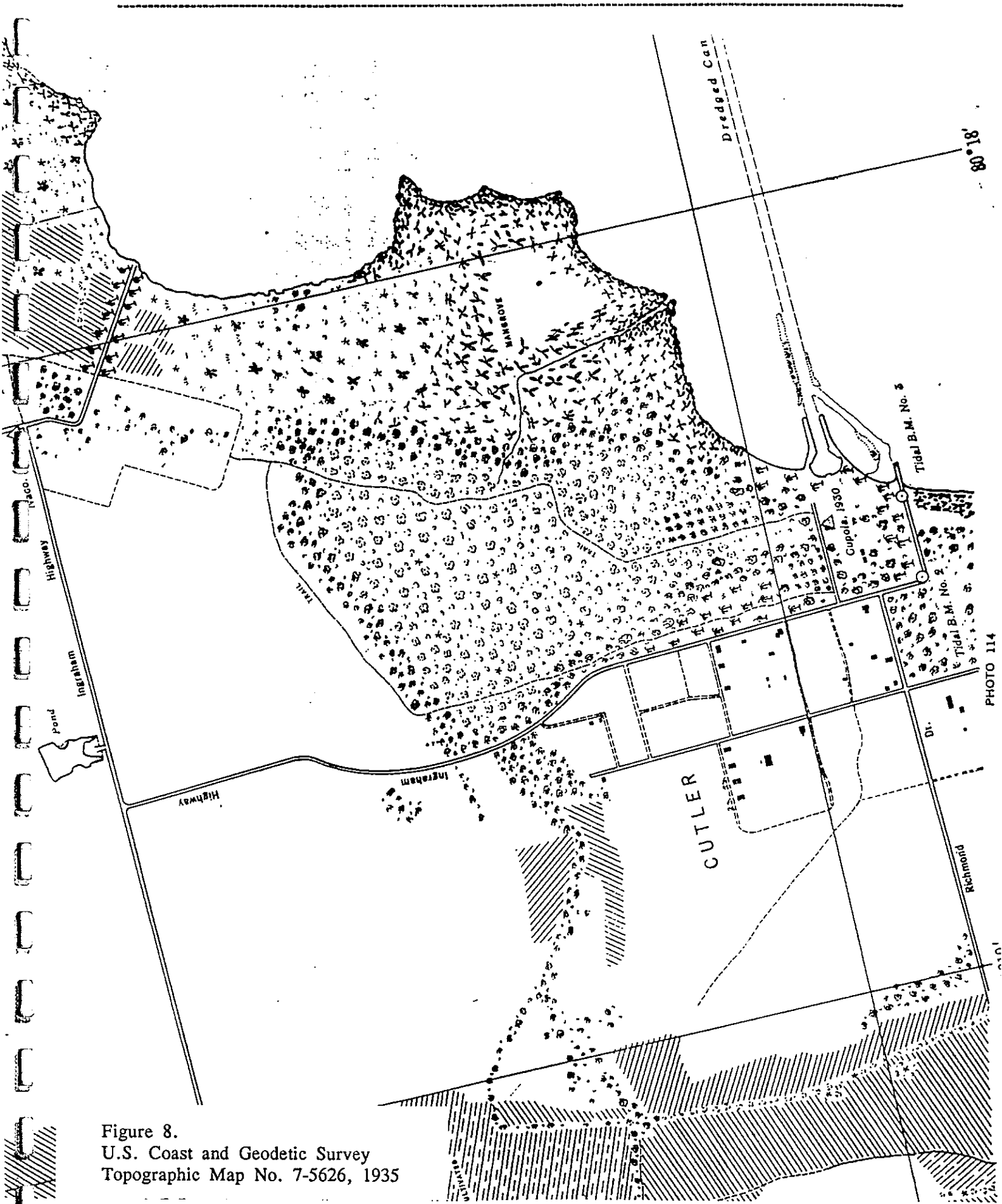


Figure 8.
U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
Topographic Map No. 7-5626, 1935



HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION
THE CHARLES DEERING ESTATE AT CUTLER
proceeding from October 1991 through May 1992
for Metro-Dade County Parks & Recreation Department

C 1992 Janet Snyder Matthews

Context A: Before Man

Theme I. The Land: The Ridge, the Sea and the Everglades

[geology]

Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme II. The Land and Man

[from archaeological report, forthcoming]

Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme III. The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine

As early as the 1830s and 1840s, and perhaps before, people became aware of the land that became the Charles Deering Estate. The official end of Florida's Second Seminole War came in summer of 1842. That peace was marked in part by the Armed Occupation Act, made into law on August 4. The Congressional measure offered a quarter section of land-- 160 acres-- to citizens who would reside on federal lands south of today's Gainesville. The claimants and their families were obligated to remain five years, improve the wild lands by clearing, cultivation, building construction, and promise to defend their lands from return of the Seminoles, if necessary. The offer was only available during a one year period. Citizens within the Territory of Florida located choice spots of land, obtaining permits at land offices at Newnansville or St. Augustine. At Newnansville some 900 permits were issued, and 368 at St. Augustine.¹

At least four men staked claims at the Hunting Ground--Antonio Giraldo, Robert R. Fletcher, John Walters and Frances A. Mabry. Describing their property boundaries in the unsurveyed coast, they referred to landmarks--the Cape Florida lighthouse, Bay of Biscayne. They measured claims from a live oak stake "with stones around" it. They swore they were at "that portion of the Country called the Hunting Ground." Though their claims were annulled, they produced an important record of the site and the community.

Each attested he was "the head of a family." Giraldo wrote that he resided in Florida since 1821--"at the time of the exchange of Flags." He had, he wrote, lived within the Territory of Florida since then. Fletcher had resided in Florida for 13 years, since 1830, and in Cayo Hueso (Bone Island) or Key West by 1832. Frances Mabry was a native Floridian.

**Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme III. The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine (1821-1851)**

All three were literate. Each man personally gave notice of his claim, receiving permits July 20th, 22nd and 26th of 1843 at the federal Land Office at St. Augustine. The Key West citizens played active roles--such as petitioning the government for more lighthouses and endorsing certain citizens for federal posts. Giraldo was a major Key West cattle owner. Fletcher had protested the creation of Dade County in 1836.² Antonio Giraldo and his family had been among Key West's earliest settlers, while a Key West historian proclaimed that "Mr. Michael Mabritty and family" had been among the first half dozen arrivals.³

John Walters was a Monroe County citizen who had supported the creation of Dade County in 1836. He resided at Indian Key at least by 1837, when he was among those who petitioned the government for increased military protection.⁴

(Robert R. Fletcher, a physician, ultimately purchased ten acres on the south side of the Miami River. There he built a two-story house across the river from his brother-in-law, Captain Joseph Bethel. Fletcher operated a compite mill upriver, a common effort among industrious settlers who manufactured starch from the native cycad [Zamia] root.)⁵

Florida entered the Union in 1845. The U.S. Surveyor General contracted with survey teams to map Florida's uncharted land mass so that property might be described by official north-south and east-west lines throughout the new state. The teams were to run township and range lines--all measured from a central meridian at the Capital in Tallahassee. The hunting ground (at today's Charles Deering Estate), lying at Township 55 South, Range 40 East, was surveyed in July of 1845 by George MacKay, Deputy Surveyor. The section lines were later surveyed and mapped in February of 1847 by John Jackson. The final plat map was signed by Robert Butler, U.S. Surveyor General. (See Site Graphics, Figure 2.)

MacKay described what he found there the last day of April 1845:

320 acres . . . is claimed by pre-emption--having two good framed houses-- and several acres cultivated in corn and Oranges--with about 6 or 7 thousand plants of the sisal hemp-- and some hundreds of the pulka [pulque] plant-- in perfection.

Near the houses a wharf, or dock, was constructed along the shore. The hammock--a singularly extensive luxuriant hammock within the entire township, was labelled and its boundaries traced. The final mapmaker artfully inked in symbolic trees and painted the hammock mass a vibrant green. A "salt marsh" lay on its south and east quadrant. "Wet Prairie Land" lay to the east and stretched away north. The hammock's north and southwest extremities lay against pinelands. The northwest corner of the hammock abutted a strip of land stretching to the west and labelled "Sawgrass Prairie." At the southwest edge of the hammock, just in the pineland, stood two houses.⁶

A year later, an 1846 coastal chart labelled the land site with the term "Fresh Water." Offshore was the term "Hunting Grounds." The source of fresh water on the wild coast offered significant nautical information for the nation's private and government vessels en route to Cuba, Key West, and Gulf of Mexico ports.⁷ (See Site Graphics, Figure 3,)

**Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme III. The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine (1821-1851), cont.**

The first comprehensive U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey of Florida's southern peninsula and its western coast was published in 1851. The actual work, proceeding under teams of coastal surveyors, began in 1848. The survey applied placenames and functional names to the coastline of the new state. Places were often named for some distinctive plant or animal life--oysters, deer, turkeys, mangroves, cormorants, pelicans, bear, or palms. Some historic Spanish names and some new American names appeared on the survey. On the shore of "Key Biscayne Bay," the surveyors located a "Hunting Grounds" at today's Deering Estate site.⁸

The site remained plentiful in wildlife. Supplied by fresh water flowing from the Everglades, the hardwood hammock that had grown up over the centuries retained its attraction for wildlife, even as it began to attract permanent settlers. A magazine reporter visiting the site late in the 19th century wrote of Indian men and their recent hunting trip to "the hunting grounds."⁹

The 1847 surveyors located a private grant there, called the Perrine grant. Deputy Surveyor John Jackson began surveying in January, departing from his Tampa home for Cape Florida. In February he wrote from Miami to Charles Howe Esq. that the Surveyor General had ordered him to locate the grant.¹⁰ The surveyor was to meet John P. Baldwin, a businessman, and resident of Key West at least since 1832.¹¹

John Jackson added a few words about the land at the Hunting Ground. "This is a very Rocky country we can wear out 2 pairs of Shoes (each of us) every week notwithstanding all this there are some tracts of very fine rocky firm land."¹² In his survey he identified several critical natural features: "a [freshwater] creek [flowing] into mangrove Hammock," and on the shores of Biscayne bay, a "small creek dividing swamp & prairie."¹³

The Perrine Grant

The saga of the grant had begun many years earlier in the 1820s when the Territory of Florida was a new United States addition, and Dr. Henry Perrine was a young Illinois physician who was ill. He migrated southward for his health--first to Natchez, then Cuba. In the Tropics, Perrine became actively interested in horticulture, partly for the treatment of tropical diseases. At the age of 30, he was a U.S. Consul to Campeche in the Yucatan peninsula, where he responded energetically to an 1827 U.S. Treasury request for tropical seeds and plants. Perrine began sending seeds and plants to residents near the Hunting Grounds, such as John Dubose, inspector and lighthouse keeper at Cape Florida and a former South Carolina Senator. Dubose planted, apparently at Cape Florida, various plants including Sisal hemp and Pulque (described by Dubose as a "substitute for the Mexican beer").¹⁴

Perrine departed "Campeachy," in January of 1837. The doctor was bound for Cape Florida to work on his plant nursery. He travelled via New Orleans, Havana and Key West where he had arrived, following frustrating delays, in mid-June. Discovering that the Seminole war ruled out Cape Florida, he wrote a newspaper editor that he had decided to set up a "preparatory nursery" at Key West "in Tropical Florida," or on another of the Keys. He wrote editors and elected officials, promoting his work among "patriotic friends of . . . acclimating tropical plants."

**Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme III. The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine (1821-1851), cont.**

Perrine worked at Indian Key with Charles Howe, a fellow appointee to federal positions. Howe was customs inspector at Indian Key and postmaster, as and an entrepreneur as well. Departing Indian Key by August 5th, Perrine left his trunks, his books and more than 100 boxes of seeds. Howe wrote six weeks later to Perrine in Washington D.C. (called Washington City), describing his front yard at Indian Key as "quite respectable, with 168 boxes planted in rows . . . of choice tropical plants." He continued, "It excites the attention of almost every body who passes the street."¹⁵

In Washington D.C. early in 1838, Perrine continued his energetic effort to press Congress for a conditional land grant in south Florida where he might experimentally introduce commercially valuable plant stocks such as tropical rice, tobacco, cotton, sugar and sisal hemp. The strategy was to create potential commerce "in southern Florida . . . a sickly and steril territory." Perrine's argument appealed to sectional interests. He asserted that a plant such as "Agave Sisalana," would "furnish a profitable staple to the planters of the South, and a cheap material to the manufacturers of the North, [and]. . . supply many wants of our merchant vessels, of our navy, and of our citizens in general."¹⁶ As anticipated while Perrine was yet in Campeche, writing from "a sick hammock," the grant might allow for "Perrine and his associates" to acquire patents to every section. . . actually inhabited by a bona fide cultivator of tropical plants" or to buy at a minimum rate as soon as the land was developed with federal operations, such as ports of entry raising revenue on tropical products.¹⁷

Charles Howe, John Dubose and others supported Perrine's request for the grant. They wrote letters of endorsement aglow with descriptions of Perrine's seeds at Cape Florida and Indian Key, bursting into verdant, aggressive young plants. From "Indian Key, Tropical Florida," Howe wrote to Washington during the winter of 1838, asserting that settlement of southern Florida by northerners was dependent upon "a model of successful vegiculture, and a nursery of supply for tropical cultivation."¹⁸

Dubose's letters of support included a paragraph about the Hunting Ground. He wrote that his son, also John Dubose, in 1832 had filed for Pre-emption of 160 acres there. The Cape Florida lighthouse keeper had been to the place in May of 1835. He had seen his son's improvements [usually indicative of buildings and clearings] and plants from Perrine--"Sisal Hemp . . . Aloes, or Pulque, the Arnotto plants, the Date, the paper Mulberry, and Tumeric." His son and surrounding settlers had "deserted their homes" in January, 1835, Dubose said. The Second Seminole War officially began some seven months later, following an attack upon an Army detachment near Fort King (Ocala) later called the Dade Massacre. Writing to Washington in 1838, John Dubose [Sr.] indicated that the Hunting Ground remained "in the possession of the Indians. We have every reason to believe they are still there."¹⁹

In July of 1838 a township of some 230,000 acres--thirty six square miles in a single block--was conditionally conveyed to Perrine and two others. The act required that the land:

be located within two years. . . and shall be surveyed by the surveyor of Florida

That . . . any section of land. . . shall be really occupied by a bonafide settler actually engaged in the propagation . . . of valuable tropical plants, and upon proof thereof . .

Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme III. The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine (1821-1851), cont.

. being made to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, a patent shall issue to the said Henry Perrine and his associates.

every section . . . not . . . occupied by an actual settler positively engaged in the propagation. . . of useful tropical plants within eight years from the location of said tract . . . shall be forfeited to the United States.²⁰

The grant stipulated location south of Latitude 26 North [on a line approximately with Hollywood, just north of Miami]. On the fourth of July, Perrine penned a lengthy account to the Magazine of Horticulture, describing his efforts. He was supplying plants and seeds to Bahamians at Key Vacas (today's Marathon in the Florida Keys), with Charles Howe. Howe had once owned a group of islands called Cayos Vacas, and still maintained ownership of nearby Duck Key. Perrine wrote of his ongoing supplying of tropical plants to northern "hot-houses." He mentioned that he had introduced "the first *Morus multicaulis*" which had been "transmitted" to Cape Florida, in May of 1833, by a Mrs. Parmentier of Brooklyn.

In December of 1838, the Perrine family departed Palmyra, New York and arrived on Christmas morning at Indian Key, much to the delight of 14-year-old Hester, the Perrines' younger daughter. Sarah, the eldest, was 15 and their brother Henry, 11. Dr. Perrine and his family received social calls from arriving sailboats carrying such Key West personages as Judge Marvin and Stephen Mallory (later Governor of Florida and Secretary of the Navy of the Confederacy, respectively). According to Hester, Dr. Perrine became very protective of his teenaged daughters who apparently fascinated young Army and Navy officers assigned to Florida because of the Seminole war.²¹

Perrine worked since 1837, he wrote, to persuade Congress to incorporate an entity called the Tropical Plant Company. His co-trustees had been selected-- Judge James Webb of Key West and Charles Howe. Webb submitted Howe's name to be considered as first collector of a new port of entry they envisioned would be established when the Tropical Plant Company reached full operation, exporting tropical plant materials. Howe and Perrine established a "preparatory nursery" on West Matecumbe key, a mile west of Indian Key. Meanwhile, Perrine enthused over his selected site--east of Cape Sable--where a live oak hammock, a prairie and wild cinnamon trees "celebrated among the Bahamans," grew abundantly and well.

From the beginning, Perrine anticipated incorporation under authority of the Territory of Florida for a company to do the work outlined in the 1827 circular. He had anticipated a private enterprise attractive to investment capital and eventual expansion from southeast Florida to "adjoining States on the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic ocean." Judge Webb travelled in 1838 to Tallahassee for the Territorial legislative council session and successfully sought a bill for incorporation. Simultaneously with his township grant effort, Perrine requested at Washington a gift of land for a supply nursery of the Tropical Plant Company. Though Congress adjourned July 7 (1838) without granting the nursery land, Perrine wrote that they would continue the work of the Company. He also continued to press for a new port of entry.

As Superintendent of the company, Perrine promoted the corporation through such publications as Farmer's Register. He urged "settlers of virtuous habits" to become permanent

Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme III. The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine (1821-1851), cont.

southern Floridians. He described his mode of introducing his own children to plant tropical specimens:

the first tea plant . . . for . . . my younger daughter, the first olive tree for my elder daughter, and a New Zealand flax lily for my only son. My children are destined to be residents for life of South Florida, and I therefore fix their permanent affections in its slandered soils by the deep tap-roots of valuable perennial plants, to be grown by their own hands, in their own lands.

Of himself, Perrine wrote:

I naturally wish to retain life long enough to see the most precious plants of the tropics actually spreading in South Florida, but I am not anxious to be the first introducer of all precious plants. The Sisal hemp, the Yucatan cotton shrubs, and the Manilla silk mulberries, are sufficient monuments of my ambitious perseverance.²²

On a hot summer night, August 7th of 1840 during the Second Seminole War (1835 - 1842), Perrine was killed at Indian Key in Charles Howe's house during an Indian attack that destroyed the vibrant town in one night of killing, looting and burning. Ann F. Perrine, his wife--together with Sarah, Hester and Henry--miraculously escaped and survived to press the family's vested title to a Perrine grant. (Their father concealed their escape route out of the house-- a trap door--by covering it with "a heavy chest of seed," according to Hester.) "Nearly if not all the newspapers of the Union," according to Hester, carried the sensational story of Dr. Perrine's death and the amazing escape of his family, who returned to Palmyra via Cape Florida, St. Augustine, Savannah, Charleston and Baltimore. The original grant and its two-year deadline was amended by Congress in February of 1841 following Mrs. Perrine's personal appearance (with Eleager M. Townsend, her brother) in Washington to petition Congress. The new act applied to Perrine's family and extended the time limit to eight years, to begin when the war should end.²³ The heirs' efforts were to continue from 1841 until 1897 before they met with success.

During 1847, the year the surveyors located the grant, the Perrine heirs allegedly "caused the settlement on the grant of 36 families [one per Section] from the Bahama Islands," but they were driven away in 1848 by the Indians.²⁴ The hostility of Seminoles at Indian River and central Florida in 1849 sent isolated families scurrying to settlements for protection. Then the Third Seminole War (1855 - 1858) frightened settlers on both Florida coasts away from their hard-won fields and houses, in some cases for years. The conflicts arose over the Seminoles' reluctance to leave Florida, broken treaty provisions, and the land-hungry newcomers' desire for Seminole reservation lands. Along Bay Biscayne, the Seminoles reportedly made peace sooner than the southwest coast where the conflict centered.

The isolated place called the Hunting Ground continued to be known and used routinely by people of the coast. Though the Perrine Grant township was laid out on state and federal documents, the character of the land had not changed. Its appeal remained constant, though its availability to private ownership was limited. The hammock soil was shallow, the surface broken by outcroppings of oolitic stone, "underneath . . . are springs of cool and refreshing water, the coolest in Florida," one observer reported. Fresh water flowed from the springs and through

Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme III. The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine (1821-1851), cont.

several creeks flowing from the Everglades. The water source supported the hammock's thriving plants and wildlife, and continued to supply water for casks of boats trafficking along the coast. Spongers, such as William Russell, stopping for fresh water when diving on the reefs, saw a "canefield" in the hammock about 1857.²⁵

The Civil War (1861 - 1865) brought a Union blockade to Florida coasts, shutting down commerce and halting migration to the unsettled region. Key West, Union-held throughout the war, headquartered the East Gulf Blockading Squadron. People of the coast lived on what they could grow or catch.²⁶



Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme IV. Addisons' Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - 1911)

Today's clearing which once housed the settlement of John and Mary Addison and Mary Townsend Addison, lies northerly of Deering Estate houses. John and Mary occupied the site as a frontier. They brought to the site a living pattern defined by ancestral frontiersmen and frontierswomen migrating ever southward during colonial years--from England to Maryland and Virginia, descendants moving on into North Carolina and Florida wildernesses. The history of John and Mary on the site illuminates the settlement experience of man and woman adapting to isolation during the final decades of wilderness--before technological development of the land. (See Site Graphics, Figure 1 for Addison clearings.)

Background of the Addisons and Townsends

During Florida's Territorial years (1821 - 1845), John's grandparents and parents had been among the earliest families arriving to the new Capital at Tallahassee. When the next southern frontier opened at the close of the Second Seminole War (1835-1842), the Addisons and members of Mary's family, the Townsends, had moved southward again. They chose fertile land at Manatee River on the Gulf coast near Tampa Bay, federal land offered for the first time to private ownership through settlement.²⁷ Twenty years before the close of the Civil War (1861-1865), John and Mary's own migration to tropical Biscayne Bay became the couple's own continuation of the migration experience, so typical of pioneering Americans during the 18th and 19th centuries.

During the 1850s, the Addison men and Mary's brother, Dave Townsend, were fighting Indians during the Third Seminole War (1855-1858). That war brought Seminole attacks upon pioneer homes at the Manatee River. In response, militias were organized by pioneer cowboys, who knew the Indians, their trails and their grazing lands.

The Townsends and Addisons were among families dependent upon the cattle-raising industry. Many such families were large. John and Ellen Henderson Addison had six children--William, David James, Eliza Ann, Joel Jackson and Lucy as well as John [Jr.] (the third son).²⁸ Like other settlers, the family members also fished, harvesting the products of the sea.²⁹

John Addison Jr. lived among Manatee cowmen who established cattle pens and cowboy camps along inland river valleys such as the Myakka and Peace rivers and shipped animals to Havana or Key West. Key West shipping captains, such as William H. Shaw, were Manatee River neighbors. Shaw presumably knew Hunting Ground claimants from Key West. And one of them, Antonio Giraldo, was a cattleman, described as one of two "owners of the principal part of the Stock on the Island."³⁰ John Addison may have learned about the Hunting Ground through the cattle trade.

The Addisons and Townsends at Manatee during the Third Seminole War

John Addison Jr. and Mary Townsend married on April 25 of 1854. John was about 27, Mary about 20. Mary's brother, Dave, had married John's sister, Eliza Ann, the year Dave became 27, in May of 1853. (John's brother, William, had also married one of Mary's sisters,

**Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme IV. Addison's Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - 1911), cont.**

Ann.)³¹ Only months after John and Mary married, came the outbreak of The Third Seminole War (1854-1858). John Addison [Sr.], 56, organized a state-funded local militia. John [Jr.] had been Corporal of that company.

Spring of 1855 brought several attacks at the Manatee River settlements, Addison's men captured Seminoles, scalped two, and returned looted property to settlers. Mary Townsend Addison's brother, David Townsend, rode for years afterward a captured Indian pony, reportedly belonging to Oscan Tustenuggee, a subchief who escaped the cowboys.³²

The Addison and Townsend men served in elected positions--as election clerks, school officials, county commissioners, and sheriff. Dave Townsend was elected Clerk of Circuit Court.³³ John Addison [Sr.] died about the time the Seminoles were deported from Florida, sailing from Egmont Key at the mouth of Manatee River to the Territory of Arkansas, in spring of 1858.³⁴

John and Mary Addison at the Hunting Grounds

John and Mary Townsend Addison were at Manatee when the Civil War began (1861). John appeared on the 1860 census in Manatee County, in a household near his brother and Mary's sister, William and Ann.³⁵ Their younger brother, Joel J., was Manatee County Sheriff and tax collector. Joel reported a breakdown of law and order--he could not collect taxes without a defensive unit of Confederate men and several county commissioners were sympathizers or "Yankees" captives. Even at war's end, mail service for sending Addison's tax rolls was unreliable.³⁶ The wartime situation may have influenced John and Mary's departure from their large families.

The Addisons arrived at the Hunting Grounds in April of 1864 and established their home. John and Mary were experienced in the ways of adapting to an isolated Florida site, as their families had done for several generations. He was about 37. Mary was about 30.³⁷

John was elected a Dade County Commissioner four years after their arrival, in 1868. The 1870 census indicated that they farmed and raised livestock.³⁸ By the 1870s, settlers along the coastal frontier reckoned "Addison's Landing" as a landmark, a destination place for tourists, oldtimers and an occasional new settler. Reportedly arriving in the early 1870s, Charles F. Seibold sailed to the site in "a small schooner" and made his home with the Addisons. "For years," according to the account, "they were the only three people living there."³⁹

George Parsons, a 23-year-old tourist from New York City, arrived to Miami during the winter of 1873. Invited to visit by Addison, Parson had a friend at the Miami River, shopkeeper Henry Barnes. Parsons's diary records his first arrival at the Hunting Grounds:

It was night . . . we had considerable difficulty in finding the place. Finally by dint of much shouting we attracted attention & by a light on shore soon made our way to A's little dock. . . . We were put to bed in the same room with A & his wife only in another bed. Rough way of living.

The next day Parsons described the new land he saw:

**Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme IV. Addison's Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - 1911), cont.**

A . . . has I think about the best place of any I have yet seen. Nice beach, rich lands with very little rock. Valuable Hammock protecting a large extent of land suitable for orange trees & bananas from the gales & hurricanes & what is perhaps better than all very few mosquitoes. Plenty of hunting deer etc. Fine look in toward house over the bay to the ocean. Wants to sell out for \$1500 Dolls. Would like this place if clear title could be had.

Parsons boarded with the Addisons for fifteen dollars a month. Their Christmas dinner was "beans and salt pork," and he wrote:

We will have to procure fresh meat ourselves and will be partially dependent upon rifle & rod. Ros [Parsons's companion] is very much taken with the idea of making compti or whatever they call it here, on a large scale . . . a kind of starch good for food & the laundry. . . . we are living in the backwoods in a log cabin no neighbor nearer then six miles.⁴⁰

During the winter, Parsons witnessed the comings and goings of Biscayne residents and tourists. Four months of daily diary entries provide a valuable firsthand account of John and Mary Addison's community lifestyle. The men shot cranes, quail, hogs and deer. They helped Addison (and his dogs) track and kill a panther. Addison called panthers "tigers," this one weighing 200 pounds, an "astonished" Parsons recorded.

The tourists gathered oysters at Turkey Point, cutting the soles of their shoes on the bars. They looked for hogs at Black Point. They shot sharks, and fished for bonefish. They anxiously watched for rattlesnakes and alligators, and observed deaths by accident, yellow fever and undiagnosed illness. They rode Addison's horse on the beach. They bathed in the Bay and collected shells. Parsons listened to John Addison talk of land deals and heard him spin his yarns. Parsons recorded that another storyteller, Ned Pent, was "a Second Edition of Addison."

The young men sent letters from the Hunting Grounds by the mail boat and went aboard to buy such things as chocolate and cigars. They canoed in the Bay and frequently sailed to the Miami River and stayed awhile, socializing and working. When neighbors arrived, they also slept in one room with the Addisons and the boarders.⁴¹

Parsons recorded the regular coming and going of Mr. and Mrs. "Seabold" at the Hunting Grounds. He recorded some industry shared by Mary Addison and Mrs. Seabold Addison and Seabold had business enterprises together, and shared interest in the "Rebeca," a schooner which Parsons described as a wrecker but which also carried hogs to market at Key West.⁴²

During the winters of 1873-1874 and 1874-1875, Parsons's entries included numerous accounts of his era's typical South Florida tourist problems. Sailing trips between Miami and the Hunting Grounds frequently were aborted for lack of wind. He was perplexed by Seminole traders. Fleas and mosquitoes plagued some nights at Miami and aboard sailboats.⁴³ The diarist's accounts provide additional and diverse information regarding Addison activities.⁴⁴

Another account mentioned Addison's supplying visitors with sweet potatoes, pineapples and bananas.⁴⁵ Addison was listed among Dade County's taxpayers, along with William

**Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme IV. Addisons' Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - 1911), cont.**

Addison, in 1876 and 1877. In both years, all males over 21 and under 55 paid \$1.50 in state tax, and fifty cents in county tax. John Addison still signed the tax assessment roll in 1877 as a Dade County Commissioner.⁴⁶ Along with a good many of his Biscayne Bay neighbors, John Addison participated in at least one celebrated wrecking effort, salvaging of the brig Three Sisters. Addison was among some 25 citizens who recovered a large amount of precious lumber before the U.S. Marshal at Key West ordered their arrest and confiscation of the contraband lumber.⁴⁷

"Addisons' Landing" 1876.

Henry E. Perrine Jr., the only son of Dr. Perrine, was a lawyer and "a man of adventure." Only a child when his father died at Indian Key, as a man he married (Cornelia Hull). They had a daughter. During the California Gold Rush, he became a "forty-niner." A son, Henry Hull, was born in 1856 while his father was in California. When Perrine returned home he became a ship chandler in Buffalo. There a second son, Carlton was born. And in 1876, the lawyer came from his Palmyra, New York home to Addison Landing. Perrine intended to fulfill the long-unmet Congressional requirement for settlement on the land. He arrived at the grant during the 1876 - 1877 winter.

Perrine brought along his sons, who were about 20 and 17, and other "settlers,"--men from Palmyra. Perrine and his sons lived for a time in a tent a hundred feet from John and Mary Addisons' house. They experienced epic suffering--accidents, a freeze, a hurricane, routine food destruction by ants, and extreme physical discomforts caused by the everpresent mosquitoes. Perrine and his sons constructed a log cabin. They lived with a fear of wild animals, snakes and Seminoles.

Perrine concluded, "Without increased capital it would take many years of semi-savage life before one could hope to realize any considerable profit from his labors." He gave up life at the place he called "Perrineville." He returned to "friends and the comforts of civilized life." (For Perrine's graphic account, see Eventful Years in Grandpa's Life, pp. 264-294.)⁴⁸

Despite his horrendous experiences, Perrine published a typical promoter's pamphlet extolling the location. The booklet described improvements and listed plant and animal life. Testimonials appeared from knowledgeable visitors from such progressive cities as Omaha, Nebraska. They invariably pronounced the place fertile, the lifestyle effortless. One boarder with John and Mary Townsend Addison was quoted:

A Mr. Jones, of New York, reported to be very wealthy, says he has traveled over the continent of Europe two or three times; has visited all of the Islands of the Mediterranean in search of a climate favorable to his (heart) disease. He decides unequivocally in favor of the bay and announces his intention to buy a small tract of land, put up a splendid cottage, stock an orchard complete in every fruit suitable, have his steam yacht on hand for his convenience to travel anywhere; but his home must be here.

Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme IV. Addison's Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - 1911), cont.

He has been boarding with Mr. Addison for one or two seasons. We see plenty of deer, and one of our party Sunday killed one and wounded another. Mr. Noyes brought in a live fawn and saw ten yesterday Partridges are numerous. . . .

Squashes (they call them pumpkins here) once planted, grow forever. Sweet potatoes the same, You can have green peas, new potatoes, cabbage, onions, etc. every month in the year cocoanut trees. . . are expected to bear in six years and will require no care . . . save to be fenced in for protection from stock.

Accolades came from surveyors Col. M.A. Williams ("the mosquitoes not at all troublesome during the winter"),⁴⁹ and Wm. A. Swan. The latter depicted a disease-free climate on a rattlesnake-free coast:

The months of May and June I was at and near ADDISON'S; there was no night that I did not use my blanket, and frequently my double blanket. . . . and in a pretty little creek of fresh water that runs into and out of Addison's hammock we did not see a rattlesnake, nor did we see but three moccasins.⁵⁰

Henry Perrine's booklet concluded with a direct sales pitch:

We will also dispose of a limited number of lots, of one and two acres each, at "Perrine," the most eligible location on the bay for a town, called at present Addison's Landing.⁵¹

Despite Perrine's hyperbole, the population along the coast remained that of a sparsely-settled frontier. For 1879, Dade County taxpayers totalled only 62 residents.⁵²

John and Mary Addison participated in community recreation. John had always been regarded as fun by his sisters. They thought he was "sporty-looking" and liked to go with him to social events.⁵³ In February of 1887, the Biscayne Bay community held a regatta to celebrate Washington's birthday. Fifteen boats, including John Addison's, competed. John was a winner, racing his Edna. Ralph Munroe photographed him and others, such as Addison's neighbor William Fuzzard. After the race, some fifty enjoyed dinner at Coconut Grove at the Peacock Inn. They organized Biscayne Bay Yacht Club soon afterward with Ralph Munroe as commodore. The Washington's Birthday celebration became an annual event of the club.⁵⁴

Mary Townsend Addison attracted the attention of visiting women. Though some thought her situation romantic, others reacted with sympathetic concern. Mrs. John Gilpin, a Pennsylvanian wintering with her husband and son Vincent, kept a diary. During a 22-day boat excursion from Lake Worth to Miami with the tax collector, the Gilpins arrived ashore at the Addison place April 16th of 1890. Mrs. Gilpin wrote:

Sail down the bay five miles to Cutler . . . Reach Addison's through his watermelon patch and get two ripe melons for dinner (in April!). Met Mrs. A., a gray-haired woman who has lived here 24 years and "has not got used to the loneliness." . . . this place, used for 24 years, looks forlorn and wretched.⁵⁵

**Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme IV. Addisons' Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - 1911), cont.**

A South Florida promotional newspaper of 1892, printed four romanticized paragraphs under "BISCAYNE BAY BILINS" about Mary and John, who were approaching their seventies:

Biscayne Bay is noted for one thing no other part of Florida can claim any share in, that is, John Addison. . . . a native Floridian of the genuine "cracker" type. . . . John can spin many a long yarn . . . and no one can dispense true Southern hospitality with a better grace than Mrs. Addison who is also a Floridian . . . and the many beautiful presents in Mrs. Addison's parlor proves that she is remembered by many who have in a short visit learned to love this noble woman.

John seems to have a truly American notion as to the people who . . . are entirely of Bahama origin But the "conch," which is the pet title of the islanders, get at John by telling how the "crackers" are so successful in deer stalking; they say that when John is slipping up on a deer if the deer looks in his direction John turns his "edge" toward the deer, stands his gun outside and away from the deer, and he is so thin the deer can't see him. . . .⁵⁶

Settlers continued to arrive. Half mile "back of" John and Mary Addison lived "one of the Bishops." A native rock wall stood at Bishop's place. Along the wall grew sisal hemp. The promotional Miami Metropolis applauded cultivation of sisal, required by the Perrine grant conditions:

The plants are growing to great size . . . flower stalks twenty and thirty feet high, and their roots are entwined in and about the rock wall upon which they stand Sisal hemp when once started requires no cultivation".⁵⁷

John and Mary Townsend Addison at Home

"If only some one could develop the art of photographing colors"

Because of his fondness for retelling Seminole war stories and his location at the Seminole camping grounds, John Addison achieved a sort of celebrity status among outsiders. They were interviewed by Caroline Rockwood, reporting for Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly.

Rockwood sailed Biscayne Bay with Commodore [of the Biscayne Bay Yacht Club] Ralph Munroe. Aboard the Nethla, she conducted interviews. Munroe's longstanding relationships brought Seminoles and Biscayne Bay neighbors to his stern. She witnessed Seminole suspicion of the camera when Munroe deftly photographed two young Indians who had just finished a "three days' hunt in the hunting grounds."

Rockwood made an effort to study the Seminoles who had pitched camp near the Addisons' front porch. They travelled aboard canoes and brought, she wrote, dogs and children and oldtimers--"squaws. . . pigs, fowl and household utensils."

Rockwood's article gives some sense of the Addison homeplace and lifestyle during the 1890s. She also provides dialect unavailable in the Parsons and Perrine firsthand accounts.

Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme IV. Addison's Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - 1911), cont.

Probably one of the best authorities on the Seminoles . . . is John Addison . . . He came on board the Nethla one morning, and enjoyed a good cigar while the commodore drew him into an "Indian reminiscence," and I took notes around the corner, until . . . I could not resist the temptation to join the party.

"How many Indians do you suppose you have killed, Mr. Addison?" I asked, while I pondered the inconsistency of a man with such genial face and kindly blue eyes figuring as a bloodthirsty Indian exterminator.

"Wal, I do' know, I'm sure. A good many, I reckon."

"You must have had a good many narrow escapes," I said, beguilingly.

"Yas. Lots of 'em."

"What is the closest you can remember?"

"Wal, I guess about ten foot, with an Injun back of it. Ef he hadn't missed his aim that time, I wouldn't be here now, sure;" and a quiet smile spread over the keen face, as he looked up at me with a quaint bob of his head.

"Do you see many Indians at your place, Mr. Addison?" was my next question.

"Oh yas. They come in every once in awhile."

"Is it quite safe to go to their camps?"

"Sartin. . . . and you never see such a rattlin' round to get up a good dinner. . . . And I tell you we got as fine a dinner as anybody wants. Sweet corn, sweet potatoes, Indian corn cake, roast venison, and the best of coffee, and plenty of it. . . .

"Is there one chief of the whole tribe?"

"Yas-- generally. He has subchiefs, like our President and Governors."

"Do you think there will be any more war with the Seminoles, Mr. Addison?"

"No, no more war. Old 'Tiger Tail,' who killed hundreds of whites, said to me, one time shortly before he died, 'Injun no more fight.' Then he drew a circle, and pointing all round it, at short distances, he said, 'Whites here, and here, and here.' Then, pointing to the centre, he said, 'Injuns here-- no more fight.'"

"How many Indians do you think there are in Florida now, Mr. Addison?"

Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme IV. Addisons' Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - 1911), cont.

"Wal, it's hard tellin'. I saw as many as fifty canoes at Brickell's last July." (Brickell's is a trading house on the south bank of the mouth of the Miami). "They was all going' up to the 'Green Corn Dance.' That's their Thanksgiving, you know."

"Yes? Do tell us about it."

"Wal, they stand a pole in the ground, and then they lay four logs in a square about it. The chiefs sits on these logs. They ain't allowed to dance, you see. It wouldn't be dignified. Then all the rest of the tribe begins a dance round 'em, and keeps it up for three days. They have a powerful lot of stuff to eat and drink, and takes turns at it . . ."

"Did they scalp their war prisoners?"

"They did, until we scalped one of their old chiefs, and that cured them of scalpin'. They come and got his body and panned it right up with logs, and put a lot of books on the top of the pen-- I do' know what kind, but they was books, sure. 'Bout that time we hearn tell that they had sent out some scouts ter steal . . . [slaves] and mules and things. So twenty-five of us followed on their trail. We followed 'em for five days, and at last we caught all of 'em but one. There was seven. Wal, if it hadn't been for a strong southeast wind blowing, so the Injuns couldn't hear our firing, we'd 'er been wiped out fur sure, fur there was three hundred Seminoles a-waiting' outside. But we killed the six, and carried back seven . . . [slaves] and three mules and two pigs that they had stole."⁵⁸

A few weeks after interviewing John Addison, Caroline Rockwood sailed with Munroe to Addison landing to interview Mary Townsend Addison. Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly published the lengthy interview, providing significant details of Mary's home, dialect and person:

Mrs. Addison received us with real Southern hospitality, and graciously permitted the commodore to photograph, not only her house and dining room, but herself.

"I'll just go in and straighten my hair a bit," she said; soon, however, returning in an entirely fresh toilet. "I thought I wouldn't fix up much, you see-- just plain and homelike. Will this do?"

I could have hugged her . . . so deliciously quaint, with her fine black dress, heavy brocaded apron and little stiff collar. If only some one could develop the art of photographing colors, then my readers could see the wealth of flaming blossoms that frame the Addison home, and . . . magnificence of that brocaded apron. Rumor hath it that this good woman, who rejoices in having come from "the best Floridy society in the north of the State," is the possessor of trunks full of rare and costly garments, which she must regard as art lovers do collections of bric-a-brac or paintings. . . .

"Are you never lonely here, Mrs. Addison?" I asked.

Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction
Theme IV. Addisons' Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - 1911), cont.

"Oh, yes'm. I'm used to the best society, and I never shall get used to this place."

Mrs. Addison . . . told me many facts concerning the camp life of the Seminoles, as seen from her piazza. They particularly affected a cleared spot of hammock land within sight of her front door, and would often camp there for a week at a time. The men would bring the wood, make the fire, and supply the venison, game and fish. The women would set up the tent poles and spread the musquito nets, if warm and pleasant, or gather palmetto leaves and construct a temporary thatch. They do all the curing of skins, cutting and jerking of meats, raising of vegetables and sewing She said the Indian girls were pretty, modest and reserved.⁵⁹

Ralph Munroe photographed Mary and John at their porch, or piazza. The sharp lines of their shake-shingled roof contrasted against the sky. Carved oolitic stones supported corners of the house. One hand on hip, an elbow jauntily resting against the piazza floor, a handsome young man leaned jauntily from crossed legs, gazing toward the bay. Several chickens blurred the image. A cast net gracefully hung in a half-circle between two porch supports. Mary wore a petticoated gingham dress and stiffly starched white apron.⁶⁰

Munroe also photographed John and Mary in the hammock. Addison climbed high into a large Ficus tree and posed on a branch. Mary stood on the ground, wearing a wide-brimmed hat. Munroe photographed the same tree with John along with Isaac and Grace Holden, Ned Hine, Mrs. Sheppard, Mrs. Brown and Alfred Munroe.⁶¹ (See Appendix D. for photocopies.)

Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly depicted the Addison house surrounded by a picket fence. Their kitchen walls were lined with shelves. Four legs of their pie safe stood in cans, protection from insects. [See Henry Perrine's description of the ant problem.] The Addisons' open-porched house was romantically depicted, framed by trees and banana plants.⁶² (See Appendix E. "Seminoles at Home" illustrations.)

John and Mary planted typical crops--citrus, guava, bananas, among other varieties grew over a several-acre area.⁶³ As John and Mary grew older, the crops covered less acreage, but a visitor observed, "fine crops of tomatoes, onions, and other vegetables growing upon the old field."⁶⁴



Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler and the Perrine claim (1883 - 1897)

Dr. William Clark Cutler, descendant of an old line Massachusetts family, practiced medicine in Chelsea, just outside Boston. He was described by the Boston Advertiser as "a wealthy medical practitioner." He eventually acquired some 600 acres abutting the Perrine grant.⁶⁵

The future of the Perrine grant remained in doubt. Adjacent to it, entire sections were state-owned lands, tracts conveyed during the early 1880s to Sir Edward J. Reed of England as part of the Disston Purchase. Hamilton Disston's acquisition of millions of acres had released Florida's Internal Improvement Fund (the landholding trust) from post-war bankruptcy and immediately transformed Florida's real estate market. Suddenly, large tracts opened to private ownership and development. For example, the State conveyed Section 25 (125 bayfront acres stretching along Addison Hammock and pine lands) to Reed in March of 1883. Cutler and others travelled South and began to invest, Fuzzard buying that (108 acre) parcel in January of 1885 for \$136 from Florida Land & Mortgage Company.⁶⁶

Cutler described his place as "a large plantation" with "a frontage of two miles." Cutler bought from Charles Seibold 56 acres a few miles north, near Snapper Creek, for \$500. (Four months earlier, Siebold had purchased 80 acres there from Florida Land & Mortgage for \$100.) Cutler bought another 40 acres near Snapper Creek from the Florida Land & Mortgage Company for \$60.00. Cutler continued buying. By the Hunting Grounds Cutler bought, in 1891, 80 acres from Fuzzard for \$170.⁶⁷

Cutler was about 46 when he arrived. Born in Holliston, Massachusetts, he had been educated there and in New York City, where he earned a medical degree from Leight Street Medical College. He received that degree just two years before the outbreak of the Civil War and began to practice medicine in Upton in 1860. A Massachusetts "memorial" of prominent citizens, indicated that Dr. Cutler was a surgeon--"a familiar figure on the streets of the city [Chelsea] and in the homes of the people."

Cutler's ancestry could be traced to Englishmen and women who migrated to the wilderness near present-day Boston in the 1600s. During his Florida years, Cutler's family members (William P. and Julia) were writing a two-volume work on their ancestor, Manasseh Cutler. A lawyer and doctor, clergyman and land speculator, Manasseh Cutler played in the 1700s a major role in convincing Congress to convey a million acres of frontier land to the Ohio Company, and to give an option for several more million acres (at eight cents an acre) to the Scioto Company. Additionally Cutler convinced Congress to pass--and helped draft--the Northwest Ordinance in 1787. He received an honorary degree from Yale and membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for his examination and classification of 350 plant species. At Biscayne Bay a century later, Dr. William Cutler may have carried on family traditions. Cutler's grandfather, Hon. Elihu Cutler of Holliston, had served as a state representative and senator. Cutler's father owned large mills in Holliston and Ashland and held state offices.⁶⁸

William Cutler belonged to homeopathic societies. He served as vice president of the Medical Board of the Rufus S. Frost General Hospital and a director in the Winnisimmet National Bank. He was a 32nd degree Mason, a Democrat and a horseman. He had become

**Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler & the Perrine claim (1883-1897), cont.**

famous nationally for using a vaccine during an 1871 Smallpox epidemic, producing it in connection with the New England Vaccine Company.

Cutler travelled to South Florida in 1883 for his health. "So favorably was he impressed," according to Flagler's Miami Metropolis, "that he founded the town of Cutler on the coast of Biscayne Bay." Cutler said he spent sixteen weeks each year on the land.⁶⁹

"A subject of great moment"

When the doctor arrived, he hunted and fished with neighbors. He said later that he was attracted to their unique situation as non-landowners or as they later were called, "squatters." Cutler afterward was quoted by Flagler's promotional press as follows:

I first became interested . . . when I bought my Florida property The matter was . . a subject of great moment to those thirty-six settlers" [In fact, there were not as many as 36-- the maximum number required by the conditional grant-- even by 1897, when the claim was settled.]

Some of them have lived on the land for many years and improved it greatly and were in constant fear that they would be ousted by the granting of the claim that was constantly being pushed by the Perrines, foremost of whom was Henry Perrine, the oldest son of the . . . physician.

Several years ago [approximately 1895] these settlers organized what they called the "Squatters" Union. William Fuzzard, the most intelligent of them all, is president of that organization, and I was chosen their agent. They were poor people and I was interested in them, and I volunteered to care for their interests in Washington."⁷⁰

William Fuzzard applied for a post office in 1884. The nearest post office on the north then was at Miami, on the south Key West. For the Post Office requirements, Fuzzard diagrammed his site, showing it just outside the east line of the Perrine Grant, near the northern extremity of today's estate bounds, along present-day S.W. 152nd Street. Fuzzard indicated delivery was by boat and there were "No roads."⁷¹ (See Appendix C. Post Office locations.)

The postmaster at Miami, A.A. Brickell, certified to the truth of Fuzzard's facts set forth in his application to the Post Office Department at Washington D.C. In September of 1884, the post office of Cutler was officially established.⁷² As in other such situations, the surrounding settlers who received mail and those who sent it began to refer to the community by its postal name, Cutler. John and Mary Addison's homesite and landing, still a landmark, remained a placename through common usage rather than official function. Fuzzard built a small post office building, apparently near his home. Fuzzard's place was described as "a very fine home . . . at the postoffice."⁷³

The Florida State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1886 - 1887 described Cutler:

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler & the Perrine claim (1883-1897), cont.

Population, 75. . . . This place was first settled in 1884. . . formerly called Hunting Grounds. . . . Mails from Key West, by sailing vessels, to which latter place all mails and shipments intended for this place should be made; Key West . . . is the nearest bank, express and trading port. Starch is the principal export. This port receives mail once a week on Wednesday. One store and a starch factory are all the business interests here. Land sells at \$1.25 to \$50 per acre. They need a hotel and steamboat line.

FUZZARD WM. postmaster, starch factory and gen. mdse.
BANANA GROWER.
C.F. Seabold, 10 [acres].
PINEAPPLE GROWER.
Wm. Fuzzard, 15 [acres].
VEGETABLE AND TRUCK FARMER.
John Addison, 10 [acres].⁷⁴

In 1886 Dr. Cutler travelled to Washington D.C. to assert the land rights of the people he called "squatters."⁷⁵ He also enjoyed a reputation as a land developer. In 1889, Cutler selected for "a syndicate of Boston capitalists" a iron and coal site in Kentucky. Reportedly the site he chose became "the new and thriving manufacturing city of Grand Rivers, Ky." ⁷⁶ Other Boston entrepreneurs were active along the Florida coast. The Boston & Fla. Atlantic Coast Land Co. was one railroad actively involved in land deals with the Henry Morrison Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway, as that operation moved southward, bringing rails and development.⁷⁷

"Florida on Wheels!"

Advertising South Florida became part of a nationwide package of Henry Flagler's Florida's East Coast Railway (F.E.C.). The F.E.C. Land Department published its own nationally-distributed promotional magazines. Copy was routinely submitted to newspapers along with expensive paid ads.

Innovative advertising methods were devised. In May of 1894, advertiser Wanton S. Webb reported on his novel approach. Writing to newly-appointed F.E.C. Land Commissioner and vice-president J.E. Ingraham, Webb sent photos of banners and an eye-catching railroad car called "Florida on Wheels!" Webb, publisher in 1885 of the popular Webb's Historical, Industrial and Biographical Florida, in 1893 brought a railroad car from Jacksonville to train shops at Wilmington Delaware for repainting. Under the authority of Flagler, vice presidents Parrott and Miles, Webb produced advertising copy and painted signs. Webb took his "Florida on Wheels!" car to "92 cities and towns in Michigan." He headed on to Indiana and Illinois--a town each day--on the Toledo, St. Louis & Kansas City Railway. At each town, there was a parade and distribution of literature regarding F.E.C. lands for sale. Webb sent Ingraham a list of potential Indiana and Arkansas buyers "thinking of coming to Florida." Webb requested authority to repair and revarnish the car for a second annual tour.⁷⁸

The F.E.C. promoted settlers at Cutler, such as a couple named Fitch who arrived during Fall of 1894. They decided to settle on the Perrine grant "under peculiar circumstances,"

**Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler & the Perrine claim (1883-1897), cont.**

according to The Miami Metropolis. Fitch, an ailing Philadelphia artist, and his wife built a sailboat, meandered an inland route down the Atlantic coast and sailed into Biscayne Bay after nine months. The Fitches reportedly intended to continue on their southerly course, but while anchored near Addisons Landing, the hurricane of September 1894 blew their boat ashore, and it was "stove in." They salvaged their goods and, a half mile south of Addison, set up "a pleasant place." According to the Metropolis, Fitch of course regained his health.⁷⁹

"Perrine Grant," U.S. Senate Committee Report 1574.

Despite the F.E.C.'s rosy-hued painting of the Perrine grant situation, an official record regarding the federally-owned township had been accumulating in Washington for more than a decade. In December of 1896, hundreds of "proofs," affidavits by settlers claiming occupation on individual sections of the Perrine grant, had been submitted to the General Land Office and were approved. But a year earlier, in December of 1895, a Senate bill had been introduced to cause the forfeiture of the Perrine claim and open the lands to private ownership. In 1897, after the filing, nine settlers and dozens of citizens charged that the requirements for the Perrine grant had not been met. They challenged the facts upon which the "proofs" were made.⁸⁰

In 1897, the matter was referred in 1897 to the Senate Committee on Public Lands. The committee report, although split, supported the proofs. The committee's 51-page report included a 24-page majority view and a 27-page minority opinion. Dispute over whether or not the Perrines had met the requirements was raised by petitioners, including "some thirteen squatters," residents for "two to thirty years," according to the committee. The F.E.C. role was cited: "Stimulated no doubt by the proposed forfeiture," the heirs "were driven," according to the report, to "a hard bargain" with Henry Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway interests--10,000 acres in exchange for "furnishing the means to earn the grant." Railway officials had promised "all of the squatters" land in exchange for settlement proof--affidavits swearing to residency by "about 50 settlers" who raised "valuable tropical plants" on each of 36 sections of the six-mile square township. During February of 1897, the Department of the Interior issued the long-contested patent to the Perrine heirs.

After the patent was issued, new protest came from real settlers who referred to themselves as "bona fide settlers." They charged that many of those who had given affidavits had been on the land only since May of 1896 and swore to residence on the wet prairie even though "much of it [was] underwater." For required homes, they built "pole tents" or houses "only covered with paper and constructed of pine logs." For the required tropical plant improvements, some reportedly "girdled a few trees." Nine "bona fide" settlers insisted that the F.E.C. officer (Ingraham) failed to fulfill promises, such as construction of a "dike and canal" to drain the inland areas. The "bona fide" settlers charged that many of the F.E.C.-arranged settlers had already abandoned their Sections, and that newly-established tropical plants were "said to be dying or dead."

The Committee report was printed in March of 1897. Although the majority voted to sustain the patent, they concluded:

It is impossible to tell . . . whether a fraud [has] been perpetrated upon the Government. . . . We were assured . . . that the rights of all squatters, as set forth in their contracts

**Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler & the Perrine claim (1883-1897), cont.**

with the railroad company, would be protected If the pledge of fair dealing . . .
. is not redeemed further action by Congress may be in order.⁸¹

The minority also faulted the federal land agency for failing to protect the legitimate settlers and to guarantee the original intent of the grant, stating:

settlers . . . had a right to expect that said grant would be forfeited by Congress . . .
.and [settled on the land] with a view of perfecting their titles under the land laws of
the United States.

Additionally, the minority blamed the Interior Department for failure, in Fall of 1896, to consider petitions from settlers, as well as petitions erroneously filed with Congress and never considered by the department, stating:

If the Department had been one-half as zealous in desiring to protect the interests of the settlers as they were in "railroading" the patent through for the Perrines . . . it would have notified said settlers of the proper place to file their petitions."

The minority stated that the settlers placed on the property after Fall of 1896 by the F.E.C. were neither settlers according to the intent of the Congressional grant nor according to the traditional General Land Office definitions:

That subsequent to the agreement between the Perrine heirs and the said railroad company said company, through its agent, caused settlers to be located on all unsettled sections, which so-called settlers, we submit, the evidence shows were not actual bona fide settlers.

Thirteen actual settlers had refused to give proof of compliance, in protest over the F.E.C.'s failure to perform. Nine of those testified that the railroad company proceeded without their affidavits. The company got affidavits from others who gave affidavits of "occupancy and improvements" without the settlers' knowledge.

The minority report published petitioners' testimony that the F.E.C.-arranged settlements were bogus:

sixteen of these back settlers have apparently deserted. . . the houses are incomplete . .
. . few door shutters. . . few wells. . . no tools . . . their trees are dead and what aint
are dying. . . no grub in their houses. . . no cooking utensils. . . .⁸²

Case law was cited by the petitioners' legal counsel, E.V. Brookshire, who concluded:

The settlers on the Perrine grant, whom we represent, went upon the land. . .
believing the same to be subject to forfeiture and believing that the United States would
declare a forfeiture. Their belief we insist was a reasonable one. . and occupation was
not wrongful. They have rights which the Government should protect

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler & the Perrine claim (1883-1897), cont.

We think that Congress would be justified and should, in fact, suggest to the judiciary the propriety of investigating in a proper equity suit. . . the Perrine grant, with a view of ascertaining whether. . . the terms and conditions of the grant have been complied with. . . and whether or not the Land Department has exceeded its proper jurisdiction in the issuing of the patent.⁸³

The Senate Committee on Public Lands included a review of the history of the east half of section 26--the Grant area lying within today's Charles Deering Estate site. In 1888 and again in 1896 William Cutler testified that the Perrines had failed to meet the grant conditions, failing to establish settlers and plantings on each of the 36 sections as required. Appearing as the owner and developer of "adjoining land," Cutler testified under oath as follows:

I have for several years spent much time in that locality. . . and . . . [the] Perrine . . . heirs never made any improvements. . . except to build a log house 12 X 15 feet. . . thirty years after the expiration of the time given . . . by a son who resided there just 11 months. . . .

[V]aluable improvements have been made. . . but . . . by the persons to be named:

John A. Addison now an old man of seventy . . . [who] spent the best part of his life clearing and improving Section 26. . . . He. . . entered upon the land, believing it to belong solely to the Government . . . [the land] constitutes his entire earthly possession and property, and to dispossess him of it would be to turn him out in his old age a beggar and pauper, stripped of the fruits of all his toil.

William Fuzzard, another settler upon said section 26, has done much toward developing same, and his and . . . Addison's improvements have a value greater than that of the whole grant

My improvements upon land adjoining this grant. . . a clearing of one hundred acres planted with one hundred thousand pineapple plants, one thousand cocoanut trees, five hundred orange and other fruit trees. . . buildings, mills, etc. costing some \$15,000, being the only steam mill south of Lake Worth, have given value to all land in that immediate vicinity, particularly this so-called Perrine grant, and it is the general impression . . . that these heirs are now making an effort to enrich themselves upon the fruits of the enterprise of other people, and it remains to be seen whether the United States Government will be a party to this injustice.

It is a further fact. . . that neither said Perrine or his heirs ever placed a settler upon said grant, nor. . . a single family. . . from the Bahamas. . . . In carrying out the improvements upon my adjacent estate I have at times employed people from the Bahamas, and these people have occasionally built their huts upon the Perrine grant, but they seldom remain in Florida more than six months, returning thence to their homes at the Bahamas. . . . One . . . informed me that he had been offered by an agent of the Perrine heirs twenty acres. . . if he would give an affidavit that he was established as a settler on said grant. . . .

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler & the Perrine claim (1883-1897), cont.

I desire further to state that I have no choice or desire as to whether the Perrine heirs do or do not have said grant confirmed. . . other than that these actual settlers should be amply protected. . . . Until recently every person cognizant of the facts believed that said tract would revert to the public domain and would be open to settlement like all public lands

Cutler swore to his affidavit again before the U.S. Court in Boston in November of 1895.⁸⁴ His testimony before the Congressional Committee was that there had been not more than one person on the land when he first arrived, and that no one had made any improvements supporting the Perrine interests prior to 1896.⁸⁵

In addition to Cutler, oldtimers at Key West and Coconut Grove gave affidavits for the record regarding tropical plant introduction to the area. In 1895 John Addison swore in 1895 at Coconut Grove before J.W. Ewan, a U.S. Commissioner as follows:

in hunting for game over the entire grant for the past thirty years I have never found any sisal hemp or other tropical plants, excepting on section 26, and to the best of my knowledge and belief these plants were put here by an independent settler by the name of Duke.⁸⁶

The Senate report also included an 1887 affidavit given by Addison and Fuzzard before Dade County Circuit Court Clerk Henry T. Priest and sent to the U.S. Secretary of the Interior L.Q.C. Lamar. They reaffirmed the document on December 10, 1895 before notary public Charles Peacock. The main excerpts are as follows:

We, the undersigned. . . have just read the report of the Honorable S.M. Stockslager, assistant commissioner of the General Land Office of March 15th A.D. 1887

In reply. . . your petitioners have to state in their own behalf the following:

1. That the said Dr. Henry Perrine and his associates never settled upon or improved any of said land as required

3. That the [Perrine] widow and children have never established any settlers on each section. . . . [N]either was there 36 families engaged . . . and therefore could not have been frightened off by the Indians. . . .

4. That said [Perrine] claimants never planted any seeds and plants. . . .

That the son of Dr. Perrine, with several others, did occupy a small portion . . . by camping That said son stated to your petitioner at the time he came . . . in 1876 that he would have never landed. . . if . . . the said John A. Addison. . . had not been living there, but now said son desired to enter said lands under said grant. . . greatly to . . . John A. Addison's damage and injury.

**Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler & the Perrine claim (1883-1897), cont.**

5. [T]hat Addison, Charles Seibold, Wm. Matteau, Charles Smith, Pablo Alayon, M. O'Callahan, and Calvin B. de Malmedy are now residing on said lands. . . . Your petitioners have to say that not one of said parties were established on said grant by Dr. Perrine heirs That said parties . . . settled with their own accord, and that soon finding out that the same was a grant, Charles Seibold, Wm. Matteau, Charles Smith, Pablo Alayon, and Calvin B. deMalmedy deserted said land M. O'Callahan and your petitioners are the only bona fide residents on said section 26 . . . Addison residing on the fractional SE quarter. . . Fuzzard on the NE quarter. . . [and] O'Callahan . . . on a portion of the land [of] Addison.

6. Addison settled . . . in April 1864 with his family. . . cleared thirty acres of land in a state of cultivation. . . . planted in oranges, lemons, limes, cocoanuts and bananas and vegetables . . . built a good frame dwelling house, dug a well for water and fenced said clearing with his own hands, . . . value [of which] . . . is \$10,000. . . .

7. Fuzzard settled . . . in March 1884, . . . built a good two-story frame dwelling house. . . dug a well for water, cleared 5 acres . . . fenced 25 acres, and planted . . . cocoanuts, pineapples, pears, oranges, bananas and other fruits and vegetables; that the value. . . is. . . \$8,000.⁸⁷

Additional affidavits contesting the Perrine grant were presented. Drusilla G. Williams, 17 years of age in 1844, gave an affidavit that in that year she had arrived with her father, Reason Duke, that she lived on the hunting grounds until 1847. Williams swore that there were no prior settlements or cultivation. The gist of her testimony is as follows:

[T]hey did not find a stone turned, a well or any sign whatever of there ever having been a previous white settler. . . . [H]er father built a house, cleared land, raised quantities of vegetables, and built vessels until 1847 [H]er father planted the only sisal hemp she ever saw growing anywhere on the Perrine grant. . . . [T]he statement made that the Tropical Plant Co., or any person connected with Doctor Perrine planted sisal hemp on every section. . . she believed to be a gross misrepresentation [T]he claim made by the Perrine heirs that 36 families were brought from the Bahamas. . . she believes to be a gross misrepresentation. . . . She also stated that Indians never gave the settlers on Biscayne Bay any trouble after 1860.⁸⁸

David Pent gave his affidavit in March of 1888 before Circuit Court Clerk Henry T. Priest, a copy of which was filed with the Senate Committee on Public Lands by Henry B. Lovering. Pent swore that he was one of the few living people who had known Dr. Perrine and his actual involvement on the land, testifying as follows:

I, . . . Pent, living at Coconut Grove . . . have always resided upon this bay, in close proximity to the so-called Perrine grant. . . . [A]t the time of Dr. Perrine's death at Indian Key, I was 15 years old. I often visited the hunting grounds. . . prior to and after the massacre at Indian Key. I personally know all the parties residing there . . . and never was aware that Dr. Perrine ever visited any part of the grant, think I

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler & the Perrine claim (1883-1897), cont.

should have known it. . . . At the time of Dr. Perrine's death there were two families living upon the grant, with a view of. . . settling. . . . [being] Dukes and DeBoise.

I personally know that Dr. Perrine never planted any fruit, hemp, or other trees upon the grant. Any such . . . were planted by others. Dr. Perrine never built any walls or other improvements upon the grant Some thirty years after his death. . . a son made an attempt. . . [building] a small log hut Said he did it at the earnest solicitation of his sister, Mrs. Walker. While he was there I did some work for him. . . . [A]ll that was done in the way of improvements was work of mine. We planted a few vegetables and set out four cocoanut trees, also built a crude landing for boats, which was carried away by the sea after a few months

My family are the only persons living in this vicinity who lived here prior to Dr. Perrine's death and are able to testify from memory as to these facts.⁸⁹

The actual settlers' 1897 petition described their locations. They included an inventory--section by section--of the current conditions on 18 of the sections. George H. Mehring examined those "back sections" and swore that "only 8 of said men pretend to stay on above sections."

The petition included a joint resolution of the Florida legislature of June 1893 recommending the "restoration to the public domain" of the grant lands. The settler-petitioners in addition to Addison and Fitch were: Walter H. Browne, Henry A. Fitch, William Roberts, John F. and John W. Roberts, William J. Dougherty, Sarah M. Roberts, T.R. and J.W. Pinder, Azanah and Livingston Pinder, F.J. Seybold and Charles M. Campbell. Only Fuzzard and Addison occupied the east half of Section 26-- today's Charles Deering Estate site. Henry Fitch was nearby, in the S.W. quarter of the section.⁹⁰

The petition included affidavits alleging coercion by F.E.C. agents. An affidavit of settler Edward I. Robinson reviewed William Cutler's involvement with organizing the opposition, and the changed positions of Addison and Fuzzard. Robinson swore he had "erected a house and cultivated plants and tress. . . [and] is acquainted with all the actual settlers. . . previous to the arrival of one S.H. Richmond, agent for the railroads." Robinson stated:

[H]e. . . attended . . . meetings . . . of settlers . . . known as the "Squatters' Union." . . . officers were William Fuzzard, President, and Charles Seibold, secretary. All the then settlers were members and attended its meetings on the porch of the residence of John Addison These were in the nature of mass meetings, with officers present The organization was created for mutual aid in opening the grant to homestead entry; the Perrines having slept so long upon their rights to the claim no one regarded them other than as a name and an impediment to homesteads from United States.

That this union instructed Dr. Cutler to engage attorneys and do all possible to see the grant forfeited and our titles perfected. Attorneys were so employed. A case in behalf of the settlers must be on file in the Department of the Interior.

That the general belief of the settlers claiming homesteads south, west, and north of bay shore is that they have been sold out by the bay front town lot settlers to the

**Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler & the Perrine claim (1883-1897), cont.**

Perrines and railroads, and that the united States Government will give them away with the land.

That there is and always has been, so far as I could see and hear, an almost universal objection by citizens of Dade County . . . against confirmation of an unearned, conditional grant . . . instead of giving to each actual settlers . . . his homestead of 160 acres of land.⁹¹

Robinson swore, in a separate affidavit a week later, that he had refused to make proofs for the railroad and that:

McKinley, attorney for said Ingraham. . . and one Richmond . . . did then threaten and further annoy . . . settlers . . . in order to force said settlers to make proofs for said Perrines or said railroad.

your affiant swears he has suffered persecution and annoyance by holding his 160 acres of United States land and refusing to recognize said authority of said railroad.⁹²

John Roberts, an oldtimer and settler of the section west of Addison, swore that he was among those coerced during Ingraham's first visit to the land:

Ingraham made false statements and promises. . . that they would . . . build a wharf this fall, so that a steamboat could come . . . and take our produce . . . that they would obtain title in December and give us ours in January. . . that this would be the only way we could get our land. . . if we didn't they would put other men on our sections and prove up on them and we would lose our land. . . he scared and bluffed the most of the settlers so that they signed.⁹³

John W. Roberts, father of John F., added:

Mr. Addison . . . for the last five years . . . has worked against the Perrines, but now since Mr. Ingraham . . . has promised to give him what land he wants, he talks different. He is all for the company now.⁹⁴

James E. Ingraham gave an affidavit in Jacksonville before W.W. Dewhurst:

about March . . . 1896, certain . . . heirs of Dr. Henry Perrine . . . solicited . . . aid in complying with the terms of said act . . . about the last week in May . . . 1896 this deponent visited the said Perrine grant with a view of ascertaining the character of the land, and also to learn something concerning the "squatters" or settlers. . . the settlers had formed . . . a "Squatters' Union" for . . . securing titles to the lands . . . they had instituted proceedings before the General Land Office and before Congress for . . . [T]he action . . . threatened to render this large body of land not subject to settlement or development and keep the title unsettled for years, greatly to the injury of the interest of the Florida East Coast Railway Company . . . a meeting of all the squatters was called. . . he made the following proposition. . . They would enter into a written agreement to withdraw their proceedings before Congress and the General Land

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler & the Perrine claim (1883-1897), cont.

Office at once proceed . . with the Perrine heirs . . . placing settlers upon the unoccupied sections . . . each squatter or settler should receive title to 20 acres . . . it was then agreed that each squatter should receive 40 acres . . . and . . . and three of the squatters who had lived on the grant the longer period . . . should receive 80 acres each by reason of valuable improvements they had made.⁹⁵

At one point, surveyor S.H. Richmond appeared before a Senate committee. He admitted that 31 Sections had been settled only during 1896. With him travelled Walter H. Browne "as a settler" and George McDonald "as a disinterested surveyor."⁹⁶

Materials suggest that there were three major viewpoints among the settlers: (Cutler, Fuzzard, Addison siding in 1896 with), the Perrines and the F.E.C.; the settlers who refused, insisting on their right to their 160-acre quarter-section federal homestead; and the F.E.C.-backed settlers who quickly "complied" and gave proof. The settlers on the land apparently expected the Grant to die a legal death, but the F.E.C. Railway extending southward from Miami apparently saw acquisition of the township as requisite to its construction needs. The Congressional documents indicate that the F.E.C. took half the Perrine land in exchange for successful satisfaction of grant conditions reviewed by the General Land Office and the Department of Interior. The aftermath protests suggest the possibility that there were actually fraudulent settlers, while the F.E.C. representative asserts legitimate meeting of the requirements. While offering valuable information, questions raised by the report suggest further research regarding the episode and the role played by Dr. Cutler, other railway and canal developers and President Cleveland's wife, who may have been, in effect, a Perrine heir. (For F.E.C. holdings throughout the sector, see Site Graphics, Figure 5.)

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Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, The Perrine Grant Land Company & the F.E.C. (1896-1912)

A Surveyor for Mr. Flagler

Samuel H. Richmond was a civil engineer and surveyor. A deputy court clerk and a citrus grower of Marion County, he left that area after 14 years when the Great Freeze of 1895 destroyed his grove. At 45, he started over. With his wife of eight years, Nova Scotia-born Edith M. Hendry, Richmond arrived to associate with the Florida East Coast Railway land department. Ultimately setting up a real estate office in Miami and their home at Cutler, Richmond surveyed some 150,000 southern Dade County acres of "wilderness," which he saw become "one of the best fruit-growing sections in the United States" during his 15 years with the F.E.C. Born at Taunton, Massachusetts, Richmond had been educated at Amherst at the Massachusetts Agricultural College [today's University of Massachusetts]. He taught drafting and mechanical drawing in Massachusetts and afterward, for a short time, in Marion County. He wrote that his "special charge" for the F.E.C. was the Perrine grant after the F.E.C. entered in 1896 into an agreement with Perrine heirs to develop it.⁹⁷

Richmond wrote that "no systematic attempt to comply with the Government contract" had been made by the Perrines since 1876.⁹⁸ In Richmond's words, he was hired to survey. He was "allotting land to the settlers and cultivating tropical trees and plants. . . furnished by the East Coast Railway Company and the government."⁹⁹ Richmond's business stationery advertised his expertise in his field--"Town Sites Located and Large Tracts of Land Inspected, Surveyed and Platted." Richmond also announced his status as a notary public in the "State of Florida At Large."

In April of 1896, Richmond penned in Spencerian script a letter to his employer, James E. Ingraham, Land Commissioner and Third Vice President of Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway. From Coconut Grove Richmond wrote:

Dear Sir

I was on my way to Miami with report yesterday when I rec'd the letter from you asking about Perrine Grant.

I have already run lines enough there to report in a general way that this tract contains some of the best pine and prairie lands in this part of the country. There are not less than a thousand acres of good orange land in the centre of the grant, a small amount of fine hammock a good water front (at Cutler and Addisons) and of course many acres of worthless rock. But as a whole, it is a very desirable tract of land, contains a fine location for a town site, and well worth inspecting. There are many nice families, and young men, located there on homestead claims which they hope to secure if thrown open by the Government, or placed on market by heirs or assigns.

I think I can begin there next week and until I hear from you again will work on lines that I have not previously run.

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.

Have spent today trying to find location for the Rubber nursery of Mr. Montgomery, and will go with him tomorrow. We are looking at lands in sec 24 Tp 54- R40.

Very Respectfully
S.H. Richmond

Do you want report of each "forty" or only each section of the Perine Grant? ¹⁰⁰

Another incoming settler of the mid-1890s was E.W.F. Stirrup. From Harbour Island in the Bahamas, then Key West, Stirrup arrived to the area of Cutler with his wife, Charlotte Jane Sawyer Stirrup. There their daughter, Kate Biscayne Stirrup, was born in 1896. Stirrup, nicknamed "Abe" for Abraham Lincoln, was a black laborer and landowner at Cutler. He bought land, reportedly his deed was signed by Dr. Cutler. Later an owner and land developer at Cocanut Grove, the Stirrups and their growing family moved to the Grove and built a house there in 1898.¹⁰¹

The Saga, as presented by the F.E.C. press

The facts of the Perrine Grant matter were presented very differently by Henry Flagler's promotional press, The Miami Metropolis. The final months before the Perrine Grant was conveyed was a time of mounting, happy anticipation as presented for the readership of the Miami Metropolis. From June of 1896 until the actual conveyance of land, the magazine featured some related item nearly every issue. Though articles appeared about the "Squatters Union" meeting with Ingraham at John and Mary Addison's home, the gathering sounded harmonious, in contrast to the implications of the Senate report.¹⁰² According to the Metropolis, Ingraham inspected the land with D.C. Sutton and advised settlers on what to plant--"cinchona, Kola nuts, vanilla bean, rubber, sisal hemp and such other tropical plants that may be supplied . . . and may be necessary to comply with the contract."¹⁰³

The F.E.C. advertised, through the Metropolis, that they needed 16 more "actual settlers" who would "introduce and engage in the culture of tropical and semi-tropical plants of commercial value that were not indigenous to the United States." Applicants for the 16 vacant sections were advised "to apply to Mr. Richmond at Cutler."¹⁰⁴

The agreement provided John Addison and William Fuzzard portions of the eastern half of Section 26--some 320 fractional acres (approximately 280 above-water acres), Addison ultimately received more than 70 acres, the Perrine Grant Land Company more than 160, Fuzzard nearly 50, and Richmond about 5. The Perrine Grant Land Company and Fuzzard divided alternate subdivision blocks in the northern half. Addison and the Company acquired blocks in nearly all the southern half, except for the choice parcel deeded to Richmond.¹⁰⁵ Richmond's subdivision of that half section and Fuzzard's adjacent bayfront into lots was the vehicle used to legally describe and divide. It was not recorded until 1899-- after deeds were issued from the Grant Company to Addison, Fuzzard and Walter H. Brown.¹⁰⁶

The Metropolis promotion managed to include a reference, however, to a fact not contained in the Senate Report--that Henry E. Perrine Jr. was married to President Grover Cleveland's mother-in-law.¹⁰⁷ After the death of his first wife, Henry had married Emma

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.

Folsom, whose daughter, Frances, married Cleveland.¹⁰⁸ (Cleveland, former Mayor of Buffalo and Governor of New York, began his second (non-consecutive) presidential term in 1893 and left office in March of 1893,¹⁰⁹ soon after the Perrine patent was issued in February. Henry Perrine sent from Buffalo two dollars for a year's subscription to the Metropolis, although he commented that a story about his family was "full of errors."¹¹⁰

Late summer of 1896, even as settlers sought legal remedies, the Metropolis depicted a land boom at Cutler. The Cutler correspondent [possibly Richmond] wrote of visitors and new settlers; the planting of sweet potatoes and tropical fruits; the construction of roads and "camps."

The correspondent wanted commerce and institutions: Cutler "must have a good general store, a school, a church, a sawmill, a boarding house, a shoemaker and a lot of good farmers." Two Cutler ladies had married, one in Key West, the other at Coconut Grove, and there were no mosquitoes in Cutler. He concluded, "If this escapes the waste basket, will do better next week."¹¹¹

A letter to the editor only hinted at controversy. The September 25th Metropolis letter characterized George Land as peevish, and his criticisms unfounded and injurious. Land apparently criticized Richmond, his treatment of settlers and tardy distribution of tropical trees and tardy execution of promised ditching--serious matters in the Senate Report.

A letter from L.N. Snell castigated Land for "a very great and grave injustice." He had held the agents up to public ridicule and made settlers appear dishonest--which might "prevent honest people from coming among us." Snell defended Richmond, demanded a retraction and an apology.¹¹²

In October, even as sworn protests were recorded, the Metropolis reported that George Land appeared at a public meeting at Cutler to consider what the Metropolis characterized as his "malicious attack." Land retracted nothing, especially regarding Richmond. But the Metropolis reported that Land was castigated by settlers: J.E. MacGowen as chairman of the meeting, L.N. Snell secretary, and committee members--Daugherty, Seibold and Capt. Roberts [though Roberts, Seibold and Daugherty became petitioners of record].¹¹³

In November's Metropolis issue, "Elmira Pinder at Cutler" protested to county commissioners regarding the county road running through her property. She claimed \$100 in damages.¹¹⁴ Neither the legal petitions to Congress nor the numerous affidavits protesting the F.E.C./Perrine activities received coverage in the F.E.C.'s Metropolis.

The magazine covered a Christmas picnic at the Addisons. "A union picnic to which all the settlers on the grant were invited Tables were set in the front yard. . . under the poincianna [sic] tree . . . loaded with all the good things usual on such occasions." The ladies credited in the Metropolis account were "Mrs. Richmond, T.R. Pinder, Mrs. Fuzzard and Mrs. J.F. Roberts." After dinner they served "ice cream, cake, nuts and candies. . . giving . . . a social day long to be remembered."¹¹⁵

The Dade County Fair was established and underwritten by Henry Flagler and the F.E.C. in 1897. The annual event was begun by E.V. Blackman, editor of the F.E.C. Land

Department's magazine, The Florida East Coast Homeseeker published at Miami. Blackman obtained authority from J.E. Ingraham for a tent and expenses in exhibiting "a few products grown in Dade County." Blackman believed county and township fairs provided "the best possible medium for advertising," and organized the event during the International Tobacco Growers' annual convention scheduled that winter in Miami. ("This was a great event and would bring in a large number of delegates," the editor later wrote.) The annual event often later included products grown at Cutler along with other areas, growers and products. Photographs of displays and lists of winners and prizes received prominent play in the Metropolis, the Homeseeker and other F.E.C. promotional publications. For instance, entire Homeseeker pages were devoted to a list of crops (ranging from eggplant to strawberries). Judges hailed from Boston to New York. Winners included S.C. Merrick, M. Brickell and S.H. Richmond. (Richmond's Irish potato entries for 1901 won five dollars in gold, a prize given by Bank of Bay Biscayne.) Fairs were established in F.E.C. towns and counties along the coast.¹¹⁶

After February 4, 1897, when the Perrine family received its patent, the Metropolis devoted much space to that long-awaited conveyance to the Perrines--Ann F., Henry, Sarah Ann, Hester M.S., Henry E. and "their heirs and assigns."¹¹⁷ News of the coming town appeared in the Boston Advertiser and the Memphis Selmeter. Reprints appeared in the Metropolis under five sub-headlines. The newsprint envisioned a bustling town populated by subscribers and advertisers, rendered mosquitoes harmless and frontier living idyllic:

A TOWN THAT IS TO BE

A Trip to Cutler and Some Points There Gained.

THE COMING TOWN OF MOST SOUTHERN FLORIDA IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

What the Settlers Are Now Doing and What They Did Forty Years Ago.

The Most Promising Section of Dade County Some Points of Interest.

Sounds and scenes of activity now begin to arouse people at one of the furthest corners of Uncle Sam's domains, a place until recently practically unknown to the world outside of Biscayne Bay. A few evenings since we sat in the soft moonlight by the side of the still waters of the beautiful Biscayne Bay, cheered and lulled almost to the embrace of Morpheus by the soft and monotonous humming of the ever welcome mosquito. We had passed the day in and about Butler, and learned many things of the section of Florida upon which will be located at no distant day the most southern town on the mainland of the United States, and where is now the most southern postoffice. The night came on calm and moonlight while we watched the catching of

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.

mullet at the flow of the tide, waited for our launch and listened to stories of the days long gone by concerning the Perrine Grant and the early settlers.

There are two centres at Cutler now. One is at Wm. Fuzzard's, the post-office, and the other at John Addison's, where the Perrine Grant headquarters of S.H. Richmond are located. . . .

The Memphis Selmeter defended President Cleveland and castigated those who would "annoy" the chief executive:

Among the many spiteful attempts to annoy the President upon the eve of his leaving office, is the action of the unspeakable Tillman in regard to the title of certain Florida lands recently patented to the Perrine heirs, among whom is Mrs. Cleveland. Tillman's object in introducing the resolution of inquiry in the Senate is to show, or rather to beget in the public mind the impression that the President had instigated the Secretary of the Interior to bestow upon the Perrines public property, to which the applicants had no valid claim. Doubtless he will succeed to a certain extent, as the Grover-phobist press, which made haste to exploit the implied charge, takes good care not to print the answer embodied in the facts of the case."¹¹⁸

Thanksgiving of 1898 finally brought John A. Addison a deed conveyed by the Florida East Coast Railway Company and eleven Perrine heirs. The heirs included Henry and Emma in Buffalo; Clara Rodgers and Robert Dunbar Radcliffe of New York City; Jeannette Sloate Walker "widow of Henry Perrine Walker;" H. Reiman Duval and Nannie G. Duval; James Townsend Walker and Florette Wells Walker of Palmyra, New York; and Curtis W. and Elizabeth A. Holcomb of Washington D.C.

Conveyance to Addison was described by subdivision blocks, platted and numbered by S.H. Richmond. The ten-acre blocks were checkerboarded across the hammock, comprising roughly half of it. Three of Addison's coastal blocks were smaller, and a half-block lay just north of the new Richmond Cottage. The blocks bore the numbers 60, 63, 67 through 69, 73 and 76.¹¹⁹ Not until January off 1899, did S.H. Richmond file his plat with Dade County. He swore it was a duplicate of his original map, and that it was the same document already referred to in legal descriptions for deeds to Addison, Walter H. Brown, and William Fuzzard.¹²⁰

In Early May of 1899, Dr. Cutler died at the age of 61.¹²¹ Richmond wrote (16 years later), "A long, double row of Royal Palms, by far the finest in Dade County, are standing as a living monument to his respected memory."¹²² Also during May, on the 20th, the Perrine Grant Land Corporation was incorporated to own, develop and sell the Perrine lands. Officers were J.C. Palmer as president. Palmer was also attorney for the FEC Railway. Vice President and General Manager was J.E. Ingraham. Louis Larson was Secretary, John Denham Palmer treasurer. Directors were H. Reiman Duval (a Perrine heir), F.E.C. vice president J.R. Parrott, Ingraham, and Larson. The men all resided in places importance to F.E.C. operations. Palmer resided in Fernandina, Parrott in Jacksonville, and Ingraham in St. Augustine--the city of the F.E.C.'s home office. Perrine Grant Land Company operated on a par with F.E.C. operations of the Model Land Company, the Chuluota Company and the Fort Dallas Land Company

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.

organized to sell F.E.C. lands at Miami. Stationery for the three corporations functioned on one stationery letterhead.¹²³

By the 13th of December, a major construction project was underway at Cutler--construction of the Richmond Cottage. The cottage was an addition to the east end of the Richmond house, a porch-wrapped "T" addition fronting on Biscayne Bay. The ledger book of the Perrine Grant Land Company includes payments related to construction and other costs incurred over a period of years, suggesting some operational aspects of the inn as a company operation.¹²⁴ The Florida East Coast Homeseeker, an advertising publication of the F.E.C. land department reported in February of 1900:

A New Hotel At Cutler

Dr. S. Howard Richmond, the agent of the Perrine Land Grant Company, spent Thursday, February 8th, in Miami with his wife, looking after the furnishings of his new hotel. From him we learned that his new hotel would soon be completed and opened to the public. The house is a 22-room building, with large, airy rooms and pleasant office. It is located on the bluff overlooking the sparkling waters of the Biscayne Bay and the Atlantic ocean. The view from the Eastern porch is simply enchanting. The magnificent ships of the Florida East-Coast Steamship Company daily pass in plain view, while the bay is covered with hundreds of sailing crafts and launches laden with merry pleasure seekers, or loaded with freight. West of the hotel are the great prairies covered with a most luxuriant crop of vegetables, while nestling among the piny woods are many new homes, with their acres of young fruit trees, both citrus and tropical. Lying South and West are the great hunting grounds, where deer, turkey and quail are found in abundance. The waters of the bay teem with all varieties of fish found in the southern waters. With Mrs. Richmond for a hostess, and all the above natural advantages, Cutler will soon become a popular resort. Those who are in search of lands, either for farming or fruit growing, will be highly entertained by the genial doctor, who never tires shouting the praise of the Perrine Grant lands.¹²⁵

The Richmond Cottage

The Richmond Hotel, as it appears in the company ledger, opened as "Richmond Cottage." The inn functioned under the management of "Edith M. Richmond, Proprietress." Rates were advertised at two dollars a day, "Special Rates by Week or Month."

Mrs. Richmond's first official guests signed her big red-leather bound register on Saturday, April 7 of 1900. J.E. Ingraham of the Florida East Coast Railway arrived with K.M. Ingraham, J.E. Ingraham and a half dozen other men. They arrived from Boynton, Miami, and New York. Nearly twenty guests registered. On Monday, April 9, Henry M. Flagler signed in, along with other F.E.C. officers, such as Vice President Joseph R. Parrott, F.E.C. engineer and head of the survey team.¹²⁶ Dr. Richmond afterward wrote, "for several years this cottage had the proud distinction of being the most southerly hotel on the mainland of the United States."¹²⁷

**Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.**

Richmond Cottage boasted a modern telephone at a time when most Biscayne Bay homes had neither electricity nor indoor plumbing. Reflective of the F.E.C. backing, the Miami Metropolis reported that in lieu of a telegraph station, the telephone was "putting the outside world in quick communication." A call to Dr. S.H. Richmond reportedly found "Everything in perfect order, the voice being perfectly clear and distinguishable with all ease." The phone number was Cutler 1-2.¹²⁸

As the inn was constructed, William Fuzzard requested federal permission to relocate the post office a mile southwest, approximately along Richmond Drive (S.W. 168th Street) and west of today's Old Cutler Road. The new site lay west of Richmond Cottage on the road connecting Cutler to Cocoanut Grove. Fuzzard swore that the Cutler post office served a village of 150 and a general population of 300. The mail, Fuzzard indicated, came six times a week by boat from Cocoanut Grove. To the south, the nearest post office was at Planter (Islamorada), 50 miles away. Fuzzard anticipated a new post office six miles north, to be called Larkins. (The post office called Larkins [South Miami] was established in summer of 1899.)¹²⁹

Henry Flagler planned to return to Cutler in mid-March, but illness changed his plans. From his Royal Poinciana Hotel at Palm Beach, Flagler's typed letter was sent to J.E. Ingraham at Miami:

Dear Sir

Your two letters of 18th inst. are at hand, and I note what you say about communicating with Secretary Root and General Miles regarding the improvement of St. Augustine. This I will do with Miles if I have an opportunity of seeing him, which I very much doubt, as I expect now to leave here next Sunday night spending Monday and possibly Tuesday in Ormond, and the rest of the week up to Friday night at St. Augustine. Then I go to New York, where I have an engagement on the 2nd prox., which however, I hope will not detain me long, and I then expect to return to Florida, but as the Hotels here and at Miami will probably be closed by the time of my return, it is doubtful whether I shall come south of St. Augustine. I am very much disappointed regarding the trip to Cutler. I woke up this morning with a bilious attack, which may last 24 or 36 hours. Under the circumstances I do not think it quite prudent for me to undertake the trip to Cutler.¹³⁰

The Florida East Coast Homeseeker

Another F.E.C. promotional magazine extolled the virtues of settlements along the Railway. As the tracks extended southward, information increasingly appeared regarding Cutler.¹³¹

In December of 1898, the Homeseeker mentioned the Richmonds' 20-acre farm two and a half miles southwest of Cutler where Richmond planned "to build a home." Though he planted around existing trees--deadened but not removed--the Homeseeker listed dozens of fruit and vegetable varieties thriving on his fields.

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.

The Florida East Coast Homeseeker described the home of Mr. Sullivan, Jack Peacock's acreage, and the work of the F.E.C.:

a large force of men at work blasting the rock reef that separates the prairie from the bay. . . . the cutting of a central canal. . . four and one-half miles up the prairie, draining thousands of rich lands . . for cultivation. . . . Another improvement. . . is the building of fifteen miles of good road. A large gang of men are now completing the road leading to the commodious wharf, where boats will land to carry out the vegetables and fruits and bring passengers in.

A subsequent issue featured "Improving the Perrine Grant,":

A force . . . is now at work throwing up a dyke on one of the prairies, next to the Everglades. This dyke is 1,460 feet long. Another one has been built on another prairie, 800 feet long. These will keep the water off from two of the main prairies. Several long ditches have been dug for the purpose of drainage. Mr. J.H. Young, of Bonnell, has moved his sawmill there, and will be ready to supply lumber to the settlers in about two months.

The promotional hype inspired visions of vast verdant field abounding in crops. But one of Richmond's letters to editor E.V. Blackman listed actual acreage in production--"already plowed." Those were: Peters Bros., 210 acres; S.H. Richmond, 4; E.H. Kirkman, 11; G.J. Sullivan, 4; W.C. Watson, 2; H.M. Brogdon, 5.¹³²

The Homeseeker continued a high profile for Richmond Cottage. One glowing account detailed dinner at the inn:

a regular farmer's dinner, yellow-legged chickens in abundance, vegetables fresh from the field, home-made butter and luscious sweet milk and coffee and cream that was fit for the gods.¹³³

The Homeseeker for April of 1900 provided details of furnishings and style at Richmond Cottage:

Dr. S. Howard Richmond, agent for the Perrine Land Grant Company, has just completed a new, neat, cozy hotel at Cutler. The rush of visitors and prospectors to that favored section filled his hotel from cellar to garret," which delayed the completion of the building.

There is not a hotel on the shores of the Biscayne Bay with a more beautiful location . . . located a few hundred yards from the . . . white, sandy beach . . .

The house is furnished with quartered oak furniture of the latest patterns. Mr. and Mrs. Richmond in their selections have sought comfort and simplicity, rather than elegance, and all who may visit this new hostelry will find a homelike place, table supplied with well-cooked and substantial foods

**Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.**

There are two steamship lines with staunch boats plying between Miami and Cutler. The steamer "Lake Worth" is making two round trips daily, the "Comfort" one round-trip daily, which in a few days will be increased to two. Besides these, there is a thirty-ton schooner making daily round-trips.

Some articles in the F.E.C.'s Homeseeker were reprints from the F.E.C.'s Miami Metropolis. In April, Mrs. Richmond received more space. Tomato growers were lauded and glamorized:

We stopped for a short rest at the Richmond Cottage . . . an excellent house . . . doing an excellent business ever since its opening. Mrs. Richmond is an admirable hostess and will always make it pleasant and comfortable for her guests. . . . our former Georgia friend Mr. C.O. Boaz, . . . with his wife and children have come to Cutler to locate Mr. Boaz is a scion of one of the most substantial and highly respected families of North Georgia.

Wheeling out to the tomato farms on the prairies we stopped first to examine the Richmond garden . . . a fine lot of onions, cabbage beets, etc. . . . Mr. Henry Brogdon, another sturdy Gordon county (Ga.) man, has charge of these gardens Near by the Twedell brothers and Mr. Malone, also Gordon county boys, have a fine field of cucumbers and melons

Riding on we reached Mr. Stulpnagle's crop Further down we found the famous Peters crops, which are divided up . . . T.J. Peters, 70 acres; S.J. Peters, 40 acres; W.I. Peters, 45 acres; Peters & Douthit, 50 acres; Douthit & Conrad, 15 acres; J.S. Peters, 17 acres. . . .

Among the other fine crops we passed by was that of Freeman Bros. Other growers at Cutler are Charles Beville, George H. Snellgrove, H.M. Braddock, G.J. Stinhausner, John Mann, Brown & Moody, C.W. Hill, E.H. Kirkman, A.T. Duval, W.J. Dougherty, H.J. Brown, E.M. Peterson, W.C. Watson, George Takosh, Dr. Hanlon, K.F. Martin and Jim Lee.¹³⁴

The promotion of growers, crops and profit continued in each month's Homeseeker. The story line varied little. Advertisement filled space, such as a one-page advertisement of E.A. Waddell, real estate agent at Miami whose listings included "The Dr. Cutler Estate," and "The Tuttle Estate," in October of 1900.¹³⁵

Dr. Richmond wrote February of 1901 the editor extolling what he portrayed as a flurry of activity on newly-drained field and cleared pinelands around Cutler. The real estate agent included prices:

Many acres are being prepared for tomatoes

Besides tomatoes there will be egg plant, cucumbers, peppers, beans, celery, Irish potatoes, okra, cabbage, onions, beets, etc.

**Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.**

Mr. Spades, of Indianapolis, Inc., has had a grapefruit grove of 375 trees set out, After clearing the land, holes were drilled two feet deep and a half-stick of dynamite used in each hole to shatter the rock. Loose stones were then removed and the holes filled with dirt. . . . Rough lemon stocks were used to bud upon. . . .

Pine lands . . . sell from \$15 to \$25 per acre, and the prairies from \$25 to \$100 per acre. There are several large unbroken bodies of land which would be just the thing for a colonization scheme or a large plantation. . . . Malarial fevers are almost unknown and "chills," . . . are not met with at all.

S.H. Richmond, Agent Perrine Grant.¹³⁶

The Homeseeker for May of 1901 reprinted a Metropolis article which, among the hype, provided information on wages and the shipping procedure during the few years between draining of the land and construction of the rails:

CUTLER TOMATO FIELDS

Leaving Cutler at day light, we arrived at the packing houses of the Peters and Griffin Brothers just as the motley crowd of pickers and packers were preparing breakfast. Quite a village of shacks . . . two packing houses The packers are paid by the piece, five cents a crate, and many of them are making from \$4 to \$6 a day. The pickers are paid \$1.50 a day. At these prices, which seem to us to be remunerative for that class of labor, it is difficult to get enough men to handle the crop. . . .

Several teams are engaged in hauling the crated fruit to the dock, for which service, we were told, five cents a crate were charged. Here it is transferred to one of the vessels engaged in transporting it to Miami. The steamer "Lake Worth" and the launch "Comfort" are engaged exclusively in this service, while several sail boats also find employment For this . . . another five cents per crate is paid. . . .

There are two stores: one conducted by Brown & Moody, the other by James C. Burtshaw [sic]. . . . The Citizens' dock, reaching out three hundred feet into the bay, is a surprise to the visitor in its strength and architectural excellence Last, but not least as we are leaving Cutler we note the elegant residence of William Fuzzard, with its beautiful surroundings of cocoanut and other tropical trees, and overlooking a tomato field of about fifteen acres. . . .

Some day The iron horse will go screaming through the "homestead country," the pinelands will be orchards, and the prairies gardens and lawns. Cutler . . . will be the metropolis of a flourishing farming community.¹³⁷

Dr. Richmond again provided copy for editor E.V. Blackman in mid-July of 1901. Richmond explained he was responding to inquiries. Included in his promotional ten points were several informative facts regarding labor and wages, amid the usual hype regarding eager buyers and perfect weather:

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.

1. A man, by himself, should not attempt to cultivate more than two acres; with the help of one man, five acres. If he can do so, . . . procure help. . . and plant not less than twenty acres. . . .

2, Help is transient. Just now there is not a man in Cutler, who will work at any price. Later, by September, workmen will begin to come in, and next winter, in the busy season, help will be plentiful but wages are high, varying from \$1 to \$2 per day, according to the man. Tomato packers get five cents per crate, and some men, and girls also, can make \$3 per day. . . . For packing, boxing, shipping, etc., only white help is employed; a few negroes are used in plowing and driving teams, also to some extent in planting. They get from \$15 to \$25 per month, drawing pay for only such time as they work.

3. Climate Mosquitoes are with us now; but they remain only a short time. During the vegetable season not one is seen. Malaria is unknown . . . no one ever has chill and fever here . . . if they do, it leaves them in a few days. . . .¹³⁸

The Homeseeker's Fall of 1901 issue brought a discussion by Dr. Richmond of the cost of planting acreage in tomatoes. Along with offering real estate, Richmond offered "share crops" on rental land. He published itemized costs:

Rent of land or interest pr. acre	\$ 6.00
Plowing	4.00
Harrowing	2.00
Stable manure (20 barrels)	10.00
Commercial Fertilizer	36.00
Labor up to time of shipping	10.00
Seed	.50

Total	\$68.50

Richmond advised that his offer was limited to Cutler only, and that his favorite crop was Irish potatoes--not tomatoes.¹³⁹

By March of 1901, Cutler was listed by the Homeseeker among Dade County's public schools. Cutler's white schoolchildren numbered 27, taught by Eugene Lee at a salary of \$40 per month. (The smallest school, at Ojus, had seven students.) The County's white schoolchildren totalled an estimated 669 at 29 schools. The "Colored Pupils" numbered 328, for a County total of 997. According to the magazine, the nearest school for black students at Cutler was Coconut Grove, where Miss Mamie F. Brooks taught 16 students at a salary of \$40 a month. The highest salary was that of Miami's principal, Prof. J.G. Firtig-- a hundred dollars a month.¹⁴⁰

E.V. Blackman, editor of the Homeseeker at Miami, published his own glowing account of a wagon drive to Cutler. His four-page account appeared during the slow summer of 1903. He described bayfront places along the road (today's Old Cutler Road). He hyped sales and

exaggerated profits for the Perrine Grant Land Company. Blackman gave a few informative nuggets and timely depictions of Cutler's last pre-railroad summer:

A TRIP TO CUTLER AND WHAT WE SAW

We left here early in the morning, driving our own horse. This was our first visit to the Perrine Grant as a whole. . . .

The drive from Miami to Cutler was a most delightful one, . . . The road follows the shore line or near it most of the way, and we were surprised to find the roadway in good condition.

The Doctor Cutler place, at Snapper Creek hammock, has been greatly neglected since the death of the doctor. On this place there are some of the largest seedling orange, mango and alligator pear trees in the Biscayne Bay country.

Leaving Snapper Creek, we passed through a considerable extent of wild woods

The next improved place is that of Capt. Fuzzard. This is one of the oldest improved places along the line. Capt. Fuzzard has a considerable acreage planted in orange trees, beside a large variety of tropical fruit trees. He also has royal palms and cocoanut trees galore.

About 11 o'clock we reached the Richmond Cottage, meeting with a cordial reception from Dr. and Mrs. Richmond. A rest for an hour and a hearty midday meal put us in good condition for a long ride over the grant in the afternoon, accompanied by Dr. S.H. Richmond, who knows "every crack and corner" of that wonderful country.

The first grove visited was that of Mrs. M.H. Spades of Indianapolis, Inc. . . . which contains 509 citrus trees . . . planted about three years ago . . . Mrs. Spades visits Cutler once each year to inspect her property. . . .

Further on we came to the experimental place belonging to Dr. Richmond. . . . over a year ago a forest fire swept through his place badly damaging many of his choice trees and in some instances killing them outright. . . .

Next we visited the young citrus grove of Mrs. Lucy Carnegie, of Pittsburgh, Pa. . . . planted late last fall. The trees were purchased from Griffing Brothers Co., and were taken from their Little River nursery. The grove is in charge of Mr. Sullivan

Mr. Sullivan . . . was among the first settlers on the grant . . . is now living on easy street, has a large, two-story residence, a fine mixed grove, and is constantly increasing his acreage.

**Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.**

The sun now began to hide itself behind the tall trees to the west We turned our faces toward Richmond Cottage, arriving there a little after nightfall.

After partaking of a bountiful supper, we adjourned to the broad veranda . . .

As we sat there, the moon rising from behind the rippling waters, in a cloudless sky, gilding each wavelet with a crown of gold, it was a most charming sight. Beyond us was a great ocean schooner plowing her way southward, her great sails dimly outlined in the moonlight, while still further out one of the large ocean steamers that ply between Havana and Northern ports . . . her saloon being brilliantly lighted, made it look like a gilded floating palace.

After a most refreshing night's rest we were awake early to catch a glimpse of the sun as it came out of the waters far to the east. . . .

As soon as breakfast was over we were ready for another day's jaunt in what was to us an unexplored portion of the grant.

The first halt was at the home of Captain John W. Roberts, who settled on his place long years ago. He has about ten acres under cultivation . . . on the pine land. This is well set in Avocado pears, mangoes, limes and other tropical fruits. . . . bringing their owner a good income each year.

John F. Roberts . . . the adjoining plantation, has five acres planted in mangoes, tiasse, sapodillas, guavas, limes and Avocado pears. . . .

Jas. A. Smith has one of the best places on the grant. He has ten acres set in trees

The Tropical Plantation Company, of which Mr. William M. Brown, president of the Fort Dallas National Bank, Miami, is president, is having five acres cleared which will be planted in pineapples. . . . The . . . Company two years ago purchased a large body of prairie land there and planted . . . tomatoes. . . .

In the northwestern portion of the grant Dr. Richmond has a fine tract. . . . two acres in bearing pineapples and one acre in young mango trees

The most attractive . . . place on the entire grant is owned by Mr. Swan Benson. . . a bachelor has as fine citrus trees of their age as can be found in the State. . . .

Mr. A.J. Hight is another of the old settlers has ten acres under cultivation, set in . . . fruit and shade trees. Eight of his largest mango trees have for several years past paid him \$200.00 in cash, or \$25.00 per tree. . . .

**Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.**

Capt. J.A. Addison has for the past forty years lived at Cutler. His home is a short distance back from the Biscayne Bay and is surrounded by a labyrinth of tropical fruit trees and some rare ornamentals. . . .

Capt. William Roberts is also numbered among the "old timers." He has quantities of Avocado pear and mango trees that have paid him on an average \$10.00 per tree, year after year.

South from Cutler, on the bay front, Captain T.H. Pinder has a most beautiful place. Captain Pinder has "followed the sea" for years . . . but has been securing the best varieties of mango and Avocado pear. . . .

Mr. W.J. Daugherty, whose place joins that of Capt. Pinder, has taken the best care of his tropical fruit trees. . . some of the largest specimens of their age. . . .

Mr. George H. Mehring . . . has a young place in the northwestern portion of the grant. . . . planted in Avocado pears and mangoes. . . . one of the newest on the grant. . . .

The vegetable industry so far has been the most important factor throughout the Perrine Grant. . . . The lands. . . varied in distance from two to ten miles from the wharf.

The only drawback has been the distance from transportation. The grading of the branch of the Florida East Coast Railway, at this writing, is almost completed from Miami to Cutler. Thousands of ties are distributed over the entire distance and the bridge has been completed over the Miami river. In a few weeks at the longest the laying of the track will be commenced and soon Cutler will be joined to the outside world by bands of steel. In a few months the iron horse, with its train of handsome coaches, will be running regularly to Cutler. The rapid building up of this valuable portion of the county is now an assured fact. . . .

The Perrine Grant Land Company have arranged to spend several thousand dollars in dredging out drainage canals which will prevent the overflow of the prairies in the future, thus assuring the planters a good crop each season. The drainage work will be done by the engine and ditcher recently purchased by the Florida East Coast Railway Company, just as soon as the summer rains cease and the prairies become sufficiently dry.¹⁴¹

The Cutler Extension

The F.E.C. planned the new railroad extension diagonally across the Perrine Grant Land Company's six-mile square township. Near the center was a planned railroad town, Perrine, lying several miles west of Cutler. Perrine was connected to Cutler by the bee-line road, apparently surveyed by S.H. Richmond (Richmond Road/Richmond Drive). The F.E.C. railroad

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.

town, Perrine, was located at the center of the township as an export center, with planned packing houses, F.E.C. buildings and residences.¹⁴² (See Site Graphics, Figure 5).

S.H. Richmond surveyed the town of Perrine in 1903, platting avenues diagonally and parallel to the planned railbed. The double-tracked center of town was flanked by two avenues--one named Cleveland Avenue, apparently for the former President. Across the tracks was Walker Avenue. Others were named for fruits, flowers and trees. One was Homestead Avenue. North-South avenues flanking the town were called Peters and Palmer. (Richmond's survey was drawn by the F.E.C.'s L. Larson in January of 1904; a copy was folded between the pages of the Richmond Cottage register.)¹⁴³

During 1903 and 1904, F.E.C. resident engineer A.A. Dooley worked at Cutler on the massive F.E.C. construction project. The project had been underway for some time when men and equipment headed south. By September of 1902, an F.E.C. Vice President had written General Superintendent R.T. Goff, asking for a speedy completion of a survey south of Cutler. Among other things, Parrott asked about agriculture and timber in the region and:

I would . . . like to know whether a team can in any manner be driven through from Cutler to Cape Sable and Shark River.¹⁴⁴

Early 1903 brought Goff another letter from Parrott regarding project feasibility. Parrott instructed Goff in mid-April:

I think it would be wise for Mr. Carter [F.E.C. General Roadmaster] to push the Cutler extension more rapidly We cannot tell at any time when we will have to take up the actual work beyond Cutler

I also hope you will urge Mr. Carter to give me some information on the survey south of Cutler I think the first thing that his engineers should do, and which they seem to have overlooked thus far, is to give us an idea as to whether we can get a railroad through . . . or not. . . . the main question is whether we can construct a line at reasonable expense through that unknown country.¹⁴⁵

During construction, General Roadmaster E. Ben Carter corresponded routinely from Miami or St. Augustine with Dooley at Cutler. Flagler's teams drilled, dredged, filled and dynamited the grades, rail beds and bridges for laying ties and spiking rails.

The Cutler Extension correspondence involved such knowledgeable F.E.C. staffers as construction engineer W.J. Krome, a Cornell-educated young man in Florida just one year by 1903, who was to become Flagler's engineer-in-chief for completion of the Key West Extension. Wages for crews generated routine accounts. Foremen and dynamite-handlers such as John M. Godwin might earn fifty dollars a month, but were required to pay board.¹⁴⁶

By early September of 1903, Carter commented regarding grading for a siding at Perrine. The siding was to be constructed on the west side of the line, the station building on the east side (Cleveland Avenue).¹⁴⁷

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.

By Thanksgiving at Cutler, Dooley was asked "to set the grade stakes for cutting down the banks [at] . . . Snapper Creek."¹⁴⁸ The proposed opening was to be some 700 feet long, "none too great for a permanent opening," wrote Carter, "because if proposed plans are carried out, a quantity of water not now carried through this opening will be forced into it."¹⁴⁹ Mule teams and carts hauled fill for the grades.¹⁵⁰ Fill materials, when not available in the right-of-way, had to be obtained from the associated companies--Model Land Co., English Land Co., and Perrine Grant Land Company--along the route.¹⁵¹

Cars loaded with construction materials, such as rails and angle bars rolled down the rails from Jacksonville.¹⁵² Tools shipped down the rails included track wrenches, claw bars, spike mauls, tamping picks, track adzes and chisels.¹⁵³ Dynamite arrived from Birmingham in 20,000 pound lots.¹⁵⁴ The arrival of one car of dynamite occasioned a note from E.C. Carter:

I have before me the Expense Bill for the car of dynamite OKed by you. . .

I have also your telegram dated August 1st, advising me of the routing of the car.

I received no notice of the arrival of the car . . . until Mr. McCrimmon wired me . . .

Knowing, as you must have, that I was raising the hair of everybody between Jax and Cincinnati for the car, it seems to me . . . that you might have more promptly advised me.¹⁵⁵

Cross ties were delivered alongside the road, as many as 50,000 at a time, supplied from a "mill in the woods."¹⁵⁶ From Cutler, Dooley forwarded to St. Augustine his weekly Force and Progress Report regarding "grading and pile driving" on the work which had reached the "Snapper Creek trestle" by mid-October of 1903. Carter sent weekly payrolls to M.T. McCrimmon at Miami.¹⁵⁷ By November, Carter requested the exact location for sidings at Potter's Mill, Coconut Grove station and Perrine.¹⁵⁸

Carter directed Dooley to involve S.H. Richmond in some of the work. Writing just before Thanksgiving, Carter wrote:

I noticed at Perrine station that the Land Co., are clearing a street each side of our station grounds. . . . between two unnamed streets, and you will have to ask Mr. Richmond to identify the north and south streets which bound our station grounds.¹⁵⁹

In January of 1904, J.E. Ingraham's son, James, was sent by Carter to Cutler, in Dooley's charge. Carter wrote a letter of introduction, informing the resident engineer that Ingraham desired his son

"utilized in your territory . . . to have him learn practically so far as he may, something about engineering work. . . . let James go to Homestead and live in camp with Mr. Dusenberry."¹⁶⁰

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.

Late in January, Carter instructed Dooley to have the Railway's lots at Perrine "cleaned up" for "carpenters and masons" soon to be completing work at Coconut Grove and moving "immediately" to Perrine.¹⁶¹ Plans were drawn for a freight station across the road from Brown & Moody's store at Perrine. Schedules moved forward for construction of the Railway agent's cottage. Carter was rushing the work along, urging Dooley to increase to "say 25 or 30" the size of his "gang of men" cleaning up the "section house yard at Perrine."¹⁶² Bricks for the buildings were ordered in quantities of 10,000 and 12,000.¹⁶³

By late March, grading reached "Peter's Prairie," Peters Siding and packing house. T.J. Peters requested a wagon crossing over the rail bed. Carter instructed Dooley that the F.E.C. was responsible only for the crossing from shoulder-to-shoulder of the grade, that "Peters will be required to furnish all labor and material" including lumber. A few months earlier, the F.E.C. management had determined that in a case of farmers "kicking because they have no road crossing" where an old "wagon road" had been destroyed by construction, the F.E.C. would pay costs only between the shoulders, and the crossings could only follow legal subdivision lines.¹⁶⁴

By May, Carter planned to travel the extension, to "go down on a motor car" to Perrine to meet Dooley May 16th about 8:30 or 9:00--"if the trains are on time."¹⁶⁵

When Dooley left for summer vacation in June of 1904, Carter advised:

Take all your traps away with you and close up entirely, transferring your books and papers to St. Augustine . . . headquarters.¹⁶⁶

The Cutler community apparently moved to Perrine after F.E.C. construction of the Cutler Extension. The intersection of today's Richmond Drive and S.W. 72nd Avenue housed the Dougherty factory, a grocery store or two and Fuzzard's post office. The thrust of Cutler's profit-making commercial activity apparently lay at the newly-drained prairie land. An official directory of Miami "and nearby towns" described Cutler in 1904:

a tract of land of 24,000 acres. . . known as the Perrine Grant. . . .

The prairies have been drained and good roads made from the bay into the interior. A first-class macadamized road has already been built from Miami . . . the railway now runs to Black Creek.

The draining of the prairies has opened up some of the finest vegetable lands in the world for winter truck farming. Over 700 acres of tomatoes are grown here and in the busy season 3,000 crates per day are marketed. Irish potatoes, Bermuda onions, cabbage, beets, squashes and other vegetables grow to perfection

The prices of land range from \$5 to \$30 per acre for pine land, and \$25 to \$100 for prairie. The average price of pine land is \$20, and \$30 for prairie.

a few houses with two good stores, those of Tweedell Bros., and Brown & Moody, each of whom have built up a thriving business with the surrounding country. Cutler has daily mail and three wharves from which boats take freight and passengers to and from

**Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.**

Miami. There is one good hotel, the "Richmond Cottage," . . . a most delightful retreat for one who wishes to enjoy rest and quiet. This is the most southerly hotel on the mainland of the United States.

Walter C. Crofts is the postmaster at present. (His phone number was Cutler 1-2.)¹⁶⁷

A family named Camus moved to Cutler from Key West, their son Melvin attending the one-room elementary school there. He remembered "thirteen or fourteen" children at the most, three of whom were the Cuthbert children from Perrine. Melvin's teacher, Grace Jallet, lived at Richmond Cottage. (Each Cutler teacher of Camus's memory, such as Miss Perkins, lived there.) He later remembered only one family living east of the old Cutler road--Jim Fowler and his wife until (about 1909-1910) they moved to Perrine. Camus remembered Mrs. Richmond, the Richmond barn and the general store/post office "across the road" (Old Cutler Road) from Richmond Cottage. The post office was run by Mrs. Kitty Foster, the store by Dunning. Mrs. Richmond called to him, offering pie or cookies, because, he later explained, "children were very scarce around there. . . and they had none of their own."

The Camus family participated in a family-operated guava jelly factory, the W.J. Dougherty factory producing jelly, jams, guava cheese and seedless guavas. Dougherty was an uncle to young Melvin, who gathered guavas as far away as Miami and remembered "quite a few places abandoned," where he gathered beautiful avocados, mangoes, and papayas as well as guavas. The family had a barn, a two-story house, the factory, and travelled in a one-horse wagon. Seminoles visited and key deer grazed in the family garden. At one time they resided a mile south of today's Richmond Drive on the Bay.

Camus remembered the few families living at Cutler--Bronsons, Walkers, Roberts, Pinders, Fitch the mail carrier, and the Fuzzards--who had a big house on the west side of Old Cutler Road north of Addison Hammock, but "mostly lived at Miami." Camus recalled an incident when Fuzzard, stepping off his porch, was struck on the knee by a rattle snake. Mrs. Fuzzard reportedly saved her husband's life by sucking out the venom.¹⁶⁸ By summer of 1904, a post office was established at Perrine¹⁶⁹ and later, the Cutler children attended public school at Perrine.

Even as the F.E.C. Railway Company changed life forever at Cutler, John and Mary Addison remained notable. A resident reminisced in 1903 about them and their place. Rose Wagner Richards wrote,

Mr. Addison knew his business and did not have to be told the advantage of good hammock land to raise all the vegetables he needed, and in addition to the very best hog range in the country to stock and draw from when in want of fresh meat . . . True, the wild animals, such as bears, panthers and wild cats, at time caused him no little trouble, but with the aid of his faithful dogs, Rock and Butler, also his trusty rifle. . . John and his good wife, Mrs. Mary Addison, made for themselves a home which was the envy of all . . . no wonder that at this late day you will find them both living in the same place loved and respected by everyone knowing them.¹⁷⁰

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.

After four decades on the isolated coast, John was nearly eighty and Mary in her mid-70s. By August of 1906, the Addison's were unable to live in their home in the hammock because Mary had become ill. Under "Cutler Comments," the Metropolis reprinted a piece from the Jacksonville Times Union.

Mr. and Mrs. John A. Addison . . . have been taken to the home of Mr. A.C. Carter at Larkins. They are a very aged couple. Mr. Addison is a pensioner of the Indian war and while in fairly good health, Mrs. Addison is confined to her bed, and is not expected to live but a short time. Dr. Rush, of Miami, is attending her.

The account also included news of Edith Hendry Richmond and others:

Mrs. S.H. Richmond is partly recovering from her long illness and expects to go for a visit to Grandin, Fla. next week.

Several ladies of Cutler, wives and daughters of Masons, have recently joined the order of the Eastern Star at Miami.

Mr. J.H. Ehrehart has ordered Dr. Richmond to begin at once a neat cottage for a camp on his recent purchase in the north half of section 10 near Cutler.¹⁷¹

Mary Townsend Addison died at Cutler on September 1, 1906. The Metropolis described Mary as "one of the pioneer residents of Dade County." Her funeral was held at Cutler . . . "Internment conducted by Undertaker Combs."¹⁷² Mary was buried in Pinewood Cemetery located at today's Coral Gables.¹⁷³

Within two weeks John Addison conveyed his land to Daisy B. Carter for \$750. The sale included blocks 60, 63, 67, 68, 73, 69,, 71, with some excepted portions and with riparian rights. The lands were mortgaged to the Model Land Company on December 5, 1900. The sale was witnessed by Wilson A. and Katie E. Larkins.¹⁷⁴

On December 14, the Metropolis reported that the Richmond Cottage had been closed "for over a year," but had opened for the season under Mrs. Emily F. Thompson. The "Addison estate" had "changed hands, all claims against the property settled and the house renovated and put in good condition. A.T. Duval's "new store" was "well stocked and . . . now open for business."¹⁷⁵

The Metropolis reported on January 11, 1907:

"Uncle" John Addison, one of the oldest settlers on the bay was a guest of honor at the Housekeepers' Club New Year's reception.¹⁷⁶

By 1910, the federal census of Dade County listed John Addison, at 83, a "Roomer" in the household of Arren T. and Daisy Carter. The Carters' three children were aged 20, 7 and 5.¹⁷⁷ In May of 1911, John Addison gave an affidavit regarding land on the hunting grounds, signing his name with an "X."¹⁷⁸ John Addison died while visiting relatives in Fort Myers, and was buried in an unmarked grave in the old Fort Myers cemetery.¹⁷⁹

Technology: From Eden to the Sahara

The Florida East Coast Homeseeker featured in April, 1910 a number symbolizing epic change for South Florida. Indirectly, the massive undertaking of the F.E.C. and State interests ultimately affected history at Cutler and the bayfront area that was to become the Charles Deering Estate.

The Homeseeker's headlines blazoned:

Draining the Everglades

Five Thousand Square Miles of the Richest Land in the United States is Now Being Sold to Settlers.

Under a photograph of flooded 'Glades bordered by pine lands, the article blazoned:

The Florida Everglades will be dry in two years---That is the latest Big Fact for farmers.

Three million acres of black soil, in a hot-house climate is being drained by State engineers and offered for sale to the public . . . The State has the Plan, and the Money and the Men.

Dredges are now at work. Three canals have been started. All the land has been mapped out. And a few farms have actually been put under cultivation.

The last of the great treasure-lands is about to be opened up, and a new farming region, twice as large as the State of Delaware, will be added to the domain of the United States.

AN EVERGLADE BOOM IS AT HAND, WHICH WILL MAKE FLORIDA ONE OF THE RICHEST STATES IN THE UNION, AND BRING PROSPERITY TO TENS OF THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN FAMILIES.

The Call of the Everglades . . .
by Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Ex-Governor of Florida

In beginning this article I wish to impress upon the reader the immensity of the area of the Florida Everglades about 4,000,000 acres . . . about 160 miles long by sixty miles wide. . . . The present population [of the 'Glades] numbers less than a dozen persons.

The land lies between reefs of rock . . . in approximately parallel lines north and south for a distance of 160 miles by sixty miles in width. . . .

The State of Florida is draining this territory by extending . . . rivers into the Everglades at a cost of about \$1 per acre. . . .

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.

There have been between seven and eight thousand small tracts of the Everglades purchased during the last eight months. It is our expectation that quite large acreages of this land will be ready for cultivation in the next two years. . . .

One outline read:

Yes, the Everglades is a swamp; so was Chicago, sixty years ago.¹⁸⁰

The F.E.C.'s Homeseeker offered special rates to ride the Railway on the first and third Tuesdays of each month. Trips were limited to twelve days, and fares were calculated to bring buyers to see the newly-opening lands and lots for sale along the route as F.E.C. development proceeded along the East Coast.

The advent of modern technology was dramatically apparent across South Florida. In May of 1912 an entire Homeseeker issue enthusiastically detailed drainage and development of "The Great Lake Okeechobee Region . . . Great Development Planned for the Kissimmee Valley Railway Terminus."

The issue presented some details regarding technology near Cutler-- dredging contracts:

The Miami Engineering and Construction Company has been awarded the contract for the Royal 'Glade canal by the Everglades Land Sales Company, which will run through the property held by this company and connect with the Snake Creek canal. It has one of its dredges now on the job, and cutting has commenced. This canal will form the artery of a network of ditches which the . . . Company will dig to insure perfect drainage of every foot of this section

The dredge which this company is building at Miami for use in the Snapper Creek State canal, will be completed within three weeks. This dredge . . . will be fully equipped with an electric light plant, machine shops, blacksmith shops, etc. A houseboat will be constructed and towed after the dredge.

These dredges cost about \$16,000 apiece.¹⁸¹

At Cutler south of Richmond Cottage in 1912, the F.E.C.'s Model Land Company surveyed the bayfront for a new subdivision. The subdivision located the County Road and identified parcels still held by the Doughertys, Pinders, Brogden, Fitch, Cannons and Morrison¹⁸²

Ironically, that summer's Homeseeker ran a cover article, "Development in Miami and Vicinity." The feature mentioned the Deering name and symbolized the modern progress which ultimately triggered preservation of the land that became the Charles Deering Estate site:

Hundreds of Thousands Being Spent in New Buildings and other improvements. . . . The United States Post Office. . . the Burdine Block. . . building with elevator and all modern conveniences. . . on Twelfth street. . . North of the city there are several additions. Money is being poured out lavishly. Mr. Deering, of Chicago, is spending

**Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential
Theme VI. Richmond, Perrine Grant Land Company & F.E.C.(1896-1912), cont.**

a million dollars on his large bay front home. . . . J.S. Collins and Company. . . own a large tract. . . between Biscayne Bay and the Atlantic Ocean. . . being laid out in city lots. . . . The wilderness is fast being turned into a paradise.¹⁸³

The history of the F.E.C.'s hyperbolic representation of Cutler during the first decade of the 1900s is essentially that of land development and sales. From the moment the F.E.C. came onto the land, Cutler's future was defined by the railroad, the commerce of the coastal community becoming displaced--a story repeated over and over as the railroad proceeded down the Florida coast. The creative depictions of the Cutler community were aimed at entertaining readers, but the real point was attraction of investors and agricultural production. The Perrine grant represented only a fraction of the millions of acres of Florida land acquired by the F.E.C. For every mile of tracks laid and every mile of canals dredged, the State of Florida awarded acreage. During the early 1900s and the years of the Cutler Extension, the F.E.C. development perpetuated more and more of the basic ingredient required--land in South Florida. Ultimately, it was this development--which changed the face of the land forever--which alarmed and inspired many, including Charles Deering and John Kunkel Small.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913 - 1927)

An understanding of the multi-faceted Charles Deering required a retrospective consideration of his formative early years. Deering's childhood influences included those of his brother James and their father William (both of whom also later lived in Miami). Though the definitive forces emanating from grandmother, grandfather, stepmother and sister were presumably present, their correspondence has not appeared within consulted repositories and remain subjects for further study.

Charles Deering's father, William, was born in 1826 in South Paris, Maine, a descendant of what a biographer called "old Puritan families." As a youth, William attended Kent's Hill Seminary. He briefly studied medicine during 1846 in Fryeburg Maine with a Dr. Barrows, "reputed to have the best anatomical collection and medical library in Maine," until William's father was elected president of the South Paris Manufacturing Company and needed his son's help. William married in 1849 Abby Reed Barbour. He was 23. She was 22. When she was 25, Charles was born July 31, 1852 in South Paris. They moved in 1853 to Macomb, Illinois, where William located and sold real estate acquired through warrants issued to soldiers for lands in the western frontier. When Abby became ill, they returned to South Paris, where William established a dry-goods store. Abby died of measles on January 10, 1856, when Charles was only three. On her deathbed, she "strongly recommended," in the words of her great-granddaughter, that William marry Abby's cousin, Clara Cummings Hamilton.

On December 15th, Clara and William married at North Yarmouth, Maine. She was 21, he was 30. Charles was four. William and Clara produced two siblings for Charles. A brother, James Edward (November 12, 1859) was born in South Paris, Maine and named for William Deering's father. A sister, Abby Marion (October 3, 1867) was born at Portland and named for Charles's mother.

Shortly before the Civil War began, Deering entered the dry goods business in Boston with Pierce Brothers, a company that in wartime supplied clothing to Union troops. At war's end, he founded a woolen-goods commission house with Seth M. Milliken. Called Deering, Milliken and Company, their wholesale business operated in Portland, Boston New York, and Chicago. The company, like so many others, was to thrive during the expansionist years following the Civil War.¹⁸⁴

Charles lived, some time during the war, with his grandparents James and Eliza Moore Deering. William's letters written from distant Boston to his elder son give insight into standards set by the father during formative years. William conveyed to Charles the importance of writing and studying--traits apparent throughout Charles's life.¹⁸⁵

During the post-Civil War years, the great fertile plains of the Midwest began to play a critical role in expanding American industry. William Deering at 46, left Deering, Milliken. He went West in 1870 and made a loan for a small agricultural equipment plant in Plano, Illinois, investing \$40,000 he had intended for purchase of Chicago real estate. Elijah H. Gammon, a Methodist minister and "old acquaintance" from Maine, owned manufacturing rights

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

to an amazingly modern harvester devised by Charles and William Marsh. Gammon had sold reaping machines for the Marshes, and had assumed control of their company plant at Plano.

The machine, patented by the Marshes in 1858, had been the subject of patent-infringement lawsuits by competitors, particularly Cyrus McCormick's harvester company. But the device--a horse-drawn machine that cut the grain, conveyed it to two workers in the machine and conveyed grain into a receptacle--had eliminated the back-breaking work of picking up grain in the field by hand. From the machine, men bound the stalks with wire--thus an innovative breakthrough, a mechanical solution, to binding the cut grain. The Marsh brothers efficient machine "was bitterly opposed by the numerous manufacturers of the reaper. [The Marsh brothers and their backers] . . . had little money and their opponents were mostly rich, prosperous, and firmly established," wrote one of the Deerings later. When William Deering entered the competitive agricultural implement business, Cyrus McCormick had already been at it forty years.¹⁸⁶

Illness forced Gammon to request Deering's hands-on involvement in managing the company in summer of 1873, by which time Deering's original loan amount had doubled. He moved to Chicago and remained there, eventually with "a three-quarter interest," and as owner when in 1879 Gammon retired. Deering worked to incorporate into the harvester a "twine binder," to avoid leaving pieces of wire in the fields--potential hazards for livestock. Deering, characterized by historian Edwin Darby as "a man of unusual perception and judgment and possessed of a fine gambling instinct," instituted experiments aimed at manufacture of twine made of natural fiber for incorporation into the binding machine.¹⁸⁷

The summer Charles turned 25, he was a Naval officer. His father penned a letter. This time the father was home, the boy a grown man far off on travels. Charles was a grieving widower, father of a 10-month-old son, William Case Deering, whose mother, Anna Rogers Case, had died at Newport (October 31, 1876) when her baby was 13 days old--four days their first wedding anniversary.

Anna, "Annie," was the daughter of Anna Rogers Case and Rear-Admiral Augustus Ludlow Case, U.S.N. She had married Charles in Newport, Rhode Island. Case, a Rear-Admiral since 1872, had become a friend of John Singer Sargent in Nice, Italy in the mid-1860s when Case had been fleet captain of the European Squadron. (At one time Charles was assigned to the flagship of the European Squadron.) After Anna's death, Sargent painted her portrait "as a pendant" (See Appendix G.) to his portrait of Charles, which Sargent had painted at Newport, where he stayed with the Cases. Anna's brother, Augustus Ludlow Case Jr. "Gus" and Charles had been classmates at Annapolis.¹⁸⁸ Charles and Anna's little son was brought up by Anna's family at Newport, Charles continuing his assignment with the U.S. Navy.¹⁸⁹

William was 51 when he wrote in 1877 that sad year from South Paris, Maine. He wrote from the two-and-a-half story white frame house where he and Charles had been born:

Dear Charlie,

It is now Sunday morning and as I sit on father's stoop . . . it brings back the memory of other days. Here I was born, spent my boyhood days, commenced business

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

life. Hither I brought my young and beautiful wife. In that chamber across the way you were born after many anxious hours of extreme peril to your mother. There she died, thence she went to heaven and now watches over you and me, and if we were permitted to draw aside the veil, I doubt not we shd see the mother's welcome

Well, it is only occasionally I come to be reminded of all these pasts. As we have only to do with the present it is not well to think too much of those matters which have constituted the heart of life. I rejoice that after life's fitful dream. . . we may hope to rejoin all the good and loved ones gone before. I am sure they wd most wish us to live active, useful, Christian, cheerful lives.

I hope you are in good health and good spirits. Look on the bright side of things. Cultivate this habit as it is largely a matter of habit.¹⁹⁰

By 1881, both Charles and James Deering were brought into their father's industrial operation. Charles, one of the Civil War's children enthralled by stories of naval heroics, had entered the U.S. Naval Academy as a cadet midshipman when he was sixteen. He excelled at mathematics, geometry, calculus, marine surveying, astronomy, and navigation. Graduating in 1873 with "Gus" Case, Charles ranked second in his class. As a midshipman, he too had served on the Flagship of the European squadron. Charles also served in 1874 and 1875 in the European station aboard the U.S.S. Alaska, a 250-foot gunboat. He was promoted to Ensign in summer of 1874. He served, from 1877 to 1879, on the U.S.S. Kearsage, a new Pennsylvania-built 200-foot iron gunboat, and the Alert in the Asiatic station. He received promotion to Master [equivalent of Lieutenant (junior grade)] late in 1878. He was assigned to duty in the Orient. During his eight year service, Deering spent a good deal of time in France and Spain. (See Appendix G. for Charles Deering cadet photo.)

During his European tour of duty, Charles formed friendships with young artists, such as Sargent, Anders Zorn and others. He had artistic abilities. Even as a child, Charles's marvelled at his "quick and very correct" sketches of classmates walking by. Charles was never to be without his sketchbook for his lifetime. (Though he sketched routinely, he gave up serious painting as the result of an accident. Opening a bottle of ginger beer during a family picnic, a cork-and-wire seal exploded into one eye, permanently damaging the retina. At the time, Deering was a father, picnicking with his family.)¹⁹¹ Deering destroyed most of his own canvases, though a portrait of his grandfather and some others survive. He formed close, lifelong friendships with John Singer Sargent, Anders Zorn, and Ramon Casas. He painted for a season in Paris in Ander Zorn's studio.¹⁹²

Robert Harshe, Director of the Art Institute of Chicago, indicated that Deering became:

a modest collector of art objects (for he was not a rich man at the time) and a discriminating collector of friends, many of whom were artists, for he was quick to recognize talent in those about him. John Sargent was merely a brilliant student under Carolus Duran, and St. Gaudens only a promising young sculptor, . . . and they became his lifelong friends. Zorn, the Swedish artist, Boutet de Monvel, the Frenchman, Ramon Casas, the Spaniard, Gari Melchers and Walter MacEwen, the Americans, were for many years his intimate associates and correspondents.¹⁹³

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

During their decades of friendship, Sargent was to produce works of the Deerings, the Cases and their environs. They ranged from pencil sketches to oil portraits, dating from the 1860s to 1910s at Vizcaya in Florida. Sargent was to stay with Deering in Miami just as he had stayed with the Cases in Newport in 1876, when he produced a portrait of Rear Admiral Case. He produced a portrait of James when he was middle-aged. In Florida, Sargent stayed at Charles's home and aboard the Deering houseboat, Nepenthe, where he fished and penned letters.¹⁹⁴

Charles Deering, as well as James, astutely collected. Charles had "a good eye," and both, according to Harvard art historian Mary Crawford Volk, were "first rate" collectors.¹⁹⁵

The Deering operation, manufacturing out of a large Chicago plant William built in 1879, successfully designed a reaper incorporating a twine binder, invented by John F. Appleby of Wisconsin. William Deering's long years of experimentation led to a harvester binding grain with "a single strand twine from Manila." By 1880, the Chicago plant manufactured 3,000 twine-binder machines, selling them all. By 1883, though several dozen manufacturers made twine-binding reapers and sold 77,000, Deering matched McCormick production and was the competitor McCormick feared.

Incorporated in Illinois in 1883 as William Deering & Company (later Deering Manufacturing Company), Deering ultimately fortified his company with his educated and capable sons, creative inventors, experienced associates, and this revolutionary piece of agricultural equipment. The company, in the retrospective words of a family member, had a product able to "bind the grains of the civilized world . . . and the gathering of its enormous crops."¹⁹⁶

The Company brought a career change. Though Charles's years with the U.S. Navy brought promotions and anticipation of a long career, his father concluded that the burgeoning business required his elder son's involvement.

On May 1, 1881, Charles Deering resigned from the Navy, but his experiences influenced his life. He corresponded with his former classmates and fellow officers. One officer, perhaps not atypically, corresponded for decades regarding friendships, weapon inventions, and mutual interests--as often as twice a week. Charles's interest in navigation and love of the sea, according to a biographer, influenced his choices of homesites during his lifetime--residences situated on the shores of Lake Michigan, the Mediterranean, and Biscayne Bay in Florida.¹⁹⁷

In 1879, when James was 21, he preceded Charles into their father's business. James was educated at Northwestern University and M.I.T. He reportedly had a keen appetite for the "manufacturing side" of the company. Charles observed that James was "keenly interested in the experimental side of farm implement manufacture." In the latter part of their lives, Charles described his brother:

He is an art lover, a linguist and a widely travelled cosmopolitan, and has been officer of the Legion of Honor and Merite Agricole of France, in the Order of the Crown of Germany, and Nichan Iftikhar of Tunisia.¹⁹⁸

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

Six years and two months passed from the death of Anna Case Deering, before her widower married again. The day after New Year's of 1883, Charles and Marion Denison Whipple married at Trinity Church, New York City. He was 31. She was 25. Charles's and Anna's son, William Case, was five. Marion was the daughter of Caroline Mary Cook and Major-General William Denison Whipple, U.S. Army, a West Pointer who led troops in Western Indian wars and was brevetted Brigadier-General following Civil War service. Charles Deering became "very close," according to his granddaughter, to his father-in-law, William Dennison Whipple. Marion's brother, Herbert, also remained close to Marion and Charles's growing family. General Whipple was to spend long periods of time with the Deering family during his remaining years. (See Appendix G. for Marion and Charles photographs ca. 1883).

Marion and Charles were to celebrate the births of three more children during five years. William Case Deering had just celebrated his eighth birthday when the first, Roger, was born in Chicago in 1884. A year-and-a-half later, the first daughter, Marion (who later married Chauncey McCormick), was born at Governor's Island, New York Harbor. Barbara was born at Evanston, Illinois on December 16, 1888. (She was to marry Richard Ely Danielson. And the Deerings were to enjoy six grandchildren--Charles Deering McCormick, Brooks McCormick, Roger Simon McCormick, Richard Ely Danielson, Jr., James Deering Danielson, and Marion Danielson.)¹⁹⁹

As Charles's and Marion's family grew, the Deering Manufacturing Company moved ahead. By 1889, the Deerings had on board an inventor researching production of an internal combustion engine with practical applications to the agricultural equipment market. By 1890, William Deering's company had reached the elevated status as McCormick's biggest competitor. A merger of the companies came into being in December of 1890, the president being Cyrus McCormick Jr. and William Deering chairman of the board. But the merger worked on paper only, because of a lack of financial backing requisite among bankers. By 1891, a Deering lightweight mowing machine was powered by a small engine running on gasoline fuel. By 1892, George Ellis, the inventor, had come up with a horseless buggy. William Deering actually considered entering the production of automobiles after a 30-mile-an-hour drive at Daytona Beach²⁰⁰

The Columbian Exposition was hosted by Chicago in 1893. Held on the 400th anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America, the international event marked Chicago and her people for all time. In the course of the exposition, Charles Deering met the Swedish artist, Anders Zorn. Zorn, who worked as the Swedish Commissioner of Fine Arts.²⁰¹ Zorn sketched Charles and Marion, reading together at home.²⁰²

The National Panic of 1893 levelled fortunes and finances among private and corporate sectors. The aftermath of the crisis provided a telling chapter in William Deering's concern for employees. William Deering's historic dedication to manufacturing at a low cost and search for new techniques reportedly made for a happier workplace. When the Panic tumbled the laborer's pay rate to a dollar a day in Chicago, Deering refused to offer it. He paid his laborers 30% more, vowing that his men could not support families otherwise. He was innovative: "He manufactured peripheral equipment such as hay rakes," according to Edwin Darby's International Harvester history. "He acquired control of a Chicago blast furnace and bought land for the construction of a steel mill near his plant and for a plant in Canada."²⁰³

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

In 1898, Charles's and James's sister, Abby Marion Deering, married Richard Flint Howe. They were married on February 3, at William Deering's winter home in St. Augustine. A red-haired woman of 30 when she married, Abby's dramatic portrait was painted at some time by Zorn. Charles wrote that Abby was "of an amiable, cheerful disposition, greatly beloved by a wide circle of friends." The Deerings "adored" Dick Howe, according to Charles's granddaughter.²⁰⁴

At the 1900 Paris Exhibition, William Deering exhibited the first self-propelled harvester, a "motor-mower" powered by an internal combustion engine. The French government recognized his pioneering accomplishment and awarded him the Legion of Honor. Illness soon relegated him, at age 74, to inactivity. The operation of the company, Deering Harvester, was executed by Charles and James, and Abby's husband, Dick Howe. They set about to gain control of the raw materials used in manufacturing implements. They bought iron mines, coal fields, furnaces, and timberlands. Howe once credited such strategy to Charles and contrasted James's and Charles's approaches as businessmen:

Charles [demonstrated] great courage, his absolute integrity. . . great quickness of decision, which seemed to me to amount almost to intuition. He and his brother arrived at conclusions by entirely different methods. James had a particularly logical mind and his decisions were based on a complete study of a proposition . . . he arrived at his conclusions by logical steps, which he was quite able and willing to defend and explain. Charles. . . would answer at once, and his conclusions were as sound. . . we all came to be a little chary of not following Charles' opinion as it was so often extraordinarily correct.²⁰⁵

Charles, who since 1883 had been secretary of Deering Harvester, authored a biographical sketch of his father. He assessed William's achievements in industry:

Mr. Deering saw in his employ many thousand men, and many more thousands as agents for his machinery . . . the business extended to all . . . the world where grain is grown. His company had . . . its own iron mines, blast furnaces, and steel mills; with vast coking coal fields and . . . timber tracts forested on scientific principles.²⁰⁶

Incapacitated and unable to maintain his work routine, William Deering had retired in 1901. He began to spend some winter months in St. Augustine. Buying a house there on Water Street, William was visited regularly by Charles and Marion and their children. The waterfront, porch-wrapped house and its shoreline dock became a memorable part of the memories of his grandchildren, including his little granddaughter, Barbara, who began visiting when she was about six or seven. During winter cold snaps at St. Augustine, William began periodically to travel further south, to Miami, for part of his Florida winters.²⁰⁷

INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER COMPANY

In 1902, the major corporations of McCormick Harvester Company (founded by inventor and industrialist Cyrus Hall McCormick) and Deering Harvester Company merged with other farm equipment manufacturers to form The International Harvester Company. Charles Deering became Chairman of the Board, a position he was to hold eight years. James became Vice President,

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

a position he was to hold eighteen years, after which he was to become a lifelong member of the board.²⁰⁸

International Harvester Company was formed as a consolidation by J.P. Morgan. Industrialist and financier, Morgan reigned as one of the world's "primary financial figures" from 1890 to 1910. Morgan's firm, created in 1895 as J.P. Morgan and Company, followed his partnership in Drexel, Morgan and Company, which garnered huge profits gained from reorganizing the nation's railway systems during the 1880s. In that reorganization, Morgan acquired voting stock control of the railroads which produced vast fortunes. This enabled him, following the Panic of 1893, to establish a syndicate that resupplied the federal treasury's depleted gold reserves. Thereafter, J.P. Morgan and his partners accomplished the consolidation of America's major steel companies into U.S.. Steel Corporation-- the world's largest corporation at that time. Then Morgan turned to financing the consolidation of McCormick Harvester, Deering Harvester and others into International Harvester.

The deal to merge the agricultural implement giants had been hammered out in New York meetings over three weeks and ended aboard J.P. Morgan's yacht on August 12, 1902. Aboard the yacht were George Perkins of the Morgan company, Cyrus and Harold McCormick, Charles Deering and representatives of three smaller companies. Though William Deering had entered the reaper market late, he and his sons had built a corporation that matched the McCormicks' sixty year effort. International Harvester stock was divided by agreement--37% Deerings, 43% McCormicks, 20% among the several smaller competitors, and certain stock to the Morgan firm, which invested \$10 million. Charles became chairman of a board that was made up of J.P. Morgan, Deering, and one McCormick. The trustees for ten years were to hold and vote the stock, thereby preventing either of the principal interests from securing control and guaranteeing that neither could sell. Though Charles was chairman of the board, the president was Cyrus McCormick Jr., who controlled operations.²⁰⁹ Both the name of the new corporate giant and its future operations revealed its intent to concentrate upon the untapped international markets.²¹⁰

The unprecedented size of the U.S. corporations generated controversy, revolving over the potential for unprecedented domination of America's marketplace. By 1912, a Congressional committee was investigating Morgan's operations. He had become the prime symbol of what the press called "the money trust" controlling corporate America. Morgan and the major corporations were charged with violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, a law passed to prohibit American business practices considered unfair or monopolistic. The difficulty faced by the U.S. Department of Justice in highly publicized cases became one of demonstrating that the sheer size of America's corporate giants amounted to illegal, monopolistic trade restraints.²¹¹

As first board chairman of International Harvester, Charles Deering's years apparently represent a heady experience. The far-reaching decisions of the giant corporation boggled the mind. The company had operations in a multitude of countries, sales representatives numbered in the thousands, employees in the hundreds of thousands--at a time when Cutler, Florida's population amounted to an inflated total of about 200. International Harvester's innovative policies included profit-sharing plans for employees and disability insurance. In 1907, the Auto Buggy was produced by International Harvester. High wheels adapted the vehicle for muddy,

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

rural roads. International Harvester's Auto Wagon in 1909 offered an open wagon bed, convertible with several passenger seats. Abandoning automobile production, the company moved toward farm trucks, commercial trucks and tractors.²¹²

Deering's years as chairman of the board encompassed challenges from the U.S. Attorney General, a financial crisis across the nation, and worker-organized strikes. The New York Times for those years ran a myriad of articles related to International Harvester's successes and challenges from without and within. Charles and James travelled extensively. International Harvester's business touched points across western and eastern Europe, central and South America. They were members of numerous clubs in various cities. Charles appeared on the membership lists of book clubs such as The Caxton, Bibliophile and Grolier. He belonged to the Chicago Club, and to the Navy and Montgomery country clubs in Washington D.C. In New York, Charles took membership in the National Golf Links of America, Boone and Crockett Club, Brook Club, Knickerbocker Club, New York Yacht Club, Union Club, Metropolitan Club, The Players Club, The Links and University clubs. In Barcelona, Charles belonged to the Royal Yacht Club, in Paris to the Travellers' Club, and in Miami to the Biscayne Bay Yacht Club.²¹³

James Deering also kept memberships in various countries and cities--in Chicago: the Chicago, University, South Shore Country, Saddle and Cycle, and Casino clubs; Brook, National Golf Links of America; in New York: the New York Yacht, Links, Union, and Knickerbocker clubs; in Miami: the Biscayne Bay Yacht Club. He belonged to clubs and France and Germany.²¹⁴

One of Charles's and James's excursions, a "motoring" trip, perhaps typified the experience of those years when International Harvester business extended across Europe. American artist Gari Melchers accompanied Charles and James, about 1904, for a seven-week automobile tour through Europe. The Detroit-born Melchers, who as a teenager had studied at the Royal Art Academy in Dusseldorf and afterward at the Academie Julien in Paris, had earned early recognition for his works of Holland's village people and was nearly James's age. Later, the well-travelled artist described the experience as "the trip of my life unalloyed bliss."²¹⁵

Aubrey Beardsley and Rembrandt

Charles Deering's collection of art progressed with his travels and his creative interests. As the collection increased, a strategy emerged. Robert Harshe attributed its importance to Deering's own sensitivities:

It is an inclusive taste that can enjoy Aubrey Beardsley, as well as Rembrandt and the large groups from sixteenth and seventeenth century Dutch and Italian masters. He bought rarities such as the only etching ever done by Ingres. The genius of Goya is shown through a splendid series of aquatints. Nor was Mr. Deering's mind entirely taken up with earlier masters: his portfolio of modern prints included the work of MacLaughlan, Meryon, Pennell, Raffet, Felicien Rops, Steinlen, Turner, Whistler and Herman Webster. His selection of the works of Zorn was truly remarkable, numbering many unique items.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

Though Mr. Deering specialized in prints, they did not keep him, as they have done so many collectors, from enjoying painting as well. Here again this courage of choice is apparent for he never picked out the accepted things; while the rest of the world was paying exorbitant prices for Italian, Dutch and French painting, he was acquiring Spanish art, particularly the work of the then unpopular master, El Greco It is to Mr. Deering's credit that he appreciated the master's greatness even before Herr Mier-Graefe had proclaimed it in "The Spanish Journey." Not only did Mr. Deering gather characteristic works of the painter for his own collection, but in 1910 when the Art Institute had the opportunity to buy the incomparable "Assumption of the Virgin" he gave the sum of ten thousand dollars to the fund. Thus the people of Chicago owe partly to Mr. Deering the daily opportunity of studying . . . one of the five great El Grecos in the world. . . .

Equally original were some of his other ventures into Spanish art. . . . It has taken European minds a long time properly to appreciate these naive, beautiful works But Mr. Deering did not hesitate to acquire these heavily gessoed and gilt panels and altarpieces . . . incomprehensible to many critics . . . and in one at least, "St. George and the Dragon" by Martorell he found an undeniable masterpiece. His Zurbaran, and his portraits by Goya are characteristic. Particularly important to a study of the latter artist, are two large decorative allegories and the 'Boy on Ram,' the study for a tapestry which hangs in the Escorial.²¹⁶

Though Charles Deering reportedly destroyed most of his own paintings, some survive. Several hung in his house at Cutler. While chairman of the board of International Harvester, Charles Deering's old friend and Annapolis roommate, Lieutenant-Commander William Henry Scheutze, died. A canvas Deering painted of Scheutze was one of those Deering hung at Cutler. Another was a painting of Charles's grandfather, James Deering. Both, according to Art Institute of Chicago director Robert Harshe, showed Deering's "ability to record character." A Deering sketch of Chicagoan John Cutler (also painted by Zorn) likewise showed Deering's "breadth of treatment and his direct attack."²¹⁷

The lifelong friendship between Lieutenant-Commander William Henry , Scheutze U.S.N. and Deering, the roommates who had earned first and second ranking in their class at Annapolis, inspired Charles to present a statue, Serenidad by Jose Clara, to be placed in the Capitol as a memorial to Scheutze. Charles insisted that his name as donor not appear upon the inscription, despite reported resistance from the Senate and House Library committees, the Fine Arts Commission, and the director of Public Buildings and Grounds. Charles directed the simple inscription, "In memory of Lieut.-Commander William Henry Schuetze, U.S.N." with birth and death dates.²¹⁸ [Deering's memorial to Schuetze stands in Rock Creek Park.]²¹⁹

Abby Deering Howe died in 1906 in Chicago. She had celebrated her 39th birthday the previous month. Her only child, William Deering Howe, was just eight. A note handwritten by Charles indicated that she died just after midnight at Presbyterian Hospital. Charles wrote:

Her sunny, happy life ended suddenly and prematurely.²²⁰

International Harvester: Decade One

The first decade for International Harvester brought a share of juristic and legislative conflict along with tremendous corporate success. 1905 brought charges that International Harvester bribed labor leaders and elected officials.²²¹ In Texas in 1907, a year of national financial crisis, the company pled guilty to charges of antitrust law violations, was fined \$35,000 and "ousted from the state."²²² In 1908, the company unveiled a disability insurance plan for its 30,000 employees and reported total assets of \$156 million. In Missouri, a company vice president testified in court that the corporation was formed "to improve" business. In Washington, another officer, E.D. Metcalf, testified to a House Ways and Means committee that the company could handle free trade in agricultural implements and a U.S. Senator from North Dakota told the Senate the company influenced politics in North Dakota.²²³

In 1909, the company headed the nation in "large gifts" to employees at Christmas, while the Kansas Supreme Court issued a limited "ouster order" and reserved the legal right to address the issue at a future time. The National Organization of Traders wanted the equipment on the U.S. "free list" and Russia included farm equipment on its free list.²²⁴ In 1910, the Times reported a "special distribution of profits" to International Harvesters' shareholders, and a half million dollars into the profit-sharing plan for employees.²²⁵

When Charles Deering retired as Chairman of the Board in 1910, he was succeeded by a McCormick.²²⁶ The government's continuing suits charged, among other issues, that "within a few years two families will have a monopoly on all farm implements."²²⁷

In 1911 the company appropriated a half million dollars for employees profit-sharing fund, while the government's continuing antitrust suit sought to prohibit International Harvester from conducting business in the state of Missouri. A U.S. House of Representatives committee probed steel trusts, seeking to prove that International Harvester and U.S. Steel "are one and the same". C.H. McCormick, interviewed by the Times aboard the SS Kronprinz Wilhelm in October, said the company was ready to accept some form of federal control, but the company leadership found the government plan "too drastic," in November. Meanwhile the company was fined \$50,000 as the Missouri's Supreme Court upheld findings of violation of state antitrust laws, and the U.S. House of Representatives considered a format for possible committee investigations into the company's "money, shipping and. . . trusts."²²⁸

Charles Deering and the Cutler Years (1913 - 1927)

The Death of a Patriarch

In 1913, William Deering died. For some years he had a small house, a winter retreat, at Miami. He died December 9, shortly after he and Charles had arrived for the winter, hoping that the climate would restore William's health.

The New York Times reported William's net worth was twelve million dollars. He had identified his bequests during his life, "while he was alive, and could see that gifts were properly used," the Times reported. After his widow received the house, and Abby's widower and son, Richard and William Deering Howe, received a quarter million dollars, the rest was left in equal thirds to Charles, to James, and to all the grandchildren. The Times reported that the figures of the probated will, due to transfer out of large sums, "by no means represent the fortune he accumulated in the manufacture of harvesting machinery." ²²⁹

The Miami Daily Metropolis headlined:

HARVEST'R KING IS CALLED BY DEATH.

William Deering, whose name has become familiar throughout the world through his connection with the manufacture of harvesting implements, and who amassed an enormous fortune in this business, died at eleven o'clock last night in the modest little home at Cocoanut Grove where he spent several winters and to which he came some six weeks ago in the hope that the mild climate would sustain his life for a while longer. With his two sons, Charles and James, and the attending physician, Dr. P.T. Skaggs, at his bedside, the end came quietly and peacefully. . . . Arrangements are being made for a special train to take the body to Evanston, Ill., where the funeral services will be held.

A few years ago Mr. Deering retired from active business and has divided his time between a summer home in the north and the winter residence at Cocoanut Grove. His son Charles has been carrying on the business in Chicago, while James Deering lives in New York.

Mr. Deering was a man of simple tastes, unostentatious life and kindly character. His long life he attributed to his simple mode of living. When he came to Cocoanut Grove this autumn he was exceedingly weak and has scarcely been out of his room, except for occasional airings in a wheel chair. ²³⁰

Funeral services were held in Cocoanut Grove and, four days later, at Evanston, Illinois. William was buried in Chicago's Graceland Cemetery on December 14. ²³¹ Nearly 88 when he died, Deering had served for years as chaired the Board of Trustees of Northwestern University and Garrett Biblical Institute. He founded Wesley Hospital (which became Northwestern Memorial Hospital). Deering "gave generously" to those institutions and to "all charities and good works in which he was interested," according to Charles who wrote a 1913

biography he published in memoria. Charles stated that his father's "mind was clear and his friends were known and welcomed almost to his last day." William's widow, Clara Cummings Hamilton Deering, survived him and died at Cocanut Grove on May 27, 1918.²³²

Mar y Cel and Tamarit

Charles Deering, by 1915, was well embarked upon a project of restoration and art collection in Spain. Like other of his peers--J.P. Morgan, Isabelle Stewart Gardner and Henry Clay Frick--Charles enjoyed travelling in Spain and was interested in Spanish culture. Like many 19th century readers of Washington Irving's Spanish tales, Deering had inherited a romantic interest. But his concentrated dedication to preserve and gather art in restored Spanish sites surpassed that of most contemporaries. He became at home in Spain, setting about to found a study center for Spanish art and a trust in his name.²³³

Marion and Charles seasonally resided at Sitges. They entertained friends. Charles's correspondence from the house, "Mar y Cel" (Sea and Sky), was penned upon engraved stationary colorfully engraved with a Mar y Cel logo. Within the Deering family, the logo was used with specific variations.²³⁴

The Deerings' restoration project at Sitges involved a number of houses, an ambitious project aimed at the collection of historic Spanish artifacts collected within a museum. Deering planned the Spanish restorations as an eventual art center, a place where students "from all the world" might study and work, an endowed art school governed by a board of trustees. (See Appendix H. Mar y Cel, 17 photographs.)

Deering filled Mar y Cel with art--musical instruments, paintings, sculpture, metals, rugs, furniture, embroideries, tapestries, books and pottery. Director of the Art Institute of Chicago, Robert Harshe, explained Deering's motivation and described his accomplishment:

Color and exuberance were qualities which appealed to Mr. Deering wherever he found them in art, hence it is not surprising that he understood the Spanish consciousness so well and delighted in its achievements. This admiration went further than a mere collection of paintings: it caused him to fashion a Spanish estate, Mar y Cel, at Sitges, Spain, which he designed as a background for many of his finest Spanish pieces.

Mr. Deering reconstructed on the shores of the sea a veritable feudal castle, stocked with art treasures that still retained the integrity of a beautiful building.

All sorts of details went into its construction. The Spanish Romanesque was heavily drawn upon . . . old capitals, doorways, mantel-pieces, tiles, which were woven into the plans so skillfully . . . that they seemed to be a part of the original. Wrought iron balconies and delicate filigree grilles and gates were imported from the provinces. At the front door a foliated stone Gothic gateway from Salamanca was set up, and here and there appeared twelfth or thirteenth century stone capitals, some original, others modern adaptations by Pedro Jou which matched the spirit of the old. . . .

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

It is plain to be seen that Mr. Deering loved and understood the arts of Spain, otherwise he could never have created a house where the objects of its craftsmen were displayed to such harmonious advantage.²³⁵

Deering restored a historic site, Tamarit, near Tarragona. Deering designated the towered building, dating to Roman occupation, not as a residence but as an interpretive site for Spanish history. Spanish artist, Ramon Casas, worked over a period of time with Deering on the restoration. At one time Casas painted Deering's formal portrait. Garbed in evening wear, Deering sat for Casas on an antique settee, perhaps at Tamarit or Sitges, gazing at the artist directly across top hat, cane and gloves held artfully in his left hand. (See Appendix G. for exterior view of Tamarit.)

Robert Harshe summarized the process and the inspiration for the restorations at Tamarit:

[Deering's] same determining interest in the great past of Spain led to his interesting restoration of part of the sadly neglected site of Tamarit with the help of his friend, Ramon Casas. This town, with its tradition that goes back to Roman days, had fallen into decay, its monuments were in ruins, but through Mr. Deering's aid, we are better able, as the antiquary, Juan Ruiz y Orta, says in a book which he dedicated to Charles Deering, to

enter in the sumptuous palaces of the nobles and into the strongholds of the counts of Barcelona; to ramble about the picturesque monasteries; to stop at the guild-halls of the merchants; to surprise the councils at their deliberations, and to attend the solemn sessions of the Catalan Estates; to live the lives of the knights of that time, as troubadours have sung and chroniclers have told it.

Concluding his chronicle and assessment of Charles Deering's art interests and efforts, Harshe concluded:

In Mar y Cel and in Tamarit Mr. Deering was indulging his creative imagination to the utmost. Here was something beyond the settling down of a few elements on canvas. . . .rescuing a whole epoch and a whole art from the past and making it real.²³⁶

For his work and his encouragement to the arts of Spain, Deering was honored by the Spanish Government. He received the Order of Alfonso XII and the Order of Isabella the Catholic.

Charles Deering and the Land at Cutler

In 1913 when Charles Deering began to purchase the hammock at Cutler, he was highly successful. He was aesthetically and intellectually enthusiastic. He was an activist and a grandfather who shared his passionate concerns with his grandchildren. His experiences as head of an international corporation, as a Naval officer, and as keeper of a strong family tradition were forceful elements of his persona and his mission at Cutler.

His biographer wrote that Charles "avoided notoriety." Visitors to Deering's home were "sure to be impressed by the excellence of the scientific library which he had assembled. . . [his] art . . . books . . . and his pictures."

During the last two decades of Charles's life, which encompassed his Cutler years, the majority of his time was:

spent with his books. He devoted no time to athletics or to sports of any form. He found no pleasure in golf, polo, cards, or racing, in the theatre or opera, in musical concerts, or in the modern "movies." The idle chatter of many "social" occasions was to him an unendurable bore.

Deering read fiction:

only in foreign languages . . . whereby his reading ability . . . was improved. His studious habits led him to seek the quiet of his library . . . other forms of so-called entertainment were regarded by him as undesirable distractions.

His scholarly tastes were exceptionally broad . . . he devoted an increasing proportion of his time to history, and particularly to genealogy. He had acquired the scholar's devotion to accuracy which manifested itself in all his work.²³⁷

The Charles Deering Estate: Acquisition of a Subdivision

From 1913, when Deering was 61, until 1926, the year before his death, Deering doggedly pursued acquisition of the land. He bought in a period of unprecedented real estate inflation during the 1910s and the 1920s Florida Land Boom. He bought from land speculators, whom he categorically mistrusted, as well as corporations, real estate firms, banks and some residents. During the 13-year period, he consolidated a subdivision into a single parcel. Today's Deering Estate site and some adjacent parcels had been subdivided by 1899 into 110 blocks by Dr. S.H. Richmond for the Perrine Grant Land Company. Some blocks--prime, choice blocks such as those owned by Richmond and Addison--had been re-subdivided into 24 lots fifty-foot wide and resold. (See Site Graphics, Figure 6. Charles Deering Acquisitions with Selected List of Sellers).

Deering's first purchases concentrated on the hammock. A host of owners had title to the blocks subdivided in 1899. In mid-March of 1913, some nine months before William Deering's death, Charles purchased from Miami Bank & Trust six blocks. The blocks had once

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

belonged to John Addison. Each contained approximately ten acres. They were concentrated in the hammock, and only a few were contiguous. Each was wrapped on four sides by platted roads 25-to-60 feet wide. Two of the four contained parcels excepted by private ownership.²³⁸

Within 18 months, Deering acquired another patchwork of subdivision lots. Again, the Richmond Cottage area was not among the purchases. In March of 1915, Deering acquired about two dozen subdivision blocks from the Perrine Grant Land Company. Those blocks stretched from the hammock to the north end of today's Deering Estate, where lots were diagonally laid, many on submerged land. These lots also were circumscribed by public roads. Six of these lay within the hammock. Several bayfront parcels included riparian rights to submerged lands and platted roads, thereby wrapping the hammock and shoreline in a network of platted, public roads.

A half-year later, Deering bought from William and Antonia M. Fuzzard much of the lots remaining north of the hammock lands--some 13 scattered lots in the hammock--those excepted from the Miami Bank and Trust holdings and belonging to J.D. and Sarah L. Fowler, Roland S. and Mary R. Kolb, and W.C. Watson. The day after he bought from Kolb, Richmond, Watson and Fowler, Deering bought from Fuzzard.

Two years had passed since his original purchases when Deering bought from Edith M. and S.H. Richmond 14 lots (#6 - #19) in blocks 77 and 78, including riparian rights owned by the Richmonds with Lot 78.²³⁹

Richmond Cottage lay within Block 77, which was re-subdivided into 24 lots. To acquire the land within that block, Deering bought over a period of a year in five separate transactions--from the Richmonds, five blocks from the Perrine company; two from Henry M. Brogdon; and finally, in February of 1916, the last three blocks (#20, 21 and 22) from the Richmonds.²⁴⁰ Block 76, lying north of the Richmond Cottage, was almost as complicated. Miami Bank & Trust sold in 1913 that block except for 8 lots. But not until 1916, in May, was Deering able to acquire three more from A.T. and Anna T. Duval.²⁴¹

Richmond wrote an article in Tropic Magazine 1915 about Addison Hammock and Deering's intentions. Entitled "The Perrine Grant," Richmond pointed to "Dr. John Kunkel Small of the New York Botanical Garden and the highest botanical authority in the United States," and that Small characterized the site as "one of the finest natural parks in the United States and . . . one of the most interesting places to visit from the standpoint of a botanist." Richmond reported that Addison Hammock had been purchased by "Mr. Charles Deering, who will preserve the entire tract in its primitive beauty."²⁴² Increasingly, Deering resided at Cutler, according to his prolific personal correspondence with botanists such as Small and David Fairchild of the U.S.D.A.'s division of Foreign Plant Exploration and Introduction.

By 1917 and 1918, purchases still continued but major portions had been acquired. Deering owned the hammock, the north and south pinelands, and critical riparian rights apparently in contemplation of extensive filling for more bayfront lots. By 1917, a major public highway south of Richmond Cottage had been replanted at John Kunkel Small's direction as "the new hammock," and a concrete wall constructed to the bay. The wall blocked access to a

score of checkerboard lots, a network of subdivision roads, and the public shoreline drive platted in 1899.²⁴³

"The big Chas. Deering country place at Cutler"

Even though Deering had been assembling the land since 1913, The Miami Metropolis reported in late 1915 with a sense of surprised excitement that the Deerings were remodelling Richmond Cottage. An October report quoted Dr. Richmond and identified the new owner as James Deering. James reportedly had a "party of guests" arriving as soon as the house was ready. Thirty men were at work, and Dr. Richmond reportedly had "just three days to move. . . so that re-modeling could begin." The article detailed remodelling:

The men will be put to work tomorrow and will begin alterations on the dining room. This is already a spacious room and will be made lighter and more airy. On the second floor, the six bed chambers will be converted into four bedrooms with bath for each. It is understood that a number of rooms will be added to the home.²⁴⁴

In November, the Metropolis reported the house was to be ready for "Mr. Deering's Christmas dinner." The interior had been largely "torn away" to create "larger airier rooms," according to the foreman quoted, a Mr. McDonald. The article was headlined,

FORMER RICHMOND HOME BEING TRANSFORMED TO MANSION FOR DEERINGS

Downstairs the library and parlor with a hall running the length of the two. At the end of the hall, the reception hall leads into the dining room. Upstairs the spaciousness of the rooms is still marked, the architects having given to the rooms the appearance of added breadth and width.

The chimneys are to be built of native rock, one having been recently completed. Above the kitchen fireplace, an open grating is arranged to carry off hot air. The installation of a gas plant will begin in a few days it is announced.²⁴⁵

By the following spring, the story was elevated to front page importance and enjoyed some credibility. In keeping with tradition, the F.E.C.-owned Metropolis continued to amplify the role of Dr. Richmond, land agent for the F.E.C. interests. Side by side with a story speculating on Teddy Roosevelt's return bid for the presidency, the Metropolis headlined:

LARGE IRRIGATION PLANTS FOR CHAS. DEERING AND GVT. EXPERIMENT FARM

Contracts have been let for two large irrigation plants, one for the government plant introduction station between Lemon city and Little River and the other for the big Chas. Deering country place at Cutler. Both plants are to be installed in the near future.

The Deering plants will cost about \$10,000, including a large supply tank and powerful gasoline pump. The water for the government station will be pumped by electricity, this being one of the first pumps of this kind to be established in this section. It will work automatically, keeping the pressure tank filled at all times. The

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

government's extensive plantings of tropical fruit and ornamental trees will be watered by the new system.

Mr. Deering is developing the Cutler estate, the old Richmond homestead, on a large scale, setting out many large trees, building walks, walls, etc. ²⁴⁶.

Deering's artist friends, such as John Singer Sargent, were among those who visited him in Florida. In 1917, Sargent stayed with Deering and painted a series of water colors at Viscaya. The scenes included alligators in the swamp, garden statuary, workers basking along shore (in today's Worcester Museum holdings). Sargent painted, and in the words of Robert Harshe "a notable portrait of Charles Deering, sun-flecked and vivid, done out of doors beneath a palm tree" and one of John Rockefeller. That year, Viscaya was nearly finished, having been under construction some three years, since 1914. On Christmas day of 1916, Viscaya had been ready for occupancy. ²⁴⁷

Sargent wrote from Deering's houseboat Nepenthe that he had caught a fish weighing 140 pounds and measuring six feet, ten inches in length. ²⁴⁸

In 1918 Deering staff member, H. Schwenn, wrote on September fourth from Cutler. His six-page letter, penned in flourishing script, gives some sense of the scope of construction accomplishments. It also reflects routine concerns at the isolated site. Schwenn daily photographed one project--an artful concrete bridge. He reported:

Dear Sir!

I have taken Photographs of Bridge since Aug. 7 until Aug 24. to show you how work went on. Please find date on back of Photographs, Bridge has been ready for traffic[] since Aug 24 and Mr. Kendrick is now working on Balastrade[]. Bridge is very strong reinforced and capable to carry 40 tons. Road to north line of your property is ready, but County has not finished the other end. Dear Sir I have send by Express a box of Avocadoes, hope same will reach you in good Order. There are several Grapefruit trees in the Grove, and fruit is very nice and ready for table use, do you wish me to send a crate?

Dear Sir! I have learnt, that Captain Barker has given up his position with you, may I recommend Captain [Charles W.] Peterson to you for the Position, he has had years of experience in testhouse at Seaburys, and years of experience as Capt. & Engineer in Southern waters, he has been with Mr. Snowden in Miami several Seasons
.....

Dear Sir two. wire Screens in front part of house are in bad condition, shall I replace same?

Dear Sir in previous years Ice delivery has been very bad, and prices very high, the Miami Ice Co. has discontinued Ice delivery now, and Princeton Ice Co. is Charging at a rate of \$1 per hundred pounds, would like to suggest a small private Refrigerating

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

plant to you, wish [sic] can be very easily installed and opporated at reasonable cost, compearing sic[] the present price for Ice.

My wife has returned from her vacation and has benefited very much by the Change, and we are both thanking you very much.

There are lots of Birds here lately, and I am trying my very best to keep them here at Cutler for you to enjoy.

Everything is allright at Cutler and we are awaiting at any time your return.

We are yours very Obediently.²⁴⁹

By the winter of 1915-1916, Charles Deering divided his time between his estate at Buena Vista and Cutler. But by winter of 1916 - 1917, he wrote David Fairchild that he was spending "most of" his Florida time "at Cutler."²⁵⁰

Elbert H. Gary, longtime Deering friend
"Charles' general style"

Charles's abundant personal correspondence was admired by associates and friends. The habit may have represented, to some extent, a family trait. His brother James wrote during the 1920s to an old family friend, Judge Elbert H. Gary. Some of the material relates to Charles during the Cutler years.

Elbert Gary, six years Charles's senior, a lawyer, during the late 1800s became general counsel and director of large railroads, banks and industries. As first president of Federal Steel, Gary was credited as chief organizer of the 1901 merger that created the giant U.S. Steel Corporation, backed by J.P. Morgan. Gary became, at 55, the first chairman of the board of U.S. Steel. He remained chief executive officer for a quarter of a century. The U.S. Steel town of Gary, Indiana was named in his honor. Though known for championing workers' rights and benefits, Gary's advocacy of the open shop had led to the steel strike of 1919-1920 when Gary was nearly 74.

Elbert Gary was often addressed as Judge Gary, a reference to his years on an Illinois county bench during the 1880s. Gary headed U.S. Steel during Charles Deering's chairmanship of International Harvester Company. The two maintained a correspondence of three decades, from 1898 until 1927. Gary once wrote of Charles:

his deafness in later years prevented him doing much work for a considerable time preceding his death. He was . . . alert, faithful and hard-working. . . . he was quick to perceive a point, and . . . clear in expressing his opinion.²⁵¹

Several letters reveal something of Charles and James Deerings's interwoven family associations. They also reflect a pattern of recurring illnesses during their final decade of life. From Viscaya in Spring of 1920 when he was 60, James wrote Gary:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

I am very much pleased to have a copy of your very interesting letter to Charles. It is interesting to know that you contemplate going abroad and think to visit Charles in Spain. I hope at last to get down to see him myself this coming summer, as I have never done so.

Many thanks for your kind references to me. At the present time and for some weeks back it has been impossible for me to lead a quiet life. I have invited no one here except the Winstons, but the winter visitors here and at Palm Beach keep me pretty active. It astonishes me sometimes to learn how intimate I am with some people that I have not seen or heard of for twenty years; nevertheless I go to bed practically every night at six o'clock and try to rest as much as I can

Howe has been ill for over three weeks, but he is now practically well, being able to be outdoors and declaring that he is about to take an automobile ride.²⁵²

Gary answered James:

With all our hearts we are hoping you will speedily be fully restored, and that you have before you scores of years of health and happiness.

You know better than I can express what a warm feeling I have always entertained for the Deering family.

We were much delighted to learn that Mr. Howe is entirely recovered in health. I trust it will continue permanently and without interruption. We shall be glad to see him again.

I believe I directed my office to send you copy of a short note which I dictated to Charles. I have not heard from him since and do not know whether or not he received it. Therefore I do not feel certain that he will be in Spain in July or August, when we would naturally visit him if practicable. We are hoping that you will go abroad and that it may be our good fortune to have you go on the La France sailing July 7th. You know, by experience, she is a very good ship. Also, we are hoping that if we should be so fortunate as to visit Sitges you might be there at the same time.²⁵³

The following Spring, Gary wrote James from his New York City office. Gary apparently recognized the prominence of the Deerings' coastal situation. He touched upon the regard with which Charles's remarkable correspondent style was viewed among his peers.

My dear James

Mrs. Gary and I are now expecting to leave here by boat next Saturday for Cuba, Jamaica, Panama and Los Angeles, so I suppose about Tuesday we shall be sailing down the Florida coast, perhaps ten miles at sea but near enough to shower blessings on you as we pass. We were invited by the president of the company . . . and took advantage of the opportunity to get a little rest and recreation.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

Yesterday we received a nice, long letter from Charles written in his usual vein. Lately I have been reading the letters of Horace Walpole; I presume you have read them. I suppose he was one of the best of all letter writers. As I have read them I have been reminded very much of Charles' general style.²⁵⁴

Deering's Collections
Crates of Treasure: From Sitges to Chicago and Cutler

Deering's plan for the Sitges and Tamarit restorations was to establish a permanent art center. He also planned to endow a hospital at Sitges. Legal and governmental guarantees for continuance after Deering's death were the objects of study for attorneys and business associates. After years of effort, an associate in Spain concluded the obstacles were insurmountable. "I am sure there is," he wrote, "no fiduciary undertaking in Spain that could undertake the handling of the Mar y Cel matter." Though Mar Y Cel remained in family ownership for generations, much of Deering's collection soon headed across the Atlantic to Chicago and Cutler.

Deering dismantled his collections, placing a major portion on permanent loan to the Art Institute of Chicago, and bringing much to the estate at Cutler. Apparently instead of endowing the art center, Deering endowed the College of Liberal Arts of Northwestern, and stipulated in his will a gift to erect a university library.²⁵⁵ (Mar Y Cel remained in family ownership, according to Deering's great-granddaughter, until 1952).²⁵⁶

By October of 1921, more than a hundred crates of Deering treasures lay at the port of New York City. Four months passed before Robert Harshe, Director of the Art Institute of Chicago, was able to get the crates moving by train toward Chicago. Part of the problem apparently lay with the stated value of the objects. On January 16th of 1921, Harshe telegraphed that the first Deering shipment was about to leave New York. One hundred three crates were to be shipped in five groups--one group each day for five days.²⁵⁷

Charles Deering apparently began to make plans for his immense collection. Even as the crates had been packed and shipped from Spain, he executed a will which provided for one category of his art collection. Deering outlined his wishes regarding his collection, numbering some six thousand items, of "etchings, lithographs and prints:"

It is my will and desire that my collection of etchings, lithographs and prints be kept intact, but the term "collection" shall not include duplicates, and if the collection is not disposed of by me before my death, I recommend to my wife and our children, Roger, Marion and Barbara, and hope they will be so disposed, to bestow the same upon some public institution, and inasmuch as The Art Institute of Chicago possesses the DeWolf collection of Zorn etchings, I suggest that my collection be given to the Metropolitan Museum of New York, or to some public institution such as the New York Library.²⁵⁸

Deering forged an agreement November of 1921 with the Art Institute. Chauncey McCormick, Deering's son-in-law married to Marion, contacted the Art Institute early in 1922. Writing on the Deering family's Miami Corporation stationery, McCormick enclosed assigned values for a list of jade objects Deering had obtained from John C. Ferguson: some 70 rings,

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

disks, tablets, seals, boxes, pendants and figures of the Chow and T'ang dynasties. Deering indicated that he had acquired the jade collection in August of 1919 for \$10,500.²⁵⁹

Hundreds of Chinese art pieces, travelled from Sitges to New York, from New York to Chicago and the Art Institute. Lacquered screens, paintings of horses, birds and flowers, and a jade group arrived and were insured for hundreds of thousands of dollars as the Institute processed accessions and insured their value.²⁶⁰ Five oriental rugs valued at \$33,750 were returned to Deering, while paintings hung were valued at \$140,000.²⁶¹ The insurance total climbed to nearly a million dollars for just the oriental items arriving in 1922.²⁶²

Some 302 boxes arrived at the Art Institute, as per terms of an agreement between the Art Institute and "Charles Deering of Cutler." Material was accessed as the "Deering Loan." For the Miami Corporation, Chauncey McCormick wrote Art Institute Director Robert Harshe as the first shipment of acquired treasures travelled West from New York.²⁶³

Spanish crates from the Art Institute to Cutler

As the crates arrived at the Art Institute, some were shipped on to Charles Deering, presumably for what John Kunkel Small called "the rock house," and Deering family members called "the stone house," and a Miami Corporation official called "your new addition." From The Art Institute, a precise listing of the contents of some 40 crates bound for Florida was itemized. Values were assigned for insurance in transit. Some entries indicate the Mar y Cel rooms from which the pieces came. All entries apparently describe furnishings for Deering's house soon to be under construction:

Case #	Contents	Ins. value in transit
36	Lower half of sideboard	1,000
37	Upper half of sideboard	1,000
39	Works of 2 Old English clocks	500
40	Wooden case of small musical clock	300
68	" " " tall Old English clock	500
71	Ptg. rehearsal of Lamoureux Orchestra	1,000
	Portrait of unknown French school	3,000
	" of Duque Solomayor	2,000
72	Portrait of Miss Evans	2,000
	" of Mancine	1,000
	1 mirror	300
	Portrait of woman's head	1,000

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

73	Painting La Touche <u>The twins</u>	1,000
	Portrait of Swedish girl	1,000
	" of Zorn	1,000
	Antique painting of man and woman	500
	Water color of girl small)	
	Woman in red coloring)	
	Small caricature in water color)	
	Small Whistler)	
	1 photo of 4 generations)	
	Ptg on wood by Jose Arrue 5,200)	8,700
74	Painting of Cardinal by Lopez)	
	" " Joe by Casas)	
	water color by Domingo)	1,200
82	Portrait Gen. Mendizabal by Goya)	
	2 wat. col. by Domingo)	
	1 " " " John Sargent)	
	1 antique ptg by Eugenio Lucas)	3,500
104	5 paintings by Casas and Zorn	2,000
129-139 Inclusive	Books from Mar y cel Library <u>per case</u>	Per case 200
149	Large gilt mirror from Chicarones)	
	1 ptg. Lot & his daughters)	
	1 wood carving fr. King's Room London)	1,600
150	Linen	200
151-157 Inclusive	Books from Marycel Library <u>per case</u>	Per case 200
158	Pair of mirrors from Salle de Fiestas	300
159	" " " " Mrs. D's room	200
160	Mirrors	300
171	Small marble female figure by Clara	200
176-179	2 red lacquer writing desks fr. Marycel Lib. <u>percs</u>	1,500
181	1 marble head by Clara	
	Bronze female figure by Clara	
	2 figures of saints, terra cotta, fr. Tapestry rm	1,000

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

187	5 ptgs 3 cariatures 1 mirror 3 portraits from upstairs Chicarones	500
303	Linen	200

45,100²⁶⁴

Deering wrote March 8 to his son-in-law, Chauncey McCormick, in Chicago. Deering asked McCormick to have the Art Institute send certain oriental rugs to Florida. Presumably they were intended for use in the Richmond Cottage or to be stored until completion of the new addition:

Dear Mr. Harshe:
Re: Loan Exhibit of Mr. Charles Deering.

I have received from Mr. Deering a letter dated March 8th in which he asks that certain of the rugs in his collection now at the Art Institute, be sent to him at Miami, Florida. His letter is as follows:

Moreover, some of the rugs that were sent are not exhibition rugs, and of them, as they are now out of storage, I wish you would kindly have sent to me at Miami:

No. 20 (246.22) 18th Century Asia Minor Rug
No. 12 (258.22) Persian silk rug in gold colors
Nos 22 (120.22) 26((249.22) and 27 (250.22), Chinese Rugs.

Will you please give instructions to have these five rugs carefully repacked, giving attention to protection against dampness, and ship them to Mr. Charles Deering, Miami, Florida? ²⁶⁵

An exhibit at the Art Institute featured Deering's immense loan collection. Items on exhibit were covered by the museum's insurance. Some 53 items from Sitges had been removed by Deering from the Art Institute's general collection category, but remained there "temporarily in storage." A letter in April from Harshe to McCormick outlined considerations for managing Deering's immense collection institutionally. ²⁶⁶

For a loaned exhibit at The Institute, Deering sent a "Polonaise Rug" valued at \$60,000. Arriving April 12, the valuable piece came with instructions "to be exhibited under glass. ²⁶⁷

The Stone House

When in early summer of 1922 the contract was finally let for the stone house, Deering had acquired nearly every subdivision lot and block. The network of public roads was quiet-titled along with purchase of riparian rights once intended for dredge-and-fill operations.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

Constructed in juxtaposition to the 20-year-old Richmond Inn, the addition was "your new addition to your house at Cutler," in the words of W.T. Louderback of the Miami Corporation's office in Chicago. The contract was sent to Louderback in Chicago by Deering on June 13th.²⁶⁸

Deering's addition was under construction in summer and Fall of 1922. Botanist John Kunkel Small was in Florida late that summer for one of his Florida explorations funded, equipped and staffed through Charles Deering. (See John Kunkel Small-Charles Deering correspondence section of this report.) Often Small stayed at Cutler, usually employing Deering staff members for the exploration, while executing his continuing work on the Cutler estate for Deering.

Small photographed construction progress in late summer. Deering staff members and others photographed the house as it went up during July through September. Small called it "the rock house." (See Shepard report, 1988 for drawings, construction photographs and correspondence.)

The architect, Phineas Paist, wrote Deering August 18 that he had stored Deering's books everywhere. He said the house (apparently Richmond Cottage) was "pretty well stacked up, especially the third story." Paist thought that a room on the second story of the garage might be better for books--"rather dryer than the main house."²⁶⁹

(Materials suggest the possibility of design- or navigational-strategies associated with the turning basin alignment with Richmond Cottage center hall, and placement of U.S. Coast and Geodetic triangulation base atop the stone house (a requisite elevated point advantageously used after construction). An official bearing point by which navigation is reckoned, a navigator on the Atlantic might head his vessel accurately and directly into Deering's channel. A 1935 U.S.C.G.S. Topographical chart indicated the triangulation base was on the "Cupola" by 1930.)²⁷⁰

The rooftop cupola of the new addition was outfitted with complex equipment to measure and record weather. Deering's grandchildren were fascinated with his devices, including the barometer. Rotating, a cylindrical barometer featured pens, tracing out recordings of atmospheric pressure readings. The children saw their grandfather charting the weather, maintaining records of precipitation and temperature, explaining his premise--that South Florida's climate would be altered by the drainage of the Everglades.²⁷¹

Paist wrote in mid-July to Deering about equipment to be installed upon the rooftop. He wrote of a weather vane, a lightning rod, thermometers "to be placed somewhere near your other instruments." Some of the instruments were, Paist wrote, "on the porch of your old house." Paist and Deering's property manager, J.N. Morrison, had decided to install a weather vane on the highest point of the house-- the cupola capping the elevator shaft. From the vane with gear wheels, a rod was to be installed down the shaft to a windspeed indicator set into the wall of the downstairs hallway. A lightning rod, copper with platinum points, was to provide what Paist called "a runway for this fire from heaven."²⁷² (For information regarding other

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

equipment, e.g. "speaking tubes" or telephones between the addition and the servants at the house, see Shepard 1988, addendum notes.)

According to correspondence between Deering and Phineas Paist, the house was finished in late 1922, though some roofing, plastering, hardware installations were incomplete in 1923. Drawings for plans for Deering's extensive library shelves had been sent by the architect to New York. Built apparently to house the crates of books arriving from Sitges, the shelves were being cut during Spring of 1923. (Paist had been representative architect for Paul Chalfin on Viscaya and was to be, in 1925, architect for Coral Gables.)²⁷³

Charles Deering may not have seen the house under construction, except for photographs. Correspondence indicates that he was ill in Evanston from September to December. He wrote to John Kunkel Small in New York, jestingly inquiring whether Small had an energy machine, apparently a complaint of slow recovery and limited energies.²⁷⁴

Deering also wrote David Fairchild. Deering explained that he had been ill with bronchial pneumonia, restricted to bedrest, then to his home, for several fortnights in September and October of 1922. Following recovery from that illness, he was enduring the extraction of teeth. He offered the "pearls" to a friend.²⁷⁵

Charles also underwent a series of medical examinations and tests regarding continuing health problems. From Chicago in December, James wrote a mutual friend in New York that Charles left Chicago "very happy to get off to Florida" after his ordeal. James's letter indicates that Charles would have left Chicago Saturday, the ninth of December.²⁷⁶

"I rather look for a typical Deering Old Age in his case"

James wrote Elbert Gary, their old friend and President of U.S. Steel, in December of 1922 from James's Lake Shore Drive home in Chicago. Again, James's and Charles's failing health remains a recurring topic of their personal correspondence. James wrote:

Your remarkable letter went to Viscaya and then came back to Chicago, as I have telegraphed you. Charles happened to be with me when I read it, and we were both very deeply touched by the words, the thoughts and the sentiments which it contained.
...

When I told Dick Howe of my visit to you in New York he remarked that rarely, if indeed ever, had he known of an affection so unbroken, so consistent and unquestioning as exists between you . . . and the Deering family

As to Charles, the usual examinations and tests have shown him to be in a better basic condition than I believed him to be. All this is a great load off my mind, and I rather look for a typical Deering old age in his case. He was very happy to get off to Florida last Saturday night.²⁷⁷

The Wall around Deering's Reservation

An important feature of Deering's constructions included the wall following the landside perimeter of the estate. (Historically, rock walls marked earlier site occupations.) Built of oolitic limestone rock between 1917 and 1922, Deering's new wall stood "five-to-seven feet high, one and a half-to-two feet thick."

An "old wall" in the grove and "old wall along old road" were used in construction of stone house. Therefore, a section of wall, rebuilt in 1923, ran from the entrance gate to the creek--some 2600 feet. A new Cutler road (today's S.W. 72nd Avenue), replaced the old Cutler road inside Deering's wall. The new road bordered Deering's wall.²⁷⁸ J.N. Morrison, manager of Deering properties, wrote Deering at Cutler, shortly after Deering's arrival in Florida in 1922. He reported that the new rock wall (550 feet) from entrance gate to the south wall would cost over a thousand dollars--\$2.37 per foot.²⁷⁹ The wall and new road underlined the sanctity and preservation of the estate--which John Kunkel Small often called the Deering Reservation.

Eleanor Bisbee for the Metropolis

Even as the stone house addition proceeded at Cutler, activities at Charles Deering's Buena Vista property were ongoing. Deering's business stationery was headed "Charles Deering Properties, Buena Vista and Cutler." While Deering's Cutler estate moved forward as a rustic, preservation-oriented site sensitive to natural environmental resources--including those related to botany, wild life, and archaeology--Buena Vista enjoyed a contrastingly high profile in the local press. By 1922, the local press reported that John Kunkel Small was "in charge of the experimental work in Buena Vista." A series of articles by Eleanor Bisbee for the Metropolis provides exhaustive certain details of Deering's two properties--their similarities and their distinctions.²⁸⁰

Bisbee reported on navel oranges (Seedless and Foster Pink) grown at Buena Vista as well as "Mr. Deering's estate in Cutler."²⁸¹ One interview with J.N. Morrison, manager of "Charles Deering Properties," detailed a history of bird house constructions at both properties for "wild birds." Morrison reported particular success with building nests and placing them 60-feet above the ground. Berry-bearing shrubs were planted for the native birds.

Because "Deering once announced that he wanted every dead branch trimmed from all the pine trees on the place", and "forbid the use of spikes for climbing, lest holes be opened for insect borers." Morrison devised a 75-foot rope ladder and a way to throw it into the top of the native pines. From the rope swings, workers pruned every dead branch to preserve the trees, and simultaneously placed bird nests in the tops of pines, because "flickers particularly like high nests." The report listed a variety of nests, such as "martin and wren houses." (Bisbee's reports incidentally included information regarding two rare trees, one on each site--"Brazilian walnut" started at the site by J.K. Small--"the only two such trees in America."²⁸²

Apparently, as Deering once indicated to Fairchild (after Fairchild himself had instigated the idea), the expense of birds at Buena Vista became formidable. By contrast, materials suggest that birds at Cutler were equally important, but supported in the native habitat. A Bisbee report gives a sense of protective measures required to safeguard the habitat--to safeguard birds from humans, from lax protective laws, from animals such as bobcats and land crabs, and from environmental pollutants:

Precautions Necessary

Unfortunately good intentions do not always prevent interest from being of the destructive kind, for a party of people not familiar with bird life may in some wholly unintentional way disturb some nesting bird or frighten others, so the privilege is most carefully restricted. Too numerous visits of small parties or even of individuals inevitably disturb the sense of natural quiet and security essential to birds

Difficulties . . . have been numerous. Right now, Miami is hearing of complaints from yacht owners about oil on the bay, which does damage to the boats. Cleaning a boat is a less appalling task than cleaning [bird feathers]. . . .

Such extreme opposites as wildcats and crabs have. . . proved to be enemies of the birds. . . .²⁸³

During that same year, Deering's multi-faceted friendships and correspondents remained active. In the heat of mid-summer in Boston, where he worked on "decorations for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, John Singer Sargent wrote his friend in Evanston:

My dear Charles

I envy your being frozen-- here we have been sweltering in the hottest, gray, muggy weather for at least two weeks. . . but we are off at the end of this week to an island . . . within sight of Bar Harbour, which is supposed to be cool. . . there is nobody else there but a man for his boats and a farmer-- no post, no telegraph and no telephone, so we are safe from the fashionables of Bar Harbour.

It was very kind of you to ask us down to Evanston. I doubt if there is any chance of my getting away from my labors.

We saw Mrs. Danielson [Barbara Deering Danielson] the other day and she told us about the Sert pictures [for Mar y Cel]. Have you also brought away your Boldinis [Jean Boldini, the Franco-Italian painter] and Casas [Ramon Casas]. I should like to see them.²⁸⁴

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

Only five months before his death, Sargent again wrote Charles Deering from Boston:

My dear Charles

On the strength of our old friendship I had a visit yesterday from Mr. Louderback [W.J. Louderback of the Miami Corporation] who is at this hotel. He gave me lots of news of you. . . I asked him whether those birds of yours ever came back from their first migration. He told me . . . that Miami is gradually crowding you out of that guano [fertilizer made from bird excrement] factory--that you have more or less given up Brickell Point and concentrated on Cutler--that you have received a lot of things from Mar y Cel and are improving Tamarit, all of which is interesting. . . .²⁸⁵

Early in 1924, Charles Deering wrote from Florida to the Art Institute, apparently in response to their ongoing work to assign and document values for the collection from Sitges. Deering referred to his new addition:

Answering your letter of Jan. 23, I have lately moved into a new house, and am sorry to say that as my records and books are in a state of confusion that it will take much time to straighten out, I am unable at present to give the information you ask.²⁸⁶

Charles's firstborn son, William Case Deering, died on May 12th of 1924. William, 47, reportedly died of injuries sustained some months earlier in an airplane crash.²⁸⁷ A former resident of Hawaii, William had married and divorced twice, first to Mary Wentworth Bartlett of Chicago, and briefly, in 1923, to a California woman, Helen Elizabeth Evans Moyer. As an heir to William Deering, his grandfather, and recipient of several trust funds established by Charles Deering, William Case Deering's wealth and lifestyle attracted news ink. William left half his estate to "a San Francisco Woman . . . Helen Elizabeth Bates Stoddard, and the other half to Anna Rogers Case Mills and her sister Helene de St. P. Connal-Rowan, along with his John Singer Sargent portraits of his mother and his grandfather, Rear Admiral Augustus Ludlow Case."²⁸⁸ (See Appendix G. for Anna Case Deering portrait.)

In 1925, Charles Deering lost his brother. James Deering died on September 21st aboard a ship sailing from Paris to New York City. Charles Deering penned in the date next to James biographical details within the family genealogy Charles researched.

News of James Deering's death was telegraphed to most newspapers where agricultural implements had ever been sold. The New York Times reported:

Two Passengers Die Aboard Liner During Stormy Voyage

Aboard the French liner Paris out of Havre, the conditions were so "crowded. . . that many of the officers gave up their cabins to enable American tourists to hurry home."

Captain O. Maurras, the master of the Paris, said the weather had been very rough for five hours last Sunday night, with heavy seas, . . . twenty-four feet from the trough to the crest of the wave. . . . There were two deaths on the voyage in the first cabin.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

One was James Deering, retired Vice President of the International Harvester Company, whose body will be taken to Chicago for burial. M. Dumont, the surgeon of the Paris said that Mr. Deering had suffered heart attacks on Sunday and died at 4 o'clock Monday morning.²⁸⁹

Only two weeks earlier, the Times had reported that Deering paid the most federal income taxes of all Floridians. Deering, who was a bachelor and 66, was described as a "farm implement manufacturer, formerly of Chicago, now a resident of Miami." His tax bill was \$179,886.04, according to the Times. (The second highest-paying, William Horlick, was also of Miami.)²⁹⁰

Deering's death followed an illness in Paris. According to the Times he chose to return home, but was in a coma when taken on board. He had been placed the "de luxe suite of the ship," a space reserved for France's Minister of Finance, the famed and controversial Joseph Caillaux. Caillaux gave up his suite because of "Mr. Deering's desperate plight." Accompanied by two nurses, a valet and a secretary, Deering succumbed as the ship headed to New York "pounding through a thick fog off the banks of Newfoundland."²⁹¹

Charles was in Miami "recovering from a slight illness . . . under doctor's orders." So Marion left from Chicago to meet the ship in New York with their two daughters, Mrs. Chauncey McCormick and Mrs. Richard Ely Danielson.

The Times reported that after his retirement, James Deering:

made his home at Miami . . . he owned one of the finest residences in America, Viscaya, a white palace, containing seventy-two rooms, built in the baroque style, on Biscayne Bay. Estimates of the cost of Viscaya, for which hundreds of rare objects were brought from all parts of the world, have run as high as \$10,000,000. He also had a home in Paris. In April, 1914, Mr. Deering gave \$1,000,000 to Wesley Hospital in Chicago, founded by his father. Mr. Deering was a bachelor."²⁹²

Charles wrote a biography of his brother and filed it away with news clippings and other papers. Charles's biography listed James's academic background, characterized his brother and itemized some accomplishments, from a fraternal perspective:

James . . . entered the works of the Deering Harvester Company, acquiring a thorough knowledge of the manufacturing side of the business, and later visited its various agencies for the purpose of familiarizing himself with the sales department and its methods. During his active business career he was keenly interested in the experimental side of farm implement manufacture and passed on many improvements which have contributed to the progress of American agriculture and have assisted in extending the use of American farming machinery to all parts of the world.

Charles referred to his co-management of Deering Harvester and the formation of International Harvester Company. After retirement as International Harvester vice president (in 1919) James had, his brother wrote:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

devoted himself to his artistic and philanthropic interests and to travel."

He was fond of the French people and French civilization. He maintained a residence in Paris for many years and was an annual visitor at the French capital. In recognition of his various services to France he was made an Officer of the Legion of Honor. During the world war he contributed generously to French war causes, particularly to the relief of suffering and distress. He also made large donations to charity and benevolent enterprises of various kinds in Chicago and elsewhere in the United States, most of his gifts being made anonymously, with the exception of an endowment of \$1,000,000, established in 1914, in memory of his father and sister, to assist charity patients at the Wesley Hospital, Chicago, of which his father was the founder, the name of the institution being then changed to the Wesley Memorial Hospital [now Northwestern Memorial Hospital]. In his will he also bequeathed \$500,000 to the Visiting Nurse Association of Chicago, \$500,000 to the Children's Memorial Hospital . . . and \$500,000 to the Miami . . . City Hospital for the endowment of a charity ward.

Charles continued his summary of his brother's public life:

Mr. Deering's interest in art led him to acquire an extensive collection of paintings, statuary, carvings, tapestries, rugs and furniture. For a time he was a director of the Art Institute of Chicago, and he was well known as an art connoisseur and patron of art. During the later years of his life he made his home in Miami, Florida, where, on the shore of Biscayne Bay, he erected one of the finest residences in America. The villa, which he named "Viscaya," was modeled after the Rezzonico palace of Bassano, Italy, and contains seventy-two rooms, and is furnished with rare objects of art from all parts of the world. He was also the owner of large tracts of unimproved real estate near Miami. Mr. Deering was a man of pleasing personality and was endowed to a rare degree with the qualities of mind and heart which win the confidence and affection of men. He was modest and unassuming in manner, and sought to conceal as far as possible the gifts to charity and the acts of kindness which filled his later years. He was intensely fond of children and found much pleasure in contributing to their happiness and well being.²⁹³

(Also see chronological information for this period, given in Correspondence of John Kunkel Small-Charles Deering section.)

Elbert Gary wrote Charles during the last months of his life:

Emma and I were very much delighted to receive your last letters We are awfully sorry to hear that you are still more or less prevented by physical difficulties from getting out and around as much as you would like. . . . My affection for you increases as the years go by, and it has at all times been very strong and unfaltering Your letters are so kind and thoughtful . . . they remind me of the days gone by I prize the acquaintanceship of almost fifty years. I have the pictures of yourself and father and James. They are hanging on the walls very near my desk. . . . I want you to remember that you are in my prayers every single day.²⁹⁴

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

In March of 1926, Charles Deering added a codicil to his 1921 will. It related to his prints and lithographs:

It is my will and desire that my collection of etchings, lithographs and prints, now in storage, be kept intact, but the term "collection" shall not include duplicates, and if the collection is not disposed of by me before my death, I direct that it be given to my daughter, Marion D. McCormick, or to my daughter, Barbara D. Danielson, as they, my said daughters, may agree.²⁹⁵

Deering sues to Prevent Dredging and Filling

In July of 1926, a news account reported a lawsuit to prevent further development--the dredging and filling of submerged lands in Cape Florida by O.A. Henderson. Charles Deering and other family members sued to prevent developers from purchasing "submerged lands off Cape Florida for the purpose of erecting a chain of 5 islands." The Deering suit sought to enjoin Henderson's purchase of 1,000 acres of submerged land and to annul the previous purchase of hundreds of acres. The complainants pointed to the effect on Biscayne Bay and property owners. The suit challenged the right of the State of Florida, the owner, to sell as "submerged lands" the bay bottom. Deering named the State and the Governor as defendants in the action.

The suit, as reported, contended that "a portion of the ocean bed, in many places there is as much as 15 feet below the sea level and in no place is less than three feet below the level." The plaintiffs contended that "if the islands are erected they will shut off the view of Cape Florida . . . interfere with the actions of the ocean and bay waters. Biscayne Bay, in which Cape Florida is located would be necessarily damaged."²⁹⁶

Within two months, the Florida Land Boom officially ended with the Great Hurricane of 1926. When it hit Miami, Charles Deering was at Cutler. The New York Times reported that during the storm Charles was ill, but "sleeping soundly." His family moved him from one part of the house to another "for safety." His estate at Cutler suffered more than \$15,000 in damages, according to the Times. Another report added that he "also lost a houseboat and a cruiser."²⁹⁷ From Coconut Grove, Patty Munroe wrote her father, Ralph, that Deering's Barbee had been blown aground at their home, The Barnacle.²⁹⁸ (Also see John Kunkel Small - Charles Deering correspondence re. hurricane references.)

Some weeks after the devastating hurricane, in early November of 1926, Mrs. Charles Deering made a gift to the Art Institute. From Miami she sent some 28 items dating from the 4th to the 8th century. They were "Tapestry woven Coptic textiles"--bands, tunic fragments, cuffs, crosses and roundels. Some measured nearly 10 inches square. Others were narrow strips, or rectangular clothing panels.²⁹⁹

Charles Deering died February 5th, 1927 at Cutler. He was 75. He had not reached the "typical Deering old age" James had predicted. Though Charles knowingly suffered from a fatal illness, he managed to continue his activities and penned his regular letters to friends and associates, such as Elbert Gary and John Kunkel Small.³⁰⁰

The New York Times, in a second page article referred to him as a "Chicago capitalist" who had been secretary of Deering Harvester Company as secretary until the merger with the International Harvester Company, at which time had become Chairman of the Board:

for many years. . . and was looked on as one of the leading men in the farm implement manufacturing industry.³⁰¹

A second Times article noted he had inherited five million of his father's \$15 million estate and that two years before his death, he sold 212 acres (the Buena Vista estate) to "a corporation headed by realty operators . . . for a price estimated at \$6,000,000 said to be the largest single real estate transaction in the South."³⁰²

A week after his death, the New York Times ran a story on page two reporting the response at Sitges:

SPANIARDS HONOR DEERING.

SITGES AUTHORITIES HOLD MEMORIAL

SERVICES FOR AMERICAN MANUFACTURER

BARCELONA, Spain, Feb. 13 (AP)-- The authorities of the near-by port of Sitges held a special meeting yesterday to honor the memory of Charles W. Deering, American farm implement manufacturer, who died a few days ago in Florida. The mayor and other officials took part in the tribute.

Mr. Deering formerly resided at Sitges. He collected many valuable Spanish antiques which he placed in the Maricel Museum, which was presented to the town of Sitges.³⁰³

The Times ran, the following month, a year-end report on International Harvester's 1926 income. Reporting an \$18 million profit for the year and an increase of nearly \$2 million over 1925, Harvester's president, Alexander Legge, reported that domestic market's "most notable gain" lay in the "motor truck" and tractor lines, while foreign plants--in France, Germany, Sweden and Canada were "almost at capacity". In that last year of Charles Deering's life, Harvester's report pointed to a new wave in purchase, the "increasing demand for . . . the instalment plan" especially in "motor trucks and some . . . larger farm implements," though 1926 sales "cash collections" were 73% in the U.S. and higher in Canada and abroad.³⁰⁴

Deering's will directed sums to various charities, including Northwestern University, where he had previously endowed a professorship in botany. Among other numerous bequests, Deering willed \$500,000 to Wesley Memorial Hospital (later Northwestern Memorial Hospital), \$600,000 to Northwestern in memory of his father, and \$100,000 to Jackson Memorial Hospital in Miami.³⁰⁵

Following his death, the Art Institute's Deering holdings accession list in this collection climbed from some 2,000 items to 6,454. The new accessions included crayon drawings,

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock & Pinelands (1913-1927), cont.

sketches, color prints and color posters by such artists as Bartolozzi, Beardsley, Carvaggio, Caracci, Boutet de Monvel, Durer, Goya, Guercino, Parmigiano, Renoir, Rodin, Rubens, Pichot, Velasquez, Whistler, Titian, Veronese, many by McLaughlan and Rembrandt, and four by Charles Deering.³⁰⁶

In May, the Art Institute assembled a list of decorative arts objects retained--bolts, locks, knockers, rugs, tapestries, furniture, metalwork, a Spanish ceiling, and a set of choir stalls added to the loan collection in 1927.³⁰⁷

Among voluminous records regarding the immense collection, the Loan Committee of the Charles Deering Collection at the Miami Corporation was notified that the Deering daughters, Barbara Danielson and Marion McCormick, had given to the Institute a textile altarpiece from the Cathedral of Burgo de Osma. The altarpiece was valued at some \$70,000. An embroidered predella dated 1475, was among the loaned holdings.³⁰⁸

(Five months after Deering's death, the Art Institute provided Chauncey McCormick with an itemized list of Oriental art items belonging to Deering. The items included paintings, panels, screens, a headdress and box and rugs. Some of the rugs were on exhibit then.)³⁰⁹

"His birds, his gardens, his pictures, his books and his friends"

Deering's biographer, Walter Dill Scott, wrote:

Those who knew Charles Deering, knew him as a sincere gentleman for whom the greatest values lay in those human joys with which he surrounded himself--his birds, his gardens, his pictures, his books and his friends. All will remember him for his courtliness, his kindness, his joviality, and his simple sincerity.

During the last few months of his life he realized that he was a sick man. In bidding farewell to his friends he used an expression, which if used by many people would be regarded as insincere, or with little meaning. But the departing friend knew that a heartfelt benediction was bestowed upon him when Mr. Deering clasped his hand and said: May God bless you."³¹⁰

The Deering impression he left upon Cutler, his legacy upon today's Deering Estate site, reflects the many facets of Charles Deering--his work, his friends, his causes, his expertise in a spectrum of fields, the esteem in which he was held by diverse people, his accomplishments and his philosophies. Historic materials, particularly Deering's correspondence with John Kunkel Small, suggest that Deering was motivated by dedicated intent to preserve Cutler hammock, one of Florida's pristine natural hammocks, which Small explored and studied, even as he decried the steady path of destruction of these natural resources through subdivision and sale.

During a period of years when Deering bemoaned "the gang" of real estate speculators in Miami, he purchased the hammock at what must have been astronomical cost, during the all-time high inflated real estate values of the 1910s and the 1920s Florida Land Boom. Deering persevered until the entire 110 subdivision block and each block's resubdivided lots were in single ownership-- records suggest this was no small accomplishment.



**Correspondence of David Fairchild and Charles Deering
Experimentation and introduction of new plants**

"Everything to facilitate my work"

The friendship between Deering and David Fairchild appears in their correspondence the winter of 1913. Deering was 61 and Fairchild 43. Deering had retired as Chairman of the Board of International Harvester Company three years earlier in 1910, while Fairchild had headed the U.S.D.A.'s section of plant introduction nine years.

Fairchild was a Michigan native and Kansas State University of Agriculture graduate. He joined, in 1889, the U.S.D.A.'s section of plant pathology in Washington D.C. and studied during the 1890s in Germany, Italy and Java. He helped William Tennyson Swingle organize the U.S.D.A. section of plant introduction (then the section of foreign seed and plant introduction.) In 1904, Fairchild became administrator of the section, introduced many species of plants into the States and routinely travelled to Miami to work with a tropical plant introduction station established there.³¹¹

Fairchild and Deering, having much in common, became acquainted. Fairchild's enthusiasm for introducing tropical plants was equalled by his quest to find funding and land for an important, permanent arboretum/garden for South Florida. His approaches to Deering often focussed on both, and for a time the U.S.D.A. station operated on Deering's Buena Vista estate (today's Bay Point). Through the early years of their correspondence, the Cutler estate received regular mention in Fairchild's annual "Southern Trip" journal, particularly as Fairchild hoped to establish an arboretum there. As Deering focussed on preservation of the hammock and pinelands and Fairchild pursued other options, their routine correspondence (extending approximately from 1913 until 1922) apparently diminished. In addition to providing insight into Fairchild's goals and Deering's thoughts and activities, the Fairchild-Deering correspondence also reveals themes significant to the Cutler site--general U.S.D.A. services offered to South Floridians; the U.S.D.A. introduction of onsite plant materials (as early as 1898); and related networking of growers and botanists during South Florida's formative 1910s and 1920s.

Fairchild mentioned in his "Report of a Florida Trip in 1913" Deering's arrival to the U.S.D.A. station. It contrasted to a visit Fairchild made earlier in to William Jennings Bryan. The famous orator, former Congressman from Illinois and three-time Democratic candidate for President had helped secure the Democratic nomination for Woodrow Wilson. The inauguration was only a matter of weeks away, and Bryan, who was to become Secretary of State, was renting a house on Brickell Avenue near the first Plant Introduction station. (Fairchild worked that day, and often, in the company of the station manager Edward Simmonds.) Fairchild approached Bryan regarding "the idea of experimenting with our new plants," ("But it was evident that Mrs. Bryan was going to cast the deciding vote," Fairchild observed.)³¹²

Though Bryan hesitated, Deering "did everything. . . to facilitate my work," Fairchild wrote, "putting at our disposal his machine and chauffeur." At the time Fairchild worried that

the garden, a six-acre site rented since 1898 from Mrs. Brickell, might not be available after her death. Fairchild shared "many discussions" with Deering about "the needs of an arboretum for southern Florida." They visited Charles Simpson's place--"the best collection of palms in southern Florida," Fairchild thought. Impressed with Simpson's work, Deering asked Fairchild to "superintend . . . publication of Prof. Simpson's paper in . . . the Horticultural Society."³¹³

In October of 1913 Deering had just reached Coconut Grove from Chicago when he wrote Fairchild in Washington. "You are a General Blessing--nothing less," he wrote, thanking Fairchild for "a posy" sent to Mrs. Simmonds. "Her husband was so pleased!"³¹⁴

"!Que vaya con Dios!"

Charles Deering travelled South that winter of 1913 with his father, though William Deering's health noticeably failed during the summer.³¹⁵ "Between you and me," Deering wrote Fairchild, "I don't know if it will be safe to make the long journey with my father again." Deering closed, "Don't fail to come down this winter. You and your missus are to me the main Miami attraction." He closed, "I shall some day have a house in which to put you up."³¹⁶

On December 9th and 10th, Deering penned two short messages. He enthused about a Philippine papaya served for breakfast, "I wished it might have been shared with you." He promised that J.T. Gratigny (Charles Deering Properties superintendent) would send a box. ("I shall be interested to see how its fruit turns out.") Deering closed:

My father is very near his end, and very soon I shall be on my way to Chicago with him. !Que vaya con Dios! He has been a good man and strong-- and it is hard to realize that he goes out of my life.³¹⁷

The Deerings deed a U.S.D.A. Plant Introduction station Deering seeks a preservation plan for Cutler Hammock

The following spring, Fairchild's annual "Southern Trip" of 1914 included visits to Charles Deering's Buena Vista estate. Fairchild also visited Cutler, and photographed 30-year-old royal palms--"they were probably dug up from the hammock, perhaps from Paradise Key, a few rods from the Cutler Hammock," he wrote.³¹⁸

In March of 1914, a deed from Marion and Charles Deering to P.H. Rolfs, Director of the State Agricultural Experiment Station, gave the land in trust for the U.S.D.A. Plant Introduction Garden "for propagating, cultivating and testing valuable seeds and plants." Deed restrictions included prohibition of a road along the Garden's south boundary and a reverter to Deering or his heirs should the U.S.D.A. cease "to occupy and use" the tract.³¹⁹

During one of their conversations ("on Simpson's wharf") Deering told Fairchild he was interested in the preservation of Cutler hammock and asked Fairchild to "think over some plan." In early March of 1915, Fairchild answered Deering that he "made a good many inquiries," and was "ready to make a few suggestions." He enclosed a copy of the Monument Act, premised on scientific interest of the site. ("The same way that Senator Kern entered the Muir Woods of California").

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering, cont.

Fairchild warned that the act "would not fully protect" the hammock. He included "a poster" printed with a law that would also protect the hammock if it were to become "a National Bird Reservation . . . under protection of the game wardens." Trespassers after bird nests or "climbing trees which might have birds nesting in them" could be "tried and fined."

Fairchild warned that the National Monument act allowed "Uncle Sam . . . a right to do it in his own sweet way." Fairchild admitted the hammock "might some time be turned into an arboretum," but thought the "likelihood of its being destroyed as a jungle would be remote."

Fairchild proposed that establishment of an arboretum could underwrite publications and botanical expeditions worldwide. He underlined the importance of creating this arboretum as "a great feature of Florida" and estimated the cost of establishing an arboretum at Cutler Hammock at \$50,000 a year "even after the other features had become self-sustaining."³²⁰

Fairchild discussed the Smithsonian's preservation of the hammock with "Secretary [Charles] Walcott . . . but of course he has no money for its support."³²¹ (Walcott, paleontologist and member of the U.S. Geological Survey some thirty years, had been secretary of the Smithsonian some eight years.)

A few weeks later, Deering illustrated a note. Pencilling a figure holding a large golden halo, he superimposed upon it, "Dear Dr. Fairchild, I forgot my halo. Please fit it and put it on." A second page was dominated by a pencilled Deering likeness angelically robed, smoke wafting from a cigarette in an extended right hand, a cross held in the left. He wrote, "Blessings on the Fairchild Family. I am 'setting' on the pedigreed seeds myself, with Gratigny and Mosier 'spelling' me."³²² (See Appendix J.)

(The timing of six hammock-land deeds suggest the possibility that Deering's "halo" was related to a big milestone at Cutler hammock--a nearly complete victory in pulling together the subdivision titles into single ownership--a first requisite to its preservation.³²³ All were deeded or filed April 15th or 16th of 1915. Two dozen critical blocks of Perrine Grant Company parcels (in the hammock and stretching into the pinelands) had been deeded in September of 1914 and recorded in May of 1915. Though Deering had been acquiring the Cutler hammock since 1913, he had only acquired some 14 small subdivision lots from the Richmonds nine months earlier, in April of 1915.³²⁴

"Mr. Deering's Place at Cutler"
"I am a country man"

In mid-January of 1916, Deering wrote from Miami before Fairchild's annual six-week "Southern Trip." Thanking him for "very interesting looking pamphlets," Deering answered:

No, I'm not off. I'm on hand, here part of the time and at Cutler part of the time. My brother and brother-in-law [James Deering and Richard Howe] have just left--gone-a-yachting and a-fishing in So. Fla. and Cuban waters. . . . I shall [expect] you on or about Jan. 20. I'm very glad you are coming.³²⁵

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering, cont.

The Fairchilds arrived "just in time to attend a luncheon given to Mr. and Mrs. Bryan by . . . Deering and his two daughters, Mrs. Chauncey McCormick and Mrs. Danielson." Fairchild mentioned the presence of "Mr. and Mrs. [Alexander Graham] Bell", his mother- and father-in-law. On February 2nd, the distinguished, white-whiskered Bell posed at the U.S.D.A. station on Deering's Buena Vista estate. Wearing dapper vest, watch fob, suit and hat, Bell stood with Fairchild and garden manager Edward Simmonds, under a towering papaya.³²⁶

A week later at Cutler, Fairchild had "a long talk" with S.H. Richmond. Fairchild photographed the white-mustached, dark-hatted and suited man and the inn near plants the U.S.D.A. sent Richmond as early as 1898. Species received in 1902 (and damaged by a 1906 hurricane) were specified and lined the route from the inn to the wharf. Richmond led Fairchild to "a bad weed," a legume considered by the U.S.D.A. as a fodder producer, which Richmond had grown from 30 seeds (specimens from "St. Denis, Island of Reunion" according to Fairchild's records). "I was somewhat chagrined at finding on Mr. Deering's place such a thing," Fairchild wrote, "I . . . made Mr. Richmond promise to dig it up . . . and eradicate it."³²⁷ Fairchild photographed the site over several days, noting that Richmond had planted "a number of introductions" behind the house, including a lebbeck tree sent by the U.S.D.A. in 1906 and a 20-foot Tamarindus indicus, planted in 1906 when it stood only six inches high.³²⁸ (See Appendix J. for Fairchild photos.)

Fairchild suggested that Deering start a bird refuge at his Buena Vista estate. Fairchild's enthusiasm followed a morning's canoe across a 40-acre water surface (McIlhenney's pond) inhabited by "over 100,000 white heron [and] 24 other species. . . . I was so interested in this bird refuge that I wrote to Mr. Charles Deering suggesting that he come and see it and start one on his place at Buena Vista." McIlhenney started "the big bird cages" at Buena Vista for Deering-- "one of the great sights of the place," concluded Fairchild.³²⁹ (Later considered "a mistake" by Deering, the Buena Vista bird installations may have influenced development of the Cutler estate as a bird habitat--without cages.)

Late in February of 1916, Deering wrote from Cutler to Fairchild, "I don't know where you may be but trust you are bloomin' there." The temperature had fallen to 49--"I tried swearing at the thermometer, while it heats one somewhat doesn't really keep him warm." He criticized the bounds he set for the U.S.D.A. station and invited the Fairchilds on a cruise:

Mrs. Deering is down, and we are weatherbound on our way to Nassau. My brother-in-law [Richard Howe] lent me his yacht and I feel bound to use it. and Nassau is as Near and as interesting as any place within reasonable distance.³³⁰

Early in 1917, Deering's words underlined some of the appeal Cutler had for him. He wrote from Miami:

I am living the most of the time at Cutler, but have blown up in order to sail for Key West and perhaps the West coast I am a country man and know nothing of the city's giddy whirl.³³¹

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering, cont.

War: "The most terrible one that ever was"

A week later Deering wrote, mentioning another prominent botanist among his correspondents--Dr. John Kunkel Small, Head Curator of the New York Botanical Garden:

I am just back-- from a coral bank off Long Key where we lay 2 1/2 days at all sorts of angles. I'm glad Mrs. Fairchild is here with the children and my missus and I will try to find her this Day.

Thank you indeed for the early catalogue. Would you kindly send one personally to Dr. John K Small, N.Y. Botanical Garden, Bronx Park, New York, and ask him if he also will help me out?³³²

Late that summer of 1917 from Evanston, Deering answered a Fairchild letter. Deering's wartime observations reflect the perspective earned at Annapolis and afterward, during his European experience as an officer:

Your letter is . . . more cheerful than the news I generally hear. One can tell nothing from the newspapers. . . there is an awful muddle and tremendous confusion. How can it be otherwise with a great nation that was entirely unprepared for war suddenly plunged into the most terrible one that ever was, one where the preparations are on a scale and of an elaborateness never before known! . . .

Deering wrote Fairchild that his idea for birds at Buena Vista had been a mistake and gave to a Fairchild project:

I will direct \$500 sent to you for the Journal of Heredity. Taxes of all kinds are to be so heavy that I feel poor and mean. You would not believe me if I told you how much I am spending annually at Buena Vista. I shall have to let up on it and economize, and I'm sorry now I got the birds in. This expense last month-- direct and not overhead charges-- was nearly \$4,000.

August (1917) in Evanston found Deering yearning for the South: "We have had . . . snow flurries, with the thermometer on my porch last night 45! I'm glad there is a Florida in the country."³³³

Fairchild's annual "Southern Trip" for 1919 report included a half dozen photographs of Deering's estate at Cutler, including several views of Zoysia japonica--the "Palm Beach grass, one view showing a bird house there. Fairchild photographed young Royal palms as well as more mature specimens along the lawn perimeters. Fairchild also photographed "in Charles Deering's jungle hammock."³³⁴

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering, cont.

Miami: "So many wealthy people and so many new tropical plants"

Fairchild's early 1920 Trip photos recorded dramatic rows of Ficus trees lining the entrance to "the new Garden" on Deering's Buena Vista estate. Fairchild called on numerous residents--Mr. Krome at Homestead, Mr. W.J. Matheson and Mr. Hugh Matheson who were raising coconuts in front of their house. (Mr. Hugh Matheson was "just leaving for South America on a coconut growing proposition.)³³⁵

In mid-February, Fairchild "looked over the plants" on the Fairchild "Coconut Grove place." Some specimens were planted from seeds Fairchild brought from Deering's "place at Cutler." Fairchild had plants from San Diego and Golden Gate Park, experimenting to observe which "might prove particularly valuable."³³⁶

When the Fairchilds wanted acreage for themselves, Fairchild wrote his mother- and father-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Graham Bell, a long letter requesting their support. The property, "eight acres of land on the bay front south of the Matheson place," cost \$25,000. Fairchild listed attributes:

Miami. . . . There is no other place that I know of where so many wealthy people and so many new tropical plants come together. . . . the very circle where the fashions in these new foods can most easily be established. . . . A suitable home on the bay front would keep us in touch with those people who set the fashion.

Fairchild wrote that he had checked on values with "the oldest resident real estate man" and:

Mr. Deering said he didn't see how it could fail to be a good paying investment. that while it seemed a big price to pay for eight acres of land; it was what people were asking . . . and getting for it too, because the amount of bay front is so limited.³³⁷

After the Bells agreed, the site was purchased. They called it The Kamphong.³³⁸

Late in March of the 1920 Southern Trip, Fairchild travelled to Cutler. The gardener, Mr. Edson pointed out great brown patches of dying grass on the Palm Beach lawn. Edson threatened to replace it with Bermuda grass, saying that Dr. Small said the species "only lives three years anyway and. . . dies. . . . I wonder if Dr. Small may not be right!" Fairchild added.

Fairchild was pleased to find that U.S.D.A. specimens at Cutler were doing well, but apparently resented Deering's reluctance to introduce more specimens on the Estate, where apparently Deering preferred preservation of the hammock and pinelands. Fairchild's comments underline their differences:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering, cont.

The other S.P.I. [Station for Plant Introduction] Material at Cutler is doing well. I am sorry there is so little though. Somehow it seems as if the men of money do not have the personal interest in a wide range of plants, and their hired gardeners run along in a rut of ignoranceI believe that a great place must be the work of a great gardener--nothing less.³³⁹

Fairchild learned from the gardener that Dr. Richmond was dying--he was "one of the first men I ever met in Coconut Grove in 1898." Fairchild recalled an 1898 Cutler photograph of Richmond beside a small seedling West Indian avocado tree and reminisced that other trees he gave Richmond, such as a Ficus, thrived--"are now giants. One is in Mr. Deering's hammock, near the old farm house." Fairchild promised to send Mr. Edson an enlargement of the Richmond snapshot for Mrs. Richmond and made a note in his records of the address (Mr. P.M. Edson, Route A, Miami). Fairchild noted, "by these changes Dr. Richmond did not profit very much, I fear. He was the type of pioneer who was always just going to do things."³⁴⁰

"More money in their pockets"
"An Arboretum at Cutler this dream of a lifetime"
"I could and would be delighted to throw in my lot"

Later that year (1920), a Fairchild letter to Deering was carefully drafted, edited and typed on U.S.D.A. stationery. Fairchild cautiously and thoughtfully approached Deering on December 8:

Your letter of November 13th has quite upset me and I have had to take some time to think the whole situation over . . . before I could reply to your questions.

I am going now to talk to you on my typewriter as though I were sitting in your screened porch at Cutler watching the birds take their baths. Of course I would like to be on your veranda or in your blue room at Sitges but flying has not come that far yet.

You see . . . since the days when I was a botanist in Java there has been a lure about the Tropics which I cannot get over and as the years pass it grows worse instead of better. . . .

In 1898 just after my return from Java I went to Miami and started there the importation of tropical plants into . . . South Florida. I was chided and scolded by my superiors in the Department for spending Government monies on tropical things when the Great North West needed new forage plants and new grains to plant on the arid cold lands of the Dakotas and Iowa. There was not a single man . . . in the Department then who believed that South Florida was anything more than a joke. In the face of this criticism I went ahead and introduced the Mangoes and Avocados and a host of other things and kept still about them. When they fruited I took some of the mango fruits in high spirits to the Secretary expecting that at last I would convince him that I had not spent the money in vain. He took one smell of them and would not even taste them and I lost instead of gained in his esteem. He was a good man but had never seen the tropics.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering, cont.

Those days have passed and there has come about the greatest transformation that is imaginable.

I wonder if even you realize that today South Florida-- Dade County-- has in it in the winter time more intelligent white people who walk under the coconut palms than has any other spot on the face of the globe where that emblem of the Tropics grows.

What I am aiming at is that of all places in the world Miami is the best one for the work of introducing plants to a receptive public. There never has been such an opportunity in the history of the world and it makes me perfectly disgusted with myself and with all of us that we have not done something really great along this line here.

An eager public is drifting there. They have more money in their pockets than any set of pioneers who have gone into the tropics. . . . tropical agriculture . . . is fascinating more young Americans than it ever did before and here we are with a perfectly inadequate little Plant Introduction Garden which is so poorly supported that it cannot build a building on it

What shall we do about it my dear Mr. Deering?

here is one of the greatest opportunities which was ever presented for the establishment of a real Institute of Tropical Plants, Tropical Arboretum of Plant Introduction Garden

I have talked to many of my scientific friends and they are all crazy to see something of this kind. There has been held recently a series of conferences in the Research Council of the Council of National Defence with regard to what can be done to stimulate more tropical research. They are trying to start something in tropical South America but I have insisted that there is no place like Miami for the Institution which would give young men the first glimpse of the wonderful opportunities of the tropics.

In other words my dear Mr. Deering when you speak of an Arboretum at Cutler this dream of a lifetime simply will come up and it forced me to ask you whether you have in mind something really great.

If you have I think I can help you to work it out.

I am now 50 years old. I shall retire to Coconut Grove as soon as I can let go here. I could and would be delighted to throw in my lot with any scheme which is really big. . . . I can work with anybody and my association with the world where plants are to be found ought to make my services valuable.

So far as the question of moving our material from Buena Vista to a station near Cutler is concerned that would not be a difficult matter. . . .

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering, cont.

From what I know of the different regions I should say at once that there would be a great advantage in having the arboretum near Cutler. The conditions there are decidedly better than those at Buena Vista. The dangers from frost are less and the variety of soils is greater and the presence of that wonderful Hammock would make it more attractive for many years to come.

But since you say the whole matter is all uncertain possibly I am tiring you with such a long letter.

I do feel more keenly interested in South Florida than in any other place in the world and if the Opportunity came . . . I would be glad to jump into it as soon as I felt that I could leave my life work here I believe another year would make this possible.

This letter of course I write in confidence to you It would be held against me by the politicians who already criticize the expenditure of so much money on tropical plants.

That photograph of you and Mrs. Deering standing near the Castle Walls I showed to Crandall the photographer whose Coconut photographs Marian sent you. He was "crazy" to see other photographs of your wonderful place in Sitges.³⁴¹

Bootleggers, boosters, Buena Vista and Chapman Field

A year later, Deering penned Fairchild a letter in a light tone, perhaps reflective of something Fairchild authored:

If you refer to bootlegging you may be right. I can't say. But it is near-libellous to say we are very dry, if you refer to the weather. My! My! but the Miami Boosters will be after you if you insinuate anything whatever isn't perfect this-a-way. Why man, we not only have perfection in climate, weather, soil, architecture etc etc etc etc etc but at present we have about ten mosquitoes to the cubic inch of air, and several thousand cases of Dengue fever. Yet such is the modesty of our Booster that he doesn't even mention these attractions--let alone boast of them. But I won't betray you. Only I don't think you or the family should venture here yet. I scarcely leave the screened house, and if I do I am a [circus] all by my lonely, waving arms and legs and Gauzy face and neck and hands (and swearing).³⁴²

In December of 1921, Fairchild penned a request to Deering for funding to establish an arboretum, not near Cutler as previously urged, but at the World War I aeronautical training base, Chapman Field. The sum Fairchild asked of Deering, \$75,000, he estimated as the value of the Buena Vista station property. Referring to the lease as a gift, Fairchild apparently forgot or ignored the reverter to Marion and Charles Deering should the station cease to operate:³⁴³

If I were superstitious about thirteen I would wait until tomorrow to write you this letter but I'm not.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering, cont.

A matter has just come up that involves the plans which sometime ago you hinted at in one of your letters, viz. the possibility of our pulling out of Buena Vista & coming down to Cutler with our Introduced plants.

The Air Service is through with Chapman Field I understand. . . . The power to lisen [sic] it to any other branch of the Government rests with the Secretary of War. I believe we can get it for a Plant Introduction Garden & Arboretum

You mentioned in your letter from Spain that you might give us at Cutler a tract of land equal in size to the one you gave us at Buena Vista. and provide funds for the moving of the plants Etc.

Buena Vista will be a built up City in a few years and the plant Introduction garden will be nothing but a little oasis in its midst. . . .

Now this thought has occurred to me. Suppose we acquire . . . Chapman field Suppose we abandon the Buena Vista Site and allow it to revert to you . . . would you be willing to turn over to us for purposes of improving Chapman Field the amount of money which the sale of the 25 acre Buena Vista property would bring?

The Buena Vista property should be worth now somewhere in the neighborhood of \$75,000 should it not? With the money thus given to us we could really do something worthwhile I believe and do it quickly.

Before I take any steps toward a path of acquiring Chapman Field, I would like to know just what your ideas are . . . if we did abandon Buena Vista and make a new start you would back us up with the funds from the sale of that tract which you gave us six years ago.

If you think favorably of the plan [would you sound out Small on it providing he is there and let me know].

I hope that the mosquitoes are leaving you alone now Mr. Deering and that you don't have to swear every time you leave the house. If they are still with you I shall bring down my volumes of Panama literature and open them up on your porch and then the Culex [Culex pipiens] will tremble.³⁴⁴

"The men who have the money"

Two months later at Cutler, Deering penned at Cutler a short response:

When I recd. your letter today I found that you had been here and gone! I was hoping you wld. return later, but it is after five and no you.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering, cont.

As I have been writing on my porch I have had companions fairly near, a covey of quail, some bittern, robins, ground dove, cardinals, jays, mocking-birds, woodpeckers and various small birds.³⁴⁵

Early in February Fairchild headed to Cutler with "Uncle Barbour" [Lathrop] and Charles Simpson:

The collection of plants at Cutler looks particularly well. [Dr. John Kunkel] Small certainly has made fine labels for the plants, but I noticed that a rose apple was labelled an Annona and a Broussonetia was named Acalypha. I find, though, that these collections of plants which are not new to me and which seem to have no particular point about them are less interesting than those where each form is picked because of its usefulness or relationship to some other useful species.

I wish the men who have the money would make collections of one family,--specialize so that plant breeding would be possible among them.³⁴⁶

Six days later, Fairchild wrote, "I called on Mr. Deering at Brickell Point and showed him the chart of Chapman Field and arranged to see him later at Cutler."³⁴⁷ The following day Fairchild went to Vizcaya and repeated his recommendations for more plant introduction:

In the afternoon I went through the James Deering place, which I had not seen for years. It is a remarkable structure, and so far as its architecture and the furnishing of it are concerned, I doubt if anything so completely luxurious has ever been built in Europe. I certainly never saw any royal palace which compared with it. But I looked in vain for a rare plant of any kind. In respect to the planting, it is poor, though the plants like Pithecolobium dulce and the native ferns and the royal palms and citrus trees are well selected as regards their suitability to the architectural plan. Mr. McGinnis is the manager.

It seems a pity that so little attention is being given to the establishment of really new and rare plants around the house. Of course, it takes much time to do this and perhaps there are more than I saw on my brief visit. It would be very desirable for us to utilize this place for all kinds of rare plants, because, if people see them there, they will want them in their own yards, and a demand for them will thus be created. I shall show Mr. McGinnis our Psychotria and Ficus sycamorus and bamboos, etc.³⁴⁸

On Thursday, February 16, Fairchild wrote:

Mrs. Fairchild and I went to Cutler to see Mr. Deering. He and I walked through his Cutler hammock together, and I had several satisfactory talks with him regarding the Chapman Field proposition. So far as I can see the situation, he has no land that we could use which is not beautiful hammock, and it would be a shame to cut down this hammock or any part of it. We discussed the question of preserving the hammock. He wanted to know if I thought the government could protect it against fires,

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering, cont.

and I told him I thought it could. It is near enough to be of great value to any institution of research which might be established on Chapman Field, and a way must be found to preserve it from forest fires. I proposed to Mr. Deering an experiment with large Ficus trees, such as Ficus nitida or Ficus religiosa as fire breaks. I fancy that the fires will not creep under these trees, because the leaves under them are continually in the shade. Mr. Krome says that he has observed that when the forest fires strike these big fig trees they slow down. I am inclined to think here is a field for investigation, and I would like to see a Ficus wind and fire screen tried.

"There was something pathetic," Fairchild wrote:

about this hammock walk with Mr. Deering. Here was an old man, a millionaire, and with all his millions he did not know how to preserve for the next generation a beautiful piece of forest which, unless it was protected, would go the way of all the rest and leave a howling wilderness of ugliness. I do not see why he could not turn it over to the Department and provide a fund which would be available from which to pay for the next twenty-five years or say fifty years the salary of a man whose sole duty it would be to keep watch and prevent fires from starting in the hammock. By that time, would not the art of fire protection have reached a stage and public sentiment become sufficiently aroused so that the hammock would be safe for hundreds of years? I'd like to see him try the plan at any rate.³⁴⁹

A few days after their visit at Cutler, Deering wrote:

The enclosed will make you laugh. You might forward it to "American Forestry" if you are fit, but it [is] to be treated confidentially. [P.S.] I shall improve my first chance to get up and will call on Y.selves and Mr. and Mrs. Bell.

Deering enclosed a business letter (February 16, 1922) from his manager, J.N. Morrison. Typed on "Charles Deering Properties, Buena Vista and Cutler, Fla." stationary, Morrison wrote:

I found Royal Poinciana Park. It is adjacent to the General Lawrence Home. I was very much disappointed in what I saw in the way of Royal Palms. After your reading the article in the American Forestry to me, I expected to see a wonderful display of Royal Palms in all stages of growth, but instead found small seedlings full of disease, about one half or two thirds already dead and the others in very poor condition. I do not believe there is a royal palm in the collection over two feet high.

If Mr. Williams has followed the propagating methods that he had described in the American Forestry, it is simply theory.

I will be glad to have you visit Royal Poinciana Park and see what exaggerations can be written up.³⁵⁰

Fairchild headed one Sunday (March 19) to Cutler to motor up to Chapman Field. En route the boating party passed by and photographed "Mr. Charles Deering's place near Cutler,"

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering, cont.

where Richmond Cottage, the palm-dotted shoreline were flanked by the two new rock breakwaters, each sporting a large sign.

Fairchild wondered about a research facility that might be called "Flagler Institute of Tropical Research," established with:

tables . . . subscribed by the universities and . . . a library of scientific works . . . the intellectual center of Miami. . . [with] a Flagler Plant Breeding Institute. . . . But, what's the use? They will put up some rotten looking statue to him that as time goes by people will laugh at.³⁵¹

Fairchild arrived at Cutler at nine in the morning the first Sunday of April (1922) to see Deering:

Mr. Deering had not yet risen, so I went and had a talk with Mr. Warwick and his assistant. Mr. Warwick is in the New Richmond House that the widow of old Doctor Richmond built. . . . is talking of subdividing I was rather disappointed to find that he planned to cut out the mangrove along his three hundred foot shore line. . . . He is, I fear, in the land selling business, just like all the rest. . . .

I had a very interesting time with Mr. Deering and he seemed very grateful for my companionship, saying that he was a lonely old man now. He wanted to see me about the possibility of making Chapman Field into a great botanic garden He was considerably surprised when I told him that we were spending only \$125,000 a year on all of our six gardens. He is willing, I think, to help when the time comes, but he did not make any definite offer, and in this respect the situation was not changed by the day's visit³⁵²

In early spring Deering penned a page to Mrs. Fairchild:

A letter from the Doctor tells me he will be here May 5, 6, 7, and asks me to let him know at C.G. [Cocoanut Grove] now if I will inform Dr. Small of his coming? And so dear madam I hereby notify you that Dr. Small knows of the coming already, but meantime I shall see him and push the news yet further into his head-- so there shall be no doubt whatever, and, knowing the energy of Dr. Small I think it safe to assure you that he will be found on your stoop at 5 a.m. Friday, May 5, 1922.

I trust you are feeling better with every new day. . . . And the daughter's foot-- is it all right?³⁵³

At Cutler, in mid-May, Deering penned a one-page response to Fairchild:

Thanks for your good letters. I am very sorry not to have said goodbye to you all. The land-crabs really did me up! I've been clubbing them right along, and it is nasty work and between potholes and thickets and thorns I'm lucky not to have broken

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering, cont.

my neck, and to have left my clothes or skin. One hot day I worked till I nearly flopped, and it laid me up.

I am sorry to say that I don't know Senator ----- and never saw him, so alas! no line from me would do any good. . . .

Dr. Small is back from one of his miraculously-energetic trips across the state. I asked him if possible to see you, and if not, to write to you, of the wickedly Deplorable Doings near Lake Okeechobee.³⁵⁴

In Fall (1922) at Evanston, Deering penned a four-page answer to a Fairchild letter:

Thank you for your interesting letter. I owe you one that would have been written long ago but for the blamed doctors who have had me by the neck and abed the most of a fortnight of bronchial pneumonia, and not content with that maltreatment kept me indoors as much longer. But now I am about

I wanted long ago to thank you and Mrs. Fairchild for your very sweet letter that touched me deeply. and I am grateful to you both.

Heading south? I wish I were, but a balky Dentist now has me by the jaw. I wonder if Mrs. Fairchild would like any of the pearls he threatens to extract? If he is ever through with me I shall head for Florida with such speed that I may overshoot the mark and pitch up at Havana--or Bimini! Here's to you! at the thought.

About Chapman field--the pity that it should not be turned over to you who could use it to such great advantage. My! but Secretary Weeks [U.S. Secretary of War John W. Weeks] must have interviewed the real-estate Venders. I wish I knew him personally. It is to men like him I should like to sell land \$1800 an acre! [U.S.] Senator [Duncan U.] Fletcher sent me a Florida paper it tells how easy it is to make money from avocados. From my grove the income should be from \$400,000 up to \$650,000 a year. If aware of it I daresay Secty' [Weeks] would buy it for a few million. Also, Mr. Morrison says this year it won't pay for its own upkeep-- but we won't tell the Secty'!

D.V. [Deo Volente, God Willing]--the D for Dentist. I shall start for Florida this month or early next.³⁵⁵

"I avoid 'gatherings' and crowds"

The following Spring (1923) Deering penned in Florida a four-sentence response to a Fairchild letter:

Thanks for the letter of March 7. . . . as to coming I am not an early riser, so after breakfast and afternoon are about the same thing to me. I am always glad to see you, but you are so constantly on the move that I do not know where to reach you.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering, cont.

My regards please to Mrs. Fairchild.³⁵⁶

A few weeks later (April 1923), Deering penned a two-sentence reply to a Fairchild invitation:

Thanks for asking me to the tree planting, but I avoid "gatherings" and crowds.

I haven't answered your previous letter, expecting to see you and talk matters over. Very truly yours.³⁵⁷



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The Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Charles Deering

"Advising botanist . . . botanical explorer"

John Kunkel Small, Director of Research and Curator of the Museums of the New York Botanical Garden since the 1898 origination of the Garden's staff, developed a constant correspondent relationship with Charles Deering. In the course of his career, the taxonomic botanist was compelled to record the disappearing natural plant habitats of South Florida. Repelled by the drainage of the Everglades and other major ecosystems, Small also saw the devastation of forests for railroad ties, buttonwood trees for charcoal, and Florida Keys hammocks for filled railbeds. His response to the demise struck a responsive chord with Charles Deering. Their acquaintance quickly ripened into a mutually supportive relationship by 1915, a relationship ending only with Deering's death in 1927. Portions of their correspondence were located in several collections. Lengthy, detailed excerpts are presented here, chronologically ordered, for use as a reference. The excerpts relate to diverse fields of interest--each bearing upon an understanding of significant site history present within Deering-Small materials.

Small's curatorial role at the New York Botanical Garden was devoted to developing scientific collections. He devoted his after-hours to study and writing. Over the course of a lengthy career, Small conducted 35 expeditions into Florida and authored nearly 500 books and papers. As "an explorer," Small once completed an expedition covering 7,000 miles from Cape Sable to El Paso, Texas. On his death, Small's work with ferns of the Southeastern states was anticipated by the New York Times as a posthumous publication.

Small's early years were devoted to his "Flora of the southeastern United States," a complete descriptive 1400-page manual published in 1903. Regarded as "a masterpiece," it was published at Small's personal expense. The work "confirmed at once," a contemporary wrote, "the right of its author to a place among the foremost taxonomic botanists of his day."³⁵⁸

The Pennsylvania-born Small began writing as a college sophomore at Franklin and Marshall where his "Classification of plants endowed with the habit of sleep" was published in the College Student in 1888.³⁵⁹ He learned to collect and study plants under an uncle, a botany professor. As a student he joined the Torrey Botanical Club of New York City, for whose Bulletin he published 55 papers. His earliest student botanical excursions focussed upon home territory such as the Lancaster area, but a study into the Carolina mountains prior to his senior college year "marked the beginning of his lifelong interest in the flora of the southeastern United States."³⁶⁰ Small's Ph.D. thesis was published in 1895, 183-pages and 84 plates. It became the first volume of the memoirs of Columbia's department of botany and underlined his growing reputation as what his biographer later described as "a keen observer, a careful worker, and a convincing writer." At the age of 26, Small was elected into membership in the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Small pursued postgraduate work in botany for some three years (1892-1895) as a fellow at Columbia under N.L. Britton. Britton was then in his second year of site selection, construction and fund-raising for the newly-incorporated (1891) New York Botanical Garden, becoming its Director-in-Chief.³⁶¹ Dr. Small married Elizabeth Wheeler following the earning of his Ph.D. and while he was Columbia's curator of the herbarium. They parented four children--George Kunkel, John W., Elizabeth and Kathryn.³⁶² Small was described as "shy and retiring and totally devoted to work and family."³⁶³

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

During Small's third year as Columbia's curator, the Garden's leadership searched for founding department heads. Small was offered the curatorship of the museum. His biographer wrote:

He took an active part in building up the new institution until it became one of the greatest botanic gardens in the world His administrative work consumed much of his time, although he had assistants in both museum and herbarium His heart, however, was in his studies of plants. . . doing much of his studying and nearly all of his writing after hours, at home, often sitting up until the small hours of the morning. Garden policy prohibited publication of books by staff members, forcing Small publish his own books³⁶⁴ during 45 industrious career years.³⁶⁵

Small maintained a voluminous routine correspondence with curators, directors, and registrars of fellow institutions and agencies. His correspondence included colleagues at such institutions as England's Royal Gardens at Kew, the U.S.D.A. in Washington, the American Museum of Natural History in New York, the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, the botany departments of universities, the Smithsonian's National Museum, Harvard's Gray Herbarium and numerous organizations.

Dr. Small corresponded with major corporations and small plant businessmen. He corresponded with hundreds of individuals--humble and proud, and with distinguished individuals--such as Thomas Edison and Charles Deering, whose acquaintance ripened into a long-lasting, broadly functioning cooperative effort. During the years he worked with Deering, Small was to name a number of newly-discovered plant types for Deering.³⁶⁶

Small organized his correspondence alphabetically each year.³⁶⁷ Letters went to a retinue of industrious fellow explorers, devoted "scouts" who became friends. In the words of a biographer, Small "avoided participating in Miami and Palm Beach society, which he regarded as a waste of time for him."³⁶⁸ It was in 1901 that "John K.," as he was called by fellow Garden staff, first visited Florida "to see with his own eyes . . . the remarkable plants that others were sending him, to rediscover plants found long before. . . and to satisfy himself to what extent further exploration was needed. His eyes were opened."³⁶⁹

John Kunkel Small arrived shortly after the arrival of the Florida East Coast Railway and its impact upon the "very rich, very fragile, South Florida wilderness. People rushed in," wrote a Small biographer:

to make their fortune and the region was soon awash with "boosters". . . . Engineering technology was used to change the natural landscape The unparalleled onslaught resulted in drastic disruptions of the region's hydrology In the short span of thirty five years, much of the original ecologic balance was destroyed. Small spoke out more and more against the needless and stupid destruction of the very values that attracted so many The greed, ignorance and indifference . . . was too great . . . and the only recourse left to Small was a frantic attempt to complete his work before time ran out. . . . he received little recognition or understanding save from a few enlightened

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

people, who, like himself, were aware that a great and needless tragedy was in the making.³⁷⁰

Thus, John Kunkel Small began "a grim race" to find and record plant matter "before ax and firebrand" destroyed South Florida.³⁷¹

Away from "The Ignorant Destroyer of the Works of Nature"

For the remainder of his life, Dr. Small's explorations in Florida averaged more than one a year, "going back and forth through every part of it, even the most inaccessible areas," wrote John Barnhart of the Garden. Small was sensitive outside the realm of botany--a fact apparent in his photographs and records. As a youthful sailor, builder of canoes, and collector of Civil War and Indian relics in Pennsylvania, he was intrinsically interested in Florida topics.

Small's work was diverse--covering such topics as irises in southern Louisiana, introduced Asian plants, cactus in eastern North America, ferns of the Appalachian mountains, native plums in Connecticut, Clematis in Tennessee, mountain flowers in the Carolinas, native cherries in Texas, Rhododendrons in Georgia, flora in Bimini, Cuba and Jamaica. However, his biographer emphasized his attraction to Florida's disappearing environment:

He lived to see many parts of Florida, inaccessible at the time of his earlier visits, become altogether too accessible to the ignorant destroyer of the works of nature, and to the vandal eager to replace nature's beauty by the crude "improvements" of man.³⁷²

If Dr. Small and Deering shared a prolific bent to express themselves in writing, they also may have shared some personality similarities as well. According a Small contemporary, he was not a gregarious man, though he had many friends:

In spite of the wide reputation earned by his published writings and correspondence, Dr. Small was personally known to comparatively few. . . . He was a member of only a very few societies, and did not leave home to attend scientific meetings. He felt keenly-- all too keenly-- his shortcomings as a public speaker, and was never to be heard on the lecture platform or on botanical programs. He was wholly absorbed in his work, and took little interest in those whose work was not along similar lines. But to those whose interests were related to his own, he was not merely tolerant, but wholeheartedly cordial. And on his travels he made many friends among those with whom he had previously corresponded, or who were friends of his friends. These always wrote urging him to return, and if he found an opportunity to do so they greeted him with open arms.³⁷³

The Deering-Small correspondence sheds much light upon the Deering Estate plantings, and the role played there by Small. The resilient association of the two, through the 1910s and 1920s, is apparent in collections housed at Fairchild Tropical Gardens Research Center and the Florida State Archives. A one-page typescript by Small illuminates the origin of their association:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

He "sent for me," Small wrote. Deering had just finished reading "several handbooks on the flora of Florida published by myself."

Small explained Deering's motivation:

Charles Deering long ago realized the infinite botanical interest and importance yet hidden in Florida.

The botanist recalled the substance of that first meeting, and the doors opened for his Florida work from that moment forward:

Mr. Deering sent for me and voluntarily put exploration and investigation facilities at my disposal, limited only by the time at my command to make use of them. In other words, he placed motor-cars, motor-boats, and men at my service for exploration, and his various properties in the Bay Biscayne region as repositories for any plants I wished to introduce either for future study or for the preservation of species from extinction. Later he informed me that the Garden (staff and students) was welcome to use his properties and their vegetation for experimental purposes and study, provided such operations did not necessitate increasing the force of men normally employed there. . .

During these years I devoted all the time to which I was entitled for vacations, and also other short periods when I could conveniently be away from the Garden, to explorations and investigations primarily in the interests of the Garden and secondarily for introducing, mainly through the men who were associated with me in Florida, new and rare plants into the Deering reservations which individually or collectively now amount to a botanical garden, and in a way became adjuncts of this [New York Botanical] Garden.

Following Mr. Deering's suggestion we now have a cactus plantation, a century-plant plantation, and a palm plantation, well established, and in addition, experiments and investigations under way too numerous to mention here.

More than thirty accounts of field-work and discoveries in Florida including some made previous to Mr. Deering's offering liberal financial support, have been published. In addition, there are fully as many finished manuscripts awaiting publication and unfinished manuscripts in preparation, all containing information both of interest and of value.³⁷⁴

According to a manuscript at the Florida State Archives regarding Small's work, his and Deering's "letters of introduction to each other crossed in the mail. An early letter contains critical elements of the routine that bound them. By March of 1915, Deering and Small were in constant communication. Deering sometimes penned four letters a week to Small. He wrote during 1915 and 1916 from Brickell Point, from Cutler, from 9 West Fifty-Second Street in New York City and from 1530 Lake Shore Drive in Chicago.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Mutual interests ranged from cactus to Elizabeth's health; from subjects related to Small's excellent photography to his writing; from Small's offer to label Deering's plants to routine direction of his staff.

Both Small and Deering routinely labored for hours, on a daily basis, over written expression. Though Small routinely acknowledged publications, their friendship extended beyond that of benefactor and recipient. The exchange of letters was brisk, two-sided and enthusiastic. From Brickell Point, Deering wrote:

Dear Doctor Small

I am enclosing, undoubtedly against your wishes, my cheque for \$500. drawn to your order, and intended as a very small contribution to the large work you are doing in this part of Florida. I trust you will do me the favour of accepting it, and that you will apply it as you see fit.³⁷⁵

The very next day Deering wrote again:

I enclose the photographs of which I spoke-- the one back of the Cooks house, and the other of the Brickell.

I hope that you got Mrs. Small home in good shape, and trust that she is recovering fast.³⁷⁶

Three days later:

Many thanks for your letters of March 28 and the interesting photographs. I have directed Gratigny [J.T. Gratigny, Deering's superintendent] and Morrison [J.N. Morrison, manager] to get the two cacti from Key West, and also to try the plants at the different places you suggest.

I am very glad Mrs. Small is so much better. What a pity her and your trip should have been so marred and cut short. The weather is now behaving itself to perfection.³⁷⁷

Small's correspondence with Deering was underway by early 1915. Small directed one letter to the environmental character of the Lake Okeechobee region. Sending photographs of "our first and preliminary" trip, Small's images, he wrote, "will give you a good idea of the character of the more conspicuous vegetation of that region."³⁷⁸ The photographs focused on native plants and hammocks, shorelines and cypress swamps. The exploring team, in this rare instance, included Elizabeth Wheeler Small and their four children aboard their motor cruiser, Lida. Small photographed his sun-bonneted wife, their sons among ferns and swamps, and a motorboat, Highball, towing the Lida through Pelican sound.³⁷⁹ Small photographed himself with a mature native cactus at Key West, hoisting dense vines above the cactus with Small's routine device for photographic perspective--his machete.³⁸⁰ (See Endnote ³⁸¹ for George Small's account of expedition preparations.)

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

"I envy you the beautiful photographs you make"

Within a few days came Deering's response:

I am no end obliged for your letters and photographs and the leaflets that will be put in your book.

Mr. Mosier is just leaving for Key West to get the cactus plant-- both of them I hope

I am leaving for Chicago Apr. 15, and hope to sail for Spain early or fairly early in May, but I can't as yet learn anything from the steamship companies of their sailings, and the probability that Italy will declare war complicates matters.

I envy you the beautiful photographs you make.³⁸²

"Blessings on you for the stunningly interesting photographs"

Two days later:

Blessings on you for the stunningly interesting photographs that have come since I wrote before. I shall have them mounted in a book, probably to keep in Spain, but why wouldn't it be a good idea to have them reproduced in a real book?

P.S. A letter from Mr. Mosier, Key West, today says he had the cacti at the railway station for shipment where he was informed that the quarantine law would prevent shipment under penalty of a heavy fine!³⁸³

**"Your deep interest in these matters"
"Several centuries of work planned out"**

During the first week of April (1915), Small typed letters to Deering every few days. On the fifth day of April, Small wrote at some length:

Referring to our recent conversation concerning that "five hundred" years of work I mentioned having already planned, I am enclosing some statements about three . . . comprising the task! I would have spoken more fully on these subjects while in Miami, but the almost continuous field program there seemed to leave time for nothing else. Consequently, appreciating your deep interest in these matters, last evening I scribbled the appended notes, which I am sending in good typewriting, if not in good English.

Of course, you do not feel this matter as acutely as I do, but I think you will understand why I am anxious to further prosecute the exploration of these unique geographical areas and get the record of their plants fairly complete!

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Florida, particularly the three areas referred to . . . [Everglade Keys, Florida Keys, and Okeechobee-Ten Thousand Islands-Cape Sable-Long Key regions] comprises the least disturbed region of concentrated natural vegetation . . . in the United States. . .

The classic hammocks of Key West are things of the past. The small areas that remain are cut up into building lots, and quantities of the trees and shrubs are steadily cut out for firewood.

As to other portions of the Florida Keys: In addition to the direct and indirect havoc brought to the vegetation by the advent of the Overseas Railroad, the hammocks of the lower half of Key Largo have been destroyed by repeated fires and clearings; however, the forests of the upper half of the island appear to be quite intact . . . the most interesting keys . . . have lately been invaded by homesteaders . . . This fact, of course, insured the more speedy destruction of their natural vegetation.

In the "homestead" region on the Everglade Keys, the Caldwell hammock has been obliterated, the Cox and the Ross-Costello hammocks have been damaged, practically beyond recovery The pineland hammocks in the "homestead" region beyond those just referred to are still nearly intact, except for the damage inflicted by the 1906 hurricane Royal Palm Hammock and the adjacent Long Key group of islands will, without doubt, yield more and still different tropical species as exploration there proceeds further.

The third element, the Everglades, is the largest area of the three here considered A large part of the area will, perhaps, remain intact longer than the Florida Keys and the Everglade Keys. However, a complete collection of its native plants is desirable as soon as possible. (For a "Flora of the Everglades").

In addition, the botanically inclined from all over Florida are clamoring for a 'Florida of Florida,' the manuscript of which I have under way So you may realize that my statement about having several centuries of work planned out is not so far over estimated as it might at first seem.³⁸⁴

"The wreck that is progressing so fast and so surely"
"Months may now see the end of some of these hammocks"
"It is man that we have to fear"

Their letters, fired so rapidly from Miami and New York, must have often passed in transit on the railroad. But delivery was quick, Deering answering Small's April 5 letter on the 10th. Early in their relationship, certain facts were made clear between them. Deering believed, perhaps passionately, in Small's mission to study and publish about Florida's threatened environment before it was too late. Both saw the imminent development of sensitive sites, and such massive projects as Everglades drainage, as clear indication of the impending doom to the natural resources of south Florida. Both viewed the impending demise with alarm. Whereas others solicited Deering for encouragement and funding, Deering almost forced upon Small his

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

funding, his staff and equipment. Early in their cooperative relationship, Deering made clear his motivations and his belief in the urgency of the botanist's work:

About the labels, do as pleases you, but never have it in your mind that I need seek or want publicity or anything more than to be of help to you in saving all you can from the wreck that is progressing so fast and so surely in this part of the world. I have a recent letter from our old friend Simpson admiring you and your work, and saying that months may now see the end of some of these hammocks.

I am enclosing a newspaper clipping relating to our March weather. It is not impossible that the drainage of the Everglades will so change the climate as to injure and perhaps destroy much of the present vegetation. I am beginning to wonder if after I have my place well planted with tropical things love's labour will not be lost.

But for the present it is man that we have to fear. I expect to go abroad in May and shall probably be away this late fall. . . . I will place whatever facilities I have here at your service, and very gladly, if you will allow it, pay the expenses . . . and the obligation will be entirely on my side, for I think it a sin that such vegetation should go unrecognized and unknown to destruction, and moreover the specimens you got for me are surely worth all the money involved, and I presume much more.

If this appeals to you and can be arranged, if you will make an estimate of the cost before I sail I will send a cheque. I hope you will look at this as I do, purely impersonally, but making for your book, that if not made soon can never be made. If you had nothing else to do you would need all of those five hundred years-- and more! I wish you might have them for their usefulness to others as well as yourself.³⁸⁵

Addison Hammock: A patchwork of parcels

By June of 1915, Small was photographing the hammock, labelling his photos "Addison Hammock, Cutler, Dade Co., Florida." Small was attracted to the burial mound there, photographing the air plants on a "Very large Live-oak (Quercus virginiana)."³⁸⁶ He also photographed a "Very large specimen of the cultivated 'rubber-tree' (Ficus elastica)."³⁸⁶ (For hammock location, see Figure 1, Site Graphics.)

Small did not confine his Miami work to the fashionable winter season, nor to the fancy social scene. For weeks he worked with a team in native hammocks and along mangrove coasts during the insect-ridden heat of June and July.

The team gathered "live orchids, ferns, and bromeliads from the 'homestead' hammock in Dade County," filling a canvas-topped Ford which he photographed against the pineland hammock on July 2nd.³⁸⁷ Four days later from a mangrove-rimmed shore, Small photographed his team's motor launch [apparently Deering's Barbee] at "the mouth of Crocodile Hole [opposite] Lemon City . . . Indian Creek beyond the boat."³⁸⁸

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

At Key Biscayne (1915), Small photographed from "the top of Matheson's water-tank" a view across "Bay Biscayne" eight miles to a definite white break on the dark tree-lined distant mainland shore. For Deering, Small pinpointed the spot with a white arrow and wrote, "Note Mr. James Deering's house about middle of mainland shore!"³⁸⁹

The last of July saw the team headed for "Royal-palm hammock," working to free "John Soar's Ford" from high water in the Everglades.³⁹⁰ (Small's explorations were known to be hard on vehicles. Once he commented that the exploring party "started with a new car and brought it back an apparent wreck.")³⁹¹

In early Fall, Small typed a three-page epistle to Deering, updating him on the various subjects constituting their mutual interests. Apparently, Deering-the-scholar was orienting himself to the semantics of south Florida's botanical taxonomy. And Small-the-curator provided details:

The assembling of the specimens which are to form your herbarium has now been completed. I have gone through the duplicate specimens from my earliest collections in southern Florida to the latest, and have been able to get together a more complete representation of the flora of the Miami region than I thought was available. By using spare moments to work on it, I shall have the herbarium in good shape to take with me and turn over to you when I go to Miami in the winter. You will then have the flora of that region at the tips of your fingers, at least, and you can soon learn the plants, and their names, that grow about Miami

I have written you two letters to Spain, and suppose you have them both by this date. The one contained a series of photographs of our summer trip. I hope the latter reached you safely. However, if you did not get the prints please advise me and I will send you another set which I have held in reserve in case the first set might go astray³⁹²

A few weeks later, Small wrote:

Your letter from Sitges, together with the photographs and cards came to hand last Saturday. Many thanks for both.

I am glad the Florida photographs interested you. If at any time you want additional prints, let me know

Since writing the letter . . . I have spent nearly every evening on the development of your herbarium. A large part of it is getting so near completion that I began to think I would let you see some of your personal property . . . if you have the time and inclination to do so. I did not intend to mention this herbarium matter again until I turned the collection over to you at Miami next winter, but it is getting along so well that I thought you might like to take a look at it. I have the outfit at home, as there is neither room to keep it nor time to develop it at the museum. So, if you have the time to spare . . . just advise me of the time convenient to you, day or evening, and I will be sure to be at home.³⁹³

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

From time to time, Small's correspondence reveals communication with James Deering. Writing to James at the Harvester Building in Chicago, Small commented that his son (apparently George Small) had been to Vizcaya. Small advised that he try to get ferns established on "your canal banks as they grow about the lime-sinks. . . . We spent half a day," he wrote, in company with Mr. Sturrock on your grounds . . . You are certainly doing large and interesting things there!³⁹⁴

"Getting a good piano cheap"

Clearly in much of Deering's correspondence, he is "careful" with money. Occasional comments reveal close attention to expenses. A letter from Marion Deering in New York City to Dr. Small illustrates the point:

Thank you so much for your very kind note & offer to put me in the way of getting a good piano cheap--I may call upon you sometime--for I fancy second hand instruments are always to be found by careful search-- but just now I do not believe I had best buy one. This city house is so small, there is no room to place a grand piano--and an upright is not pretty. All the same I shall hope to have one sometime & am very much obliged to you for your kind offer.

Mr. Deering went South today - to stay a day or two in Washington en route to Miami.³⁹⁵

**"Your Addison hammock"
"Your modest motor-power"**

Small wrote Deering in mid-December. His party planned to be in Miami by New Years Eve. His letter gives some sense of the team he put together for this Florida work--a work that would see various teams over the years:

Your letter of December 16 came to hand today. First of all I want to thank you for your generous, not to say continuous offers of cooperation.

We are planning to leave here on Tuesday, December 28th, and should reach Miami on the following Thursday morning. . . .

I am very anxious to see what the paths through your Addison hammock will reveal, and what you say of that proposed trip to the southwest coast of the state certainly is tantalizing.

Within the last few weeks I have been over some of this year's plunder, and made out a revised list of our good discoveries. You can see what interesting results your "modest motor-power" made possible; but I will not promise to duplicate such a record next year.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

I have just received a new camera and good lens, and this will consume additional time in the field. It is a plate camera, 5 by 7 inches, and I think we can anticipate some good pictures.³⁹⁶

In January of 1916, Small was working again in the hammock. Deering penned a quick note to Small the first week in January:

I haven't been out of the house in two days and have been abed most of the time-- mainly to prevent being there longer later, and now I am going to Cutler to stay till Monday or Tuesday . I trust all goes well.³⁹⁷

Deering wrote from Brickell Point:

My daughters and I are just leaving for Cutler, but shall be back off and on. If you come that way let me see you.³⁹⁸

And another note on the same mission:

My daughters have come and tomorrow I am taking them to Cutler, along with two friends of theirs and deem it best to have you met there. We shall arrive there by eleven o'clock, and have a look at the hammock, and it occurs to me that if it would suit your convenience you and I could see something of the hammock together if you could join us there. If it won't put you out could you manage?³⁹⁹

Deering telegraphed on March 14:

WHY DONT YOU COME MIAMI NEXT WEEK. REAL GATHERING OF
CLANS, SARGENT FAIRCHILD COOK ALL EXPECTED.⁴⁰⁰

"Photography in hammocks is difficult!"
"Your Addison hammock list"

Small sent Deering photographs in mid-March:

I am mailing you herewith a few of our photographs. . . . I will send you copies as fast as I can get the typewritten matter put on the back.

I picked out some of the Cutler photographs to start with. . . .

Photography in hammocks is difficult! In the first place there is so much in view at once, and then it is almost impossible to get any large object without a lot of things in the way. Also the light fools one nearly every time, and where the sun comes through it makes too much contrast with the dark places. However I think we have made a good beginning.⁴⁰¹

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Small sent dozens of photographs. They studied natural aspects of the hammock--"the bath-tub" a lime-sink where lichens grew; a "spring under rocks and shrubbery in eastern part of hammock;" a "Large spring recently filled with mangrove roots; a trail leading along the "East line of the Perrine grant;" a large gumbo-limbo; the roots and branches of a strangling-fig overwhelming a cabbage-palm; the "View from bridge across stream;" a large buttonwood supporting a "tropical vine, *Hippocratea volubilis* . . . Addison hammock and Royal Palm hammock [are the] only known localities for this vine on mainland."⁴⁰² (See appendix I for representative Small photographs.)

From New York Botanical Garden, Dr. Small wrote again, sending an update on another botanical record for the hammock:

I have nearly finished your Addison hammock list and will be able to mail it to you within a day or two.⁴⁰³

Deering responded:

Heavens! What a list! You need work forty eight hours a day, and cut out sleeping as well as eating. Florida is easier than that.

There's no news here, Owing this being the last day of the annual regatta, and a heavy westerly gale has blown without intermission Greatly interfering with the affair

My brother-in-law returned from his cruise a week ago and left me his yacht, and Mrs. Deering, who has arrived, and I am going to Nassau if this gale will ever blow itself out. I wish you were here to go along, as there is lots of room on board.

The place for the herbarium will be ready soon and I am anxious to see it displayed.⁴⁰⁴

Making good on his estimate, Small followed his lists with a letter two days later:

The Addison hammock list has just been completed and I will enclose a copy. It is merely a list now. Some day, when we have the flora more complete, I will make an analysis of it and compare it with some of the other hammocks. You will notice that the ferns and flowering plants are divided into orders and families. I did not do this in the case of the mushrooms, liverworts, and mosses, as those groups are not yet very fully represented.

The Royal Palm list is nearly completed, but I will have to wait until I get back to put it in final shape.

Small enclosed a 15-page species list. He had received a telegram from J.T. Gratigny, Deering's properties superintendent, regarding "the Cape Sable expedition. He planned to leave for Miami within three days."⁴⁰⁵

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Small also included images featuring Seminole Indian use of native plants. Small photographed a triangularly stacked pyramid of palm fronds--an "Indian cache, or perhaps grave, in the midst of a dense hammock on Long Key about 5 miles west of Royal Palm hammock." Another dramatic shot of the previous summer centered upon a tall tree--an "Indian pilot tree in Merritt's Island hammock" at Little River prairie. "[It] Commands a view of the distant Everglades on the one hand and of distant Bay Biscayne on the other."⁴⁰⁶

"A fine idea of yours"
"happy as a clam at high tide"

Small's arrival at Miami in late March (1916) was apparently the start of a 13-day exploration of the upper Florida Keys and Flamingo. Two April letters to Deering refer to the voyage, apparently made aboard Deering's motor launch, the Barbee. Charles Torrey Simpson thanked Deering for arranging Small's presence and for material Simpson gained for a forthcoming book. Small wrote that plates from the cruise were resulting in "some good prints." Small also returned Deering's book Bird-Lore and wrote, "I observed and heard reports of much bird slaughter on our cruise."⁴⁰⁷

It was a fine idea of yours getting the Doctor to go with us. He found most interesting things at every stop, made extensive collections of plants and took a great number of pictures. He was as happy as a clam at high tide thruout the entire cruise. As for my part of the work I am well satisfied. I got a large amount of very important data for my forthcoming book and made pretty good collections of the fast vanishing tree snail, Liguus.

Lastly I want to thank you for making this trip possible for me, and I am sure I can thank you for all who went along.⁴⁰⁸

Simpson's book, Ornamental Gardening in Florida, was published that year and dedicated to Deering.⁴⁰⁹

"Such a trip would have killed me, though I am tough enough in some ways"

On April 30 (1916), Deering wrote:

Many thanks for your good letter and I'm glad you got home all right after such a trip as that to Apalachicola which I have no doubt would have killed me, though I am tough enough in some ways. I had hoped and expected to go from here direct to Chicago, but business renders it necessary to go by New York, where I shall be as short a time as can be managed, but if I've the chance I shall come for a look at you and yours.⁴¹⁰

Deering penned a note from his New York house. It was the first week in May when he arrived:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

I have "blown in" to N.Y.-- and your letter of the 4th is a close second. I had passage in the "Carpathia" for May 13, and arrive to find her withdrawn-- requisitioned by the British govt. so I am sailing in a Spanish ship the "Antonio Lopez," 7 a.m. tomorrow-- only she may not go till Sunday! That's the Spanish of it, and I ought not to growl-- but do!

Dear Dr. Small, I am delighted that you think of going to Miami, and that Dr. Evans may go with you. Pardon me for saying that either you aren't entirely clear on the financial side, or I am Dense-- probably the latter. I should like to make myself clear. I am very much interested in your work, and I benefit by it largely, and it is truly a pleasure to me if I may be of help. and so, I pray you, add the enclosed \$500. to our fund, to be used according to your judgement. I will enclose a line to Mr. Gratigny. Mr. Mosier has quit. I knew, that he and Mr. Gratigny didn't get on well, but Mr. G. is my superintendent, and represents me, and while I know nothing of the events of the matter, I think Mr. Mosier too impulsive, and a bit too excitable-- much as I have liked the man. I should be very glad if you would talk with Gratigny and see if you and he can hear of another man who would carry on the work that I am trying to do-- which you know better than I do myself.⁴¹¹

"I think I have at last got all of the hammock at Cutler"

"I shall have to blushingly suggest Deering Hammock"

A few weeks later (May, 1916), a significant milestone was reached. After pressing forward some three years, Deering's acquisitions of the subdivision finally began to encompass a nearly complete hammock-- a feat of no small means. Deering penned:

Many thanks for the new and excellent photographs. You have certainly "arrived" in photography, and seem able to make a good picture in the dark.

I think I have at last got all of the hammock at Cutler-- the Perrine grant part, Florida East Coast holdings, Addison, Myberg, Duval, Hazelhurst--and others, and I think to be comprehensive we shall need to rename it. I had thought of Cutler Hammock, but there are other hammocks within the confines of Cutler, so I think I shall have to blushingly suggest Deering Hammock, which will be Distinctive anyway.⁴¹²

Six months after the Simpson-Small cruise, Small was back. West of Kendall, he photographed Seminole Indians at the camp of Cypress Tiger.⁴¹³ In the same location, he recorded the grinding and boiling of sugar cane out on the flat, low land "on the edge of pinelands and Everglades." There Small captured a man and his tarpaulin-draped mule, the workers and children watching the juice boiling in a mortar-framed iron cauldron amid barrels, buckets and a crate labelled "USE PEACOCK SYRUP."⁴¹⁴

By December, Small was again photographing his team aboard Deering's Barbee. The crew loaded the launch from a small boat they poled ashore through shallow water.⁴¹⁵

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Chicken Key: mangroves 150-to-200 years old

Back at Cutler, Small photographed the upper lawn and botanical wonders of Chicken Key--the trunk of a "very old buttonwood (*Conocarpus*)," the "large living tree of white-mangrove (*Laguncularia*)" more than fourteen feet in circumference, "Estimated to be at least 150 years old." He photographed a black-mangrove (*Avisennia*) 150-to-200 years old, some nine feet in circumference, and an ancient black mangrove trunk-- "it appears to have been dead for fully 25 years," he wrote.⁴¹⁶

Small's report, "A winter collecting trip in Florida" appeared in the Journal of the New York Botanical Garden within four months,⁴¹⁷ crediting Deering. "Through the interest and generosity of Mr. Charles Deering, both land and water were traversed in extent limited only by the amount of time at my disposal."⁴¹⁸

"I want to keep an uninterrupted view of the ocean"

Deering wrote (1917) regarding some sort of a planting plan. Writing from New York, he penned:

Thanks for your letter of yesterday and the plan that seems to me allright--excellent. So you may if you see fit say to Mr. Gratigny that I have seen and approved them. One point perhaps I don't understand- the planting of trees that will grow large and high in the borders near the potholes-- as the prominence. These should not be too near the line of vision to the east from the house. That is I want to keep an uninterrupted view of the open ocean.

I hope to see you before I go. Just at present I only leave the house for half an hour to go to the nearby ear-doctor.⁴¹⁹

Small answered:

As regards the borders of the lower lawn at Cutler: none of the plants mentioned in my list will grow so high as to interfere with the view of the ocean. The poinciana in question is Poinciana pulcherrima-- Barbados-flower or dwarf-poinciana. It is not the royal-poinciana, which botanically is Delonix regia.

I handed Mr. Dall's report to Mr. Gratigny before I left Miami, and I am returning herewith the Jardon map you handed me the last day we met in Miami. Yesterday I received a printed copy of the same map from Captain Jardon.

I have been studying the cacti we collected on our last trip I have finally convinced the cactus experts that Cephalocereus Deeringii is an excellent species! It is quite different from all other known species!⁴²⁰

Twelve days later (June 18), Deering's responded:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Thanks for your letter. . .

My ear-doctor has me in his grip and I only leave the house to go to him and return, so the Garden is as distant as the north pole-- far more so than the south pole. I am in a hurry to get to things if the man will ever let go my ear.⁴²¹

Deering, still ill in New York, wrote July 5th (1917):

Many thanks for the explorations 11/1916.

I hope and think the doctor is going to let go of my ear soon, and then I shall bunk at 2645 Sheridan Road Evanston, Ill.

Mr. [John Singer] Sargent and I enjoyed our little visit hugely. In fact he had suggested before that he would like to paint you up. It is a very pretty family life and I make my congratulations to each of you.⁴²²

"Now that we have your knowledge and guidance to help"

Deering penned his thoughts on work at Cutler, incidentally reflecting the homeplace frustrations of the war:

I have just finished a letter to Mr. Gratigny paralleling your directions, and telling him what I hope and expect to accomplish now that we have your knowledge and guidance to help. I trust he will rise to the occasion.

There is no news in this part of the world except personal troubles. My man James Butler has enlisted in the British army and goes his way, and now Joe Shuck is drafted! In my lazy old age I have got to be very dependent upon them, and am at a loss to replace them-- let alone get on without them.⁴²³

Expressing his enthusiasm for the Cutler planting plans and directions, Deering wrote in mid-August from Chicago:

Clear as a bell on the Directions. Thank you, and I think now we shall begin to get real results along the lines we want-- and not merely by indirection and chance.⁴²⁴

Five days later:

I am enclosing a bit to divide at your discretion between one John K Small advising plant and botanical expert, and John K. Small botanical explorer. If you think the first John K Small entitled to the whole, I am quite of your mind.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Taxes bid fair to be so severe that I must plan to materially let up on Buena Vista expenditures. I doubt your believing me if I told you how much we are sinking there each year.

We have been having really cold weather, 45 degrees F. on my porch two nights ago. In the fall an old man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts-- of Florida.

I trust you are all very well and that the Policeman of the Family keeps all Gunmen off the block.⁴²⁵

James Deering also wrote that summer (1917):

Hearty thanks for the pamphlets describing your last trip in Florida. Your automobile journey must have been exceedingly interesting. I had great admiration for your courage before, and have still more now.⁴²⁶

Small planned a return to Florida. Deering made arrangements. Ill again, from Evanston he penned:

Many thanks for your communication. I will write to Mr. Gratigny that you yourself will write to him what you want Mr. Soar [Deering's Cutler driver for the expedition] to do.

I've managed to get a brutal cold, and it makes me think longingly of Florida, but I can't get away from here as yet.⁴²⁷

Cutler photographs during 1917 show hundreds of newly planted saplings in a cleared bare area, apparently one of the former public roads of the 1899 Richmond survey, south of Richmond Cottage. The photographs, labelled "looking East from old Rockpit" and "looking toward Brook from old Rockpit" and "looking west 150 feet from Bay, south of House" are dated in Deering's handwriting and may represent a record of the plantings there directed by Small.

At the same time, the newly poured concrete wall at the southern end of the property was photographed. Handwritten labels suggest the possibility that they were taken by Mr. Schwenn, a member of the Cutler staff, who photographed other construction projects for Deering, corresponding on subjects ranging from sea captains to the price of ice.⁴²⁸

Small's September photographs included numerous trees--saplings and more mature transplants "by the South turning basin."⁴²⁹

From Brickell Point the first week of December, Deering wrote:

Thanks for your letter, and I'm glad there is a chance of seeing you so early as Dec 10. I do not expect any of my family yet, so shall be very glad to put you up if that will suit your convenience.⁴³⁰

The channel banks at Cutler
"If native shrubs have sprung up . . . spare them."

Before departing in spring of 1918, Small mapped out a plan for plantings at Charles Deering's properties at Buena Vista and Cutler. A major time-taking feature at Cutler was planting of the channel banks.⁴³¹

In May, while at Cutler, Small labelled the hammock for the first time as Deering Hammock. The botanist photographed a new "(built previous day)" wooden bridge across the creek, as well as a *Ficus*, rooted through the spokes of a wagon wheel, all roots oddly vertical to the ground. (An earlier Small photo showed the roots encasing the walls of a what may have been a tractor shed or barn, a motor mounted outside on thick ground-level planking.)⁴³² (Taking artful advantage of this quirk of nature, Deering constructed a rustic gazebo, "the teahouse," on the site, one side constructed against the root-entangled wagon wheel.⁴³³ (See Appendix I. for selected Small photographs.)

Between July and October, Small sent dozens of planting notes to J.T. Gratigny, manager of Deering's properties at Buena Vista and Cutler. Each note was numbered, typed on a full page with detailed directions. Most apparently were typed by Small at home. At Cutler, the projects included:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
 Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
 Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

task or species to be planted	Location	purpose
#30 tall elders (<i>Sambucus intermedia</i>)	north side of lawn	"to cut off view into the lawn at the angle where the old road coming from the hammock, from the north, turns to the west. "There were a number of small trees planted there, but most of them died last season [Freeze of 1917]"
#31 shore-sunflower <i>Wedelia trilobata</i> from the Punch Bowl and sea-purslane <i>Sesuvium Portulacastrum</i>	channel banks	cover
#32 <i>Allamanda Herdersoni</i>	north and south beds of flowering shrubs flanking the lawn	"to counter balance some of the colors now in the beds"
#33 various ferns from the hammock	"recesses or coves in the shrubbery, (not the beds of flowering shrubs) flanking the upper lawn"	"[places where] grass will not grow on account of shade"
#34 large buttonwood trees and mahoe (<i>Partitium</i>)	"along and near the shore in the open spaces between the dock and the wall along the south line and the public turning-basin and dock." "in the open area a short distance back of the old road that ran along the shore and where some small trees. . . died [Freeze of 1917]"	"to cut off the view of the house and lawn from the public dock" ditto
#35 several hundred shrubs of tar-flower <i>Bejaria racemosa</i> from "some convenient point north of Buena Vista" and seeds from the plants	"in open spots along the trails in the hammock south of the house" "in open places in the new hammock more remote from the trail."	to fill in the new hammock

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
 Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
 Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

task or species to be planted	Location	purpose
#36 shore-sunflower <u>Wedelia trilobata</u>	"barren places along the trail along the bay north of the dock" and "barren places along, on either side of, the brook in the new hammock south of the garage and house"	
#37 Pruning, cleaning, filling holes	"trails in the new hammock . . . south and west of the house"	"Tidy up the hammock in the best possible manner"
#38 Clean area after construction work on wall along the south line.	"the piece of pineland between the new hammock and the wall south of the house"	"Tidy up the area absolutely"
#39 Lemon-vine from St. Lucie Sound, "send a truck . . . gather. . . one load"	"along and near the wall in . . . the pineland south of the house" and "on the road. . . running east and west, just north of the house"	to fill in "denuded spots" and "denuded rocky area"
#40 Maintenance of: "foot-bridges" "all trails," "low trail along the shore of the bay"	"the interior of the old hammock"	"Clean up . . . being careful not to make the vegetation look unnatural."
#41 Mowing and pruning	Along "roads through the pinewoods" and "roads through the hammock"	

task or species to be planted	Location	purpose
#42 weed Straightening of "sprinkler pipes" Edging Extend	the lawns on lawn where shrub beds meet lawn "lawn down to the dock and far enough north and south along the turning basin, so that no bare spots will be visible, either from the house or from other parts of the lawn."	
#43 Rubbish-removal/cleaning	clearings in the hammock, particularly where persimmons were planted last year. Cut down the weeds If native shrubs have sprung up in the clearings spare them."	
#44 Cut down weeds and sow seeds of various annual plants	"the old hammock Wherever possible about houses, occupied or unoccupied . . . sow seeds . . . so that there will be something pleasing to look at, instead of coarse weeds." ⁴³⁴	

Small wrote Deering in mid-September, updating him on plantings at Buena Vista and Cutler and enclosing a set of his planting notes, which he had produced for months--sometimes several a day:

I expect to get your big set of photographs mounted in albums before long. In the meantime we are sorting out the prints and the negatives to find out what prints have been filched - and I tell you it is "some" job!⁴³⁵

A week later, planting notes were sent along with confident enthusiasm: "I . . . think you will find conditions both at Buena Vista and at Cutler more satisfactory."

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Small promised to send a copy of his 1917 exploration paper for the Journal- "As you are mentioned in the paper, I will send you a copy for inspection and approval. . . When through reading it you may consign it to the waste-paper basket."⁴³⁶

"It is so long since I have worked in the other Gulf states."

Within four days Small wrote again, this time answering Deering's letter of September 21. Though Deering's comments do not appear, the botanist commiserated regarding "expenses and taxation" and "action for the public good." Small concluding "The public is somewhat like some institutions, the more one does for them the less they appreciate it!"

Small suggested that the new plantings he directed for Cutler and Buena Vista had been minimal because of "prevailing conditions"--he held expenses to a minimum. "My main object," he wrote, "was to have the existing plantings brought into the condition they should be for your pleasure while there."

Small wrote:

As to going south: If it will help you ear, I hope you will "be shipped" at an early date. You see I am picking up nautical terms!⁴³⁷

By December (1918), Small was back in Florida. His report acknowledged Deering:

The extensive field-work described on the following pages was made possible through the interest of Mr. Charles Deering who has also generous cooperated in previous field excursions.⁴³⁸

Small apparently was quite at home at Cutler, welcome to arrive and work unannounced, even when Deering was there. On one occasion they missed one another. Deering's regrets, penned afterward, were filed by Small with his correspondence in New York:

My! but when I heard you had come yesterday, I supposed you had come for dinner and, I hoped, the night, and was greatly surprised when later I went to seek you and was told you had gone! I am sorry not to have said good-bye. Best luck and a pleasant journey to you both. I will be on the high seas when you receive this.⁴³⁹

"From the dead of winter to the life of summer"
"The generous cooperation of Mr. Charles Deering"

1919 brought publication of more than a dozen pieces by John Kunkel Small. Small defined a new species to which he attached the name of Deering: Chamaecrista Deeringiana, or Deering's partridge-pea.⁴⁴⁰

Small wrote in mid-January from New York:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

I want to thank you again for the pleasant afternoon I spent with you the day I left Miami, not only for the interest while on your grounds, but also for the food for thought it furnished on my prolonged, sixty-odd hour trip from Miami to New York!

Small discussed privet hedges for nurseries, nematodes, vegetable gardens, roses, and an orchid, a vanilla, that grows naturally in your hammock . . . unknown elsewhere on the North American mainland except in the Madeira hammock. It is not as plentiful in your hammock as is used to be, so If you can borrow John DeWinkeler from your brother for a half a day he could do it. He knows where the plants grow and could cut off a lot of pieces with one or two joints and plant them.

Small sent a copy of "my little fern book I promised to send you at Miami," listing for Deering "ferns native in your hammock," adding, "You can easily learn these by matching the leaves with the figures in the little book."⁴⁴¹

From Miami in January, James Deering wired Small, twice in one day. The subjects were nematodes infesting his Aralia hedge around a vegetable garden.

The first telegram, wired early in the evening, thanked Small for a letter and stated:

MY SUPERINTENDENT BELIEVES NEMATODES INFEST ALSO HEDGES OF
ARALIA SURROUNDING VEGETABLE GARDEN DO YOU SUPPOSE THIS TRUE
AND IF SO DO YOU BELIEVE ANYTHING CAN BE FOUND FOR PERMANENT
HEDGE THAT WILL NOT BE SO INFECTED. KINDLY ANSWER COLLECT.

James's second message, wired at midnight, asked:

FOR GARDEN HEDGES DO YOU THINK [] AUSTRALIAN PINE WOULD
RESIST NEMATODES.⁴⁴²

Later that spring 1919), James Deering also telegraphed Small requesting suggestions for sources for:

ROYAL PALMS ABOUT SIXTEEN FEET HIGH . . . AT REASONABLE
PRICES HOW ABOUT CAPE SABLE . . . WANT ABOUT THIRTY.⁴⁴³

Meanwhile, mutual interests grew. Deering sent Small a thick list of recordings he had received from a New York Welte-Mignon piano company of new York. Small, a flute and piano player and vocalist, had played with several orchestras and with his family. The family players, consisting of piano, violin, cello, French horn and Small's flute, may have entertained the Deerings, as they habitually did in their New York home.⁴⁴⁴

While Small was in Miami in May (1919), George wrote from their New York home. Family interest in Small's work is humorously evident:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Dear Father,

If you have any time to spare you might run up here for a couple of days and cut grass. We seem to have a variety which grows long in the daytime and tough at night. . . . I dug the beds . . . How many dahlia bulbs . . . do you want in the front beds?

I am enclosing a letter from Fairchild

We are all very busy now as our finals exams are coming off soon. I haven't had a minute hardly since you left.

How about the fruit?

Did Mr. D. get a bomb?

Don't forget the check.⁴⁴⁵

Dr. N.B. Britton, Director-in-Chief of the New York Botanical Garden, accompanied Small's exploration party during December 1919. Elizabeth Wheeler Small and Mrs. Britton both travelled south with the group. "The prospect of passing, within . . . a few hours, "Small wrote, "from the dead of winter into the life of summer is naturally fascinating." The group headquartered at the lab building of the U.S.D.A. Plant Introduction garden. "Our field work," Small wrote, "was made possible by the generous cooperation of Mr. Charles Deering. Mr. Deering's cactus plantation at Buena Vista, moreover, still served as the basis of our studies in the cacti of the eastern United States."⁴⁴⁶

"I hope you will have the old Ford running like clockwork"

Small's letters that Fall to DeWinkeler at Lemon City give some sense of the preparations required for the Florida work. Small wanted road maps and information for driving "all the way around Lake Okeechobee."⁴⁴⁷ DeWinkeler apparently functioned as expeditor and driver of one of Deering's vehicles for the upcoming exploration. Small instructed:

Thanks for your letter and the map.

If you cannot get further information on the Okeechobee question we will simply go and find out for ourselves!

I expect to be down your way about the first of next month, as I have just written Mr. Morrison [manager, Charles Deering Properties].

I would like to have you meet me with the Ford truck at Daytona on a date I will write you or wire.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

There are plants and photos to be gotten along the way to Miami, and this plan will save me several days' time.

When we get back to Miami, we will plan to tackle Okeechobee, Istokpoga, Fort Myers, Marco, and several other points.

I hope you will have the old Ford running like clockwork so that we will lose no time when we ought to be moving.

Will you go down to the laboratory and get the two portfolios, white paper, dryers, slats, straps, machete, etc., out of the boxes and have them in the truck. I have written Simmonds [manager, Plant Introduction station] to let you get at the boxes.⁴⁴⁸

The Gardens group reached home in December, as Small informed Deering:

We reached New York the day before Christmas after a pleasant journey all the way up from Miami. The Brittons followed a week later. They are still enthusiastic over the experiences at Vizcaya.

Last year I rewrote a former Cape Sable paper and reprinted it recently. Under separate cover I am mailing you several copies.⁴⁴⁹

Deering wrote during March (1920) from Sitges:

Will you please read the enclosed letter from the consul general and return it with your instructions as to shipment? Your last regarding prickly-pear was to await government permission that was to come.

Very many thanks for the interesting bird pamphlet.⁴⁵⁰

Small's letter to John DeWinkeler, who apparently worked for James Deering as well as Charles, provides some sense of Small's routine contact with members of the international academic botanists. He mentioned the upcoming arrival in Miami of a French botanist (who is also mentioned in Fairchild correspondence):

I may see you towards the end of next week. I will write or wire you.

In the meantime Professor Hadamard of Paris may look you up. I referred him to you and Paul. He wants to see a little of the country, interesting places for plants, for example, Royal Palm Hammock, Everglades, Etc. etc.

If he does find you, and you can arrange to get a little time off and make it up afterwards, show him a few places in your car and tax him what is reasonable.

I have written to Mr. Morrison [Charles Deering properties manager] and Paul [Soar]. You and Paul can arrange details between yourselves.⁴⁵¹

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Two days later, Small instructed John regarding plants for Cutler:

If you go down Royal Palm way before I see you, please take a dozen plants of Coontie (*Zamia floridana*) from the pinelands, to Mosier [Cutler gardener] for planting in the hammock. I have written Mosier about the plans.⁴⁵²

Late in October (1920), DeWinkeler wrote from Cutler to Small. As a staff member at Cutler and a frequent co-worker with Small in the field, DeWinkeler's comments to Small reveal concerns and activities on site from his vantage point:

I want to find out if the plant labels at Cutler ought to be painted if we varnish them like they are--they will look to white

As the black paint is all of the lead part, The whit letters dose not show up like they ought to. I suggested to Mr. Morrison to paint them black and then varnish. That will make the whit letters show up,

Mr. Morrison says that it will take to long and to much work to that. As Mr. Morrison ask me to take charge at Cutler I would like to have things look nice by the time Mr. D. comes down

Everything was in a mess at Cutler so I'm having a lot of work to do to get things in shape.

I like cutler fine and so dos the family and if ther aint no objection I'd just as soon stay.

The lawn is coming on fine and some of the shrubes and flouwer bed ar to, I stope at the Apartment house when you aske me to go on 18th st but there all rented for the year.

So if there is any other plase youd like for me to go see I will do so. Im working like H. to get things in shap.

Let me know when your are coming down so I can get the oll rattle trap ready. . . . Your friend.⁴⁵³

Small answered:

Thanks for your encouraging letter of October 11th.

Let the labels go until I come down. I will bring means of rejuvenating along with me.

I may get down just after Thanksgiving. I will know in a few days and then will write you in detail.⁴⁵⁴

**"Our cabbage-tree paper"
"Throw them in the waste-basket"**

Small sent proofs to Deering for a paper on the cabbage palm. "Throw them in the waste-basket," he wrote. The photographs were devoted to botany, but again reflected Small's fascination for the human condition related to native plants. He photographed "cabbage islands" in the immense, 150,000-acre Indian prairie west of Lake Okeechobee. Small photographed a "Seminole Indian barn and barnyard in a cabbage island." The corral, or cow pen, was constructed of trunks, vertically interlaced, a palmetto-frond pole barn as a shelter, and a ladder affixed to a growing tree trunk--the method for human entry into the gateless corral.⁴⁵⁵

**"Another great raid on . . . Florida"
"The Deering Botanical Garden at Cutler"
"Conditions are becoming too civilized in the Buena Vista region"**

Spring (1921) found Small poised for another southward dash. After thanking Marion Deering McCormick for bringing him "esparto-grass" from Spain, Small directed his attention to Florida. Small wrote Deering:

On Monday we leave for another grand raid on the vegetation and geology of Florida. Dr. Howard Kelly, the celebrated Surgeon of Johns Hopkins is going along as factotum. I have planned enough work for several months, but we will have to do it in one.

I am going to try to persuade Mr. Coville and Dr. Fairchild to send Dr. E.T. Wherry, a modern soil expert of the Bureau of Chemistry to the Miami region while we are down there. That region is a new field and needs attention from such a man as Dr. Wherry, who besides being a chemist is a zoologist, botanist, geologist, mineralogist, etc., etc.

On this trip I will get the flowers, both in the wild state and in our cactus plantation of the half dozen new prickly-pears we discovered last December. I shall also continue studies in spider-lilies, Zamias, and Crinums in particular, and many other groups of plants in general. We will make a special effort to introduce the more desirable, rare, and interesting herbaceous and woody plants into the Deering Botanical Garden at Cutler.

I have mailed you several copies of our Big Cypress paper and hope they will reach you without too much delay. We may take a look into parts of that region next month. I especially want to go to the Devil's Garden which lies between the Okaloacoochee and Lake Hicpochee-- a wholly unexplored region.

I am enclosing herewith several photographs of Texas cacti and palms, etc. Mr. Runyon, the photographer, has sent specimens of all the cacti of the Brownsville region to our plantation and also seeds of the rare Texan cabbage-tree (see print). The seeds were planted last summer and the seedlings should be well under way.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

I notice what you say in regard to the moving of the government garden to a region south of Miami. I should think the authorities would be willing to do so, if not anxious. Conditions are becoming too civilized in the Buena Vista region.⁴⁵⁶

Before Thanksgiving (1921), Small typed instructions and mailed them to Lemon City for John DeWinkeler:

It seems like an age since I heard from you or wrote you.

If I send for the truck, please load up with the usual collecting outfit, bottle of water, extra seat and plenty of bags and other material for getting live plants. See that the outfit is complete.⁴⁵⁷

"The Land Where Spring Meets Autumn"
Deering's "personal interest"

Small and his son George set out for Florida again in November of 1921. From Florida, George wrote home, reflecting the comraderie of their expeditions and their typical contact with Charles Deering at Cutler:

Dear Everybody,

I have so much news I cant begin to write it. Yesterday we went to Cape Sable again by auto. There were thousands of ducks and other birds. A deer was lying in the road. I saw several raccoons in the woods. It is a wild place. Full of rattlesnakes. We ran into a band of murderers too. Also a moonshine still-- We took a photograph near it. It is a wonder we were not shot.

When we were in the boat we caught lots of fish. The water was so thick with them that one jumped on board on the way up from Long Key. We ran steady from Long before daybreak one morning until two o'clock the next morning. We had a wild time too. When we were out of sight of land we found out that the compass we were steering by was defective and that we were running in the wrong direction. This was late at night so you can imagine what a job we had getting on our course again. . . .

We hit a pile of rocks near Big Pine Key. [The cook] was the only one below. He thought the bottom of the boat was coming up The captain said that when I got back on shore I would have to hire someone to stand outside and fire water on the side of the house to make me sleep.

We expect to start north to Jax next Tuesday afternoon. That ought to get us in N.Y. about Friday evening about 10 P.M.

We will sleep in Cutler with Mr. D. a couple of nights. We will also eat with James D. probably tomorrow etc. We have eaten a great many times with Charles D.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

We are invited to eat all over but we have no time for it.

We got some wonderful photographs, also some fine redbugs

This evening we heard Pryors band. . . . They played Henry VIII dances this afternoon. Yelva Monday. A lot of stuff we play.⁴⁵⁸

The prolific Dr. Small, published some ten articles during 1921. That year's exploration was lengthy, some four weeks overland and water. Small noted in his report, "The following [report] and plant notes . . . made possible by the personal interest of Mr. Charles Deering."⁴⁵⁹

From Eden to Sahara, Florida's Tragedy
"You as navigator, historian, botanist, etc."

Small continued his routine, sending carbon-copies of his typed drafts to Deering for suggestions and edits. Small's Florida Exploration for Spring of 1922 was to become a hardbound book titled From Eden to Sahara, Florida's Tragedy. Sending the draft to Deering, Small began:

The past of the Peninsular State is partly revealed both by its geology and by the monuments left there by the aborigines. The present is evident. The future may confidently be predicted, in part, by the aims and the actions of the white man--he who began . . . a course of devastation almost unequalled elsewhere. . . .has gained such headway that the future of North America's most prolific paradise seems to spell D E S E R T. The pecuniary greed of both the native and the immigrant is so great that . . . not only are Fauna and Flora threatened with extermination, but in many places the very soil which is necessary to their production and maintenance is being drained and burned and reburned until nothing but inert mineral matter is left.

[During the statewide exploration, a] view of the large pencil factory at Crystal River brought to mind the evolution of Florida's today and reminded us of the fast approaching extermination of native floral life in Florida. The red-cedar is being used up for lead-pencils -- or should we say, has been--; the pine for fruit-crates, the hickory for wheel-spokes and tool-handles. The animals, even in the deepest hammocks are likewise being exterminated--for "sport" What is to be Florida's tomorrow?

[At] Pinellas Peninsula. . . we had to go inland to Inverness, crossing ridges of barren country until we got back into the agricultural belt. Turning southward at Inverness we visited the celebrated fern grottoes. Even with the dense shade. . . the grottoes showed the effects of the drought. Many of the flowering plants and ferns were wilted. . .

Ferns were secured from the devastated grottoes for planting erosion holes at Cutler. Cutler's irrigation system, then in place, reflected Small's and Deering's fear of hammocks and pinelands destruction by fire--a spectre frighteningly illustrated by Small's photographs in Eden to Sahara.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Small's publication extended to the Florida Keys, including archaeological sites. His draft concluded that "Green Mound, the kitchen midden . . . has been shorn of its natural native growth, and exotic weeds have promptly taken possession of the whole surface, thus repeating the process met with throughout the state. This is indicative of Florida's tomorrow. Yesterday, a botanical paradise! Tomorrow, the desert!" ⁴⁶⁰

In winter of 1922, Small sent Deering two sections of Vespucci's map of North America. Small noted points of interest. The maps, Small thought, "will interest you as navigator, historian, botanist, etc." ⁴⁶¹

Small's June response to a Deering letter of May, referred to work and perhaps vandalism at Cutler by night.

Sorry you did not get your nocturnal visitor. He ought to be prevented from trying such foolishness on others. Glad to learn of the material-progress at Cutler. The Floridians are not the only slow ones. I have been in N.Y. for thirty years and have not had a good look at the Jersey PINE-BARRENS . . . Judge McAdoo and I are going down there Will report to you later on the trip, as the Pine-barrens of New Jersey have some things in common with Florida.

I am enclosing a copy (duplicate ms.) of our cocoanut paper. Of course, I got additional data on our last excursion, and if it makes many changes . . . will send you a copy of the rewrite. I will welcome criticisms and suggestions. Our Saw-cabbage palm (*Paurotis wrightii*) paper is in press; and I have just turned in three of our photographs for illustrations. ⁴⁶²

"I will write you about bats today or tomorrow"
"Your own distinctive and artistic handwriting"

In mid-summer (1922), Small's cactus work arrived in draft form. He wrote Deering:

I have gotten the cacti out of my system, at least temporarily.

The enclosed tentative paper will give you an idea of the way our knowledge of this interesting group has increased in the past few years, and also the present status of it.

I have fixed this manuscript so that it can be used as a whole or in part (the prickly-pears). I doubt if much will appear in print . . . as it will be a question of finance and morals with the director. It upsets our previous ideas regarding the cacti in eastern North America very decidedly! However, we will see what the proposed cactus hunt . . . brings forth.

I will write you about bats today or tomorrow. ⁴⁶³

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Small wrote DeWinkeler the following week, in answer to DeWinkler's of August 2. DeWinkeler responded:

I received your letter about the skulls which I got and shipped them to you last Saturday

They were the best I could get it surely hard to get good ones but I hope they will be all right and get there in good shape.

Dechere and I went out 3 days and got some ferns to plant at Cutler If they keep there winter they ought to show up some this winter.

I also want to thank you for the check you sent me some time ago which I neglected to thank you before. Let me know when your coming down you said you would be down some time this month so I'm looking for you

The wife isn't getting any better we badly separated with Dr. Kellys [of Johns Hopkins] tremens don't seem to be helping her any.⁴⁶⁴

Small answered within a week:

I may get away from here early next week-- will wire Mr. Morrison the exact date. I have written him that I would like to have the truck in Jacksonville--want to visit all the cactus localities and get living specimens for New York, etc.

So please get a complete collecting outfit from the laboratory. Perhaps you better double our formalin jar outfit. I may want to collect lots of cactus fruits. Do not forget a five gallon jar of drinking water and anything we may need to avoid delays. Better bring a bale of old newspapers and plenty of bags. Hope the truck is running O.K.

We are sorry to learn that Mrs. DeWinkeler is not improving faster.⁴⁶⁵

Small returned to Florida late in summer, working at one point along the Gulf coast and the Myakka River region. He wrote, perhaps typically, thanking a Bradentown woman for feeding his crew,⁴⁶⁶ and to her husband, "Our raid was completely successful throughout. . .⁴⁶⁷ We regretted that you did not accompany us. . . . you will see by the enclosed letter I wrote to Mr. Deering and my friend Mr. Lewis, a Wall Street man I tried to persuade to make the raid Everyone seems to be shy of accompanying us."⁴⁶⁸

Small wrote DeWinkeler the following month, apparently letting him know in advance, and perhaps confidentially, about instructions to Mr. Morrison regarding the estates:

Thanks for your letters and all the specimens- alive and dead. Everything came through in good shape.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

I have just written to Mr. Morrison about several matters and to save time will enclose my copy of the letter which you can return in enclosed envelope. You can see his copy of the letter and do what you can to have things in shape. ⁴⁶⁹

In Fall of 1922 when what Small called "the rock house" was under construction, the 70-year-old Deering had been bedridden at Evanston for weeks with bronchial pneumonia. He penned a letter to Small in New York, and Small responded in the comfortable, chatty tones of a friend:

Thanks for your latest letter. It seemed good to see your own distinctive and artistic handwriting again.

No, we have no special energy-producing machine. I wish we did, for then I might get more of that thousand year's work I now have under way, accomplished, and make a beginning on another thousand.

Our "Botanical Fountain of Youth" is coming out in the September and October number of the JOURNAL.

I am getting our third palm paper -- The Dwarf-palmetto - - Sabal minor -- in the November number of the JOURNAL. I will enclose a copy of the manuscript herewith. It will have one good illustration of the palm. ⁴⁷⁰

James Deering received a short letter from Dr. Small in early December. Small mentioned the Vizcaya estate:

Although I have seen Vizcaya several times a year lately, it seems like an age since I have seen you. I expect to leave tomorrow for a short period of further exploration in Florida, and hope to meet you when I am in Miami.

Under separate cover I am mailing you several of our Florida articles which, perhaps, you have not seen before. ⁴⁷¹

Shrub and Tree Labels at Cutler

By 1922, as Small neared his 25th year with the Garden, his relationship with Deering properties at Buena Vista and Cutler had evolved into that of an administrative superintendent of plantings, labellings and structures.

Small volunteered his professional services in reworking botanical labels for Deering at Cutler. He wrote Mr. Morrison:

In regard to the shrub and tree labels:

I. Get together all the lead-plate labels that were taken up when the stone house was built and at other times and remove the lead plates. Wrap and pack these carefully, in

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

a strong wooden box, so that they will not be injured, and ship them to me by express. I will have them refinished and returned to you promptly.

II. When the plates are removed from the blocks, number the plates on back, and give the blocks corresponding numbers. Better cut the numbers in the block on the side that the plate goes on.

III. As soon as the plates are shipped to me, have the blocks cleaned, as far as necessary, and painted a very dark-gray or dark-green. Better paint the iron legs also.

IV. When I return the refinished plates to you, I will write you further about labels.⁴⁷²

Planting Notes by the Hundreds.

Small assumed a major role in new date plantings at Cutler. Writing to Morrison in one of his hundreds of instructive notes, Small instructed:

Please keep an eye on the date plants recently set out north of the cactus plantation.

See that they get plenty of water.

If any seem not to be taking hold properly, remove most of the leaves.

I think it would be well to remove several leaves from all the vigorous plants. This done, the plant can establish itself better and more energy will be thrown in the bud and the new leaves, and also bring the plant into flower more promptly.⁴⁷³

After construction of the turning basin, Small superintended newly-planted palms to the north and south. Writing Mr. Morrison at Cutler:

Please give a thorough clearing up about the palms-- Paurotis and Thrinax-- in the small plantations just north and south of the turning basin.

Also, go through the new palm plantation and adjust the soil at the bases of the palms -- work the soil up to the bases where it is lacking or pull it away where it has become packed around the bases of the palms to such an extent as to smother them.

Also, straighten up all the palm trees that begin to lean over before sufficient root system was developed to hold them upright.⁴⁷⁴

Chicken Key received Small's detailed attention. In Note number 178, Small detailed procedures for Mr. Morrison:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

The day before I left for the north I took a large quantity of Royal-palm seeds to Cutler.

Please take all of the supply over to Chicken Key and have it planted on the high land.

Have each seed pushed into the sand by hand and placed rather evenly over the area. Of course, only a certain percentage of the seeds will sprout, and even a smaller percentage will survive after sprouting.

This is an interesting and inexpensive experiment. Please see that it is done thoroughly.

Later, I will send other palm seeds to be planted on Chicken Key.⁴⁷⁵

In winter of 1923, Small's enclosed a manuscript and let off a little steam:

Here is a copy of our Florida paper which is to be printed next. I would be glad for suggestions about elimination and addition of matter.

I see the "Board of Managers" has been asking you for a contribution. If I had gotten home in time I would have tried to eliminate that letter, for considering what you are doing for the Garden, through me,-- the Garden gets the benefit of all-- the subject of further contribution should not be even thought of!

Our scientific staff was down to the new president's house last evening to talk over various matters-- the first time the staff was ever directly recognized as existing by a president of the institution.

I have one scheme for the planting of your roadway north of the bridge and will write you about it within a few days.

[P.S.] Better destroy this!.⁴⁷⁶

The Miami Daily Metropolis reported on Small's work:

Complete classification of the botanical subjects of Florida is the enormous task that is keeping Dr. John K. Small, curator of the New York Botanical Gardens, making repeated trips to Miami. After long, hard trips in the wilds he gathers his material together at the Charles Deering estate and specimens are planted on Mr. Deering's property in Buena Vista or in Cutler and other specimens are taken to New York.⁴⁷⁷

In 1923 and during another of Deering's prolonged illnesses, Small continued his direction of plantings and grounds maintenance at the estates. He dealt directly with Deering's staff, writing J.N. Morrison, the manager, and John DeWinkeler:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Small wrote Morrison, warning him of the possible March visit of a Dr. Murrill, "Supervisor of Public Instruction" for a "short fungus collecting expedition."

I have written Mr. Deering asking . . . transportation and John for a few days in order to make a fungus survey of the Snapper Creek and Cutler hammocks.⁴⁷⁸

Small thanked Morrison for grapefruit, encouraging him to concentrate on "the several tasks at Cutler which really ought to be done at once" and mentioned the imminent arrival of Dr. Wherry "of the Bureau of Chemistry, Washington."⁴⁷⁹

On Charles Deering Properties stationery John B. DeWinkeler wrote the first week in June. Informing him that they were "planting dates at Cutler," DeWinkeler reported that Morrison was ill. Small wrote to Morrison at Mayo Clinic, sending photographs and inviting him to return home "by way of New York!"⁴⁸⁰

To DeWinkeler, Small wrote he was "Glad to hear" they were "getting dates in at Cutler."

Transfer the old plants at Cutler to new mounds along the stream, as we spoke about last month. Put a line of dates on the mounds near the road. Put our choice seedling on the other mounds. Also put some Delray and some of our seedlings on the mounds on the rock edge south of the house. And, see that all are planted so that they will grow! See that they are watered daily when necessary.

Consult," Small concluded, "the later planting notes for things that should be done, and I will send you more shortly."⁴⁸¹

Deering wrote Small from Evanston. It was late summer (1923) when he sent a quick thank you:

Thanks for the pamphlet. You will be pleased that I have discovered no botanical or other errors.

I am enclosing some old postage stamps, that I presume are valueless, but you are a strong man and by exerting your full strength can throw them into the wastepaper basket, being careful not to strain your game knee-- that I hope is coming on well."⁴⁸²

Bees and Labels

No detail seems to have been too small for Small's attention. He wrote in September to Morrison about bees and labels and labels for Deering's daughter, Marion's, place at Coconut Grove. Writing from her Illinois home, St. James Farm, she thanked him and asked him to send the bill to the Miami Corporation on LaSalle Street in Chicago. She requested Small's help to get the labels properly installed:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Father says Mr. Morrison should send someone from Buena Vista to Coconut Grove to help Pringle label the trees, etc.

Something had gone awry, however, and Small addressed the subject again in a letter to Morrison:

Your letter about bees, etc., is at hand. I will write you further on the bee subject . . .

In the mean time take the legs out of Mrs. McCormick's labels and send the blocks up. But, do not bruise the block as in the case of the one sent. This certainly is a sight! The trouble seems to be wholly with the varnish. It was the best spar varnish, and the only way I can account for the trouble is that it was too thick. The rejuvenation of the whole batch will not cost much.⁴⁸³

Small thanked DeWinkeler for Rhipsalis specimens. He advised that "planting notes" were on the way, but that when they moved "century-plants to Cutler," they should "please see that the labels are kept with the plants to which they belong."⁴⁸⁴

"Your continued and highly valuable cooperation"

In Fall of 1923, Small wrote Deering:

The weather continues -- good and bad. We had the best rain of the year during two days of this week.

We also continue to advance on the cactus stronghold, and will conquer it some day. . . . Our "GREEN DESERTS and DEAD GARDENS" is likely to appear in the Journal some time next week.⁴⁸⁵

Mid-November brought Small's imminent departure for Florida, scheduled with stops in Charleston Jacksonville (to meet DeWinkeler before they headed to Apalachicola). Observing Deering's staff chain-of-command, Small told DeWinkeler:

I am writing to Mr. Morrison accordingly. . . . So if you meet me at Jacksonville we can strike out from there. I will wire Mr. Morrison about the day I expect to reach Jacksonville as soon as I know my plans. The main thing is to have enough collecting outfit along for dead and live plants for a week or ten days run. You know what to bring from the Laboratory [U.S.D.A. station at Buena Vista]. Better bring some sphagnum for shipping certain live plants. I am writing Mosier to go along if he cares to come.⁴⁸⁶ (See Appendix I. for expedition photograph of Small, DeWinkeler and Mosier with Ford truck, FSA.]

At Apalachicola Small expected to get "some rare plants for growing at Buena Vista and Cutler." He reminded both men to bring adequate equipment. Apparently Mosier was a valuable addition to the project, Small concluding, "Better slip Mosier along if he cares to come."⁴⁸⁷

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Small wrote later that month (November 1922) to another Deering associate, to W.J. Louderback of the Miami Corporation in Chicago. Inviting him to visit New York Botanical Garden on his next New York trip, Small also mailed along several of his publications, referring to them as "articles . . . for which Mr. Deering and I are responsible."⁴⁸⁸

"A knowledge of the vegetation of Florida and, indeed, the whole Southeastern United States, thanks to your aid, which has never been had by any other human being"

"Many thousand copies are now scattered over the universe"

Deering received in December a letter from Small's superior, Dr. Britton. During Small's absence from New York City, Britton wrote directly to Deering on a significant matter and asked his help:

I have had a number of enthusiastic letters from Dr. Small . . . during his present trip, made possible by your continued and highly valuable cooperation. . . .

Small has attained a knowledge of the vegetation of Florida and, indeed, of the whole Southeastern United States, thanks to your aid, which has never been had by any other human being, and it seems unlikely that anyone can obtain an equal knowledge of the flora for an indefinite number of years to come. . . . It has been one of my ambitions for him that he produce, while we are all alive, an illustrated work on this vegetation, similar, perhaps to the Illustrated Flora of the Northern States If you could stimulate this idea while he is with you, it would be a highly beneficial operation.⁴⁸⁹ (Small's 1600-page Manual of the southeastern flora was published in 1933, an answer to "an insistent demand" for a condensed, updated edition of his 1903 work.)⁴⁹⁰

Small occasionally enlisted Deering's staff for his work in New York. He asked Charles A. Mosier for ripe fruits of Sapindus Saponaria (soapberry) "from native Florida trees. If you happen to pass by a crop will you please send it along?" In January of 1924 he prepared a lecture on palms, asking J.N. Morrison for seven certain species and leaves of the Paurotis-- "plants we set out at the turning basin at Cutler." He told him how to fold the large leaves into a crate. DeWinkeler sent the box by American Railway Express, while Morrison's letter to Small bemoaned the fact that Swenson made a box too small. Morrison's postscript asked, "What about Mrs. McCormick's [Marion Deering McCormick's] plant labels?"⁴⁹¹

Morrison wrote late in summer about plant materials for Small's work. Apparently expeditions with Small had produced an expertise in processing. Morrison also passed on news that saddened all the network of Deering estate folk:

John [DeWinkeler] returned here Wednesday night, July 30, and failed to get the iris seed that you requested him to get at Durban as he found no plants in seed that he could get to as the water was deep. He has all your specimens collected both dry and in liquid ready for shipment and as soon as Swinson can build a box for them we will get it off, which will be about Monday.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Mrs. Matthauss passed away on Thursday, July 31, at 10 a.m. The funeral services will be held on Sunday, August 3, at the home. Her death was quite sudden and a great shock to the whole family.

As yet we have not made any start on transferring plants to Cutler. Have got some ground ready and will make a start next week and hope to keep it steadily moving from then on until the work is completed.

If I understood you right that there would be no general clearing for the cactus garden at Cutler and to just clear a space for the mounds where they are to be located. I will be glad to know if this is correct as Mosier says he did not understand just what was to be done.⁴⁹²

Small sent his sympathies and expressed surprise, having just seen Mrs. Matthauss. He was eager to get plant moving started, repeated instructions, and thanked Morrison for "four boxes of specimens" just arrived in new York. The director of Arizona's Boyce Thompson Southwestern Arboretum was scheduled into Cutler to pick up cactus plantation cuttings. Small said he would apprise Mr. Deering and told Morrison, "If he turns up please let him select what he wants, providing there is enough material to spare."⁴⁹³

Small wrote to Deering in March (1924). Enclosing the most recent manuscript, he requested editing. A conspiratorial discussion of publishing expenses associated with the Journal of the New York Botanical Garden followed:

Our next Florida narrative has gone in for the March Journal as the result of a sudden call for copy yesterday by the editor. Here is a copy of the manuscript. Have you any corrections or suggestions to make?

The article is not quite as long as "Green Deserts and Dead Gardens". I asked the editor to run it in one number of the Journal for maximum effect, but asked him to keep mum about the expenses additional to the allowed 24 pages. I hope this will go through undetected by -----, for there is no good reason why the Garden should not pay for the printing of these papers, in fact, there is every reason that they should

As to "Green Deserts and Dead Gardens": Dr. B. approached me the day I returned from Florida last December for the amount I promised to pay for the extra pages of the October Journal I gave him a check for \$150.00 and paid \$14.20 for the two half-tones. You assumed the responsibility for this item according to our correspondence of last summer. Shall I charge it to Our Fund? I do not like to be bothering about the financial matters so frequently, but as the poet said, It's money makes the world go round, or something to that effect.⁴⁹⁴

Twelve days later Small mailed a short note, sending copies of illustrations for his next paper, "for your inspection," he told Deering. "The descriptive matter is open for suggestion and criticism from you, of course." Small simultaneously worked on a third report for publication: "I have just finished the first outline of our December raid. It makes quite a document."⁴⁹⁵

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

F.L. McGinnis, manager of "James Deering Property" wrote to Small, offering planting information and some insight into his concern for James Deering's health that winter:

I thank you very much for both your letter and the two pamphlets. I have already read that on Cabbage Palms, as I am especially interested in them just now. I have just finished planting half of an avenue of them I intend to have in the South Property. I never before knew how it came to have its name, and am glad now to know.

When you come down in April be sure to call on us at least. Knowing how rushed you always are, I have no hope that you can find time to do more, but should like once to be surprised and mistaken. I hope you can bring Mrs. Small along. Mr. Deering will probably leave us about the middle of April, either directly for Europe, or for a short stay in the North before going over. He is not very well and hasn't been for over a month, owing to an attack of asthma. I don't think he makes any secret of it so do not think I am gossiping. It is a pity for the whole place is beautiful, better than I have ever seen it; and the weather now is about perfect. When he could be enjoying both it is too bad he has to stay in his room.

I am glad to report that our cactus garden is made over, and we hope before long to have it replanted.⁴⁹⁶

Small's correspondence included others in the Miami, Coconut Grove and Cutler community. He corresponded with the Matheson family and with Kirk and Ralph Munroe at Coconut Grove. Small encouraged Ralph Munroe to proceed with a "Complete History of the Bay Biscayne Region."⁴⁹⁷

Munroe also wrote to Small on a subject that appears in Deering letters during the Florida Land Boom. Alarmed over the escalating value of land and the increase in taxes, they seriously viewed the option of "selling out:"

The older I get, the more responsibilities seem to gather and the less time I have for the pursuits which interest me most. This condition is undoubtedly brought about by present property conditions, excessive valuations and taxes, requiring double exertions to meet. Selling out and a return towards the oldtime simplicity seems to be the solution.⁴⁹⁸

Early in 1924 Small corresponded with Hugh Matheson, W.J. Matheson, and asked to be remembered to the family. The Mathesons were actively engaged in commercial agriculture. Hugh Matheson's stationery indicated his enterprise as a "Grower and Shipper of Florida Key Limes and Coconuts." Matheson wrote Small enthusiastically thanking him for pamphlets, seeking direction regarding a source for experimental West Indian grass, and encouraging him to consider a history of the coconut for publication.⁴⁹⁹

Small asked Morrison for lists of plants from his last trip to Jacksonville, St. Augustine, Port St. Joe, and LaBelle-- ferns and iris, some 250 specimens. Morrison supplied a list and specimens packed in boxes built by Deering's carpenter on the estate. Morrison replied to

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Small's instructions about "taking advantage of rainy days to move certain of the recent collections from Buena Vista to Cutler. "I will have this carried out promptly," Morrison wrote. He concluded:

I am sending you today to your home address by parcel post two dozen haden mangoes; and a box of grapefruit will follow soon by express P.S. Please acknowledge this fruit as coming from Mr. Charles Deering.⁵⁰⁰

Transplanting from Buena Vista to Cutler

Small wrote late in 1924 to J.N. Morrison, manager for the Charles Deering Properties at Buena Vista and Cutler. Small alerted Morrison to his tentative schedule, and promised a telegram with a specific time "to have the truck at Jacksonville."⁵⁰¹

Winter of 1925 produced a blizzard of correspondence between Deering and Small, relating to the sale of Buena Vista, and a hurried moving of plant materials to Cutler. Deering penned:

My! I advise you to hang out in the topmost story of the Woolworth Building, so when the earthquake comes you will not have so far to fly! So you see which way I know you are going, and I trust you will appreciate the compliment to your desserts. I will quote from a song of my early days, before you were on deck. It ran "Wait for me at Heaven's Gate, sweet Dr. Small." I am not sure of the very last words, but they fit, as you see.⁵⁰²

Deering wrote after seeing Cape Sable for the first time, apparently. He also wrote of the escalating land values of the Florida Boom and decried the destruction of hammocks:

I am sorry to be so distrustful, but you have brought it upon yourself by giving me so many names for plants and species-- thus calling cacti orchids, and the other way about, so when visiting all these out-of-the-way places of unknown name it is well you send the postcards with pictures and names of towns. And, if I haven't mentioned it in justice to you before, on the cruise I made with my brother I confirmed one of your statements that I confess to doubting before. You have often "gone to Cape Sable." I fancied it simply a cover for its real journey to some hidden hootch resort. I was pleased to learn and behold a real "Sable", so you may have gone there, but I didn't find any Cape-- which is a point of land projecting into water. Hereafter when referring to it please be accurate and say "Sable," omitting Cape.

Cutler is as gay as ever. The exodus of northern winter visitors is scarcely noticeable. We have our own real-estate boom. Land that till recently was \$30 to \$50 an acre is now several thousand. I cant answer for the sales, but such are our prices. What hammock do you suppose will be left in a few years? But what do the inhabitants care?⁵⁰³

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Deering learned that the Buena Vista contract provided only a year to move plants to Cutler. He turned to Small:

More trouble!" We have till Apr. 1, 1926 to move what planting we want from Bn Vt to Cutler, but it seems we have agreed that by July 1, 1925-- one month-- we must give in a list to the to-b-purchasers of just what and all that we want to move after that date. So help! help! And who down here can aid? Zumwalt? [Frank Zumwalt, grove manager] Wd you get in Mosier?⁵⁰⁴

The month of June brought a torrent of letters regarding the move:

I am writing you herewith some planting notes, in duplicate, one copy for you and one for Mr. Morrison. I am mailing them to you as Commander-in-Chief. You can hand them to Mr. Morrison as you see fit and with further instructions. All these items can be accomplished before the first of July. Should they be done matters will be much "clarified."

By having a good man - Deckert-Zumwalt - at each end of the line, with positive instructions to keep things moving there, as well as the transportation between the ends, the tasks outlined in these notes could be quickly accomplished.⁵⁰⁵

Small wrote a second letter that same day: The temperature was 100 in New York City as he finished about midnight:

Here is a contract to get the "to-be-purchasers" of B.V. to agree to. I have tried to make it long enough and broad enough to cover, or appear to cover, every case involved Had I been on the spot I might have thought of additional items. Some of the items duplicate some of the notes just sent i to you. Should the notes be executed by July 1st, said items can be eliminated from this document. However, I suppose it would do no harm to let them remain in place. Perhaps you should have your legal advisers put the document in better shape.

Please advise me promptly of any needed changes or additions on my part.

It is hot as h---" here. At one o'clock A.M., as I am writing this, the thermometer is hovring about 100 in my room.⁵⁰⁶

Deering answered immediately:

What gloom! . . . 96F.! But think of the temp. you will find in the hereafter! and be philosophical in the present.

Things come down from Bn Va, but slowly as you know. Deckert and Zumwalt are greatly more so. Real-estate I suppose.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Your article on orchids in the Evening Post is very interesting, but of course you call 'em cacti. It is useless for me to correct you.

No news here except reported activity of bootleggers-- an entirely safe means of making money by sharing profits with law enforcement (?) officers.⁵⁰⁷

The very next day, Deering wrote again.

Verily you are a brick, the most ornamental polished sort of a brick, a quick and rapid brick, and I am a grateful cuss for such prompt thoroughness As to results we shall see what we shall see. There's not much lightning hereabouts, and my activity is confined mostly to profanity-- needed and possibly helpful in a mild way, very mild way.⁵⁰⁸

"The unique spot on the Florida Coast"

Small sympathized with frustrations, but urged everybody on:

Perhaps the moving of plants goes by the old saying "slow but sure." I hope it is sure, for I would like to see everything possible installed at Cutler which is the unique spot on the Florida Coast, or the southern Atlantic coast for that matter for an ideal accumulation of vegetation.

Much can be accomplished during the remainder of this month, if things are put in motion promptly and kept in motion. All the small potted material and nursery stuff can be hurried to Cutler and set out or heeled in as the case may be as suggested in notes sent you last week.

all the seed coconuts at B.V. should be gathered, hauled to Cutler, and stacked somewhere in the hammock temporarily. (See enclosed note; a note is also included on the large-flowered orchids stored in the hammock).

By putting all the available force on this task continuously and keeping all the transportation facilities moving, a big hole can be put in the transfer task.

Deckert and Zumwalt are available for the rest of the month, and also Captain Paul, I take it. These three, together with Mr. Morrison, understand the situation, and together can accomplish much. Deckert and Zumwalt should be persuaded to "Stay on the job" until the palm plantation is finished.⁵⁰⁹

Deering wrote Small the following day. His letter and Small's apparently criss-crossed in the mail:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

I think I allowed in a recent letter that you are an ornamental brick. To-day the arrival of your letters of June 6 and the list causes me to feel justified in adding that you are a useful brick too.

But I do wish you wouldn't swear! How can you when you know it wrong? I pray you not to get into bad ways-- as believing (not yourself) but such as my friend Bryan and me descended from monkies! [ref. to William Jennings' representation in the Scopes monkey trial]

In passing is our "Fund" plethoric after your extensive travels? I think I have mentioned that Zumwalt and Deckert are quitting at the end of June? You would best be training Dr. Britton for the future drives-- or Mrs. B.⁵¹⁰

Small responded quickly:

All's well that ends well! . . . I can imagine the trucks racing back in front between B.V. and Cutler with nearly everything in question transferred and planted out!?

Regarding your inquiry concerning "our fund": I do not know that it is "plethoric" However . . . it is not near the wobbly state, and the only outstanding obligation is photography for the past year to two. By the way, we got some nice pictures on the latest trip and will get prints to you to inspect

The first bill in connection with the new manuals came from the printer. It is not for printing, however, but for engraving some of the cuts-- the printer is attending to this end of things for me. I can handle this item. The actual printing I will hold off as long as possible.⁵¹¹

Deering wrote June 20:

You seem having a warm summer so far. It is not cold here, nor is it uncomfortable. With the breeze from the ocean that generally prevails.

Mr. Deckert is committed to the charge of the Royal Palms . . . from Aug 1, but perhaps Zumwalt will hang on a bit.

Has Mrs. Small quit for good . . . or will she return for the children's sake ? I can sympathize with you as my [wife] goes north soon.⁵¹²

The moving of plants from "B.V. to Cutler" continued while Small detailed publishing specifics for Deering in a lengthy letter June 23rd. Deering answered in the margins. Small had touched upon his wife's absence and, perhaps tongue-in-cheek, confided in a complaining tone to Deering that women do not "stay in one place as we are!"

Small sympathized with Deering's loss of his garden staff--a result of the Florida Land Boom that transformed most men into real estate agents.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Your letter of June 20th is just at hand. Warm is the word here-- meteorologically, politically, etc., etc. Mrs. Small is due to return tomorrow, and I suppose she will stay around for a time. I will have to cut her allowance by way of punishment for running away without permission! But, what galls me is the fact that when at El Paso last month, only a short distance from Los Angeles and Hollywood, she "beat me to it." The ladies will move about-- never satisfied to stay in one place as we are!

I hope Zumwalt will hold on for a while longer. As he knows plants quite well and how to handle them, and also "knows the ropes" I hope all concerned will push the palm plantation to completion, for not only is the location the most ideal in the United States, both in general and in local climatic conditions, but it is flexible, i.e. it can be enlarged northward by filling the swamp (thus reducing the winged pests - mosquitos) and making trails along the creeks.

I think I referred to "our fund" in a letter to you last week, to the effect that I assumed it was in a fairly healthy condition, although I had not time to balance the items. . . . If "our fund" will 'stand the pressure', and I can sandwich it in between our other publishing programme, I would like to print two small books before long-- (I) "The Ferns of Florida" using a small printed page (3 X 5) and full page figures of the species (II) "From Eden to Sahara-- Florida's Tragedy" should be published as a protest against the reckless wholesale destruction of things natural in Florida, as well as for the edification of the numerous botanists, botanizers, and plant-lovers.

I have just handed in another of our celebrated palm-histories. Will mail you a copy of the ms for your approval.

Deering answered in the margins. About Mrs. Small's unauthorized absence, he penned, "Good girl. Don't abuse her in your envy." About Zumwalt quitting, "He goes June 30 . . . John DeWinkler knowing them has got our best 'help' away by giving a bit higher wages." In response to the publication protesting the destruction of Florida's environment: I might contribute a dollar or two if necessary." In response to seeking Deering's approval of the current manuscript, "I presume you mean my corrections?"⁵¹³ Small filed Deering's remarks into his copious files.

Only four days passed before another Small letter emerged from the New York Botanical Gardens typewriter:

Here is a copy of the ms. of our next palm paper that goes to the printer today.

I will agree to constructive changes you will doubtless suggest, but I will not agree to cancel it!⁵¹⁴

Deering updated Small on the changes at the U.S.D.A. station and informed him of a neighbor's death. Deering expressed concern for his younger friend's physical well being and the demands of his frenetic pace:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

If you can stay awake another 24 hours making 48 a day I think it wd be well. to push publication of books.⁵¹⁵

Small wrote Barbara Deering Danielson, sending publications "for which your father and I are responsible."

Having just written to your mother and to Mrs. McCormick [Marion Deering McCormick] reminds me that time and again I have planned to send you some of the botanical articles for which your father and I are responsible. They are now going to you under separate cover. Some may interest you, or you may have friends interested in the vegetation of Florida to whom you can hand them.

The enclosed printed matter and plates will show you the beginning of a joint production of your father, myself, and the Garden. We plan to illustrate all species of North American blue flags in this way. Curiously enough, North American iris has never been studied.⁵¹⁶

"Sara-Nellie-Lewis" at Cutler

Small wrote at length to Deering in late August of 1925, after returning to New York from July work in Florida. He commented upon a native pawpaw he had named for Deering and enclosed photographs:

I have been waiting for prints of "Sara-Nellie-Lewis," and here they are-- so lifelike as it were [a mature gumbo-limbo tree composed of three plaited trees that stood by "the rock house" and Richmond Cottage and bore a Small label.]⁵¹⁷ (See Appendix I.)

Deering was ill when Small wrote. He updated Deering and empathized with his symptoms:

I have learned that you are in the grip of bronchitis. I can thoroughly sympathize with you, for I have had several bad sieges in the past. I suppose that is why I "gave up the sea," for the last time (1896) I came up from Charleston to New York, by steamer, I contracted a case of bronchitis which stayed with me for a long time. I several times thought it would finish me. Of course, sailing in the "Barbee" is an exception. She is a perfectly safe boat in every way, and a wonder -- never causes physical misery, not even sea-sickness.

Heat was the only remedy that had any effect on my bronchitis. I used to sleep with my back to a big hot water bag, else I would have to jump out of bed several times at night in order to get my breath. I certainly was h--l while it lasted. I hope yours has cleared up by this time. The southern Florida climate should cut such affections short. If we could go collecting in the hot desert hills of the southern end of the lake region, the hot dry air would soon cook the trouble out of you.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

I have just finished the third draft of our raid of the spring of 1922. After the next revision I will send you a copy to look over.

Our complete collection of Florida pawpaws (Asiminia and Deeringothamnus) -- made in July -- proved very interesting and instructive to one of the nut-grower who is cultivating and hybridizing the Florida pawpaws in the northern part of the peninsula. ⁵¹⁸

"The Example you have set at Buena Vista and Cutler"

Deering received at Thanksgiving a letter from a botanist at Naples. Owner of "H. Nehring's Tropical Gardens and Arboretum," the writer was among a growing group who knew of Deering's preservation of a prime Florida hammock and wanted his involvement and guidance. The lengthy letter, which Deering sent to Small, provides some sense of the solicitous approaches made to Deering's as a result of his reputation and his effort. Nehring began:

My dear Mr. Deering:--

For quite a number of years I knew you as a man of high culture, of vision, of ideals. I know you are a lover of birds and plants and of everything noble and beautiful. The example you have set at Buena Vista and Cutler loudly proclaims the truth of what I have asserted in the above lines. I do not want to flatter you. What I have said is merely the truth and an appreciation that is due to you.

Should you be inclined to look favorably at my request to let me have 20 acres of suitable land in one of your hammocks, Mr. Flipse will be delighted to give you additional information. Of course these lines are confidential. ⁵¹⁹

Small wrote in winter of 1925 about colleagues, L.H. Bailey of Cornell and Dr. A.B. Stout, Director of the Laboratories at New York Botanical Garden. Small asked Morrison to set up a time with Stout to "go over the avocado situation at both Buena Vista and Cutler. You may be able to get some points from him by which the yield . . . may be materially increased." Morrison wrote Small twice in that same week mentioning specific plantings moved to Cutler. Morrison wanted to have "a derrick made for the truck " to move in large palms.

Small's letters to Morrison mentioned "iris" newly planted at Cutler by Charles Mosier. He referred that year to "the new cactus plantation" and "the palm plantation." Morrison took issue with Small's design for placing the palms. He wrote about "a row of date palms along the edge of the hammock followed by taller palms on the east," which Morrison felt would result in too much shade for the date palms.

Morrison mentioned another specific planting, "the agave planting along the south wall:"

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

They do not seem to be doing well there and I am of the opinion they do not get enough sunshine as they are shaded all day by the wall and I really believe an agave planting out near where the cactus plantation is or out in the open would be more satisfactory. However, I do not suppose I will get to do any more to either of these plantings before you come down in April when we can talk it over and see what is best to be done.

I have had the truck overhauled and put in first class condition and am getting a new battery and it will be ready for you whenever you get down.⁵²⁰

Small wrote several letters to W.J. Matheson at Coconut Grove. One letter gives some sense of Small's connection with members of Charles Deering's circle of friends. He wrote to Matheson:

It is about a month since I returned from Florida. I should have written you earlier about Professor L.H. Bailey of Cornell who is living this winter on Royal Palm Avenue, Coconut Grove, with Mrs. Bailey, who had a stroke last year, and Miss Bailey.

As you perhaps know, Professor Bailey is our foremost horticulturist. He has been well over the earth's surface, but southern Florida is new to him.

It would be a great treat to him and make a large addition to his store of information and knowledge if you would take him over your reservation on Key Biscayne some time when you are going over there and when it would work in with your plans.

I took Professor Bailey on a three day cruise in the "Barbee" among the keys early in January -- we passed your new craft, the Coconut, near the Cow Pens and Tavernier Creek on January 4th, if I remember correctly. On the following Wednesday I started on a weeks raid with Mrs. Deering and Miss Bailey, going as far as Brooksville and Fort Myers.⁵²¹

Small also wrote F.L. McGinnis early in March, requesting him to invite Bailey to Vizcaya:

Professor L.H. Bailey, our leading horticulturist, if not the leading one of the world, is living at Royal Palm Ave., Coconut Grove. He has Mrs. Bailey down there for the winter as she had a "stroke" last year.

Some day, when you plan to go over your bailiwick, will you ask Professor Bailey to go with you? Vizcaya is one of the places he should not fail to see.⁵²²

Small wrote to the Deerings' daughter, Marion, in Spring of 1925. He referred to her mother's interest and to her father's furtherance of Small's explorations and publications.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

I have just written to your mother and sent her some papers to encourage her botanical activities - no doubt you have heard of her botanical "cruise" in the Dodge truck last January!

I am also reminded that many times I have intended sending you the articles that are now going to you under separate cover, but has always switched off to something else.

Of course, you realize that your father's interest in plants is largely responsible for the production of these articles.⁵²³

Marion Deering McCormick responded:

It was kind of you to send me the very interesting pamphlets, which I am enjoying ever so much.

I am sorry not to have seen you here, but am . . . hearing of your progress northward, & consider you very adventurous!⁵²⁴

Deering wrote from Florida, knowing Small was on the road:

So you are bound homeward. I trust you are taking neither your Mexican jazz, nor any Mexican booze?

If after arrival you bethink yourself of any wise man who can direct me where to get any information regarding the big spiders we have here I shall be pleased. I suppose they are tarantulas. I try to guard them in the house, and see them occasionally-- three inches or more, body and legs. I have had one in my bathroom that apparently did not move for several days, until thinking he might be dead I reached up near him, when he scuttled. . . .

I trust you will get home allright and find the family blooming.⁵²⁵

Rarely a month went by without one of Small's letters enclosing a manuscript for Deering, "Comments, criticisms, suggestions, additions, eliminations, etc., are in order."⁵²⁶ One letter included a penned postscript, "P.S. You will find some young plants of the silk-top thatch [palm] planted among the so-called Cuban-palm or saw-cabbage palm (Paurotis Wrightii) along the shore just north of the turning basin at Cutler."⁵²⁷

Within three weeks, Small wrote again, assuring Deering that he need not exert himself to respond:

I regret to learn of your recent indisposition and trust you are yourself again.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Don't bother to write me except when you want something I can get for you or do for you. Of course, your letters are always welcome, for they are models of the art of letter writing.

My more or less verbose epistles to you are largely to keep you informed as the Chief, as to the progress of the work and its results your generous interest has made possible. I should like to report more, but this twenty-four hour day of ours is exasperatingly short!⁵²⁸

"That jumping spider-like creature you noticed"
"I told you . . . you were an excellent artist!"

Later that July (1925), Small responded, apparently tardily, to a Deering request for information. Small's humorous tone apparently matched the usual Deering touch.

I suppose you think stout bodies sometimes move slowly or something to that effect. But, it is difficult to find certain people in summer. I went to the American Museum again yesterday and missed the spider man again. However, I found a fish man, Dr. Gudger, who also knows spiders.

The two books on the enclosed list will give you about all the information you can get in two books.

But here is the interesting point. You will remember the drawing you made for me of that jumping spider-like creature you noticed on one of your screens last May. I took this drawing along to the Museum, and the first page I open to in one of those spider books had an illustration that resembled your drawing. It was a figure of the female of the huntsman-spider carrying the cocoon. She folds the two front legs around the cocoon and navigates with the six other legs just as you had drawn it. I once told you that you were an excellent artist!

It may be that you have one or the other of these books or I would get them and send them along. If you will drop me a line as to whether you want both the books I will get them and mail them to you. The McCook one is out of print, but we have a second hand book store here that is much more reasonable in prices than the usual run of such establishments.⁵²⁹

Within a few weeks, Small found the first two volumes of the spider books--"very rare American scientific books," promised to find the third and charged the two to "our fund."⁵³⁰

Deering replied:

Many thanks for the spider information, and I will be justly obliged if you have the books sent and the bills therefore--

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

I've been a bit under the weather this fortnight. Cant write much. ⁵³¹

Deering wrote again within a few weeks, again penning labored, careful letters:

Many thanks for the spider book and if your Viola finds the other I shall be glad to have it.

Good regards, and to the family. ⁵³²

Deering wrote a week later, labouring over control of his pen:

Verily art a BRICK. The photographs came this morning and the Spiders will come soon-- sooner if they have the jumping kind therein. Of course my brother James will be delighted to have a set-- who wd not be, but I think you wd best wait his return home which shd be fairly soon.

You are a blessing. My gratitude. ⁵³³

**"Building Contractors and Real Estate Developers
are paying much high wages than I can"**

A handwritten letter from Morrison to Small in August of 1925, traced the Deering properties' dilemma regarding the labor shortage produced by the Florida Land Boom. Morrison struggled to bring Small up to date on moving of plants from Buena Vista to Cutler despite loss of staff. Even his handwritten note was symptomatic of the shortage:

Just a few lines to let you know how things are going down here. I have no Stngrapher now and writing is a big job for me. and which accounts for you not hearing from me more often. Griffin got another position and only comes in at the end of each month to post my Books. In fact all the old men except Paul Felix and Luke are gone. My effort to keep Zumwalt and Deckert was not successful and both left on July 1st. Zumwalt's wife has made so much money selling Real estate that he does not have to work any more and Deckert got a good job with the East Coast Hotel Co and could not afford to pass it up to continue with me. Labor generally has been scarce and Building contractors and Real estate Developers are paying much higher wages than I can meet. Therefore I have been working shorthanded all the Spring and Summer. Sometimes I was puzzled as to how to keep the work going, but we did it and now we can begin to see the end of the plant moving from B.V. to Cutler. Most of the plants and palms moved are living and considering the number moved the percentage of loss is los. The Bamboo from Brooksville is doing well except that which was planted in the low land near the creek are most all that got drowned out in the flood last Spring. I understand that Mr. Deering will get the Buena Vista [U.S.D.A.] Garden back on Sept. 1st and Mr. Simmonds tells me he is not going to move the Date palms. They will make quite an addition to the planting at Cutler. ⁵³⁴

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

Deckert wrote Small on Royal Palm Hotel stationery that he had resigned from the hotel "owing to press of other work, which pays me better."⁵³⁵

"Fossil corals . . . of your brother's house"

Later that summer (1925), Small completed another project, this one related to James Deering's house, Vizcaya, and to fossil rock that Small indicated was Key Largo Limestone "from Umbrella Key." (James Deering, in Paris at the time of Small's letter, died five weeks later.)

You may remember that sometime within the last hundred years you asked me to photograph the figures in the fossil corals in the steps, tiles, etc. of your brother's house at Miami. Well, here are the prints. This shows that everything comes along, if one waits long enough.

As these prints are quite interesting, you can send some to any one you think might be interested, for I have another set for your series in the albums. If you think your brother would be interested in seeing them, I can send him a set through Miss Northwood.⁵³⁶

Marion Deering penned a note to Small. Writing upon mourning stationery, Marion wrote just three weeks after James Deering had died at sea. She wanted Small to know just how overwhelming, physically and mentally, the loss was for Charles:

I wonder if you know that Mr. Deering is ill-- has been practically all summer, but much worse since the death of his brother on 21st Sept. His eyes have given out, he does not write or read at all-- is depressed-- never leaves his room & is in a very feeble condition. Has bronchitis--

This causes a pressure on the heart which causes a fluttering pulse & difficulty in breathing. He has a trained nurse & does not care to see anyone as it fatigues him too much. Regards to all your family.⁵³⁷ She wrote to him again a few weeks later.⁵³⁸

Small received more news from McGinnis. Writing on Villa Vizcaya stationery five weeks after James Deering's death, McGinnis summarized for Small some of the two brother's health problems during 1925--"In view of your affection." McGinnis wrote:

Your letter of the 21st, with the photographs of fossil corals, and that of 23d, with the color plates and descriptions of iris, have both come promptly and I thank you very much both for the plates and pictures and for thinking of me. I suppose that next to Mr. Charles Deering I am most interested in your work. I shall especially prize the photographs of coral formations, for wherever I am I can have them to remind me and to show others how beautiful the cut stone work here is.

Naturally I was grieved at Mr. Deering's death, and though I knew he was very feeble I was shocked too, for I had got used to his being ill and so did not expect his

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

death so soon. I was at home on my vacation-- had just arrived there in fact-- and went to Chicago to his funeral. At the family's request I came direct to Miami from Chicago with Mr. and Mrs. Charles Deering in their private car. Mrs. McGinnis joined us at Milan, Tennessee. Mr. C.D. would go north to the funeral, and when there would go out to the cemetery, though it was a rather raw day and the whole family begged him not to do so. I admired him the more for his devotion.

He is very weak, I am grieved to say, and cannot last long. Morrison and Mrs. Deering give me frequent reports about his condition. Morrison seems to feel more encouraged than Mrs. Deering, who thinks he is in a very serious condition. I am inclined to agree with her. C.D. eats practically nothing and is so weak that any slight disarrangement of his condition would take him off. I tell you frankly because I know your affection for him and know it will go no farther than your family. Mrs. McCormick was down in midsummer to see him and Mrs. Danielson is here now. I do not go down to see him, for it would do no good and I do not know whether they want him bothered or not.

The fate of VIZCAYA is as yet unsettled. I am in hopes that the family will see some way to preserve all or the better part of it permanently, as a sort of Memorial to J.D. It is embarrassing for me to urge this too much, for fear they may think my motive only selfish, to secure my job, when as a matter of fact I care little for that, but a great deal for the place and its beauties. We are both well and hope you all are. Our best regards and wishes to Mrs. Small and you and the family.⁵³⁹

Small continued his rapid-fire letters to Deering. He sent Marion Deering his first North American iris publications, "which Mr. Deering and I are responsible for," he wrote. In mid December he scribbled a letter telling of a drive across the Everglades on "what is to Tamiami Trail." He told of new palm species discovered on Elliott's Key. "I plan to go there on Saturday to investigate," he wrote.⁵⁴⁰

Marion Deering answered Small's letters. Penned on mourning stationery, she wrote:

I have made you an esquire instead of a doctor on the envelope of this. You must excuse me for I am tired, it is late in the evening-- and perhaps I dont know an esquire from a doctor! It would look like it anyway. We have been looking for you here-- tomorrow will be the 15th and incidently my birthday and you wrote you would be here about this date. Several interesting pamphlets a lovely illustration of the iris, of many kinds-- have come here-- all from you-- and today a large book which Mr. D. has not been strong enough to open and look at. I will keep it handy hoping he will be soon. He is not at all well-- Nothing can be done however, but to make him as comfortable as possible-- Dr. Skaggs comes down once a week, he has a trained nurse, and has had one since 11 July. Esubio, the Spaniard, is devoted-- but he makes no headway. Next week Mr. Howe his son & my son-in-law Chauncey McCormick are coming down to see Mr. D. but he is quite unable to attend to any business-- He cannot reply to your many kind letters, as I believe I told you before. I hope he shall have the pleasure of seeing you here soon. With kind regards to Mrs. Small and the

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

other members of your family I will let the Esquire stand and not take another envelope. It looks so odd, so funny & shows the state of my mind, or lack of it!!!"⁵⁴¹

"It is too sad."

Marion Deering wrote to Small late in January:

I am replying to your letter of January 20 to Mr. Deering. We are interested in your discovery of the two new palms and flattered by the name you have given them. It is not one to use every day as a pet appellation, but it is very dignified and worthy of the giver.

We have a fine display of orchids just now in the trees and on the stand to the north of the house, but your heart would be grieved by the fate of beautiful Buena Vista. All growth has been leveled with the ground and I do not mean to see it again. It is too sad.

I hope you are all well and not suffering from the cold weather. With regards from Mr. Deering, I am Yours sincerely⁵⁴²

Small replied:

I enclose this clipping relating to Chicagoans. You can show it to Mr. Deering and tell him I am glad you and he are not "golf-hounds."⁵⁴³

Early in 1926, a letter came to Small from Charles Deering, penned by his daughter, Marion Deering McCormick, on mourning stationery circumscribed by a black band:

If I understand aright your statement as to cost of botanical publications, my share of the expenses would be one half of \$10,000, & the whole of \$3,600, total \$8,600, which amount I will direct Miss Northwood to send to you.

Sincerely yours,
Charles Deering
per M.D. McC.⁵⁴⁴

The president of the New York Botanical Garden wrote in mid-April to Deering seeking a contribution to match a Rockefeller gift. Deering apparently sent the letter on to Small, Small methodically filing it away with his voluminous correspondence.⁵⁴⁵

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

"The new notes . . . you can hand them to Mr. Morrison"

Late spring of 1926, Small wrote shortly after his return from Florida. He sent notes for Deering to pass on to Morrison:

As I wrote you upon my arrival here, I reached home O. K. -- without a railroad wreck this time.

I want to thank you again for all the facilities for exploration. I made my stay longer than I had planned to do, but was busy every minute, and really did not get all accomplished I should have liked to.

However, I hope my prolonged field activities did not interfere too seriously with the routine at Cutler. At any rate, I assumed that it would not result in too much inconvenience, as Mr. Swenson had quit work for the season, before I arrived, in order to go North, the palms were moved, and an extra driver for the Ford car or International speedwagon was at hand who could fill in for the routine necessary for housekeeping matters or care for emergencies.

I am enclosing, herewith some planting notes. These represent matters already attended to. I am sending them, as I promised to send you copies of all such notes.

The new notes, those I am writing now, I will shortly send direct to you first, so that you can hand them to Mr. Morrison in the order you prefer and with instructions.

P.S. This letter has been delayed because could not find the old planting notes In their place I am sending some new notes (in duplicate)-direct to you, as you requested. You can hand them to Mr. Morrison in the order you wish, with supplementary instructions.⁵⁴⁶

Sabal Deeringiana

Early in summer (1926), Small wrote, "Here is one of my weekly epistles." He enclosed a 1926 article from Torreya. The article, "A New Palm from the Mississippi Delta" was named for Deering:

As this discovery was the direct outcome of the interest and cooperation of Mr. Charles Deering, this palm may be known as:
Sabal Deeringiana . . . Tree up to 4 m. tall . . . along Lake Pontchartrain, Louisiana.⁵⁴⁷

Deering's staff members were not forgotten. Small named a new species for Richard F. Deckert, Lechea Deckertii, and sent an article. Deckert responded enthusiastically, sending more plant materials. Small wrote John DeWinkeler that he had found "a set of preserve jars"

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

belonging to him, and asked about the recent hurricane: "Did our house float away or is still on the foundations?"⁵⁴⁸

Small wrote F.L. McGinnis at Viscaya early in summer, apparently somewhat anxious regarding Deering:

How is Mr. D. I am writing him once or twice a week and hope my letters do not miscarry. Of course, as I told him, I do not expect him to acknowledge the letters which are mainly to keep him posted on things botanical in which he is interested.⁵⁴⁹

Marion Deering wrote Small on the fourth of July:

Mr. Deering wishes to thank you for the list of birds you encountered in your tour through Florida. He thinks your wisdom very great-- He is not up to writing as you know, but sends his regards, on this our glorious anniversary-- in which I join.⁵⁵⁰

"Getting about a bit in a wheeled chair"

On the 13th of July, Deering pencilled from Cutler:

excuse pencil-- bad writing. All is hard enough. But many thanks to you for the letters and map just received. The gent's original letter I return.

There's nothing special here except mosquitoes by the millions I have never seen them so thick. I have been getting about a bit in a wheeled chair, but the mosquitoes prevent going out.

Good regards to all the family.⁵⁵¹

On the 16th of July, Deering wrote in his own hand--rather steady, a brief two sentence reply in the margin of a Small letter. Small had sent a coastal chart for St. Andrews Bay. Deering wrote, "Duly received and acknowledged thank you."⁵⁵²

McGinnis wrote on company stationery in mid July. Thanking Small for leaflets sent, he allowed most of it was "too technical for me." He continued:

I am much interested, within the limits set by my botanical ignorance, in the Sabal Deeringiana Small. I haven't seen C.D. since you letter came but know he is gratified at the new namesake and his part in its discovery.

We are sorry you slipped away. You are always as busy as a bullet on its way so we hesitate to get in your path by urging you to come out.

Mrs. Danielson came Saturday for a short visit with her parents. Mrs. C.D. goes north next Saturday for a trip of two weeks or more and during her absence Mrs. McCormick will be down. C.D. is pretty good but can't get out in his wheel chair on

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

account of the mosquitoes, which have been a pest for over two weeks. I think he gets bored. Write to him as you are, especially during the next two weeks.⁵⁵³

Small also wrote Morrison in mid-July, regarding Deering's labels:

Mr. Deering asked me to have any of the better labels that were "out of commission" put in order. Do you not think it best to send up all the plates that need attention and have them fixed while the man who is accustomed to do such work is still at the Garden? When they are put in shape and returned to you, all need not be used at once but fresh ones kept on hand can be put out as old ones "go out of commission." I think it would be better to have all the lead labels that have deteriorated put in shape. The wooden labels you mention will not stand much sun and weather!⁵⁵⁴

Morrison answered in mid-summer (1926) some of Small's questions about plant life at Cutler and about Deering. He described the extension of the water pipe to protect the hammock and pinelands from fire:

Mr. Deering is getting along very well, he gets out for an hour or more every day when the mosquitoes are not bad, and seems to take an interest in things generally about the place. He got those planting notes alright and ask me to check of the labels for any that might need repairs, and I ask Capt Paul to check them up and he thinks there are enough good labels that was brought down from B.V. or Brickle Point to replace any that are bad here.

Mrs. King's front name is Louise and the next part of her name begins with M. but I do not know what it stands for, anyway she signs up Louise M. King.

I do not know if Mr. Deering gets your letters or not, he has not said any thing to me about getting any from you lately and there is most always something in your letters that he talks to me about when he gets them.

Things generally are moving along mediumly good, the Date palms that were brought down from B.V. are taking a start to grow, and I dont believe we will loose but one and it might decide yet to grow as some that I thought were dead are sending out good strong shoots.

At least we are to have protection from fire in the hammock, Mr. Deering has given orders to put in a pipe line from where the 8" line stops near the Roberts house to extend North across the Creek and North of the hammock and East to the . . . near the Bay. When this line completed it will furnish water for a lot of planting as well as fire protection.⁵⁵⁵

Small simultaneously corresponded that summer with Charles Mosier regarding Mosier's "life history" for an article and regarding Indian village sites and burial mounds at Kendall

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

hammock. He also thanked "Moze" for "pickles and sisal," saying he was "anxious to see how the Sisal will behave up here."⁵⁵⁶

Small wrote McGinnis September 20, asking about the hurricane:

We are receiving various accounts of your recent storm, and assume that it was extraordinarily severe.

As I do not see your name in the casualty lists, I assume that your bailiwick was not hit as hard as some other spots. I am anxious to know how Vizcaya came through the blow.⁵⁵⁷

Despite his physical restrictions, Deering penned letters from Cutler to Small. His handwriting labored, his staff reduced, his beloved plants blown to ribbons by the 1926 hurricane, Deering wrote:

Thanks for your letter of September 19. I will turn it over to Mr Morrison as you ask.

No more botany here-- must go in for geology.⁵⁵⁸

Small wanted to see the storm damage. He wrote to Morrison September 20:

We are getting all kinds of reports . . . Did the storm do much damage at Cutler?⁵⁵⁹

To Paul Matthaus, captain of the Barbee, Small wrote:

Was your property damaged? Is the "Barbee" at the bottom of the bay, up on the lawn, or on the porch of the house at Cutler? I should have liked to see the storm in action. I suppose Mosier was in the same condition as when the "norther" hit us down the bay the memorable midnight!

I have recently named several plants after you. They will appear in a manual I am printing.⁵⁶⁰

He wrote to Marion Deering, "I imagine you are pretty well 'dug out' from under the recent storm wreckage." He sent her the latest publication, including a photograph he thought she would remember-- "the picture we took in the pinewoods in going from Tampa to Bradenton last year."⁵⁶¹

He specifically wanted "to see and record the after effects of the storm on the native vegetation." He wrote:

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

without bringing the question up to Mr. D. now, please give me your opinion as to the possibility of getting the usual transportation, a la truck, under the various existing circumstances . . . Please hand the enclosed letter. . . to Mr. Deering.⁵⁶²

He wrote to Charles Deering, sending a newsclipping of the storm. He commented on some activity at Cutler:

I remember that there were several large boats blown up into the pinewoods some distance south of your south wall. . . . I suppose the hammock is beginning to show green again. It certainly got a thorough pruning, but then there will be so much humus to the good. They say there is a bright side to everything!⁵⁶³

Small sent more chatty letters of storm history, an upcoming "popular account of Deeringothamnus, and an upcoming article on Iris. He told Deering he was trying to locate all the Indian mounds on the Florida Keys. . . such a record should be made before those relics are all obliterated." He wrote every few days, about ferns and professors and publications.⁵⁶⁴

Writing to Morrison in October, Small set out a tentative schedule:

I wrote Mr. D. last week to the effect that I wanted to get down as soon as possible to look over the vegetation in the storm area. It may be possible for me to get down early in November.⁵⁶⁵

Apparently the Barbee captain, Paul Matthaus, and perhaps the storm-wrecked Barbee as well, were unavailable. Matthaus wrote from Lemon City to Small:

the Barbee is in Mr. Munro's yard in Coconut Grove. Brickell and Cutler Hammocks are all to pieces ther is not a leave on trees Most of them ar up by the roots. All the roof of Mr. Morrison haus is gone I would liked for you to been down here to see the Storm I am replanting the Royal and Coconut plans at Cutler four of the large Royal palms ar down the small ones stood the storm alright.⁵⁶⁶

Even with major changes, Small wanted to go ahead with his work. He wrote Morrison:

Of course, I regret that Paul cannot be the "Captain," but know that he is headed for much more important work. In fact I hesitated to bring the matter up at all, but there is so much and so many people indirectly involved with the botanical work we are doing I assumed that Mr. D. would rather go ahead with it, than make a temporary break in the work.

Small planned to start south that week.⁵⁶⁷ He bemoaned the fact that he did not have a satisfactory photo of the palm "in flower or fruit, or both" required for the book. He reported that a New Orleans professor had tried, but failed. "The print looked as well upside down as right side up, and neither way did it resemble a palm!", he wrote Deering.⁵⁶⁸ (Months later, Small sent a clear, well-composed and sharply contrasting print of the palm in

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

flower to Deering, photographed "near Chef Manteur along Lake Pontchartrain the previous Spring.")⁵⁶⁹

The very next month Small named another plant for Deering, this time a plant discovered in the hammock Deering had labored years to save.

Just a line to say that I have taken the liberty of attaching your name to another plant--Cyperus Deeringianus. I discovered this new species in the Deering hammock, but found it in other localities since. It is a fine species. It belongs to the same group of plants among which Mrs. Moses hid her son, the young Master Moses, along the Nile some years ago. But, I don't think you will object to having your name connected with this new American plant on this account!

Small clipped from a printed sheet the description of the new specifics-- "documentary evidence" he called it.⁵⁷⁰

Perhaps in response to the palm article, Deering wrote. Again penning his words in what apparently represented a laborious task, Deering managed a brief three-sentence note. One drop of ink fell onto the page, but the words were strong and crisp:

I am gratified, Mrs. King is justified, all hands are grateful for the pamphlet. And my . . . what a lot . . . there are in this world.

Good regards to you all.⁵⁷¹

Small responded to the letter:

As you say in your recent letter there are a lot of interesting things in the world. The deeper we get in the faster they appear, and we want to interpret as many as we can before we are a hundred years old. We both have the necessary ability and I think we (this is not the editorial "we") are doing pretty well.

If I get out of the tangle of tasks as soon as I hope to I expect to start south before the end of this week.⁵⁷²

After the 1926 hurricane that wreaked such havoc, Deering sent Small some pictures of the flooded lawn, decorated by boats blown ashore.⁵⁷³

"Your . . . hurricane pictures . . . best illustrations of the wreckage"

Small's letters that Fall (1926) indicate constant communication with Deering:

It seems that one whole day has passed during which I did not write you a note.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy
Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering, cont.

I have just handed the copy for my part of the next issue of Addisonia to the editor, and will enclose herewith a carbon copy of it and a proof of the plate which I picked up at the engravers yesterday. The manuscript is subject to editorial changes. Pages one and two may interest you, the third page is merely descriptive matter.

If I remember correctly, I failed to acknowledge the receipt of your booklet of hurricane pictures. They were the best illustrations of the wreckage we had seen.⁵⁷⁴

Small enclosed a manuscript of another Deering namesake, a native of south Florida, a member of the Custard apple family. This genus, Deeringothamnus pulchellus had been discovered in 1924 near Punta Gorda.

The genus . . . was named to commemorate the active interest of Charles Deering, patron of science and art, in the elucidation of the flora and floristics of the southeastern United States during the early decades of the twentieth century.⁵⁷⁵

"Consign it to the waste-paper basket"

Small wrote January 21st (1927) to Deering, enclosing a manuscript entitled "Some Floral Aborigines." He wrote, "After you have perused it, you may consign it to the waste-paper basket." Small wrote of a "new cactus paper" and a new plant for the manual. It was Small's last letter contained within his correspondence housed today at Fairchild Tropical Gardens. Fifteen days from that the date of that letter, Charles Deering died. Dr. Small had known his friend and correspondent of more than 14 years was fatally ill.

At 4:10 p.m. on February 6th, McGinnis, the manager of the James Deering Property, wired a telegram from Miami to Small in New York City:

MR. DEERING DIED PEACEFULLY LAST NIGHT BURIAL CHICAGO
THURSDAY AFTERNOON

F.L. MCGINNIS.⁵⁷⁶

Small filed the telegram with his correspondence. He added, with it, the New York Times report, February 7, of the death of his friend of many years.⁵⁷⁷

Small continued corresponding with Deering staff members regarding the truck and other equipment. He received letters from "Mrs. D." and from Morrison. He wrote to Mosier regarding collecting of plant species in the hammocks. He wrote Mosier just before New Year's Eve that he planned to see Thomas Edison that week, and he would send pineapple slips to Mosier "which you can turn over to some one interested in growing them."⁵⁷⁸

Appendix A.

Armed Occupation Claims 1843





(FT6)



AUGUST 1924

PHOTOS TAKEN BY J.K. SMALL

2222 - (See 2223-2261)

In Palm Plantation, Cutler, Florida.
Specimens of palms, recently moved
from Buena Vista.
Raining at time photo was taken.

May 1926. Photo by J. K. Small

(FSA)



2223 - (See 2222 2261)

In Palm plantation. Cutler, Florida

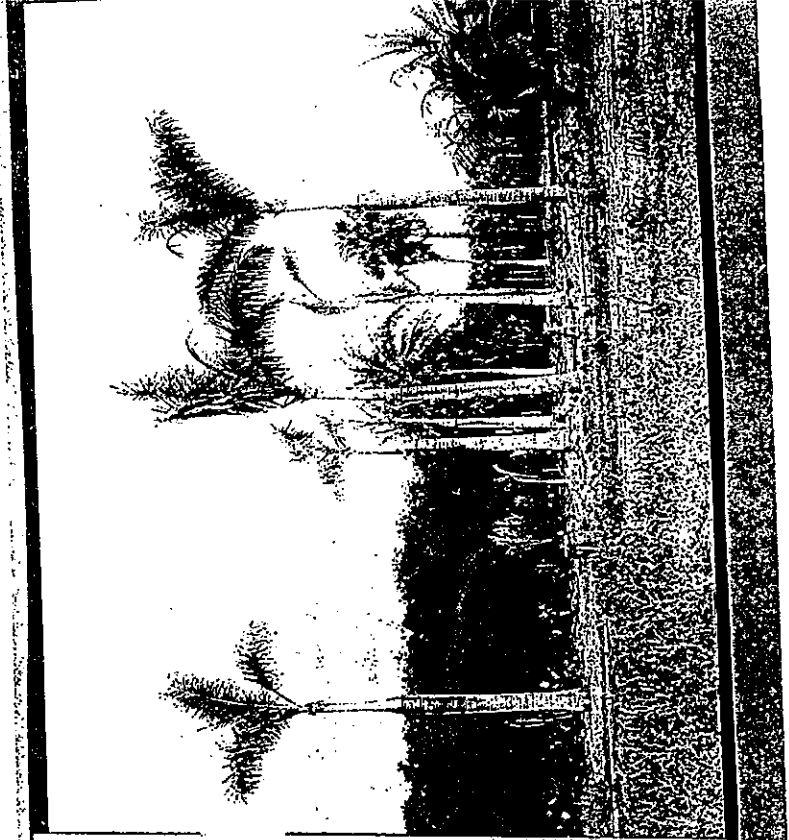
Specimens of palms recently arrived
from Buena Vista.

Raining at time photo was taken

May 1925.

Photo by J. R. Small

(FSA)



2261 - (See 2222 - 2223)

In Palm plantation, Cutler, Florida.
Specimens of palms moved from
Buenos Vista - Raining at time
photo was taken.

May 1925. Photo by J. T. Small
(FSA)



To the Register of the Land Office at *St Augustine Fla*

Under the provisions of the Act of Congress approved on the 4th day of August, A. D. 1842, entitled "An act to provide for the armed occupation and settlement of the unsettled part of the Peninsula of East Florida."

To all whom it may concern:

NOTICE is hereby given that under the provisions of the act of Congress above cited, **I, Robert R. Fletcher** do hereby apply to the Register of the proper Land Office for a **PERMIT** to settle upon **One hundred and sixty acres** of unappropriated public land, lying south of the line dividing townships numbered *nine and ten*, south of the base line, and situated as herein described.

I aver that I am *the head of a family*

and that I became a resident of Florida in the month of *June* in the year *1830*.

I aver that the settlement herein intended is not "within two miles of any permanent military post of the United States, established and garrisoned," at the time of such settlement, and that the same is not known or believed to interfere with any private claim that has been duly filed with any of the Boards of Commissioners, surveyed or unsurveyed, confirmed or unconfirmed.

DESCRIPTION OF THE INTENDED SETTLEMENT.

The intended settlement lies on the Bay of Piscaynes and on that portion of land called the Hunting ground on the opposite side of Bay from Cape Florida Light bearing south west from said light about 13 miles. The shore to which the said land lies runs about south south west and north north east commencing on the shore of said Bay from a live oak stake with stone around the same running with the shore about south north east a half mile thence at right angles with said line a half mile, and thence to the place of beginning as a square and contain one hundred and sixty acres of land.

Given under my hand this 26th of June A.D. 1843. R. R. Fletcher

foregoing
I SWEAR that the statements herein made are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Sworn before me, an acting Justice of the Peace for East Florida,

this 26th day of June A. D. 1843

(Signed)
R. R. Fletcher

(Signed) W. C. Maloney, J.P.

I, *R. R. Fletcher* being a settler in Florida on the 4th August, 1842, and being about to apply to the proper authority for the benefit of the act of Congress approved on the day aforesaid, entitled "An Act to provide for the armed occupation and settlement of the unsettled part of the Peninsula of East Florida," do hereby declare on oath, that I am not the owner of one hundred and sixty acres of land.

Sworn and subscribed to, before me, an acting Justice of the Peace for East

Florida, this 26th day of June A. D. 1843

(Signed)

(Signed) W. C. Maloney, J.P.

R. R. Fletcher

Territory of Florida,
COUNTY OF ST. JOHN.

Land Office at St. Augustine, E. F.

I do hereby certify, that *W. C. Maloney* was on the 26th day of June A. D. 1843, and is now a Justice of

the Peace for Monroe County

duly commissioned and sworn.

GIVEN under my hand this 31st day of July

July

A. D. 1843

W. W. Simmons
Register.

We certify, That we have compared the foregoing with the original notice on file, and it agrees therewith.

GIVEN under our hands this

31 day of *July*

A. D. 1843

W. W. Simmons
Register.

Geo. W. Cole
Receiver.

To the Register of the Land Office at *St Augustine FL*
Under the provisions of the Act of Congress approved on the 4th day of August, A. D. 1842,
entitled "An act to provide for the armed occupation and settlement of the unsettled part of
the Peninsula of East Florida."

To all whom it may concern:

NOTICE is hereby given that under the provisions of the act of Congress above cited,

I, *Antonio Gualdo*
do hereby apply to the Register of the proper Land Office for a PERMIT to settle upon *One*
hundred and sixty acres of unappropriated public land, lying south of the line dividing town-
ships numbered *nine and ten*, south of the base line, and situated as herein described.

I aver that I am *the head of a family* -

am
and that I ~~became~~ *became* a resident of Florida in the month of *and lived at St Augustine*
in the year *as the time of the exchange of flags and had resided*
in the territory of Florida long before and ever since the same was ceded to the
United States.

I aver that the settlement herein intended is not "within two miles of any permanent mili-
tary post of the United States, established and garrisoned," at the time of such settlement, and
that the same is not known or believed to interfere with any private claim that has been duly
filed with any of the Boards of Commissioners, surveyed or unsurveyed, confirmed or uncon-
firmed.

DESCRIPTION OF THE INTENDED SETTLEMENT.

The intended settlement lies on the Bay of Ponce de Leon and
on that portion of the country called the Hunting Ground, on the
opposite side of the Bay from Cape Florida Light House, bearing
nearly south west from said light and distant about 13 miles,
the shore of the said Bay on which the said land lies runs
nearly, south south west and north north east commencing on
the shore of said Bay from a certain stake with stone bound
the same north north east of and adjoining land applied
for by Francis A Mabry, and running said course from
said stake a half mile thence at right angles a half mile
and thence to the place of beginning so as to make a
square of one hundred and sixty acres of land.

Given under my hand this 27th Day of
June A.D. 1843. A Gualdo -

No 269.
A Geraldo -
Filed
July 20th 1843.

Annulled Notice
originally formal &
not corrected. —

270
To the Register of the Land Office at *St Augustine*
Under the provisions of the Act of Congress approved on the 4th day of August, A. D. 1842,
entitled "An act to provide for the armed occupation and settlement of the unsettled part of
the Peninsula of East Florida."

To all whom it may concern:

NOTICE is hereby given that under the provisions of the act of Congress above cited,

I, *Arnold A. Mahaly*
do hereby apply to the Register of the proper Land Office for a PERMIT to settle upon *One*
hundred and sixty acres of unappropriated public land, lying south of the line dividing town-
ships numbered *nine* and *ten*, south of the base line, and situated as herein described.

I aver that I am *the head of a family*

and that I became a resident of Florida in the month of *July* by *Birth & lived there*
in the year *as the exchange of flags & ever since*

I aver that the settlement herein intended is not "within two miles of any permanent mili-
tary post of the United States, established and garrisoned," at the time of such settlement, and
that the same is not known or believed to interfere with any private claim that has been duly
filed with any of the Boards of Commissioners, surveyed or unsurveyed, confirmed or uncon-
firmed.

DESCRIPTION OF THE INTENDED SETTLEMENT

The intended settlement lies on the Bay of *Key Biscayne*
and on that portion of the country called the *Hoaming*
Ground, on the opposite side of the Bay from *Cape*
Florida Light house, bearing nearly, or about, *west*
west from said light and distant about 15 miles
the shore of the said Bay on which the land lies
runs about south south west, and north north east,
commencing on the shore of said Bay from a certain
stake with stones around the same, north north east
of and adjoining land applied for by *R. W. Hatcher*
Esquire and running said course from said stake a
half mile thereat at right angles for half mile and

The party filing this Notice will sign his name at the conclusion of the description of the land intended to be applied for, affixing the
proper date to the same—the description to be continued if necessary, on the following page—the diagram of the survey of the land intended to be
settled upon may be attached to, and form part of, this Notice. The statements herein made are to be sworn to by the applicant before a Justice of

thence to the place of beginning road to make a square of one hundred and sixty acres of land. Given under my hand this 27th day of June 1843. Francis A. Mabity

I swear that the statements herein made are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Sworn before me, an acting Justice of the Peace for East Florida,

this 27th day of June A. D. 1843

(Signed) Francis A. Mabity

(Signed) W. C. Maloney, J.P.

I, Francis A. Mabity — being a settler in Florida on the 4th August, 1842, and being about to apply to the proper authority for the benefit of the act of Congress approved on the day aforesaid, entitled "An Act to provide for the armed occupation and settlement of the unsettled part of the Peninsula of East Florida," do hereby declare on oath, that I am not the owner of one hundred and sixty acres of land.

Sworn and subscribed to, before me, an acting Justice of the Peace for East

Florida, this 27th day of June A. D. 1843

(Signed) Francis A. Mabity

(Signed) W. C. Maloney, J.P.

212
 To the Register of the Land Office at *St Augustine Fla*
 Under the provisions of the Act of Congress approved on the 4th day of August, A. D. 1842,
 entitled "An act to provide for the armed occupation and settlement of the unsettled part of
 of the Peninsula of East Florida."

To all whom it may concern:

NOTICE is hereby given that under the provisions of the act of Congress above cited,
 I, *John C. Walter*
 do hereby apply to the Register of the proper Land Office for a PERMIT to settle upon *One*
hundred and sixty acres of unappropriated public land, lying south of the line dividing town-
 ships numbered *nine and ten*, south of the base line, and situated as here in described.

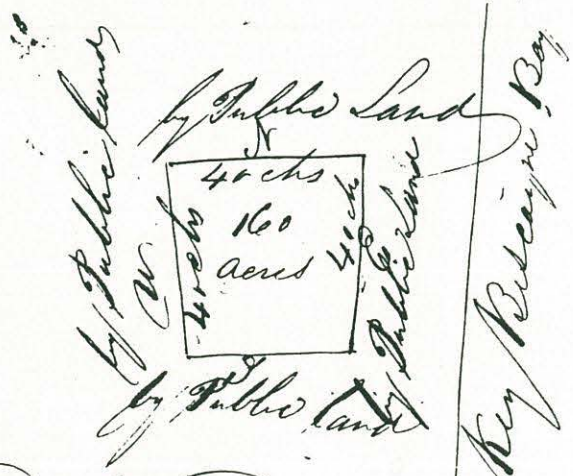
I aver that I am *the head of a family and able to*
bear arms -

and that I became a resident of Florida in the month of *October*
 in the year *eighteen hundred and forty* -

I aver that the settlement herein intended is not "within two miles of any permanent mili-
 tary post of the United States, established and garrisoned," at the time of such settlement, and
 that the same is not known or believed to interfere with any private claim that has been duly
 filed with any of the Boards of Commissioners, surveyed or unsurveyed, confirmed or uncon-
 firmed.

DESCRIPTION OF THE INTENDED SETTLEMENT.

Situated at North creek about twelve
miles S. W. of Key Biscayne, on a Hammock
and bounded on all sides by Public Land



Signed
John C. Walter

Land Office at St. Augustine, E. F.

I do hereby certify, that *R R Fletcher* was on
the *26th* day of *July* A. D. 1843, and is now a Justice
of the Peace for *Monroe County*
duly commissioned and sworn.

GIVEN under my hand this *31st* day of *July* A. D. 1843

W H Simmons
Register.

We certify, That we have compared the foregoing with the original notice on file,
and found it to agree therewith.

GIVEN under our hands this *31st* day of *July* A. D. 1843

W H Simmons
Register.

Geo W Cole
Receiver.

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Appendix B.

Henry E. Perrine Jr., Biscayne Bay . . . Florida, 1876
Henry E. Perrine Jr., Some Eventful Years in Grandpa's Life, c. 1885:264-296

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Patience, Henry E.,

his name, 1876-77

from A.

BISCAYNE BAY,

DADE CO., FLORIDA,

Between the 25th and 26th Degrees of Latitude.

A COMPLETE

MANUAL

OF

INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CLIMATE,
SOIL, PRODUCTS, ETC., OF THE LANDS BORDERING ON
BISCAYNE BAY, IN FLORIDA.

ALBANY:
WEED, PARSONS AND COMPANY.
1876.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE information contained in the following pages has been carefully collected almost entirely by Mrs. JAMES E. WALKER, of Albany, N. Y. The facts stated are but a small portion of the large amount of material in her possession. The compiler has endeavored to give due credit to all by name whose statements are given, so that none may suppose he has either drawn upon the resources of his imagination or appropriated the ideas and language of others as his own.

HENRY E. PERRINE

June, 1876.

In our northern States there are thousands of health and pleasure seekers who every fall eagerly hasten away from comfortable and luxurious homes to escape the rigors of approaching winter. Of late years the current of travel has been constantly increasing, being directed more and more toward that portion of our country which, beyond dispute, can now claim to be more healthful and free from disease than any other section of the Union. The statistics furnished by the Surgeon-General of the United States establish this fact. He says: "The diseases which result from malaria are of a much milder type in the Peninsula of Florida than in any other State in the Union. These records show that the rates of deaths to the number of cases of remittent fever has been much less than among the troops serving in any other portions of the United States. In the middle division of the United States, the proportion is one death to thirty-six cases; in the northern, one to fifty-two; in the southern, one to fifty-four; in Texas, one to seventy-eight; in California, one to one hundred and twenty-two; in New Mexico, one to one hundred and forty-eight; while in Florida, it is but one to two hundred and eighty-seven." More will be said upon this subject.

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4

further on. The facts compiled in this little pamphlet with great care, are not intended alone for the benefit of the invalid and mere seeker of pleasure. They are to attract the attention of the large number of people who for many years have been struggling in the various avenues of business, in our cities and large towns, men whose earnings, even if large in the aggregate, have been each year swallowed up by the increased cost of living in these later days. For those who would like a home in a more genial climate, where they can, by patient industry, within from two to six years, lay the sure foundation for a permanent income, where the expenses of living are not more than about one-fourth as great as in the north, these pages will surely be of interest and will repay them for the time consumed in their perusal. The peninsula of Florida extends abruptly from the main land of the continent, in a direction a little east of south. It is nearly 400 miles in length, and has an average width of 130 miles. Its formation is peculiar. Every other peninsula in the world owes its existence to a central mountain chain, which affords a stubborn resistance to the waves. Florida has no such elevations, and mainly a loose, low, sandy soil. It has another peculiarity. It is said, that at no other point in the world do the trade winds divide, as at Cape Sable. On the one hand, passing up the east coast to the Atlantic, and on the west into the Gulf of Mexico. This it is that produces that wonderful equality of climate, that puzzles a northern man to understand, why it should be so much cooler in summer than at the north. The base of all southern Florida is limestone, not tertiary, but modern and coralline. This it is that prevents all miasma, and this decomposed limestone with its admixture of vegetable mold, makes the best soil in the United States for the introduction of tropical plants. This it is, also, that causes the difference in fertility of this soil, as compared with the siliceous sand of the more northern part of the State. Biscayne Bay is located on the south-eastern coast of Florida, between the twenty-fifth and twentieth-sixth degrees of north latitude, below the frost line, and is included within the limits of Dade county. The following facts are quoted from the "Florida Settler and Immigrants' Guide," prepared by Dennis Eagan, Commissioner of Lands and Immigration: "The climate of Dade county is exceedingly agreeable and conducive to health. The thermometer throughout the year shows a temperature of about seventy-five degrees, the extremes being fifty-one and ninety-two degrees. It is never visited by frost, and the heat in midsummer is much less oppressive than at New York or places further north, being tempered

5

by the influence of the Gulf Stream, which flows within a few miles of the coast. The water is pure and good. Many fine springs are found in different parts of the country; some of them mineral springs of considerable value. The everglades, which are within the limits of Dade county, simply consist of a shallow lake of vast extent—the water is from six inches to six feet in depth, and teems with aquatic and semiaquatic plants, which present to the eyes of the beholder a scene of perpetual verdure. Out of the surface of the lake rise innumerable small islands, which are covered over with a growth of cypress, sweet bay, crabwood, manioc, cocoa palms, cabbage palmetto, and live and water oaks. The waters abound in turtles, fish, etc. Around the margin of the everglades is a prairie, from half a mile to a mile in breadth; * * * this prairie comprises some of the richest land to be found in the United States, and has a productive capacity for every variety of vegetable life known in the tropics that is unsurpassed. * * * Between the margin of the everglades and Biscayne Bay and Barnes Sound, there is a strip of land from three to fifteen miles in breadth. It is for the most part rocky pine land, and some portions have a considerable elevation above the level of the ocean. The deposits are calcic and crystalline calcareous rock. In the vicinity of the bay the land is covered with an undergrowth of sago palm, called the coontie, probably from the Indian designation of the root. It yields an excellent article of starch, and also farina, which cannot be distinguished from Bermuda arrow root, except by the aid of the microscope. The soil is well adapted for the cultivation of sea island cotton, which is here perennial, and can be picked at almost all seasons of the year. Along the bay tobacco, equal to the best grown in Cuba, can be cultivated" (yielding from five to seven cuttings each year), "while every variety of tropical fruit can be grown successfully. The banana, plantain, coconut, guava, sapodilla, pomegranate, mamme, tamarind, pine-apple, lime, lemon, and citron. Limes are so abundant in some places that they literally cover the ground. Grapes ripen in May. The finest varieties of fig are found in great abundance. The olive tree yields an oil equal to the best of Lunca. The castor oil plant is also very productive, and the Sisal hemp of commerce, from which the best of cordage is made, is wonderfully abundant. Sugar cane grows to a great height, and ratoons from seven to ten years. The tomato gets to be a stout bush, with hard, woody stalk, and bears continually. Biscayne Bay abounds with a great variety of fish, and is also the favorite haunt of the green turtle; it here finds an

abundance of the peculiar seaweed it prefers and on which it thrives and fattens, and the water swarms with them. Key West offers a market for all that can be caught, and turtle catching, in this section, is a most lucrative employment. Sponges are very abundant, and a large trade is now carried on in Key West in this article. The sponges taken from these waters probably realize for the gatherers fifty to seventy-five thousand dollars per annum. Northern persons, in going to this section, must leave behind them all their preconceived ideas as to soil, for they will find that the above-mentioned rocky pine lands are "the very best" for the cultivation of most of the tropical fruits, but the prairie lands, to use the language of Col. M. A. WILLIAMS (the State agent for the survey and location of the lands granted to the State by the general government), "are inconceivably rich, beyond description," and are well adapted to the growth of the most exhausting crops of sugar cane and tobacco. L. D. STROKNER, says in his pamphlet on Florida, "It is a great mistake to suppose that sugar cannot be made to advantage without the investment of large capital. The cane produced on less than ten acres of ground, is usually ground in a wooden mill, which does not cost more than \$100 (generally the work of the farmer himself), while the juice is boiled in the common utensils of the kitchen, or at best, as the New England farmer manufactures his maple sugar. The yield is usually greater, in proportion to the stock worked, than where the machinery has cost ten or fifteen thousand dollars! Cane is cultivated with more ease than corn, not requiring so much hoeing. From midsummer to the time of harvesting, the hands may be employed in other business, and even at the time of taking off the crop, no great increase of hands is required, as in Louisiana or Texas, where frost prevails. One hand can cultivate six acres with the hoe, or ten to twelve with the aid of a horse and plough. At the same time he can raise other crops sufficient to subsist himself and family. Twelve hundred pounds of sugar to the acre, is an average yield, though four thousand pounds have been produced. (This refers to the yield on land further north than Biscayne Bay; it is very certain that the larger yield can be relied upon in this locality.) "The molasses is always expected to pay the expense of manufacturing." Col. M. A. WILLIAMS, while engaged in the United States survey in 1874, writes: "This country is attracting attention; those who are here (and there are several from various States, who have come since January), are perfectly delighted." WM. M. SWANN, who was with him, writes, "Biscayne Bay comes up to the preconceived idea general with strangers in

Florida. If this place (I mean the entire Bay) had a competent party to write it up as it is, into notice, the larger part of the travel and investment would undoubtedly center here." "The whole of Biscayne Bay, is far more beautiful than the scenery along the Indian river and the St. Johns." * * * * "We met here a Mr. SAXYER, ROGERS, of Omaha, seeking health, and a desirable tropical home for his family. After carefully plodding over the beaten track, the St. Johns and Indian river, he finally selected this as the Eldorado he had been seeking. Mr. ROGERS is one of the founders of the new thriving city of Omaha." Under date of May 30th, he writes: "The nights are always pleasant, calling for a blanket before morning. I must admit, that with the exception of Key Largo, I have not found mosquitoes any thing as bad on the whole, as I was led to believe." * * * * A Mr. JONES, of New York, reported to be very wealthy, says, "he has traveled over the continent of Europe two or three times; has visited all of the Islands of the Mediterranean in search of a climate favorable to his (heart) disease. He decides unequivocally in favor of the Bay, and announces his intention to buy a small tract of land, put up a splendid cottage, stock an orchard complete in every fruit suitable, have his steam yacht on hand for his convenience to travel anywhere; but his home must be here. The climate he says, is far more agreeable and delightful the year round than any he has found." He has been bounding with Mr. ADDISON for one or two seasons. We see plenty of deer, and one of our party on Sunday killed one and wounded another. Mr. NOYES brought in a live fawn and saw ten yesterday, although too shy to get a shot. Partridges are numerous. I wish I could have time to write fully on the fruits that could be grown here. Bananas, plantains, etc., the year around. The Rev. D. W. W. HESS, of Miami, Biscayne Bay, Dade county, in a speech, made before the Florida Fruit Growers Association, said: "Mr. President and gentlemen—I place myself below 'the frost line' and within a territory, the most beautiful by nature, and the most susceptible to the attentions of industrial art, probably, on the continent. It may not compare in rugged grandeur with the far West, up the canyons of the Yellowstone, or within the picturesque valleys of the Rocky mountains; but more beautiful, because with us, nature is in repose and at rest, holding in her lap the riches of a semitropical clime, adorned with the perpetual bloom of Spring, and regaled with the unceasing concerts of the oriole and mocking bird." * * * * "Who can do justice to that climate?"

The sick are restored to health, the poor may speedily become rich by industry. * * * While borne upon every breeze is the balmy health giving breath of the Gulf Stream." Broussin in one of his rhapsodies, speaks of being "intoxicated with eternity." The sentiment seems vague and almost unnatural, but whoever casts himself into the eddying blessings of the climate of which I speak, will, if he have a spark of sentiment, forgive the poet's license. The rheumatic and the consumptive, with ordinary care, lose their ailments with us. Eighteen months ago, one came from the hyperborean regions of the North, lame and almost despairing. He was accompanied with crutches. A few months enabled him to throw them aside, and to-day you would rejoice to take a tramp with him through the Coontie forest, or better still a sail in his boat upon the bosom of the Bay of Biscayne. He is well. Rheumatism and my friend have parted company, and his crutches are the relics of a past age. The climate suits the consumptive, because rude, abrupt changes in the atmosphere are almost unknown. The Gulf Stream hugs our shores so devotedly that from the North, North-east, East, Southeast and South, no chill can obtrude upon us. The strongest breeze is tempered with a warm and genial spirit. It is impossible to conceive of a more perfect climate, taking it all in all. Of course we have plenty of sunshine, and hot sunshine too; but with the sunshine comes the breeze, and not a day in the whole year need be lost on account of the heat. * * * If the soil is thin, for the most part it is very rich and yields abundantly. The rock is near the surface when it does not protrude and is soft, nutritious to plants, and otherwise valuable and useful. "What will grow there?" Every thing that I see about me in this hall except discontent! (The platform on which the gentleman stood was covered with various fruits: oranges, lemons, limes, citrons, bananas, and many varieties of vegetables.) This looks like home. I see familiar things, but miss more than I recognize! I think I must yield the palm to you in oranges, but in all other varieties of *citrus*, you must take a back seat. Our guava is a royal heritage, only we have not yet found how to market them. We have about twenty varieties and thousands upon thousands of bearing trees. The fruit delicious to a cultivated taste fresh from the tree, while every housewife in the land, and every lover of sweets, can descend with eloquence upon the marmalades and jellies made of this desirable fruit. The tree is hardy with us, and will take care of and propagate itself, and is on terms of great cordiality

with our rocky plantations. It should bear in three years. Ours is the natural country of the lime, lemon and citron; children of a common stock. We have several varieties of the lime. The trees are of rapid growth, constant bearers, very prolific, subject to no disease, and very tenacious of life. The fruit is large, "How large?" as a Sicily lemon. I consider the lime as profitable as the orange, and more so, with us. It should be cultivated for *citric acid*, of which it yields more than any other fruit. The lime will come when our part of Florida will supply citric acid to the world. A peck of limes will yield a gallon of juice; one and a half gallons of juice should produce one pound of citric acid, which in the markets of the world should bring \$1.25 in gold. * * * Lime trees will bear in three years and can be planted as thick as black-berry bushes, but to cultivate them, they should be eight to ten feet apart. Too much attention can not be given to this matter. Citric acid is a commodity always, everywhere, and increasingly in demand. The lime belt is narrow and limited. Ours is the most productive in the world. The limes are larger than those of any other country and the percentage of acid is perceptibly greater. Fortunes await in this department of industry alone, and the outlay of money to get a start is insignificant compared to the planting of an orange grove. Ours is the country of the palm and the coconut. The tree grows with us enormously and bears continuously. They are meat and drink in a thirsty land. Then we have the *guava* and *manuce apple*, fruits one soon becomes familiar with, after which, intimacy is never interrupted. But the *sugar apple* is, from my point of view and experience, the choicest of all. There is nothing comparable to it. "Exquisite" is a nice word, and oranges, mango, manuce, avocado pear, pine-apple, banana, are names, the bare mention of which sets one's mouth watering, but gentlemen, they are all, compared with the sugar apple, common things! I can give you no adequate idea of it, and I will not attempt to put my experience of its lusciousness into mere English, for after all is said that may be said, the apple itself must be seen, hauled (very tender) and eaten when, gentlemen, you must come down to Dade to eat the proof of my words. (Some one in the audience; can't you sugar apple is to eat it. Second, some one would be sure to capture it on the way. Third, it must be eaten where it grows. (Solon Broussin — How does it taste?) Ah! my friend, ask the lover how the pure kiss of adoration tastes, and he will describe it accurately. The fruit immortalizes our country, and a true description of its

deliciousness, its creamy, frosted sweetness, its fragrance beneath the dimpled protecting ring will immortalize its author. Of the alligator pear, I need not speak at large. They are brought in large quantities to Key West from Cuba every year, and readily sell at from forty to seventy-five cents per dozen. They grow well with us. The fruit is large, and love of it is acquired; but once truly relished, bread is at a discount. Ours is the banana's own country, and shortly this delicious and valuable fruit will receive a large share of our attention. The *pine-apple* belongs to us; nothing grows better. It is peculiarly adapted to our rock soil, and will thrive and bear fruit if a hole is made in the soft rock for its accommodation. Our soft rock is admirably adapted for building purposes. It is easily worked but soon hardens when exposed to the sun and air, and then coheres like public plunder! When burned it is first-rate for lime and mortar, and also a fertilizer." Mr. ITOKS in answer to the question, whether he would advise emigration, said, "yes; but I would advertise to all, that it is no country for a lazy man without means. A man with money to keep him in necessities for a couple of years could get a paying start and so on to fortune. Industry pays quite as well there as in any part of the globe." R. M. BACINE, of Philadelphia, author of "The Young Wrecker of the Florida Reef," writes: "The climate of Biscayne Bay, like that of all the Reef, is wonderfully equable and pleasant, insular in its character, rarely oppressively hot in the shade, and during most of the year leaving nothing to be desired regarding enjoyability, the only trying weather being an occasional 'norther.' Fish as well as turtle, are abundant, and game of various kinds on the land. The impressions I have about the soil, is that it is very fertile; I do not see how, from its formation, it could be otherwise." CAPT. GIBBS, of Buffalo, N. Y., writes from Biscayne Bay, under dates of March 14th and April 7th, and 25th, 1876 (to his wife and Mr. J. P. THURMEL): "I am in love with this country; the climate is simply everything that is beautiful, it is all and more than all that has been said of it. There has never been a crop of agave that I can hear of. I do not wish to come back, and shall not if you will come down here. I have not had an ache, pain, cough or sneeze, since I have been here." (He left Buffalo with a bad cough.) "Two men can raise more stuff, off from ten acres of land here, than four times the number can from a hundred acres in the North. With irrigation in the winter season, there is no end to the growth of everything. Squashes (they call them pumpkins here) once planted, grow forever. Sweet potatoes the same, and

many other things." * * * There is a man from Orange county, who says the pine land here is better than in Orange county, and he is coming down to settle, this side of New River, so as to get below the frost line. * * * Bermuda grass grows luxuriantly. I have seen it on both pine and hammock lands. You can have green peas, new potatoes, cabbage, onions, etc., every month in the year, they had them at Christmas and New Years." Capt. GIBBS proposes to plant on the place he has purchased on the Bay, ten thousand coconut trees, which are expected to bear in six years, and will require no care whatever, save to be fenced in for protection from stock while growing. One hundred nuts to the tree (which is only one fourth what may be expected when in full bearing) would give a pretty fair income, at the lowest price \$15.00 per thousand, paid on the ground by buyers. DANIEL G. BRINTON, A. M., M. D., in his book for tourists, and invalids, ("Florida and the South"), says of Biscayne Bay: "Undoubtedly the finest winter climate in the United States, both in point of temperature and health, is to be found on the Southeastern coast of Florida. It is earnestly to be hoped, for the sake of invalids, that accommodations along the shore at Key Biscayne, and at the mouth of the Miami, will prove long be provided. While it is the very best, it could also be made the most accessible part of the sea coast of Florida, as the whole journey from the North could be made by water. Game as deer, bear, turkeys, etc., etc., very abundant in the pine woods, which extend along the coast, and fish swarms in countless numbers in the bay. Turtle of the finest kinds can be caught on the islets off the shore. Oysters are plentiful. The abundance of game on the shore ridge from Cape Sable to Miami, led it to be chosen as a favorite spot of resort by the Indians, and it is still distinctively known as the 'Hunting Grounds.'" Dr. BRINTON continues on page one hundred and twenty-eight of his book, "and these are the words of Dr. R. F. STANSON, U. S. A., writing about Fort Dallas, on the Miami. The very spot I have been maintaining approaches the nearest, the model climate for consumptives; I have been on duty at most of the posts in Florida, but none compares with this for salubrity. The sea coast of south east Florida, therefore fulfills the four conditions which make up the best climate for a consumptive. I have other testimony about it, well worth presenting. It, too, comes from the same unimpeachable source, the medical statistics of the United States Army. We are inquiring particularly about throat and lung complaints. These army statistics are here of immense importance. They specify the

diseases of each station. I have taken these four. Consumption (phthisis pulmonalis), bronchitis, inflammation of the lungs (pneumonia) and pleurisy; and have ascertained their relative frequency at various points in the South. Here are the results, omitting frictions. In Arkansas, each year, one man in every sixteen came under the surgeons hands, with one or the other of these diseases; on the southern frontier of Texas, also one in sixteen; at Baton Rouge, La., one in seventeen; on the western frontier in Texas, one in nineteen; on the west coast of Florida, one in twenty-one; on the east coast of Florida, one in thirty-nine. This is confirmation strong indeed. Even in the favored northwest we may look in vain for any thing equal to it. The sick reports of St. Paul, Minn., show one in every nineteen, yearly treated for these complaints. * * * * All that is needed to make it one of the most eligible spots in the South for the invalid or the tourist, are a few well-kept, moderate priced hotels and weekly steamers. * * * * I have already detailed at some length the position, soil, etc., of Biscayne Bay, but as already said, I build for the future, and not the present. *It has the best warm climate in the United States for invalids and it deserves to become a much frequented resort.*" The reader will bear in mind that Biscayne Bay is between the same degrees of latitude as that of the Island of New Providence, on which Nassau is situated.

THE PERRINE GRANT—BISCAYNE BAY.

The facts embraced in the preceding pages, apply to various portions of Biscayne Bay. Before condensing the reports of Col. WILLIAMS and Mr. Wm. M. SWAN, in regard to their survey of the land in 1874, it may be well to explain to the reader the history of the "Perrine grant." Dr. HENRY PERRINE, while United States Consul, at Campeche, in Yucatan, in 1827, received a circular from RICHARD RUSSELL, Secretary of State, under JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, commencing as follows: "The President of United States is desirous of causing to be introduced into the United States, all such trees and plants from other countries, not heretofore known in the United States, as may give promise under proper cultivation, of flourishing and becoming useful, as well as superior varieties of such as are already cultivated here. To this end I have his instructions to address myself to you, invoking your aid to give effect to the plan he has in view, etc., etc." In obedience to that circular, Dr. PERRINE devoted nine years of his life to collecting and transmitting to the United States, the valuable plants and seeds of the tropics, a

list and description of which will be found in the printed reports of Congress in 1838. Upon his return to this country Congress granted to him a township of land to be located in Florida, below the twenty-sixth degree of north latitude. In 1840, while engaged in the cultivation and domesticating these plants upon the islands of Indian Key and Matacumb, preparatory to their removal to the township after the Seminole war should cease, an attack was made upon Indian Key by the Indians, in overwhelming force. Dr. PERRINE with others was killed, his family, after a concealment of nine hours in the water under a wharf, during which time their house was plundered and burned within a few feet of their place of retreat, and after miraculously escaping death from both infection and fire, providentially escaped from the Island in a boat which the Indians were loading with plunder from a store. Congress in 1841, by a supplementary act, gave to the family of Dr. PERRINE the same rights before granted to him. Among the most valuable of the many plants introduced by him into Florida, was the *Agave Sarcocolla*, (the important Hemp of commerce) * * * growing now in great abundance in many localities, and especially on Key West and Key Vaca, as well as on the lands bordering upon Biscayne Bay. The township was duly located in accordance with the conditions of the grant. Owing to various causes beyond their control, but little has been done by the family toward effecting a settlement of this valuable tract. It is their intention now to offer such favorable inducements to settlers as will bring together a goodly sized colony in this favored locality. So much of the land at and near the Miami, (the northern portion of the bay), being held under old Spanish titles, has made an undisputed title an impossibility, and prevented settlers from locating. The "Perrine grant," being direct from the United States, cannot be disputed. It will be seen by the letters given hereafter from the surveyors, (Col. WILLIAMS and Mr. SWAN), that they are candid and impartial witnesses. They have in their surveys been all over the land, and in their report give the worst side as well as the best. Col. M. A. WILLIAMS, under date of Aug. 6, 1875, writes: "I have in my surveys been upon every part of the 'Perrine grant.' It commences at a point on the west side of Biscayne Bay, about opposite to the best inlet to the bay from the sea, and I think about two or three hundred yards of the shore at an exceedingly rich and beautiful locality upon the chain. This particular place is settled upon by a man named ADRIANSON, and embraces some two or three

hundred acres of excellent lands. There is a large quantity of high land (that is high for that country). In this grant there are in many places, small hammocks which are exceedingly rich, there are also passing through the claim several savannas, through which in wet seasons the water passes from the Everglades to the sea. The face of the country is exceedingly rocky, rocky beyond anything that you will imagine, but the climate is pleasant and healthy, and the mosquitoes not at all troublesome during the winter months. The Miami and the country adjacent upon the bay is similar in all respects to the Perrine claim, probably not quite so rocky, but my favorite place upon the bay is the ADDISON place upon the Perrine grant. There is a beautiful sand beach in front of this section upon the bay, and it extends South for a mile, probably a mile and a half. Labor is scarce, it would be best to take it along, the same of house servants. There is timber enough for all building purposes, if there were saw-mills. The country is remarkably healthy, and the climate in winter and spring cannot be excelled, it is pleasant even in summer. It is attractive, and will doubtless be well populated at no distant day. (If it is a splendid game country upon the Perrine grant. The water is pure and good. At the ADDISON place there are some very remarkable springs, some of them mineral. Mr. W. A. SWAN, under date of April 10, 1876, writes, in answer to the question, what time is the best for northerners to come to the bay? "The charm and chief merit of this locality is its equability of climate. The months of May and June I was at and near ADDISON'S; there was no night that I did not use my blanket, and frequently my double blanket, and I learned from all sources that the only perceptible difference in the seasons was more northerly in the winter months; they usually last about three days. Hence I would say any season was desirable. Of course it is hot, but the constant sea breeze makes it invariably pleasant. The bay is the sanitarium, so to speak, where the garrison at Key West was sent every year to avoid yellow fever, and if it were made accessible, I do not see that there would be any comparison between it and Long Branch and Newport in regard to the natural attractions and advantages. And here should be the location of the "National Botanical Garden," referred to in the pamphlet I sent you to-day. At Addison's you can wade out half a mile before you get overhead, over a bottom of clean, white, smooth polished rock, and certainly no more delightful bathing can be found winter or summer. There is nothing in the masses of

rotted seaweed, grass, etc., that line the shores of this entire region, and Indian River, to create malaria. At least the same is found wherever our troops were located, and they never got sick from any such cause. Besides, if a settlement were made, this mass would soon be utilized by applying to fruit trees, gardens, etc. Our tents were pitched upon beds of it, and the only injurious results, if any, were increased voracity of appetite! Added to the natural beauty of the bay, are the colors of the water, from the transparent crystal to every shade of the rainbow. The latter is produced from alternate banks of sea-grass, sea-weed, minute shells and black and brown rock. Game is abundant. Except the ten days we were in the everglades, we were hardly ever without fresh venison and fish, and soft-shell turtle always. On the bay, salt water fish of all varieties; mullet, bass, trout, sicephed, carvalho, pompino, grunts, flounders, and in a pretty little creek of fresh water that runs into and out of Addison's hammock (and which is the water station supplying the Keys above and below in dry seasons), can be found bream, trout, etc. At Black Point, about twelve miles below (I believe) may be found any quantity of large fat oysters and clams, the largest I ever saw; Col. WILLIAMS says the best he "ever ate." In speaking of other attractions for the mere tourist or invalid, Mr. W. says: "A sail also over to the light-house, among the coconut and other fruit trees, then up to the north end of the bay, 15 or 25 miles; or stop at Miami River. At the mouth of the river are two of the finest locations in the world. The site of old Fort Dallas, with its fields of guavas, bananas and coconuts, that fringe the shore, in all stages from the bud to the ripe fruit." * * * In the four months time we were in the vicinity of the bay, in and through hammock, marshes, prairie, or otherwise, we did not see a rattlesnake, nor did we see but three moccasins. The presence of so many deer and hogs, who are their natural enemies, may account for this." Mr. SWAN also writes: "It is not usually known the full maturity, size and flavor of the Florida pine-apple, as compared with those of other markets, such as the Bahamas, etc. A judicious placing in market of the Florida pine-apple and banana, would secure for them a preference over all else, and establish a reputation that would enhance their value, and stimulate their production to a great degree, as well as bringing this portion of the State into that prominence which its merits so demand." Again he writes: "They tell me here that two men, with mule and cart, usually make one hundred dollars per month, gathering and preparing the coconuts for market. One hand gathers twelve barrels of the nuts, which makes

about one and a third barrels of marketable coontie or what is known as Florida arrow-root. The roots much resemble the Rutabaga turnip. It is washed and ground, then put in a stand, and water applied, stirred thoroughly and left to settle about two hours, or until the starch "thick as soft cheese" settles to the bottom. Then draw off all the water and change to another stand, separating the light coontie which collects on the top, leaving the pure article in the first stand, to which sufficient water should be added to give a consistency thin enough to facilitate its passage through the finest sieve or strainer. Place it in dryers containing twenty-five pounds each. In two days of good weather it is ready for market. The refuse or "mash" is fed to stock: horses, hogs, poultry, all thrive well upon it. By boiling the skimmings, a substance as hard as bread is produced, which keeps well, and fattens hogs for market as readily and as well as corn." A small saw mill is also suggested on the point of economy, if nothing else, that you might have your own lumber sawed on the spot, for your cottages, besides the necessary boards for palling, wharf, etc., thereby saving the risk and freight in shipments either from Jacksonville, Key West or New York. As I before mentioned, lumber is from thirty to fifty dollars per thousand at Key West, and you could manufacture and sell all the Miami as well as on the Keys. Timber (pitch pine, no sap) is abundant, and right at hand. Attachments could also be fixed for running coontie, sugar, and grist mills. A great drawback to settlers will be the inconvenience of procuring lumber. When the war in Cuba is closed a great demand will spring up for cross ties; and as this is the nearest point to Cuba (about 200 miles) a decided advantage is gained by a party engaging in the business here. The quantity is inexhaustible and just the size suitable for this business. A small stock of goods, would be indispensable, as the nearest store is at Miami, and it would pay in supplying the large number of small coasters, spongers, etc., almost constantly in the Cove; coming in for water, etc., as also for the convenience of the laborers and settlers on the mainland and Keys. Everything in the line of poultry, eggs, vegetables and fruit, finds a ready market at Key West." In compiling the foregoing facts there may appear to be something like repetition; but it is owing to the endeavor to give reliable testimony, which is of course cumulative in its nature; and being from different and disinterested persons, touches upon the same point oftentimes. One objective point is to induce, if possible, a goodly number of families of culture and refinement, who

are desirous of seeking new homes to join us in forming a settlement upon our grant. We do not wish any to go who expect that there will be no discomforts to encounter, or that they can at once step into the enjoyments of all the comforts of a luxurious home without working for them. Neither should any go (unless in the employ of others) who have not sufficient means to enable them to procure supplies for their own subsistence for at least one or two years. The larger capital one has, the sooner of course, he can place himself in a pleasant home and lay the foundation for future competence. Intelligent and well directed industry in the cultivation of any one of the staples mentioned, viz: sugar cane, sea island cotton, tobacco, and coontie, will yield quicker returns than tropical fruits. The banana, pine apple, and fig, can be relied on to commence bearing in from eighteen months to two years from setting out, so that thereafter there will be an assured income from those delicious fruits alone. Limes, lemons, oranges, tamarind and coconuts require longer delay, but when once in full bearing there can be no surer or more permanent source of income than these. Grapes also thrive most luxuriously. In the Everglades upon the islands grow large, luscious, tender grapes, which, by cultivation, would become an important article of commerce. It is believed that all of the varieties of our hot-house grapes can be cultivated in this latitude with great success.

As an inducement to settlers, we will, to each of the first thirty-five families (who will in October or November of this year, locate themselves upon our land with a view to permanent settlement), donate twenty acres of land free of charge, save the condition of erecting a dwelling place thereon, and agreeing to cultivate at least one useful tropical plant. For others who desire to engage largely in the cultivation of the staples named, and who wish to purchase larger tracts of land for that purpose, we will give information as to terms, etc., on application to us. We will also dispose of a limited number of lots, of one and two acres each, at "Perrine," the most eligible location on the bay for a town, called at present Addison's Landing. Both for those who expect to make permanent homes for themselves, and those who wish for winter residences in the South, this is a most favorable opportunity to procure building sites at reasonable rates. None will be sold unless on condition that a neat and substantial house shall be erected thereon within one year from date of purchase. When it is remembered that in addition to the other advantages, the temperature of this favored spot is so equable that it does not vary in some years more than

twenty-five degrees, its advantages as a resort for invalids will be evident.

All communications in regard to this land can be addressed

to

HENRY E. PERRINE,
602½ Main Street, Buffalo, N. Y., or to

JAMES E. WALKER,
736 Broadway, Albany, N. Y.



and Sander's Keys, we can make out in the distance to the right of our course the Ragged Keys and Soldier's Key; the latter is directly east of our place of destination, and distant from it about eight miles. Beyond we can see Cape Florida light house very plainly and the tops of a few graceful palm trees.

11 A. M. We are slowly nearing the long looked for landing place. It bears no resemblance to my previous expectations concerning it. We can just catch a glimpse of the roof of Addison's house through the trees. A small island covered with mangroves, and having but a short stretch of sandy beach stands about three quarters of a mile to the northeast from the landing. To the north of the landing place appears a dense hammock with mangroves covering a point of land in front of it, while to the southward appears a long stretch of pine woods. In front of this is a sandy beach only about a quarter of a mile in length. A few palm trees show their feathery tops near the house. Our anchor is dropped nearly half a mile from shore in about six feet of water, and in a few minutes a sail boat is on the way to us in which we see the Palmyra boys who give us a warm welcome. They profess to have had a good time shooting quail and other game, and have also luxuriated upon venison bought from some Indians that had camped out near Addison's. It being the Sabbath the Captain postponed unloading our goods and the lumber which I had purchased for the floor of my tent, until the next day. The water is so shallow near the beach that we would have had to wade were it not for the small skiff into which we stepped from the boat. Mr. Addison, who had lived here for the past fifteen years or more, met me with a cordial greeting. He seems to be a very good-hearted man, but illiterate. His house is about two hundred and fifty feet back from the beach, and to reach it we had to pass over a corduroy road which is built across a salt marsh, which extends in width perhaps a hundred feet to the pine ridge beyond. This can easily be made a good road by dumping one or two hundred loads of loose rock and sand upon it. Mr. Addison's home consists of a very ordinary log kitchen, about fifteen feet square, with a verandah on the north side of it; and a rough board building about

the same size, containing one room, located about ten feet in front, between the kitchen and the Bay. His wife reminded me of some of the characters in a novel by Wilkie Collins; she is tall, thin, very pale, and has long wavy hair, has a kindly face and shows evidence of good nature and refinement than her husband.

It was for me with my limited command of language an attempt to describe the surroundings so as to give you an adequate idea of the country. I must confess, although it was delightful to look around upon the luxuriance of semi-tropical growth, and to breathe the balmy air of our new home, yet when we took a walk through the pine woods, and found that ever where the rock was near the surface, and the surface itself so thickly strewn with large fragments and outcrops, such as they were, had to wind in that out to avoid them; and in every direction the scrub palmetto among the trees, the sight was anything but encouraging. There was no place among the pines where a plough could be used. However, there was a real cut through a part of the hammock, at the end of which we found an open space of about two acres which had been cleared by the expenditure of a vast amount of toil; and there two-thirds of the clearing showed a dark and apparently rich loam. The field itself was well overgrown with weeds of large size. Near the entrance were half a dozen lime trees, which filled the air with a fragrant perfume. Some of them had been prostrated by the hurricane. Nearly all the fruit had been whipped off by the wind. At the north-west corner of this enclosure we crossed the fence into another small field where bananas had been growing; and there again was seen the destructive force of the wind; the plants prostrate, or standing with dead leaves and destitute of fruit. The soil there was sandy, and the ground, plants, and fences overrun with the Morning Glory vines, which are a perfect nuisance here, requiring a vast amount of labor to clear them away.

Retracing our steps to the first field we crossed the fence about the middle of the north side, and were guided through the hammock by a very devious path, pushing aside branches, and climbing over obstructions until we reached another and larger banana field than the last. This, too, showed the effects of the hurricane.

and also the need of persistent labor, to clear off the luxuriant growth of weeds. A small portion of the field was devoted to raising sweet potatoes. Beyond this enclosure, to the northward, a short walk through the hammock brought us to the open pine woods facing the Bay. Between the woods and the Bay lay a space of salt marsh about one hundred and twenty yards wide. The line in front of the hammock, and inward from the point in front of the hammock, and after a stretch of perhaps a quarter of a mile northerly, then bearing away nearly east to a point nearly as far out as the small island referred to before, and distant from it about three hundred yards. From the point spoken of as being in front of the hammock issue two streams of fresh water from among the mangroves; at one of these the spongers, who frequent the Bay in search of sponges, often obtain their supply of drinking water. At various places near our first place of landing, springs of fresh water well up through the salt water, so that it is possible by placing an open cask in the sand, with the top above the surface of the Bay, to obtain the best of all beverages uncontaminated by the surrounding brine. This water comes through underground crevices in the rock from the Everglades.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The morning after our arrival our provisions and baggage were landed in a boat, but the lumber was cast overboard to float ashore; a method which I did not approve, but it could not well be avoided. Mr. Addison told me to erect my tent wherever I thought best. There was but little choice, for it seemed everywhere that the surface was strewn with the oolitic rock. However, we decided upon a spot about a hundred feet from his house; and after clearing and leveling a space fifteen feet by twenty-five we set up the tent. It was a difficult job, for it seemed almost impossible to get holding ground for our wooden tent pins; the rock was so near the surface. We ought to have had big iron ones to drive into the rock. Two or three of the cords we were able to fasten to small trees or bushes. The next thing in order was to lay the floor, the lumber for which, and joists, we had to carry up from the beach on our shoulders. With so many to do the work accomplished the work and got our barrels, boxes and trunks under cover before dark. My camp stove worked well, and we made a good meal with boiled hominy, canned corn beef, bacon, soda crackers and coffee. We found that condensed milk in our coffee and tea was a good substitute for the fresh article. Mr. Addison invited me and one of the boys to sleep in his apartment until our cots, for which I had brought canvas, could be made; so after his wife had retired to their bed on one side of the room, and

the lamp had been extinguished, we, under cover of the darkness, got into the bed opposite and drawing down the mosquito bar were soon lost to our novel surroundings in refreshing sleep.

The following day we made a table, and also exercised our ingenuity in endeavoring to protect our meat, sugar, lard, etc., from the ravages of the ants. To the half barrel of sugar I nailed some short strips of wood for legs, and then set the legs in cans which I filled with water. This did very well, save for the fact that every little while some one would carelessly lean some article against the barrel, and in a short time the sugar would swarm with large black ants; necessitating emptying the whole upon newspapers and after placing the empty barrel in position once more return the sugar to its place freed from the pests which I tried to destroy as far as possible. Our tent was supported by three upright poles and the twenty-five foot ridge-pole; between these poles I stretched a rope, and by small cords suspended a basket containing daily supplies and other articles needing protection, but in a short time the "amosin little cusses" as Artemus Ward would have called them, found their way up the pole, walked along the rope and down the cords to what they conceived to be their lawful prey. I could head them off for a time by winding a rag saturated with kerosene oil around the rope or the pole, but they would wait until the oil evaporated and soon scale the barrier. I made three cots for myself and sons by sawing for each four pieces of scantling of the proper length for legs and, by fastening side and end pieces of board to them, thus made a frame upon which I stretched and tacked pieces of canvas. I felt a little proud of my carpenter work, rough as it was.

Two of the cots placed side by side were protected from the mosquitoes by one large mosquito bar, while a smaller one served for the other one.

We had to do our own cooking and washing during the greater part of the time while there. I was able to burn out very good biscuits and pancakes, and plenty of potatoes and fish with occasional steaks, and turtle steaks we fared well. Our neighbor Mrs. Addison was very kind, also, in making pies and bread for us when the boys took over the material. I built a small log kitchen just before one-half of the tent front so that by fastening back one of the flaps, a little of the heat from the camp stove might be felt inside. It was a tedious job for an apparently small one. Among the first things that seemed necessary to do were the improvement of the road to the beach, and the clearing away the bushes in front of our tent so as to get both an unobstructed view of the Bay, and also to receive the full benefit of the sea breeze during the day. One of the effects of the hurricane which I have neglected to mention was seen in a long pile of debris which had been carried inland about a hundred and fifty feet from the beach, and with this pile there had been cast ashore thousands of fish which filled the air with foul odors. Thousands of crows and hundreds of turkey buzzards gathered to the feast, and the former made the day hideous with their unceasing clamor until their scavenger work had ceased. A small schooner had been borne in over the beach and left high and dry without receiving any serious damage. It was launched again with but little trouble.

A few days after our arrival several of the young men who had expected to settle upon our land decided

to take up a claim about four miles to the north of the landing at a place called Snapper Creek. It took me somewhat by surprise at the time, as nothing had been said until they were about ready to start. I could not well blame them for not wishing to wait for the arrival of the surveyor who had been engaged to come prior to our arrival, and whom we had confidently expected to meet. I had no means in my power for locating them on different sections as had been contemplated, and it being evident that they would not wish to locate on any of the interior sections, their stay with us could not benefit us in any way. Had I known about that time that certain parties would not extend a helping hand in the way of funds and machinery, and that I must depend entirely upon a limited amount of money, I would certainly have avoided the heavy expense incurred in partially clearing off trees and trying to secure a good landing place by building a wharf of log cribs, which were to have been filled with the loose surface rocks. By so doing I expected to improve the appearance of the land as well as to prepare it for setting out fruit trees, and the cribs for the wharf would have been made solid and able to withstand the force of the waves; the small vessels which carry the mails could have loaded freight directly from their decks upon the end of the wharf. It was a great disappointment to me to have to stop the work, and then to see a hurricane sweep away the results of so much toil and expense in a few short hours.

I am not relating the events of those months exactly in the order in which they all occurred. We saw the necessity for planting seeds, so as to provide ourselves with vegetables of our own raising. Our first effort in that

line was in the banana field first described. The labor in clearing it of the huge weeds and the everywhere prevalent Morning Glory vines was immense. The soil was sandy and interspersed with rocks. We actually plowed rows, in which to plant potatoes, one of the boys and I acting as the team while Addison and the boy. I planted corn which came up nicely and grew well until at half its height it began to be destroyed by the bud worm, and was finished by horses breaking in and feasting on it. My peach pits proved a failure. Melons came up and grew well for awhile, but never amounted to anything. On one of the beds I discovered one morning the tracks, apparently, of a naked human foot, but Addison informed me that my surmise that a bear had been there was correct. Surrounded as the field was by the dense hammock it was a lonesome spot, and I often started as I heard the rustling of a dry banana leaf shaken by the breeze, and looked around to discover the cause. I was very careful to carry my trusty rifle with me, but never had occasion to use it. On another occasion in the other field, on my beds where I had planted orange, lemon, and lime seeds, I found the tracks of a large panther, but never saw the animal. This field was also thickly overgrown with weeds; in some parts the so-called weeds were bushes of such large growth that they had to be cut up by the roots with a grub hoe. I agreed with Addison to furnish the potatoes for planting and assist with the labor, he to furnish team and plow the ground, and help otherwise, and when the crop should be sold we would share equally in the results. I selected a good space for beds for onions, beets, radishes, tomatoes, cabbages, cucumbers and beans, the work upon which was almost entirely my own.

The onion seeds never came up but I had the satisfaction, after a little while, of having my garden and field of potatoes pronounced the finest ever seen in Dade County. We had plenty of vegetables to eat, but the yield of potatoes was not very satisfactory so far as having a large surplus for sale was concerned. Many of them were badly, scarred by the pestiferous ants nibbling the surface.

The only market at Key West was very uncertain, as everything in the way of produce is sold at auction on arrival. At times very good prices were obtained, and then the next shipment might go for hardly enough to pay freight. This fact was very discouraging, for it showed conclusively that without increased capital it would take many years of semi-savage life before one could hope to realize any considerable profit from his labors. And it was because I found that I could not secure the co-operation of others in supplying the necessary means for developing the property satisfactorily that I finally decided to return where I could enjoy the society of friends and the comforts of civilized life. Having thus given a condensed history of my eight months' stay at Perrineville I will recur once more to my letters of that period, and relate such incidents as may seem to be of interest to my grandchildren.

A few hundred yards back of Addison's house is a prairie which is beautiful to look at from the pine ridge and covered as it is with waving grass, but if one ventures to cross it to reach the pine woods beyond he soon finds himself wading in water of various depths; about a hundred yards away he sees a fringe of bushes and trees extending along in the prairie two or three hundred feet. During three or four months of the year one can reach the spot dry-shod, and behind that

fringe will find a sink-hole about thirty feet wide filled with clear water and adorned with lily pads on its margin. In that hole are hundreds of fish, the bream being the most numerous, but there are also many black bass which there are called trout. We had fine sport catching them, the fish biting almost as fast as we dropped in the hook. Our bait was usually a small white grub procured from under the bark of decaying trees. There was another place just over the fence from my garden spot where in the edge of the dense hammock there were deep rock holes which literally swarmed with bullheads and bream, while in a larger depression beyond were many black bass. I have never seen fish caught by hook and line so rapidly as there. While on this subject of fish it might be well for me to tell you our various experiences.

One morning when the surface of the Bay was almost as smooth as glass, we noticed near the shore what seemed like quantities of bubbles. Mr. Addison's attention being called to it, he hastened to the house for his cast net, which I will describe for your benefit. It is a net which is a complete circle in shape, twelve or thirteen feet in diameter. On the outer edge leaden bullets are fastened at short intervals to facilitate its sinking quickly in the water. In the centre a small opening is left through which a number of small lines extend to the outer rim, and these lines in turn are attached to a cord about fifteen feet in length. The fisherman taking the net up by the centre hangs a portion of it over his left arm, takes a bit of the rim between his teeth, and taking hold of the rim two or three feet each side of the part in his mouth, he first gives the net a swing behind him, and then by a dexterous swing in front he casts the net,

which spreads out in a circle upon the water and sinks to the bottom quickly; then drawing the cord towards him to which the lines are attached, the net is doubled inwards forming a bag in which the fish are safely drawn to shore. Mr. Addison waded carefully out a few yards from the beach, and throwing his net, caught at one throw over fifty fine mullets; and was nearly as successful twice more, so that the beach was covered with fish. This is an excellent panfish, and is probably the most abundant of any kind in those waters. It has many enemies, both in the water and in the air, which prey upon it. The barracouta is one of the most dreaded, for it seems constantly lying in wait, and as it suddenly darts among them the mullets leap from the water in their efforts to escape. On one occasion, so great was the number and so fierce were the attacks of their enemies, that the sound caused by their leaping was like the rush of waves upon the beach; and the appearance was similar to the crest of an incoming wave.

The barracouta is a beautiful fish, having a long and nearly round body, a long sharp-pointed head, and jaws armed with sharp teeth, which enables them to easily cut through an ordinary seine, and also to cut a heavy fish line when attached directly to the hook. They lie apparently motionless near the bottom, but almost instantaneously dart away like an arrow from a bow when disturbed. They attain a very large size; the largest one caught while we were there weighed thirty-three lbs. but I have seen one which seemed to be six feet in length. They are frequently caught trolling, but we had plenty of exciting sport when fishing for them from our wharf. A heavy line of one hundred to a hundred and fifty feet in length is used with a hook four or five inches long. The hook is attached to the line by a stout piece of

copper wire a foot or more in length. Taking a mullet eight or ten inches long, the hook is passed through the mouth and gills, and fastened about the centre of its body, then holding the coil in the left hand the fish is swung two or three times swiftly around, and, letting go on the upward turn, it can be thrown nearly the full length of line. After awhile a gentle pull may be felt, but you must wait a moment until it is evident that the lobster has turned to go away, then a swift jerk fastens the hook and the sport begins in earnest as the victim dashes wildly back and forth in long curves, as he strives to break away. Hastening along the wharf to the beach, you soon land your prize upon the sand. The flesh is white and excellent for food. Another favorite way for capturing the larger kinds of fish, is for two or more persons to take a boat at night when the tide is rising, and one standing in the bow with a long slender pole, the end of which is inserted in the socket of a fish spear, called the grains, to this spear is attached a long stout line, having the other end fastened to the boat; just behind the man in the bow is a short pole, placed in the mast hole, on the upper end of which is an iron grating, extending beyond the side of the boat, and upon which an iron grating rests filled with bits of burning pitch-pine. The light from the fire attracts the attention of the fish, as the boat is slowly pushed ahead by the aid of a pole in the hands of the man at the stern, and while the fish are gazing at the blaze, they are more easily captured than by daylight.

One evening I was seated in the centre of the boat, occasionally placing fresh fuel upon the grating, when a large barracouta was struck, the line whizzed through the boardman's hands, nearly blistering them, but after

taking out the full length of the line, the man began hauling it in hand over hand; suddenly the fish headed direct for the boat and dived underneath it, but in a few moments by a dexterous movement he was landed inside, striking against me, while I tumbled backwards over the seat, to escape his sharp teeth. A few sharp blows upon his head soon stopped his mauling.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

I had always supposed that frost was unknown in the region below 26° North latitude, but we found that idea was not supported by the fact. You may remember my telling you about one of our boxes which contained our bedding, having been sent by mistake to Fernandina from New York. After a delay of nearly a month, it reached us all right with the exception that every article of a complete chamber set which had been packed in it was broken. I have never suffered so much from the cold at night as I did there for quite a number of nights; there were heavy frosts, and the mercury went down to 33°. Lying upon our coats in the tent, with no mattresses under us, the cold struck up through the canvas, and rubber blankets, so that although we kept our clothes on and curled ourselves up under our blankets we could not get warm. I sent to Key West for some mattresses which added materially to our comfort afterwards. Addison says they have had similar frosts three times before during his residence there. The unaccustomed cold killed hundreds of fish in the bay and drove others into the deeper waters outside, so that for a time there were very few to be seen. Although suffering from the cold we had the satisfaction of knowing that for a few days we were relieved from the attacks of mosquitoes. The morning glory vines were killed which was of course a benefit; but the banana plants were cut back from their new growth.

One never failing source of pleasure for me was the beauty of the eastern sky before the rising of the sun. It needs the descriptive talent of a poet and artist to give you an adequate idea of those wonderful pictures in the clouds, which were always new and ever changing their forms. The delicacy and beauty of the colors with their various tints and shades were such as no earthly artist could rival; and I felt well repaid for early rising while enjoying the shifting scene. I could not succeed in imbuing my sons with sufficient enthusiasm to induce them to rise and share this great delight with me.

One afternoon in the latter part of November two Indians, Jumping Johnny and Cypress Tom came in on the trail from the north, bringing a quantity of venison to sell. For fifty cents they sold me a nice ham weighing eleven pounds. They were a villainous-looking pair. Each one had a plaid woolen shawl rolled up and tied around his head as a turban. Cypress Tom had no breeches on, but was attired in a shirt of respectable length. They had left their guns at Snapper Creek, but had their powder horns, shot and other pouches, and knives suspended from their waists and shoulders. Jumping Johnny had been banished from Dade County a long time for stealing. Old Tigertail and others paid up to keep him out of jail, and sent him off to Cypress Swamp. Tom appeared to be the better natured of the two. They pretended to understand but little English. As they have found possible customers, they will be likely to visit us again. As I looked upon their ugly faces I could not but think that they might possibly be the sons of some of the very men who had taken part in the Indian Key massacre of nearly forty years ago.

My attention was attracted, a few mornings after this, to a loud "squawking" from a large hen only a few feet from me, and saw the feathers flying at a great rate. I thought a coon had seized her, and started to rescue her, when, to my surprise, a large hawk let go his hold and flew away; a moment more would have missed the hen; but she escaped with two wounds from his claws.

One evening my son Harry and Will Rogers while down on the beach heard a puffing sound on the water, and the snorting or barking of what they thought must be the cubs of a bear, which they were confident they heard coming out of the water. They came up in hot haste to get Addison to go down and shoot the animal. I expressed my doubts as to the presence of a bear, for the dogs had made no sign, but we all started, Addison with his double-barreled shot gun loaded with buck-shot, Jim Allen with pistol and bowie knife, and I with my rifle. Addison, bare-headed, took the lead with his gun and dogs, but the latter still kept mum. Presently the stillness was broken by a "puff" from the bay sure enough; Addison cried out "it is only a porpoise." Then came the so-called barks, which proved to be the hoarse cry of a crane! We had a good laugh at the boys for having been so deceived.

On Christmas day, a great feast was prepared for us all by Mrs. Addison, we furnishing the materials for the most of it. I think we had fish, venison, turtle steak, sweet potatoes, and four or five kinds of pie! The table was spread on the veranda adjoining Mrs. Addison's kitchen, and ample justice was done to the fruits of her culinary skill. It had been our intention to visit Soldiers' Key during the forenoon, and

we had started with two sail boats to make the attempt, but the wind was ahead, and after sailing out two or three miles, tacking back and forth, we found that it would be impossible to reach the island, and return, until late in the day, so we reluctantly turned back.



CHAPTER XXXV

And now I must speak of the great sorrow which unexpectedly came to me, during the month of January, through the news of the death of my dearly loved mother. Although nearly seventy-five years of age, I had hoped that her life might be prolonged for at least ten years more, as she belonged to a long lived race, and that I might be able to do something for her comfort and happiness in her old age. Her children knew her sterling worth, knew of her untiring industry and struggles to give us a fair education, and also how earnestly she had desired our spiritual as well as our temporal well-being. Well might we, in the language of Solomon, "rise up and call her blessed." I thank God for having given me such a mother, for her teachings and her influence have followed me through life. I have not in all things been what she wished me to be, for I have fallen far short of that, but the thought of her and of my sister far away made me firm in my endeavors to do right when I was a young man upon the distant Pacific coast, and if I have succeeded in maintaining a good name to this time, it is owing to early home influences, under the blessing of God, and through His sustaining aid. I hope that my grandchildren who may read this story of my life, will always bear in mind this truth, that "a good name is better to be chosen than great riches," and I trust that they will resolve early in life, never to do anything

which they know would grieve their parents or bring a blush of shame upon their own cheeks. My mother's remains are buried in my lot in the beautiful Palmyra Cemetery near those of my grandparents, and in that same lot will be my final resting-place. I trust there to remain in the hope of a glorious resurrection and a blissful immortality.

About the time spoken of above, a fresh breeze had been blowing for several days from the southeast and east and had washed upon the beach an immense number of the "Portuguese Men-of-War," more than I ever saw before at one time, literally, thousands of them. Also a large number of small blue nautilus shells. I am inclined to believe that the latter is the kind from which the ancients procured the celebrated Tyrian purple, for the occupant of the shell secretes a liquid of a deep purple color. After such a blow as the one just described, one can almost always find a few sea beans upon the beach. These so-called beans are not a product of the sea as was formerly supposed, they are found, I think, growing on some of the West India Islands and are washed down by mountain torrents to the sea, and then by the force of the winds and ocean currents finally reach the Florida Keys and the beach of the mainland as far north as Georgia. The bean is in shape nearly round, about three quarters of an inch in diameter, and three-eighths of an inch in thickness, having a rough surface upon the sides, varying in color from a light to a very dark brown, the rim being smooth and nearly black. The shell, being very hard, is susceptible of a high polish, and it is often fitted with a gold band and sold for an ornament or charm to attach to a watch chain. One night after Carlton retired, I was writing a letter, when sud-

denly we heard the furious barking and yelping of Mr. Adison's dogs, somewhere between our tent and the beach. Carlton got up and seized the rifle, while I took the lantern, and together we started for the scene of the disturbance. We soon reached a small pine tree at the foot of which the dogs stood looking up and barking excitedly. Holding up the lantern, my eyes were discerned, shining in the darkness. My son fired, but as nothing dropped, he ventured nearer for another shot which in a few moments was followed by the fall of another dog which was at once seized by the dogs.

Shortly after this episode, Carlton and I took our sail boat and starting right after breakfast, with the intention of visiting Soldiers' Key, the small island directly opposite our place, to see if we could secure some crawfish and conchs for bait, and perhaps find some micromusk shells. The wind seemed favorable at first, but after awhile we found that we could reach Cape Florida more easily and therefore headed our course for that point the breeze was so light that we did not reach the Cape until after three o'clock. The channel is close to the shore, so that we could easily run the boat along the beach. The light-house is about one hundred and fifty yards from the landing place, and is the same one which I saw in 1840, although it has been built higher. A very comfortable house stands near by which is occupied by the keeper's family. He informed us that he was on a vessel at Key Tavernier at the time of the massacre at Fort Key. We only stayed about half an hour as we wished to get back before dark if possible. The tide was running out and the wind light, so that before we had got a third of the way home the sun went down, and we soon found ourselves with only the light of the

stars to guide us; we could not see even the dim outlines of the shore for a long time, and the only means I had for keeping our course was by so steering the boat as to keep the North Star over my right shoulder. After getting aground twice we managed to reach home in safety, and felt somewhat elated at our success in finding our way through the darkness. We were ravenously hungry having eaten nothing since morning, and were glad to sit down to a meal of biscuits, syrup, fried bacon and coffee.

One interesting fact connected with life upon these shores is this: there is scarcely ever a heavy blow or storm which does not cast upon the beach of the outer islands or upon the shore of the mainland, boards or timbers of some kind as the result of the loss of part of some vessel's deck load, and the search for such waifs of the sea is called "beach-combing." During our stay we went on several expeditions of that kind and picked up quite a number of useful pieces. I took a trip to Elliott's Key in search of ranging timber for our wharf, which resulted in nothing farther than giving me a more accurate knowledge in regard to that and the other Keys. I have mentioned before that south of Soldiers' Key are five small islands called Ragged Keys—then comes one about a mile in length called Sander's Key, which is separated from Elliott's Key by a space of about fifty yards called Sander's Cut, through which the tide swiftly passes at its ebb or flow. Each side of the cut is densely lined with mangrove bushes. We were nearly five hours in going the ten miles, the wind being dead ahead. Fastening our boat to a mangrove root we pushed our way through the bushes to the beach beyond, which we found was mostly of a rocky nature for the first half-mile although a por-

tion was of sand. A house built of pieces picked up on the shore stood a little way back upon the ridge; and as we approached it a dog came barking towards us—that brought to the door a woman with a babe in her arms. She had been living there only a fortnight, and her husband had gone to Soldiers' Key to obtain some drinking water, as there was only half a demijohn full left and none to be had nearer! I might say here that a few days after this the man came over with his family and all his traps, (which were but few) and I hired them to cook and wash for us during the remainder of our stay.

Shortly after this we saw the smoke of a steamer over at Cape Florida, and as my sister had written that she would come down if she could get the captain to stop at the Cape, we thought that possibly she had arrived. Carlton and I concluded to go over to meet her. We provided ourselves with a quantity of biscuits and a jug of water, and rubber blankets and my heavy shawl, and started. The wind was very light so that for about two miles we had to pole and scull the boat, and Carlton wanted to give it up; but I told him I never liked to turn back. We landed on Cocoa Plum point and looked for sea beans while waiting for a breeze. Carlton waded out with the grains to see if he could make a mullet, a school of which were swimming by, but seeing a shark following them he came back in a hurry. A light breeze springing up we started again for the Cape. While standing on the bow of our boat Carlton saw two loggerhead turtles, but each time was not quick enough in getting the grains to strike. We reached the Cape about half past three and found that the steamer was the Government Light-house Inspecting and Supply boat, and of

course my sister had not arrived. I had brought along with me an assortment of our vegetables as a treat for the light-house people, and also as a partial recompense for any hospitality which might be extended to us, so that when they suggested to us that as the tide would not turn until after dark we had better stay to supper, we had no scruples about accepting the invitation.

We tried our luck fishing near an old wreck which lies submerged near the beach, and around which we could see quantities of large fish swimming. I caught one snapper weighing two and a half pounds and a large striped sheepshead some heavier. Carlton caught one of the latter kind. On returning to the house we were formally introduced to some half dozen of the female portion of the household, shaking hands with each. After partaking of a good supper we listened to singing and some playing upon a piano out of tune. Mr. Frow, the light-house keeper, has a fine sloop in which he and his boys go over to the mainland where he owns a small tract. He told us if we didn't mind getting up about three o'clock he would have his boy tow us over to the hunting grounds as our place is called, in time to catch the mail boat, upon which I wanted to go to Key West. I had offered to give him a lot of cabbage, cauliflower and tomato plants, so that by helping us so kindly he also helped himself. Before retiring a young man took us up to the lantern in the light-house and upon the narrow balcony around it. He says that a great many birds are killed at night by flying against the thick glass surrounding the light. We did not have very refreshing sleep upon the hard floor with no mosquito bars over us. We got up between three and four but did not have breakfast until

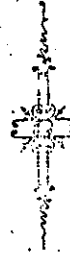
after five and did not get started until after sunrise. The boat however towed us in good style so that we reached home before nine o'clock, and found the mail boat waiting for me. We did not get out of Caesar's Creek channel until about sundown on account of a head wind, then it became fair but kept increasing in force so much that when we reached Indian Key about midnight the captain at my request cast anchor. The waves were so high, and the vessel pitched and rolled so heavily that I felt it would be a great risk to go farther. It blew heavily during the night, and I could get but little sleep where I was on the deck in the bight of the sail. We started again before sunrise with a heavy sea still running, but after turning in between Lower Maticumba and Long Key we had tolerably smooth sailing. We met a good many small vessels, spongers and others, and finally saw the other mail boat coming. After hailing her she hove to and after launching our very leaky boat off the deck, I got in with the captain and was sculled over to the Caroline and got my letters, and one for George Young, who was a fellow passenger. It was a great treat for us; it so happened that it was the 2d of March, the anniversary of my wedding day.

About two o'clock we reached Bahia Honda channel (called bay of Hundy here,) which, in case of a storm, the captain said, was the worst place in all Florida to be in. The wind had nearly died away, and as the sea outside the Keys, (where we had to go to make our course for Key West,) was still very heavy, it was thought to be advisable to cast anchor and wait until it went down, or there should be a more favorable breeze. While eating our dinner, there began to rise in the west a black cloud which we thought might bring rain. One

of the men called attention to the fact that the cloud "was lifting"—it looked so threatening that the mainsail which was still up was lowered in haste. The wind began to blow heavily from the northwest and soon became a gale which raised such a sea that the small vessel pitched frightfully, and the captain was evidently getting uneasy. An effort was made to hoist the anchor so as to run for shelter under the lee of one of the islands, but without success; the sea running over the bow—the jib stay, a wire rope, broke, and the captain told us that if the cable broke he did not know what we would do, for he had but one small anchor left. In the meantime we shipped several heavy seas, and it became evident that we would founder if we remained at anchor. To prepare for such an emergency we took off our shoes, although we could scarcely have hoped to reach the shore alive by swimming. The anchor seemed to have got jammed in the rocky bottom—we all took hold of the hawser and pulled a few feet at a time, holding on while the heaviest waves struck the bow, and finally after great exertions had the satisfaction of raising the anchor to the deck.

As we could only raise the foresail, and the tiller was so cracked as to be in danger of breaking off, it was almost impossible to make any headway to enable us to get under the lee of an island near by. Finding that we could not round the point, the captain adopted what for the moment seemed a desperate remedy, but which proved to be a wise piece of seamanship. Not being able to tack he "wore" the schooner around and steered directly for the lee shore, and after getting into quite shallow water cast anchor, within one hundred yards of the bank which lay between us and the shore. The change was marvelous—the waves were not

nearly so high, and we could see that even if the anchor should drag we might reasonably hope to reach land in safety. The "norther," as such a sudden gale is called expended its force by midnight, so that we got under way and reached Key West about nine o'clock the following morning. I must tell you what kind of fare we had on the schooner, so that you can appreciate the discomforts of such a trip aside from the dangers. The food was miserable in kind and the coffee burned nearly to a coal, so that scarcely a flavor of coffee could be detected; and all the table furniture we had aside from plates and cups were two rusty iron table spoons, one rusty tea knife, one ditto kitchen butcher knife, and three rusty iron forks, with which to eat as we stood or sat around the corner of the cabin deck upon which the meals were served. I can truly say that never before or since have I had such disgustingly poor fare and accommodations.



saw I on limp, towards the tent. On reaching him and seeing the cut, I was greatly alarmed, but the flow of blood was not so great as one would expect from such a gaping wound; showing that no arteries had been cut. I had to cut the shoe loose from the foot, and getting one of the men to press the sides of the wound together, I cut some strips of the plaster, and after warming them by the blaze of a lamp tried to bind the parts in place; the blood, however, prevented their sticking. I naturally felt very anxious and nervous, but tried another method by taking a wide piece of the plaster, long enough to go completely around the foot, and, warming that thoroughly, succeeded at last, in closing the gap and stopping the flow of blood. The wound healed so rapidly, that he only remained on the bed that night and part of the next day, when he hopped around by the aid of a crutch improvised from a broomstick.

A gentleman from Memphis, Tennessee, whom I met in Key West, and played chess with, was making a coasting trip in a small sail boat, with only one servant, from New Orleans to St. Augustine and Jacksonville. I was surprised one day by receiving a call from him after he had set up his tent on the beach. He said he had come out of his way expressly to play chess with me; he stayed a couple of days. Before leaving, he told me that he would say of me as a certain man did of Caesar; when a friend asked him his opinion of Caesar, he replied: "I know that he is great, for he has conquered me!" referring to my success with him in chess, a very neat compliment to my skill in that fascinating game.

I had employed the men to erect for me a double pen log house; that is there were two rooms, fifteen by

CHAPTER XXXVI.

I could fill up many pages more with accounts of our "haps and mishaps," beginning with my return trip to the Bay, which was an exceedingly trying one to me as I was quite ill without having proper medicines to take, to arrest the progress of my disease. We were so hindered by headwinds, and so long upon our way before reaching home, that I felt that another night's delay might prove fatal. I needed help to reach the shore and my tent, but my medicine chest furnished remedies, which, with proper rest for two or three days, restored me to health once more. That medicine chest enabled me to be of some real service to the families of some of the workmen, who came to me for prescriptions; in fact their confidence in me as a doctor became so great, that one of them insisted upon my taking charge of a certain approaching event, in spite of my protests that I could not assume any such responsibility. I am happy to say that before the dreaded time arrived, I was on my way to New York.

My forethought in having a roll of adhesive plaster among the supplies, enabled me to save Carlton from being permanently maimed. He had gone down towards the beach with the axe to cut down a small pine tree; the wood being very hard, the axe glanced and cut through the shoe upon his right foot, making a frightful gash from his fourth toe, nearly in a line with it and about three inches in length. I was about a hundred yards away, when I heard him call out and

twenty feet in size, made of logs and set ten feet apart, and over all one roof. The gable ends were clapboarded. I had procured in Key West the proper strips for planing across the rafters, upon which to nail the shingles which had been rived out by hand. Carlton and I did nearly all of the latter work, and I made the wooden blinds for the windows, and also fitted the doors (which I had bought ready made) and hung them in place, and put on the locks. I felt a little proud of my success as an amateur carpenter. The space between the two pens was boarded over with pieces picked up on the beach and made a good hallway upon which the two doors opened.

As I have referred in a previous chapter to my reasons for changing my mind in regard to making my home in Florida, I need say nothing further on that subject, and in closing this chapter will only relate two interesting incidents which transpired just before we finally decided to take our departure. Having heard that there was a mound a short distance back in the hammock I concluded to go and investigate it. It was something of a task to force our way through the dense growth of bushes and vines, and I kept a good lookout for snakes. The mound consisted of a pile of the rough oolitic rocks and soil about ten or fifteen feet in diameter and about four feet in height; a gumbo limbo tree two and a half feet in diameter was growing upon the top. Using the pick and spade we soon came to skulls and bones of both adults and children, the skulls in nearly every instance showed that they had been buried with the face downwards, and with the tops toward the centre of the mound. It seemed as though the heads only had been placed in position, for they were near the outer rim of the

mound and none of the larger bones of the limbs beyond. Most of the skulls crumbled easily, but I secured two good specimens, one apparently that of a white man, being of good shape and differing in color, the other that of a negro of the animal nature, phrenologically greatly different. I intended bringing them to Buffalo to present to the Academy of Natural Sciences, but at the last moment I forgot to pack them. Children's heads shown the growth of the second teeth as well as those which had been absorbed; there were many teeth lying loose in the dirt. I was disappointed in not finding any utensils or other relics. Noting the position of the heads we thought we might find something of value in the centre of the mound, but discovered nothing. It is possible that our search was too superficial. We were glad to get away from the mosquitoes and the heat.

The other item was as follows: Mr. Addison, Carlton and myself were coming through the banana field when we saw stretched out at full length a huge rattlesnake seven feet long, and almost as large around as a boa constrictor. It had rattles on its tail. Mr. Addison procured a piece of rope and walked quietly up to it; it lazily lifted its head but did not coil for a spring; the branch was broken heavily down upon its neck, and Carlton followed the blow with a heavy piece of rock upon its head and then seizing hold of the tail cut off the rattles, which he brought home as a trophy.

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Appendix C.

Post Office Department Location Paper, 1884
Post Office Department Statement, 1900





Post Office Department,

OFFICE OF THE FIRST ASSISTANT P. M. GENERAL,

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 19, 1884

Be careful to answer the inquiries fully and accurately, or the case will not be acted upon.

SIR: Before the Postmaster General decides upon the application for the establishment of a post office at _____, County of _____, State of _____,

it will be necessary for you to carefully answer the subjoined questions, get a neighboring postmaster to certify to the correctness of the answers, and return the location paper to the Department, addressed to me. If the site selected for the proposed office should not be on any mail route now under contract, only a "Special Office" can be established there, to be supplied with mail from some convenient point on the nearest mail route by a special carrier, for which service a sum equal to two-thirds of the amount of the salary of the postmaster at such office will be paid.

You should inform the contractor, or person performing service for him, of this application, and require him to execute the inclosed certificate as to the practicability of supplying the proposed office with mail, and return the same to the Department.

Very respectfully,
FRANK HATTON,
First Assistant Postmaster General.

To Mr. H. H. [unclear]
care of the Postmaster of _____, who will please forward to him.

STATEMENT.

The proposed office to be called Outler

Select a short name for the proposed office, which, when written, will not resemble the name of any other post office in the United States.

It will be situated in _____ Township 55 (North or South) South

Range 40 (East or West), C in the County of Sade, State of Fla

It will be on same route No. 16210, being the route from Key West to Miami, on which the mail is now carried once times per week.

The contractor's name is _____

Will it be directly on this route?—Ans. Yes

If not, how far from, and on which side of it?—Ans.

How much will it INCREASE the travel of the mail one way each trip?—Ans.

Where will the mail leave the present route to supply the proposed office?—Ans.

Where intersect the route again?—Ans.

What post office will be left out by this change?—Ans.

If not on any route, is a "Special Office" wanted?—Ans. To be supplied from _____

The name of the nearest office to the proposed one, on the same route, is Miami its distance is fifteen miles in a North direction from the proposed office.

The name of the nearest office on the same route, on the other side, is Key West its distance is 135 miles in a South West direction from the proposed office.

The name of the nearest office to the proposed one, not on this route, is none distance by the most direct road _____ miles in a _____ direction from the proposed office.

The name of the most prominent river near it is Miami River

The name of the nearest creek is Snapper Creek

The proposed office will be fifteen miles from said river, on the South side of it, and will be four miles from said nearest creek, on the South side of it.

The name of the nearest railroad is _____

If on the line of or near a railroad, on which side will the office be located; how far from the track; and what is, or will be, the name of the station?—Ans.

What will be the distance from the proposed site to the nearest flag station?—Ans.

State name of station: _____

What will be the distance from the proposed site to the nearest station at which mail trains make regular stops?—Ans.

State name of station: _____

If the proposed office is located where it can be supplied from a crane or flag station, or located over 80 rods from the station where mail trains make regular stops, will the mail be carried to and from the proposed office without expense to the Department?—Ans.

If it be a village, state the number of inhabitants.—Ans.

Also, the population to be supplied by the proposed office.—Ans.

A diagram, or sketch from a map, showing the position of the proposed new office, with neighboring river or creek, roads, and other post offices, towns, or villages near it, will be useful, and is therefore desired.

A correct map of the locality might be furnished by the county surveyor, but this must be without expense to the Post Office Department.

ALL WHICH I CERTIFY to be correct and true, according to the best of my knowledge and belief, this 18th day of Aug, 1884

(Sign full name.) Opp Fitzgerald, Proposed P. M.

I CERTIFY that I have examined the foregoing statement, and that it is correct and true, to the best of my knowledge and belief.

A. A. Brickell
Postmaster at Miami Fla.

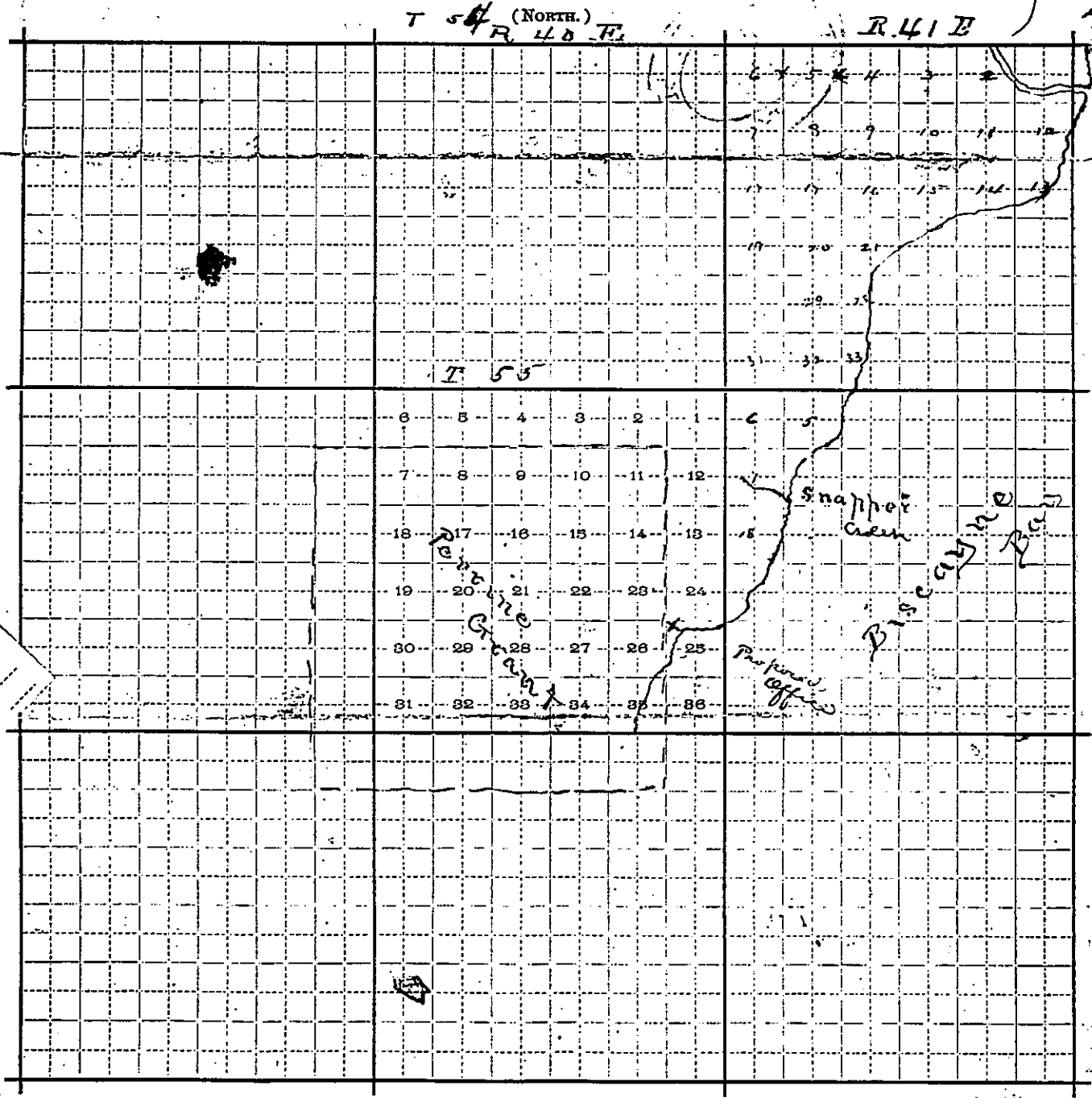
Aug. 18th
1884

(OVER.)

Diagram showing the site of the Cutter Post Office
 in Township 55 (N or S.), Range 40 (E. or W.) of
 Meridian, County of Lake, State
 of Florida, with the adjacent Townships and Post Offices.

It is requested that the exact site of the proposed or existing Post Office, as also the roads to the adjoining offices, and the larger streams or rivers, be marked on this diagram, to be returned as soon as possible to the Post Office Department.

Cutter
Post Office



Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to the mile.

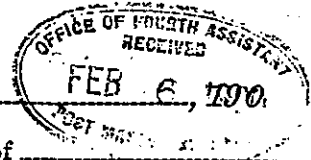
(SOUTH.)

No roads

Post Office Department,

OFFICE OF THE FOURTH ASSISTANT P. M. GENERAL,
APPOINTMENT DIVISION,

Washington, D. C.,



SIR:

Before the Postmaster General decides upon the application for a change of site of the post office at Butler, County of Dade State of Florida, to _____ he requires that the following questions be carefully and correctly answered, and returned to this Department.

The contractor or station agent will also answer the queries addressed to him.

Very respectfully,

Fourth Ass't P. M. General.

To Mr. _____ care of the Postmaster of _____, who will please forward to him.

STATEMENT.

The office to be called

Butler

How far, and in what direction do you propose to move the office?—Ans. 1 mile S.W.

The new site will be situated in the County of Dade, State of Fla

It will be on or near route No. 23373, being the route from Miami to Butler, on which the mail is now carried six times per week.

Will it be directly on this route?—Ans. will make route one mile longer

If not, how far from, and on which side of it?—Ans. _____

How much will it increase the distance necessarily traveled by the carrier in going once over the route? one mile (Cocoanut Grove 18 miles)

The name of the nearest office to the proposed site, on the same route, is Larkinville its distance is six miles, in a NE direction. (Larkinville will be July 1st)

The name of the nearest office on the same route, on the other side, is no its distance is _____ miles, in a _____ direction from the proposed site.

The name of the nearest office to the proposed site, not on this route, is Planters distance by the most direct water road 50 miles, in a south direction.

The name of the most prominent river near it is Miami

The name of the nearest creek is no

The proposed site will be fifteen miles from said river, on the south side of it, and will be _____ miles from said nearest creek, on the _____ side of it.

If on the line of or near a railroad, state the name, on which side the office will be located, how far from the depot, and what is, or will be, the name of the station.—Ans. Miami 15 miles

If it be a village, state the number of inhabitants.—Ans. 150

Also, the population to be supplied by proposed office.—Ans. 300

ALL OF WHICH I CERTIFY to be correct and true, according to the best of my knowledge and belief, this 2 day of February, 1900.

(Sign full name.)

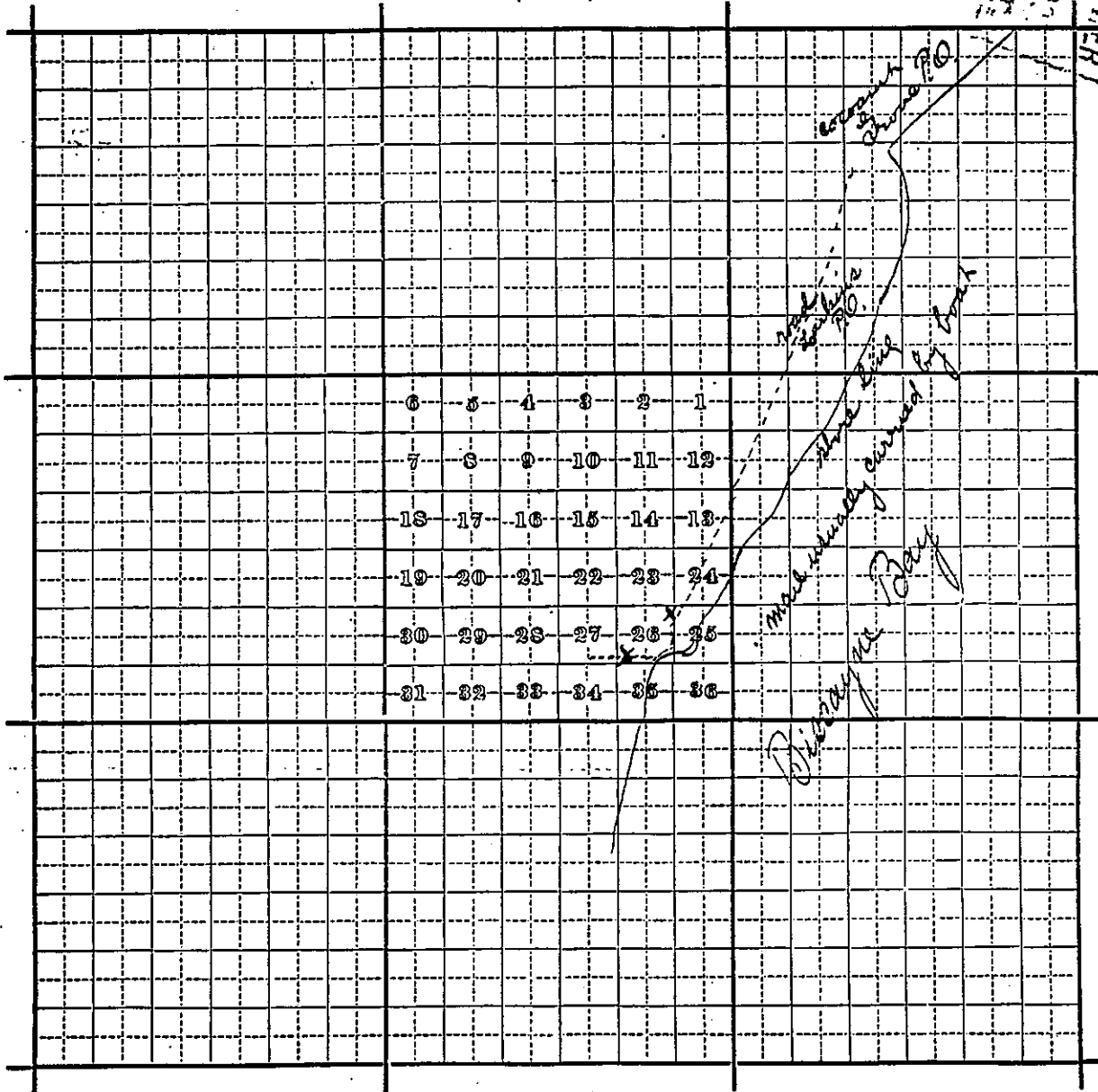
Proposed P. M.

Diagram showing the proposed site of the Outler Post Office
 on the ^{SW}~~SE~~ quarter of section 26, in Township 5-5-S (N. or S.),
 Range 40 E (E. or W.), of Dade Principal Meridian, County of Dade
 State of Fla, with the adjacent Townships and Post Offices.

It is requested that the exact site of your Post Office, as also the roads to the adjoining Offices, and the rivers and creeks be marked on this diagram, to be returned as soon as possible to the Topographer's Office, Post Office Department. If on, or near a railroad, mark the railroad and adjacent Station accurately.

In localities not surveyed by the U. S. Land Office, a sketch map is requested.

(NORTH.)



Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to the mile.

(SOUTH.)

The present site is on the NE quarter of Section 26, Town. 5-5-S
 Range 40 E, and proposed site is on the SW quarter of Section 26
 Town. 5-5, Range 40, distant 1 miles, in a SW direction,
 and will be supplied By route 23373.

**HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION
THE CHARLES DEERING ESTATE AT CUTLER**

for Metro-Dade County Parks and Recreation Department

May 1992

Janet Snyder Matthews, Consultant

**Janet Snyder Matthews,
Historical Documentation**

**Linda K. Williams,
Interpretation Recommendations**

**Rebecca Spain Schwarz,
Site Graphics**



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary	iii - xxxv
Attachment 1, Interpretation Recommendations	xvi
Attachment 2, Interpretive Themes Map	xxv
Attachment 3, Site Graphics	xxvi
Historical Documentation	1 - 157
(Pre-Deering Period 1821 - 1912)	
The Land and Man	1
Addisons' Landing	8
Dr. Cutler, the Town of Cutler and the Perrine Claim	17
Dr. Richmond, The Perrine Grant Land Company & the F.E.C.	28
(The Charles Deering Estate Period 1913 - 1927)	
Charles Deering, selected general biography pre-1913	50
Charles Deering and the Cutler Years, 1913 - 1927	60
Correspondence of David Fairchild and Deering	83
Correspondence of John Kunkel Small and Deering	98
End Matter	158 - 209
Appendix A. Armed Occupation Claims 1843	158
Appendix B. Henry E. Perrine, <u>Biscayne Bay . . . Florida</u> , 1876 and <u>Some Eventful Years in Grandpa's Life</u> , ca. 1885	159
Appendix C. Post Office Department Location Paper, 1884 Post Office Department Statement, 1900	160
Appendix D. Ralph Munroe photographs of Addisons, ca. 1890s	161
Appendix E. Caroline Rockwood, "Seminoles At Home," ca. 1890s Sketch of John and Mary Addisons' house and kitchen	162
Appendix F. Photographs of Cutler and Richmond Cottage	163
Appendix G. Charles and Marion Deering Family photographs (Marion Deering Danielson Campbell Collection)	164
Appendix H. Mar y Cel at Sitges, Spain. Seventeen photographs depicting interiors, artwork and courtyard spaces. (Barbara Strachan Deering Danielson Collection)	165
Appendix I. J.K. Small photos of Charles Deering Estate at Cutler (Marion Deering Danielson Campbell, FSA and FTG collections)	166
Appendix J. David Fairchild photos of Charles Deering Estate (Fairchild Tropical Gardens Research Center)	167
Abbreviations	168
Endnotes	169
Bibliography	203

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
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81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100

Executive Summary
The Charles Deering Estate at Cutler
Janet Snyder Matthews, Consultant

CONTRACT REQUIREMENTS

October 1991

The contract required the consultant to compile and analyze significant periods of human activity on the Charles Deering Estate site at Cutler, to complete historic documentation, or to "fill gaps" in historic information, regarding the Deering Estate site from the 1820s to 1927, the year of Charles Deering's death.

Significant interpretive themes were to be drawn from the documentation and used to identify "key portions or rooms within the existing buildings suitable for historical interpretation . . . in concert with a planned Interpretive Center." Historical documentation was to encompass site-specific activity within certain time periods, specifically:

- "a. Settlement prior to, between and following, Seminole Wars (1821-1870).
- b. Continuous Settlement (1870 - 1896)
- c. Town of Cutler and F.E.C. (1896 - 1914)
- d. Deering Family (1914 - 1927)."

The research information was designed to "identify and describe the prominent archeological, pre-historic, and historic themes . . . that could form the basis for public programming and interpretive displays. Also identify and locate possible display material supporting or illustrating key people, features, or events."

The research to complete the documentation of the estate was carried out in two phases. Phase One (completed December 14, 1991) was to identify documentary sources and locations. Phase Two (to be completed May, 1992) was to produce a report to Metro-Dade County Parks and Recreation Department, including "representative copies of plans, illustrations, maps, letters or other references required to support any narrative histories."¹

An Executive Summary of the report includes condensation of historic topics, Interpretation Recommendations (Attachment 1) and Site Graphics (Attachment 2). Interpretation Recommendations allocate specific themes to site elements. Site Graphics are selected for reference to the historical documentation.

¹ Contract of September 10, 1991, signed October 9, 1991 for historical documentation for the Charles Deering Estate at Cutler, proceeding from October 1991 through May, 1992 for Metro-Dade County Parks & Recreation Department.

EXECUTING THE TASK

The purpose of the report is to provide an historic understanding of the Charles Deering Estate and its application for interpretive public programming in 1992. The format employed is chronological and represents influences and activities that defined today's site. The site-driven search pulled together materials into a context unavailable elsewhere.

The search through archival materials and with human resources produced site information not previously known. In some instances, the historic context was identified, and within each context known events took on new significance. Site history, therefore, was periodically influenced in the typical mode--by outside events at state, federal, and international levels.

Reference materials defined the order and emphasis. For instance, pre-Deering occupations ultimately fell into three contextual categories. Within these, six specific themes emerged. The presentation within themes is specific and prioritized rather than comprehensive and summarized.

The bulk of the work was necessarily directed toward Charles Deering, the definer of today's site. The Deering section stresses Charles Deering's sentiments and efforts in order to illumine the site and the man through his words--available even six decades following his death. The best source for understanding Charles Deering became his letters and those of his correspondents. They are extensively used within the final report, often verbatim, so that all aspects of various subject areas--botany, environment, art, history, biology--are available within the final document.

CONTEXTS AND THEMES

The time periods fell into four contextual categories and produced a total of seven themes. Within each theme, the report offers relevant firsthand information applicable to site programming and physical management.

Context A: Before Man

Theme I. The Land: The Ridge, the Sea and the Everglades [geology]

Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction

- Theme II. The Land and Man: [from archaeological report, forthcoming]
- Theme III. The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine (1821-1851)
- Theme IV. Addison's Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - 1911)

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential

- Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler and the Perrine claim (1883-1897)
- Theme VI. Dr. Richmond, the Perrine Grant Land Company & the F.E.C. (1896-1913)

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

- Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913-1927)
- A Century of Plant Introduction: Perrine to Deering (1827-1927)

(Context A: Before Man)

Theme I. The Land: The Ridge, the Sea and the Everglades

[from archaeological report, forthcoming]

(Context B: Before Subdividers: The Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction)

Theme II. The Land and Man

[from archaeological report, forthcoming]

Available materials revealed a uniqueness apparent throughout the location's known past. For instance, the site was among only a few at Biscayne Bay supporting human habitation during pre-historic and early historic periods-- ranking with those at the Miami River, Little River, Cape Florida and Coconut Grove. The site's natural resources, which dramatically distinguished its pre-history, ultimately inspired its modern preservation story.

(Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction)

Theme III. The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine (1821-1851)

Early settlers on the site, previously unknown, have been identified through records of the Department of Natural Resources in Tallahassee, Florida. Their occupations predate by a quarter century those generally regarded as first. Several men--John DuBose and Reason Dukes--pre-empted land, cleared and planted during the 1830s. Four men of Key West and Indian Key--Antonio Giraldo, Frances Mabrity, Robert R. Fletcher and John Walters-- staked claims in summer of 1843, each claiming 160 acres offered by the Armed Occupation Act passed by Congress in 1842 to end the Second Seminole War. The claims occurred while Florida was yet a U.S. Territory. The settlers built houses and constructed a wharf onshore. These structures were previously unknown in the history of the site.

In 1845, Florida became a State and federal surveyors arrived. They saw the houses. They described fields planted in orange trees, corn, sisal hemp and pulque (used in 19th century Mexico to produce beer). These facts and associated documents provide a new insight into the singularity of this coastal site. The documentation will support a public understanding of Territorial Florida's southern community--its mode of transportation, its integrated coastal seafaring community, its ethnic diversity.

Documentation of settlers of Hispanic descent is particularly significant in light of today's requisite considerations for interpretation of historic sites. The experience of native-born and immigrant Floridians who were in Florida when it was a Spanish possession (Mabrity, Giraldo and others), introduces a theme vital not only to historic South Florida but critically important to today's population. Potential visitors and supporters, such as Hispanic Americans, must be enabled to relate personally to site-specific history. Across the nation, programming is beginning to demand documentary relevance to the contemporary population to be served through sites. In southern California, as well as South Florida, this forward-thinking approach has demanded new research to reconsider cultural and economic diversity and to redesign interpretation on

established historic sites. Such revisionist study, for instance, has been the subject of recent conference presentations offered by the National Trust for Historic Preservation.²

The discovery through research of these Territorial Floridian residents offers Metro-Dade County a timely opportunity to address population-driven considerations at the Charles Deering Estate in this initial phase of planning for interpretation and programming. The material suggests a broader context-- that of Florida's past as a Spanish (and once British) possession. The material also suggests the importance of further work, such as further search regarding pre-emption claims to federal lands and Seminole war-related materials relevant to the time period and historic archeological work to determine site locations.

During the 1840s federal surveyors continued into the uncharted southern wilderness of the new State of Florida. In addition to those who ran township, range and section lines, coastal surveyors charted shorelines and water depths for maritime traffic. In researching these federal records available in Florida Department of Natural Records collections, new material supports another opportunity for interpretation. From the beginning (1840s), the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey teams recognized on the site a vital natural resource accessible to passing vessels. At the site they placed on the first published charts of coastal Florida the label, "Fresh Water." The water flowed through the limestone-lined creekbed from the Everglades and became an officially-advertised stopping point for American maritime traffic along the Atlantic coast.

Today's creekbed and its changed condition offer a site-specific opportunity to interpret the evolving environment. This might be accomplished by use of historic firsthand description, along with federal charts and maps. Interpretation may also employ some insightful comparison regarding travelers' needs then and now, i.e. the label "Fresh Water" on a mid-19th century coastal chart is comparable to a sign, such as "McDonalds," appearing along today's interstate highway. (Corporate funding may apply appropriately to such signage and educational materials.)³

The Perrine Grant was a township (typically 23,040 acres divided into 36 Sections of 640 acres each) of tropical land conditionally granted (1838) by Congress (but not located). The petitioner for the grant, Dr. Henry Perrine (with two others), was a medical practitioner originally from Illinois and former consul to Campeche in the Yucatan. There he had responded to an 1827 federal request for collecting and transporting seeds and plants for introduction into the southern portion of the new Territory of Florida, the tropical tip of the continental United States. The Congressional grant anticipated "immediate domestication of . . . valuable vegetables

² "Interpretive Planning for Historic Sites: Two Case Studies," National Trust for Historic Preservation 45th national conference (October 1991, San Francisco), Session 37. [Available on audio tape.]

³ The presence of "coontie," or "comptie" at the Hunting Ground, as indicated by Seminole wars-period chart notation, suggests interpretive use of this historic natural food product, a major food staple manufactured by both Seminoles and citizen settlers, see Arva Moore Parks ms., "Historical Significance" of the Charles Deering Estate:2.

. . . [and] profitable plants of the tropics." The act required the participation of settler farmers, rather than planters, and offered each settler 640 acres-- a Section of the township.⁴ Perrine's response to the Circular and his subsequent history fascinated botanists associated with the Deering site a century later.

Not until 1847--well after Perrine's death (1840), the Second Seminole War (1835 - 1842) and Florida statehood (1845)-- was the township physically located. It was laid out with Perrine representatives, who met on the site with Deputy Surveyor John Jackson during the course of his regular work under contract with the U.S. Surveyor General. The eastern edge of the Perrine Grant extended into the study site (about 300 acres-- the fractional eastern half of Section 26, Township 55 South Range 40 East). Thus, the famous Perrine story of plant introduction became part of the site history. The survival of Ann Perrine and their children after the violent 1840 death of Dr. Perrine, was to become a haunting aspect of the site. It complicated private title to site lands until 1897 when settlement succeeded through the partnership of influential northern capitalists whose development plans required resolution of the claim.

Thus, the story of Dr. Perrine together with the major developers of the 1880s and 1890s (such as Henry Flagler), supports an interpretive theme present within overlapping periods. Changing land values of the naturally-strategic site became apparent in the status of the principals involved. Though the help of Dr. William Cutler has been generally known (through promotional Flagler publications), the corporate makeup of the Perrine Grant Land Company and its inter-relationship with Flagler interests appeared through search of corporate records of the Perrine Grant Land Company housed in the collection of the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum archives in Palm Beach, Florida. New information regarding Cutler and the Perrine grant also appear in Congressional proceedings, further defining Cutler's work and accomplishments on his off-site parcel.

Rising real estate values during the final two decades of the 1800s, in contrast to the preceding four decades (1840 - 1870), offer another site-specific interpretive opportunity. That documented story line includes the work of Dr. Perrine, the tenacity of Henry E. Perrine in pursuing the family claim to a wilderness site, and the economic elevation of that wilderness to highly-marketable development potential. The story may represent, in microcosm, the context of federal activities in a new Territory and the historic spiralling of statewide land values after the Disston purchase (1881). Thus, the well-known facts of Dr. Perrine, supported and interpreted in a newly discovered context, "puts a new spin" on the story, and introduces the impact of developers' interests readily apparent in site history as south Florida began to attract northern development capital.

(Context B: Before Subdividers: The Frontier and Tropical Plant Introduction)
Theme IV. Addisons' Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - 1911)

The residence of John and Mary Townsend Addison has long been part of the site history. They made their home in the hammock clearing from 1864 through the first decade of the 20th century.

⁴. Senate Bill 300, March 12, 1838 [to accompany bill S. No. 241], 25th Congress, 2d Session (1 - 41): 1, 2 and 5.

Research materials introduced during this work support a significant broader context--that of the Florida Cracker, a generic theme uniquely present on this extreme southern tip of tropical Florida. The Florida Cracker experience was that of certain distinctive colonial immigrants. Typically migrating to the British colonies from England, their descendants continued a migration from the Virginia and Carolina colonies ever southward. Their migration produced a distinctive lifestyle. Their occupations and attitudes came through adaptation to the regional southeastern United States. Their economy depended upon certain crops and upon the raising of foraging livestock, such as swine and cattle. They acclimated to extreme social isolation, often responsible for generations of illiteracy. They learned to herd and drive cattle. The routine of commercial cattle-production in wilderness Florida resulted in a distinctive name--Florida Cracker--derived from the resonant, cracking sound emitted by the skillful cowman's handling of his braided, homemade leather whip.

Materials support some interpretation of both John and Mary Addison and their unique lifestyle at today's site. Their backgrounds include documented accounts of the typical migration pattern and of John's (1850s) Third Seminole War involvement. Materials mention their livestock and crops onsite. Personal dialogue was extensively preserved in a popular magazine interview of both John and Mary. Illustrations included line drawings of the two and the interior of their detached kitchen-building. During the 1890s, several clear and artful photographs were taken onsite by Coconut Grove settler Ralph Munroe.

Firsthand references to John's gun, dogs and fearlessness are balanced by firsthand observations regarding Mary's cooking, her clothing, her mannerisms-- and her thoughts regarding their frontier situation. Isolation of the pioneer-- a significant theme from the historic woman's perspective, becomes supportable through Addison's interview. Additionally, George Parsons's diary (1874-1875) as a boarder and Henry E. Perrine's account as neighbor (winter of 1876 - 1877) provide significant insightful information. Both the Parsons and Perrine accounts importantly represent historic lifestyle on the ridge prior to canal drainage of the inland, "the prairie."

Several separate onsite features merit interpretation. A former well shaft-- carved squarely through the limestone, offers an opportunity for future interpretive design following historic archaeological study. Analysis of findings may date and define this site, possibly within the time frame of Addison occupation and by private title. Several other homesites (ca. 1840s and 1900) may have been located at today's clearing areas and require future research and study. Another site--Addisons Landing, repeatedly appears in sources, both as a landmark and a placename. Archaeological investigation is recommended to locate Addisons Landing on the shoreline. Once located, this feature will afford interpretation of diverse happenings as yet unrepresented elsewhere on site, such as local men landing in sponge boats for fresh water and Seminole families arriving by dugout to set up camp in the clearing. (Historic fragmented rock walls onsite, coupled with historic archaeological work to identify settler sites of the 1830s and 1840s, may offer future additions to interpretive locations.)

Like the Perrines, John and Mary Addisons' experience emanates through several site themes defined here. Also like the Perrines, new research brings to light the fact that their legitimate interest in the land was rewarded by ownership only with the influential arrival to the area of Henry Flagler's F.E.C. Railway interests. (Themes IV. and V.)

(Concept C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential)

V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler and the Perrine claim (1883 - 1897)

The original town of Cutler was generally thought to have been situated inside the Deering Estate site and razed by development of the Estate itself. Documents suggest, however, that the community called Cutler began during the 1880s along the northeastern boundary, on the edge of today's estate bounds and the then-unsettled Perrine township. Cutler began on adjacent acreage purchased in 1883 and extensively improved by Dr. William Cutler of Massachusetts and by William Fuzzard, Cutler's friend and associate, who actually settled inside the grant, buying and improving additional adjacent acreage. The official name came with William Fuzzard's successful 1884 application for a U.S. Post Office, which he named Cutler. Fuzzard drew a map for the postal authorities, indicating his proposed site. The mail was to be delivered by boat-- "No roads," Fuzzard wrote on his map.

The post office stood in the northwestern quarter of Section 25 (Township 55 South, Range 40 East). Fuzzard placed an 'X' on the spot, near today's S.W. 152nd Street/Coral Reef Drive. Material suggests that the road to the wharf for Cutler was, apparently, the eastern segment of today's Royal Palm Drive.⁵

Specific identification and understanding of Fuzzard's clearing and the original Cutler post office, Dr. Cutler's development, and associated wharf location is recommended through research and historic archaeological work.⁶ Once located off the site, these features will afford an opportunity in the northeastern extremity of the Deering Estate site to interpret the original Cutler--the community landing and post office; Fuzzard's and Cutler's plantings, houses and industry; the first road to Coconut Grove; and the Cutler community changed dramatically by development plans, including the dramatic and apparently-unexpected F.E.C.-backed Perrine Grant

⁵ A 1935 USCGS Topographical Chart locates an early western configuration of wharf road, also visible in an 1990 aerial photograph (REDI). Fuzzard placed in 1900 the post office site on the west side of the only road-- the road connecting his post office to the one at Coconut Grove. Documents including Fuzzard's postal location site reports (1884, 1900) suggest the post office site may lie along the 300-foot dogleg road. It strikes 152nd about 150' east of the Section line and Royal Palm Drive 75' east of the Section line. Also see report text for Fuzzard affidavit in Senate Committee report 1574.

⁶ With reference to the historic archaeological work, compare also the comment of S.H. Richmond, the surveyor, who indicated that "a long, double row of Royal Palms, by far the finest in Dade County" stood as a memorial to Dr. Cutler, from Richmond, "The Perrine Grant," The Tropic Magazine (June, 1915):13. See also the photo, "Dock at Cutler, The Fuzzards," AMPC and HASF. Depicting Royal palms, the c. 1920s photo taken from the Bay, shows a wooden dock at the foot of a road and bears the label, "Dock at Cutler, the Fuzzards."

settlement of 1897. The significant origins of historic Cutler (1884 - 1900) are unrepresented in interpretation recommended elsewhere on site.⁷

(Concept C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential)

VI. Dr. Richmond, the Perrine Grant Land Company & the F.E.C. (1896 - 1913)

The town of Cutler was also a name commonly applied to a subdivision platted by Dr. S.H. Richmond and recorded in 1899. The complete plat subdivided the site (and some outlying acreage) into some 110 blocks of land later deeded to individuals and corporations, such as John Addison, Fuzzard and the Perrine Grant Land Company. Though the plat is well known in Dade County records, Richmond's involvement as agent for Henry Flagler's F.E.C. Railway-related interests is a new element introduced through reference to materials including the Perrine Grant Land Company records, Congressional reports and the F.E.C.'s Cutler-related promotions.

Promotional publications of the F.E.C., such as The Miami Metropolis, The Tropic Magazine and The Homeseeker, featured the town of Cutler as a thriving developers' community--a place where activities revolved largely around incoming settlers, picnics, weddings, verdant gardens, abundant tropical fruits, new roads across drained fields, delighted visitors, and the newly-developed Richmond Cottage operated by Edith Richmond.

"For several years," Dr. Richmond wrote, the Richmond Cottage "had the proud distinction of being the most southerly hotel on the mainland of the United States."⁸ (Professional paint analysis additionally may find the inn/addition to have been "Flagler yellow.") The Register of the Richmond Cottage, housed within the collection of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, records the signatures of Henry Flagler and F.E.C. officers among the first guests.

Documentation suggests a new dimension to understanding the significance of this building. The Richmond Cottage, rehabilitated and occupied by the Deering family, may merit statewide significance for its historic association with famous individuals and state history, as well as for its architecture. It represents an invaluable resource for interpretation. Its very existence constitutes a rarity among South Florida tourist facilities of frame-vernacular construction. It alone remains among such prominent local hostleries as Peacock Inn and Royal Palm Hotel. The

⁷ U.S.G.S. Topographical Chart T - 5626, 1935, Florida Department of Natural Resources; Dade County #308 aerial and graphic maps, REDI; Wm. Fuzzard Post Office Department Location Papers, August 18 1884 and February 2, 1900, National Archives Record Group 28. Fuzzard noted in 1900 that 1) the location was the northeasterly quarter of Sec. 26 (rather than the northwesterly quarter of Sec. 15) and that 2) delivery remained the same-- "mail usually carried by boat." Fuzzard's 1900 road configuration across today's site area reflects Richmond's subdivision roadways. Events merit interpretive graphic representation of the overland route from the 1884 post office site to the onsite relocation.

⁸ S.H. Richmond, "The Perrine Grant," The Tropic Magazine (June 1915):13.

Richmond Cottage currently suffers from water damage as well as security and stabilization problems. The centrality of the building to the historicity of the site calls for featuring of it through a well-designed plan for restoration, rehabilitation and management.

In addition, Richmond Cottage offers a critical location for site-specific interpretation of diverse historic roles: the only known surviving 19th century house at Cutler; the important legal and technical role of a civil engineer in subdividing frontier land for development; the challenging role of a woman proprietress in boarding sophisticated entrepreneurs comfortably and appealingly amid relative isolation; the newest southern link in the chain of Flagler's railroad and associated inns; the media-hype of such an inn and surrounding community as an enticement to prospective buyers; and, finally, the central site dominance of the building in the Deering Estate plan--a central design role strategically utilized in moving the landing away from the hammock and designing the boat channel/turning basin on a line with the central hallway of the Richmond Inn. The centrality of the inn was undiminished (even intentionally more pronounced) with construction of the adjacent, juxtaposed stone house (1922).

(Concept D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy)

Theme VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and the Pinelands (1913 - 1927)

A Century of Plant Introduction: Perrine to Deering (1827 - 1927)

From the beginning, the physical components of today's 308-acre estate site drove the research effort to address certain overriding questions regarding Charles Deering's motivations and accomplishments. Deering was the first chairman of the board of International Harvester, the corporate giant backed by J.P. Morgan in New York City at the turn-of-the-century through a merger of The Deering Harvester Company with McCormick Harvester and several other major competitors. Charles Deering, his brother James (builder of Vizcaya), and their father William began wintering in Miami years earlier. Materials of the pre-Deering periods support the fact that Deering intentionally defined the design, character, components and survival of today's site.

Deering's interest, intelligence, artistic sensitivities and financial commitment (1913 - 1927) to the remarkable resurrection and restoration of today's 308-site are supported by numerous resource materials. Site locations to tell the Deering story include: the stone house, the extant Estate buildings and systems, the channel and turning basin, the clearings, the citrus/mango/avocado groves, the old Cutler road that was ultimately replaced by today's "Cutler Road/Ingraham Highway," the native rock perimeter wall paired with S.W 72nd Avenue as an interpretive site entry drive, the original Estate entrance gates, the old remnant rock wall sections, reconstructed bird houses of various designs, the bridges, the Small-designed reconstructed hammock and pinelands south of the house which replaced public roadways and clearings; J.K. Small's palm plantations, and the preserved hammock and pinelands north of the house.

Apart from the obvious houses, estate buildings and above-ground features, the essential Deering story has not been known outside of the Deering family. Materials which reveal the force of Deering's intent and commitment also reveal the personality of a retiring, self-effacing man who knew the value of his preservation contributions. Biographical materials and voluminous botanically-related correspondence (in Miami and Tallahassee collections) provide detail. They support the multi-faceted aspects of the total estate as a reflection of the man

himself. The interpretation of Charles and Marion Deering and their family on the site offer a rare interpretive theme, coupling environmental concern (far ahead of its popularity enjoyed today) and agriculture within a conservative approach to estate design born of a first-priority ranking of native hammock and pinelands and native flora and fauna.

To understand Charles Deering--his motivations and his methods--one must study his words. Deering was a man of letters, even as a youth. In his later years, his deafness only added to the allure of the literary, the scientific and the visual. In his artfully scripted hand, Charles Deering left a vast record. In particular, his letters to associates, Small and Fairchild, have been preserved in various archival collections.

Even during Deering's childhood, his father's letters guided the motherless son's early path. Many friends-- fellow Naval officers and struggling artists-- add to the record. Fellow captains of industry, fellow farming enthusiasts, and the world-famous botanists then fascinated with Florida's unrecorded botanical secrets appear in Deering materials, suggesting significant continuity of diverse loyalties and interests. Deering's restoration projects in Spain, occurring late in his life, influenced his final construction decisions at the Cutler estate.

In accordance with this report approach and its format, the general Deering narrative is organized separately from selected correspondence between Deering and David Fairchild, the U.S.D.A.'s first Chief of the Plant Introduction Section, and between Deering and John Kunkel Small, Director of Research and Curator of the New York Botanical Garden. Whereas Fairchild's interest primarily centered around funding for and establishment of a modern arboretum or a Plant Introduction Station (at Chapman Field), Small focussed upon preservation and study of Florida's disappearing natural environment, seen in his Deering-supported explorations, publications and the estate's site design.

The Fairchild and Small materials are segregated within the report, not as an indication of lesser importance, but for purposes of understanding in context Deering's botanical activities and the influence of John Kunkel Small upon the site. The format of this report regarding Deering, therefore, continues not as a comprehensive narrative, but as a working document for the various tasks at hand and an indicator of study topics for the future.

Charles Deering's years of work with the Cutler site extended at least from 1913 until his death in 1927. He devoted his energies and resources to recapturing a multitude of ownerships into a single title--that effort alone required a decade of acquisitions of site parcels making up today's Estate site. Oriented to the Bay and designed with grounds planned to preserve the natural and botanical south Florida environment and to establish additional agricultural production areas, the site was routinely called "the Deering reservation" by John Kunkel Small, whose career work won his reputation as an environmentalist, botanist, author and explorer. The Charles Deering Estate site supported Small's carefully-selected and sometimes endangered tropical plant stocks.

Dr. Small implemented Deering's plans and plantings for groves, windbreaks, coastal vegetation, irrigation and fire protection for the large native hammock and pinelands at the estate. Materials indicate that at the Cutler site Small played a day-to-day role in administering and directing operations. Small's conviction that Florida's natural environment was doomed and Deering's concurrence and active support, influenced work at Cutler. Deering's dramatic efforts

to effect an estate plan faithful to the natural environment (and to agriculture and to introduced stock then in favor with botanists such as Small and Fairchild), is the legacy of today's site.

Materials largely missing here relate to Charles Deering's wife, daughters, brother and sister, brother-in-law, son-in-law, International Harvester history, and the two sites Deering restored in Spain-- Mar Y Cel at Sitges and Tamarit near Tarragones. Accession records received from the Registrar of The Art Institute of Chicago include information regarding Deering's collection acquired for a planned art center at Sitges and shipped from there to Chicago and Cutler in Fall of 1921 and winter of 1921-1922. The Institute staff urged, however, the project historian's personal search of the extensive records associated with Deering during the Cutler period. Also potentially productive is future reference to historic materials within the Deering corporation and those contained in a manuscript collection given to Northwestern University and described as relating to Deering, Marion Deering, William Deering, Chauncey McCormick, "and other family members" and a privately published book regarding Mar Y Cel.⁹

Deering's historic reclamation of the sensitive Estate site preceded by decades such massive public projects as planned reclamations within the Everglades. Both the drainage of the Everglades and Okeechobee projects-- and the future impact on environment--were decried by Small and Deering in correspondence and publications. It was Small's compulsion to record and classify South Florida's rapidly-disappearing natural and cultural resources that apparently attracted Charles Deering to associate--personally, philosophically, familiarly and financially--with John Kunkel Small.

CONCLUSION

The research clearly reveals the history of a site uniquely endowed with natural and cultural resources of a consistently significant character. The natural resources supported a series of prehistoric and historic events which ultimately evolved to a remarkably modern story of preservation. History at the Charles Deering Estate at Cutler progressed from native Americans to frontierspeople, developers, farmers, botanists and environmentalists. Additionally, a century of tropical plant introduction is marked between the official onset of Dr. Perrine's work (1827) and the year Charles Deering died on the site (1927).

The final report provides detailed information within four contextual categories: [A] Before Man; [B] Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction; [C] After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential; and [D] Preservation of a Tropical Legacy. Within the categories, seven themes emerged: [I] The Land: The Ridge, the Sea and the Everglades; [II] The Land and Man; [III] The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine; [IV] Addison's Landing: Florida Crackers; [V] Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler, the Perrine Grant Land Company & the F.E.C.; and [VII] Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (A Century of Plant Introduction: Perrine to Deering).

⁹ Records of the U.S.D.A. Bureau of Plant Industry in the National Archives in Washington D.C. and the New York Botanical Gardens archives in New York City bear further preliminary investigation prior to future determination of site-specific research materials.

Charles Deering's initial focus at Cutler lay with preservation of the hammock and pinelands. For Deering, John Kunkel Small designed and executed additional groves, hammock, palm and cactus plantations, and other features--all cloistered within the perimeter wall and the public road, which was moved to the west just outside the wall.

Today the site offers the State of Florida and Metro-Dade County the opportunity to continue Charles Deering's progressive preservation of resources confined within the wall. Materials will support potential interpretation/public programming designs to offer a site-specific story not duplicated among Florida sites.

SOURCES AND CONTRIBUTORS

The work began in October of 1991 at the Charles Deering Estate at Cutler. Following onsite study, the work proceeded to various repositories and private collections, to personal interviews and onsite considerations, over the course of study extending into July of 1992. The consultant is particularly indebted to Arva Moore Parks McCabe and Joe Knetsch. Mrs. McCabe made available her private collection relating to Perrine Flagler, the Cutler site, Charles Deering, the Cutler community, and miscellaneous transcripts of 19th century diarists and reporters. She generously shared professional expertise and knowledge gained through years of research regarding Miami history. Dr. Knetsch offered his expertise regarding historic records of the Florida Department of Natural Resources as well as federal documents related to official survey and Armed Occupation claims, and Congressional documents pertaining to the Perrine claim proceedings.

Herchel

Reference work also included materials housed within the following collections: Charles Deering Estate files housed in the portable Metro-Dade County Parks and Recreation office onsite; Charles Deering Estate records of Metro-Dade County Parks and Recreation Planning Division; Dade County Records of the Clerk of Circuit Court; the 1992 site report of Metro-Dade County Archaeologist Robert Carr report (forthcoming); Historical Association of Southern Florida collection in Miami; Rebecca Spain Schwarz private collection at St. Petersburg, Florida; the Florida State Archives Photographic and Manuscript collections at Tallahassee, Florida; the Master Files of the Division of Corporations, Florida Department of State; the Charles Deering correspondence files and John Kunkel Small photographs deposited at Fairchild Tropical Gardens in Miami; Bureau of Survey and Mapping of the Department of Natural Resources in Tallahassee, Florida; National Archives Record Group 28 (Records of the Post Office Department); National Archives Record Group 23 (Records of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey); The Art Institute of Chicago, records of the Director of Registration; archives of Navistar (formerly International Harvester) of Chicago; Henry Flagler Morrison Museum archives of Palm Beach, Florida; private genealogical collection of Harriet Liles of Coral Gables; private collection of Ferguson Addison of West Palm Beach; private collection of Marion Deering Danielson Strachan Campbell of Groton, Massachusetts; private collection of Barbara Strachan Deering Danielson of Miami. *CS*

The bibliography provides information on specific source materials-- primary and secondary. In addition, it is important to recognize other contributors. The quality of this project significantly increased with their interest, energies and effectiveness. Some offered complete files from private collections or offered advice, even observations; others searched attics and basements or estimated collection materials to the search, or suggested a knowledgeable colleague.

Contributors for this search include Arva Moore Parks, historian; historian Dr. Joe Knetsch of the Florida Department of Natural Resources; Metro-Dade County staffers: archaeologist Bob Carr, historian Margot Ammidown, Parks & Recreation planner and project liaison Kevin Asher, site staffers Debbi Carr, Marianne Olson, Rob Line; architectural consultant Rebecca Spain Schwarz of St. Petersburg; archivist Becky Smith and Dawn Hughs of the Historical Association of Southern Florida; Joan Morris of the Photographic Collection of Florida State Archives, archivist Susan Potts McDonald and historian David Coles of the Florida State Archives; Bert Zuckerman and botanist Carol Lippincott of Fairchild Tropical Gardens Research Center; Susan Tillett and Archie Motley of the Chicago Historical Society; Dr. Althea Jenkins of the American Library Association in Chicago; Finlay Matheson of Miami; Elizabeth Peck of the Florida Division of Corporations; Dr. Allan Fusoni of the U.S.D.A. archives in Beltsville, Maryland; archivist Greg Lennes of Navistar in Chicago; registrar Mary Solt of the Art Institute of Chicago; Ferguson Addison of West Palm Beach; genealogist Harriet Liles of Coral Gables; Louise Yarborough of Dade Heritage Trust; Susan Fraser of the New York Botanical Garden; Rollins Coakley of Venice; art historian Mary Crawford-Volk of Harvard University; Joan Runkel and Tom Prendegast of the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum archives.

This report is particularly indebted to descendants of Charles and Marion Deering--Marion Deering Danielson Strachan Campbell and Barbara Strachan Deering Danielson--who loaned original personal materials and provided firsthand information regarding the site and family histories and, again, to Arva Moore Parks McCabe who organized initial contacts.

Executive Summary
The Charles Deering Estate at Cutler
Attachment 1: Interpretation Recommendations
Linda K. Williams, Museum Exhibit consultant.¹⁰

INTRODUCTION

As noted in Metro-Dade County's preliminary management plan, the Charles Deering Estate is listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and indeed, "few properties anywhere can compare with the richness and diversity of the resource base that is found" on the site. Therefore, interpretation must include not only the importance of the environmentally sensitive natural areas, including pineland, hammock, salt marsh and mangrove forest, but also the relationship between man and the site.

The story of man on the Deering Estate begins with the first native populations and continues through the 19th Century experiences of the Perrine family, Addison's occupation, and the influence of Dr. Cutler on the area's development. The 20th century is rich with the story of the Richmond Inn and the F.E.C. Railroad, which is soon followed by the dramatic presence of Charles Deering. Running throughout a century of human experience is man's study and growing appreciation for the tropics. It is what brought Henry Perrine to South Florida (only to meet his death on Indian Key during the Second Seminole War), it was continued by settlers like John Addison, and it powerfully motivated Charles Deering.

GENERAL SITE INTERPRETATION CONSIDERATIONS

Prior to development of specific exhibits, certain basic assessments should be addressed. These include the following:

1. **Audience evaluation.** Potential audiences for the site should be evaluated regarding their needs, interests, and concerns. Educational experiences can be designed to motivate and benefit the various types of people who will visit the site. For example, Dade County's Hispanic residents and visitors might identify with the colonial-period settlers, Giraldo and Mabrity. That population might additionally appreciate Perrine's 1827 negotiations with the Spanish government (pre Mexican revolution) at Campeche on the Yucatan Peninsula for tropical plant introduction into the United States. Likewise, black heritage education might incorporate the residency of early Bahamian landowners such as the Stirrup family. Interpretation of additional cultural diversity may be defined through future research.

¹⁰ Work began in October of 1991 at the Charles Deering Estate at Cutler and proceeded through May of 1992. Recommendations resulted from a series of cooperative work sessions with Janet Snyder Matthews and Rebecca Spain Schwarz.

2. **Site Distinction.** Another consideration should be an evaluation of the other historical, archaeological, and environmental opportunities already serving the Dade County community. Although it is very important to allow the site to direct interpretation instead of the objectives of Parks and Recreation Department directing site use, it is also prudent not to duplicate services. Programs and exhibits offered at other locations, such as The Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Fairchild Garden, Vizcaya and other Dade County parks, interpret area history, archaeology, botany and environmental science. Programs and exhibits at the Charles Deering Estate should be designed to complement these other area offerings. Such an evaluation should be addressed as part of the interpretive planning process.

3. **Director.** In regard to administering a cohesive overall interpretative program, the Charles Deering Estate would be best served by a full-time site director. This museum professional would oversee the curatorial, educational, and site maintenance staff in order to guarantee that this unique resource is properly preserved while still delivering vital services to the public.

4. **Curator.** A professional curator should be added to the site's management staff. It was observed during site visits that significant artifacts are not being cared for properly (i.e., a box of plant identification signs, dating to the work of John Kunkel Small, were haphazardly piled in a box in the kitchen of the Richmond Inn). Professional attention is required for such artifacts, plus others which may be procured in the future through donation or loan from site descendants, museums, and other sources. In addition, the Curator would direct future research for temporary exhibits and assist the education staff with site interpretation.

5. **Interpretive center.** As noted in the management plan, a modern visitor center should be constructed outside of the Deering perimeter wall, removed from the environmentally, historically, archaeologically, and interpretively sensitive site. Ideally, the visitor parking lot should be adjacent to the new center. The property west of Southwest 72nd Avenue or south of Southwest 168th Street appear most feasible. Other historic sites have successfully dealt with this issue. For example, the Thomas Edison house in Fort Myers, a site which attracts tens of thousands of visitors annually, placed its visitor center across the street. This has allowed for the expansion of public parking and other support services as required without impacting the historic character of the home and gardens. An added benefit of an off-site location for the Deering Estate visitor center is the convenient accessibility for nighttime activities. Meetings and programs could be held without opening the principle Deering estate. Modern public restrooms, auditorium, classrooms, staff offices, and site maintenance storage areas could be incorporated into the new complex, which would be 100% handicapped accessible and environmentally controlled. An exhibit gallery, designed to introduce visitors to the site and its history, would also serve as a gathering place for school groups and other tours.

6. **Site entry.** If feasible, visitors to the Charles Deering Estate should approach the site via the road along Deering's perimeter stone wall, crossing the Deering bridge and proceeding to the new visitor parking lot and interpretive center outside the wall. Through introductory exhibits and audio-visual programming within the modern building,

visitors will be oriented to the site and its treasures. Equipped with either a tour map or accompanying a tour guide, visitors will enter the historic site through the original Deering auto entrance gate in the stone wall.

Key to a successful site interpretation is development of exhibits which provide a complete message. It is recommended that themes at each location be designed so that each stands alone. For instance, the first, middle or last stop on a visit should independently convey its own storyline. Ideally, site interpretation should not depend upon a tour guide.

7. **Restoration.** The historic fabric of the entire complex should be authentically restored or rehabilitated, including buildings, drives, turning basin, walls and landscaped areas. Restorations should follow The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings. Building interiors should be environmentally controlled to meet present day conservation requirements for historic artifacts. Once restored, the Deering "rock" house, Richmond Cottage, power house, coach house, and water storage building provide useful site-specific space for historical interpretation and the first floors of each can accommodate public access.

Prior to construction of an interpretive center, the upper floors of all historic buildings might be adapted to house various support activities. These might include administrative functions, meetings, educational programs, caretaker lodging and artifact storage.

8. **Exhibit strategy.** It is recommended that all exhibits throughout the estate follow a comprehensive plan featuring coordinated color schemes, formats and designs. Also, it is important that the site visitor be enabled to easily distinguish between what is historic or original, and what is newly added for interpretive purposes.

(See Attachment 2: Interpretive Themes Map, pp. xxvi.)

CONTEXTS AND THEMES

Context A: Before Man

I. The Land: The Ridge, the Sea and the Everglades [geology]

The formation of oolitic ridge, (a rim holding back the waters of the Everglades) and how it led to the future significance of the site, is an important place to begin the story of the Deering Estate. The flow of fresh water from the Everglades at the site became the stopping point for maritime traffic along the Atlantic coast, probably from the time of the area's first inhabitants. Identified as the Hunting Grounds, this source of fresh water supported the hammock, which supported animals, which led to human occupation.

This theme could be part of the orientation center's introductory exhibits. The first surveyor mapped the flow of fresh water into the hammock and a ditch-like flow out to the bay, and this map should be reproduced in the exhibit. The vegetation surrounding the creekbed,

particularly those plants native to the area, could be identified and explained onsite through plant signs.

Context B: Before Subdividers: A Frontier & Tropical Plant Introduction

II. The Land and Man: The first inhabitants

The consultant did not have access to documentation of prehistoric occupation of the Deering property, therefore no recommendations for site interpretation of this theme have been made.

III. The Hunting Ground: Settlers, Surveyors and Perrine (1821 - 1851)

The internationally famous story of Henry Perrine, his interest in tropical vegetation, life and death on Indian Key, and the lifelong efforts of his family to assert their claim in South Florida to a township of land, is an important, fascinating story. This begins a century of plant introduction on this site.

At the same time, the area was visited and occupied by settlers and mariners. This site was a place to put in for fresh water, as noted by the early United States land and coastal surveyors. The first land claims that we know of, the beginning of the era of ownership, are Antonio Giraldo, Frances A. Mabrity (from Key West), John Walters and Robert Fletcher. The leading character of the site--a source of fresh water-- was known to all travelers, whose only viable means of transportation was by boat.

This theme merits attention in the visitor's center. Until then, an interpretive exhibit could be housed within one of the Deering out buildings, perhaps the power house or water storage building. Materials relating to Henry Perrine's life, and his death on Indian Key could be displayed. Recommend that copies of original survey plat map and coastal map be displayed, noting significance in the Gulf Stream and coastal trade routes, as well as the fresh water location, a flowing creek from the Everglades. Also available for interpretation are charts of the land showing houses, plus the early surveyors' field notes describing clearings and plantings. Because the introduction of tropical plants is a major recurring theme for the Deering estate, this exhibit would be a good place to begin interpreting its importance.

Another possible theme is the Second Seminole War adventures of Harney, perhaps leaving from this site prior to attack Chekika. Seminole and military artifacts, illustrations and first person accounts could be incorporated into a display.

Theme IV. Addisons' Landing: Florida Crackers (1864 - c. 1911)

The clearing where John and Mary Townsend Addison's house once stood has been identified as such by Robert Carr, Dade County archaeologist. It is an appropriate location for telling their story, a typical pioneer establishment - - house and outbuildings-- lifestyle of planting, hunting, raising livestock and taking in boarders. Surviving in the relative wilderness may be

seen in accounts regarding their clothing, their weapons, their dogs, and even their means of protecting their supplies from insects. Henry Perrine, the son of Dr. Perrine who was killed at Indian Key in 1840, spent the winter of 1876-1877 next door to the Addisons, and his account describes how tough it was to live in such isolation. The contrast between the educated Perrine and the illiterate Addison offers an interesting dimension to the interpretative story.

Because none of the Addison structures still exist, one possible interpretive method is an outdoor kiosk, a covered panel display area providing shade from the Florida sun. Such exhibit fabrications have been done at other parks and historic sites by exhibit firms like Wilderness Graphics, Inc. A bench under the roofed area will allow visitors to rest, absorb the information provided, and enjoy the site. Another possibility, if archaeological research can provide sufficient information, is to create low perimeter walls indicating size and location of the Addison house and outbuildings.

The content at this exhibition should include: the Florida Cracker experience (and overland migration), the Florida mainland to Key West to Havana cattle trade, Florida during the Civil War, pioneer isolation, and lifestyle (i.e., what pioneers did to keep ants out of food, etc.), as well as productive plants of the pioneer experience. Perrine's account, Munroe photographs, and Rockwood illustrations can be used to illustrate these themes.

Another significant area for interpretation is Addison's Landing site, if it can be accurately located through archaeological investigation. Here the importance of maritime traffic throughout the site's history could be shared, perhaps through another outdoor display kiosk.

Context C: After Subdivision: The Real Estate Potential

Theme V. Dr. Cutler, the town of Cutler and the Perrine claim (1883 - 1897)

Across Florida, great stretches of land were open to development after Hamilton Disston purchased 4 million acres from the State in 1881. Investors/developers such as Dr. William Clark Cutler of Boston, MA, arrived to take advantage of a new frontier, exciting coastal, potentially profitable, lands. Cutler, and his associate, William Fuzzard, began purchasing land north of the Perrine Grant and Addison's Landing in 1883. This follows the state-wide phenomenon of outside money being invested in Florida land development.

The official beginning of a new era was marked by the opening of the Post Office, by William Fuzzard in 1884. As with countless other pioneer communities, the post office meant the end of isolation from friends and family left behind and attracted more tourists and potential land buyers. The Post Office was not named after Addison's Landing, but called "Cutler," for the new town to be developed. Fuzzard located the post office on/near Cutler land, at present day S.W. 152nd Street, the northern boundary of the Deering Estate.

Dr. William Clark Cutler, a medical practitioner, apparently recognized the legitimate claims of the so-called "Squatters" Union, the early settlers of the area. The settlement of these claims, those of the Perrine Grant Land Co., as well as other development, necessitated a professional survey by a qualified civil engineer. By 1896, the entire hammock, Addison's

Landing, and surrounding acreage had been subdivided into 110 blocks by S.H. Richmond. When ultimately the Florida East Coast Railway interests were combined with Perrine interests, Richmond became an agent for the sale of lands, and his wife Edith was the proprietress of a FEC-backed inn, called Richmond Cottage.

Perhaps the ideal location to tell the story of Cutler, the "town" as well as the man/developer, is in the earliest section of the Richmond Cottage (Shepard Associates 1988: documentation drawing, room 107). Historic photographs, Richmond's original subdivision plat, early letters, and the Post Office application can be used in interpretive displays, perhaps free-standing silkscreened panels placed within the room. Possible artifacts could include early surveying equipment and period house artifacts.

Theme VI. Dr. Richmond, the Perrine Grant Land Company & the F.E.C.(1895-1913)

The Richmond Cottage exemplifies the arrival of Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway. The inn, officially called Richmond Cottage and built as an eastern addition to the original Richmond house, typified the elegance of Flagler-associated tourist accommodations. It was finished the winter of 1899-1900, three years after Flagler's Royal Palm Hotel opened in Miami, and as his railroad was being extended southward towards Homestead and the Florida Keys. The "modern" facility featured airy open rooms, a bayfront veranda, and a telephone. . . all of which were featured in Flagler's promotional newspaper, the Miami Metropolis.

The two, east front rooms, would lend themselves beautifully to the interpretation of the Flagler/FEC story, the woman proprietress, Edith Richmond, and the tourist industry. The fact that other early wood-framed inns, such as the Peacock Inn in Coconut Grove, have long since disappeared from the South Florida coastline, underlines and dramatizes the treasure represented by the Richmond Cottage.

The Cottage guest register, Richmond and early Deering photographs, Miami Metropolis articles, FEC artifacts, and appropriate artifacts depicting that lifestyle, i.e. telephone, silverware, dishes, trunks, and period furniture could be used to communicate this theme.

Context D: Preservation of a Tropical Legacy

VII. Charles Deering: Saving the Hammock and Pinelands (1913 - 1927)

The historical research reveals two major themes for site interpretation. One is based on Charles Deering's contribution of reuniting many small properties into one large parcel, vacating public ownership of highways and buying back riparian rights sold with subdivision lots. Deering's accomplishment made his custodianship more in keeping with the earlier settlers than with the developers whose ownership immediately preceded his on the site. The second theme focuses upon a remarkable century of plant introduction to the site, (1827 - 1927) which begins with the tropical enterprise (1827) aspired to by Dr. Henry Perrine and continues to the collaboration of John Kunkel Small with Deering until Deering's death (1927). Small's work

with Deering insured the preservation of the hammock plus nurtured the introduction of many tropical plants.

Interpretation of Charles Deering and his estate can be divided into four main topics:

1. The artist. From the time of Charles Deering's officership in the Navy, he was attracted to European artists, their society and their work. He possessed an artist's eye and produced work in various media. Deering developed genuine, lifelong friendships with such noted artists as Anders Zorn, John Singer Sargent, Ramon Casas, and others. His artistic energies exhibited themselves in the events of his life: he painted for one season in Zorn's studio; he produced portraits of his grandfather and others; he restored two estates on the Mediterranean coast; and he was an astute collector of art, including prints, drawings, and pre-Catalan materials, now primarily housed at the Art Institute of Chicago.

In 1921 and 1922, crates of artwork began arriving at the Deering Estate from New York. Simultaneously Deering planned the construction of a fire-proof, Mediterranean style residence to house his treasures. Already dedicated to preserving the hammock, Deering sited his new mansion adjacent to the existing Richmond Cottage, within the original lot lines of the Richmond's property.

The stone house provides an interesting location for interpreting Deering, the artist, to the visiting public. Indeed, even the unusual juxtaposition-- corner to corner-- of the new structure with the existing Richmond Cottage, (was it an artistically motivated decision? or perhaps scientific or environmentally motivated?) offers challenging interpretation opportunities.

The large north, first floor room (Shepard Assoc. #101), designed to house his art collection, is an appropriate location to interpret Deering the artist. The coffered ceiling and clerestory windows afforded diffused lighting appropriate for the display of art. The 17 ft. high ceiling was planned to accommodate generous gallery space. As his granddaughter, Marion Campbell recollects, she could not even put her small fist between the closely hung paintings which adorned the walls and stairwell. Reproduction period pieces of furniture could provide multi-use for the area, including the normal tours plus meetings, conferences and receptions. The possibility of borrowing artwork from the Charles Deering collection at the Art Institute of Chicago to hang on the room's walls should be explored; reproductions is an alternative solution. Free-standing interpretive panel exhibits, with photographs, illustrations and text, will provide important information combined with flexible public use of the space.

2. The industrialist. At the same time that William Cutler was establishing a place called "Cutler," Charles Deering was returning from Europe at his father's request to enter the highly-competitive arena of agricultural inventions and production. Deering was well-equipped for the executive responsibilities, earlier he had graduated second from the Naval Academy, distinguished himself throughout eight years of military officership, and exhibited the Puritan-minded work ethic qualities inherited from his father. By 1902,

Deering became Chairman of the Board of the newly-formed International Harvester Company, headquartered in New York. It was one of the largest, most powerful corporations in the world.

With his brother James, Charles Deering traveled world-wide, negotiating with foreign governments, establishing production plants, and monitoring the all-important sales network.

The south room in the stone house (Shepard Assoc. #103), originally containing bookshelves ordered from New York City, offers a logical location to display Deering as the industrialist. This room was filled with row after row of library stacks, loaded with books on ornithology, genealogy, and naval topics. A buzzer located in the floor in the middle of the room was used to call the servants. As with the north room, the interpretive story here should be communicated on free-standing panels featuring photographs, letters, and text. If sufficient representative copies of the books once enjoyed by Deering can be acquired, bookcases could be located against the walls, accommodating traffic flow of visitors within the room.

Deering's scientific interests compelled his fascination with the changing environment and weather triggered by drainage of the Everglades. The rooftop cupola, by 1930 a U.S.C.G.S. triangulation base, was outfitted with complex equipment to measure and record weather. A display case within the south room could contain meteorological equipment similar to what Deering had.

3. The farmer. Any interpretation of the life of Charles Deering would not be complete without including agriculture. Indeed, the fortune which would finance the development of his estate stemmed from his leadership of the International Harvester Company from 1902 until 1910. After retiring to South Florida, Deering enjoyed cultivating a variety of tropical foods including citrus, mangoes and avocados. And his correspondence with noted botanist John Kunkel Small and others is filled with enthusiastic comments about tasting, serving, shipping and introducing varieties from the groves of his estate.

Additionally, Deering's allocation of portions of his Cutler estate to citrus, avocado and mango groves coincides with an era when South Florida was emerging as an important agricultural producer. In fact, one of the major reasons that Flagler extended his F.E.C. Railway south was to develop and sell farmlands and transport produce to northern markets. Agriculture is a key element to both site interpretation and South Florida history.

It is recommended that sections of existing groves, perhaps the mango\citrus area north of the entrance drive be used to uniquely interpret Deering, the farmer. An outdoor kiosk similar to the one described earlier for Addison's clearing could include exhibit panels which describe Deering's background in agriculture and his groves at Cutler. One area of the grove could be devoted to cultivating plants grown by Deering. Other areas might be devoted to: tropical plants introduced by Perrine, the U.S.D.A., Richmond and Small, as well as Deering; the history of plants continually prominent throughout historic site cultivation--such as Sisal hemp, corn and oranges; and even

interpretation of the historic Bahamian method of dynamiting a cavity in the limestone for planting each tree in a grove. If future plans call for a restaurant or cafe on the premises, several dishes could feature citrus, mangoes, and avocados. A clever menu could provide a history lesson.

4. The environmentalist. The emergence of Charles Deering's estate in Cutler began in 1913 and continued until his death in 1927. As noted earlier, he devoted his energies and resources to recapturing many land parcels into a single title. His property was oriented to Biscayne Bay and designed to preserve the natural and botanical south Florida environment. Two individuals, David Fairchild, the U.S.D.A.'s first Chief of the Plant Introduction Section, and to a much greater degree, John Kunkel Small, Director of Research and Curator of the New York Botanical Garden, worked with Deering in developing an estate plan designed to preserve and classify South Florida's rapidly disappearing natural environment.

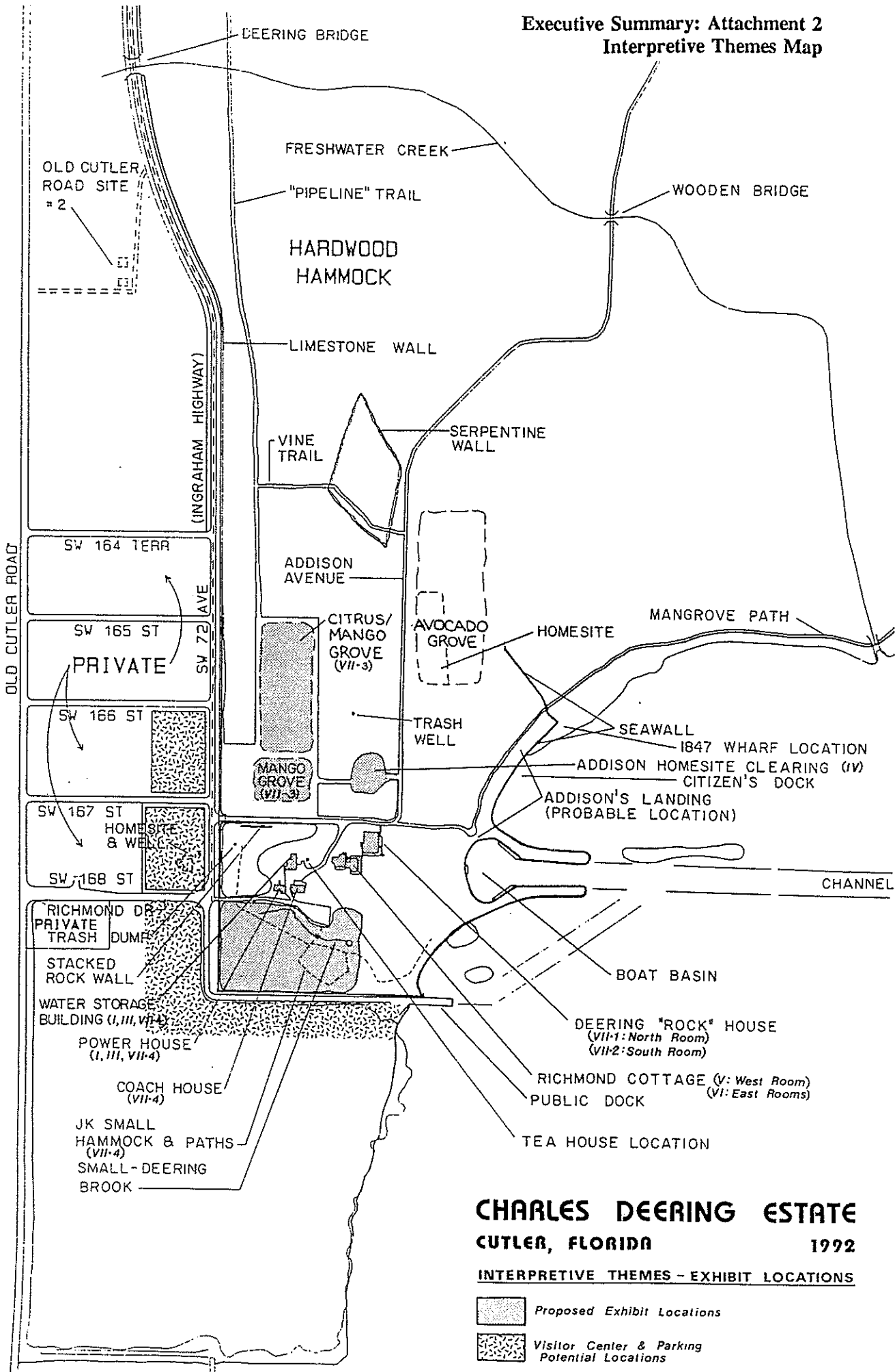
Two interpretive formats are recommended to communicate this aspect of the Deering estate. The first is to use one of the Deering outbuildings (power house, coach house, or water storage building) to display artifacts, documents (primarily correspondence), and photographs relating to Deering's association with Fairchild and Small. Several of the original plant signs and botanical specimens could be displayed. An AV program could present a "first person" conversation based on actual correspondence between Small and Deering. The dialogue could focus upon the fate of the South Florida environment as a result of Everglades drainage. The style and format of the exhibits should match those produced for the other interpretive themes.

A second recommendation is to design a nature trail routed to allow visitors to see many of the plants either planted by Small or representative of those which were introduced or preserved at the site. The trail should include the south section of the estate where Small's brook and hammock still exist. Plant signs could be replicas of those dating to the Small/Deering era, with additional outdoor signs produced to provide additional information.

THE CHALLENGE

The wealth of botanical, archaeological and historic resources preserved at the Deering Estate presents a wonderful opportunity to communicate the story of man in South Florida within the context of modern day concerns and needs. The estate can truly become the County's premiere historic site, contributing far more to the community's understanding of its past than Viscaya, Fairchild Gardens or the other fine parks in Dade County. The Department of Parks and Recreation is faced with the challenge of preserving for the future while still communicating to its present-day audience, a challenge which has been met by historic and environmental sites across the nation.

**Executive Summary: Attachment 2
Interpretive Themes Map**



**CHARLES DEERING ESTATE
CUTLER, FLORIDA 1972**

INTERPRETIVE THEMES - EXHIBIT LOCATIONS

- Proposed Exhibit Locations
- Visitor Center & Parking Potential Locations



Executive Summary
Charles Deering Estate at Cutler
Attachment 3: Site Graphics
Rebecca Spain Schwarz, Architectural Consultant

Figure 1. Charles Deering Estate site 1992: Location of Historic Elements	xxvii
Figure 2. Plat Map, MacKay 1845, Jackson 1847	xxviii
Figure 3. U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Coast Chart No. 166, 1848-1851	xxix
Figure 4. S.H. Richmond survey, 1899	xxx
Figure 5. Portion of Map of Townships 54 to 58 South, Ranges 38 to 42 East (Showing Perrine Grant Land Company Holdings), 1903	xxxi
Figure 6. Charles Deering acquisitions, 1913 - 1925 Selected List of Sellers, 1913 - 1925	xxxii xxxiii
Figure 7. Charles Deering Estate Plat, Cutler, Florida, 1932	xxxiv
Figure 8. U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Topographic Map No. 7-5626, 1935	xxxv



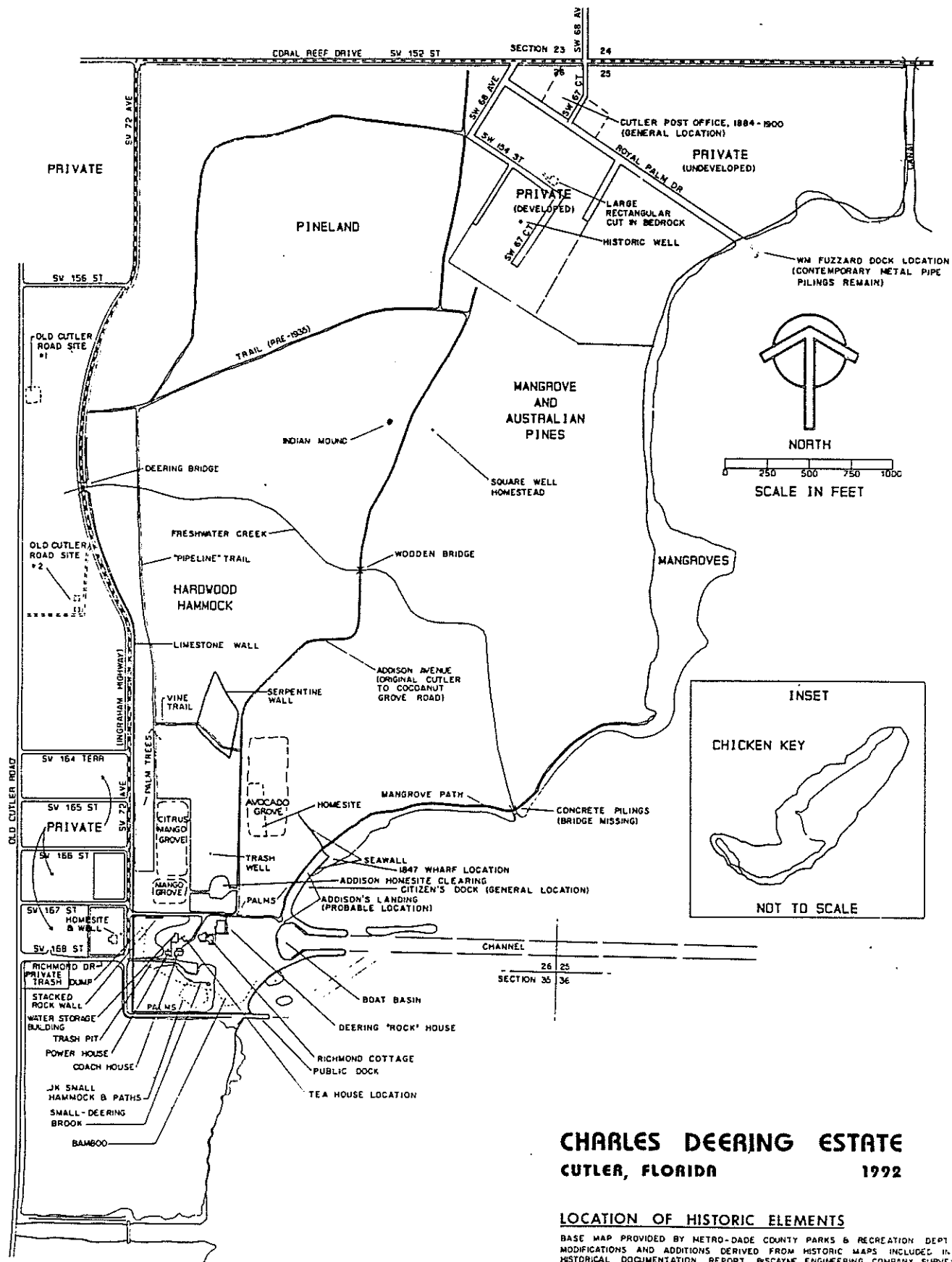


Figure 1.
Charles Deering Estate site 1992: Location of Historic Elements

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Figure 3.
U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Coast Chart No. 166, 1848-1851

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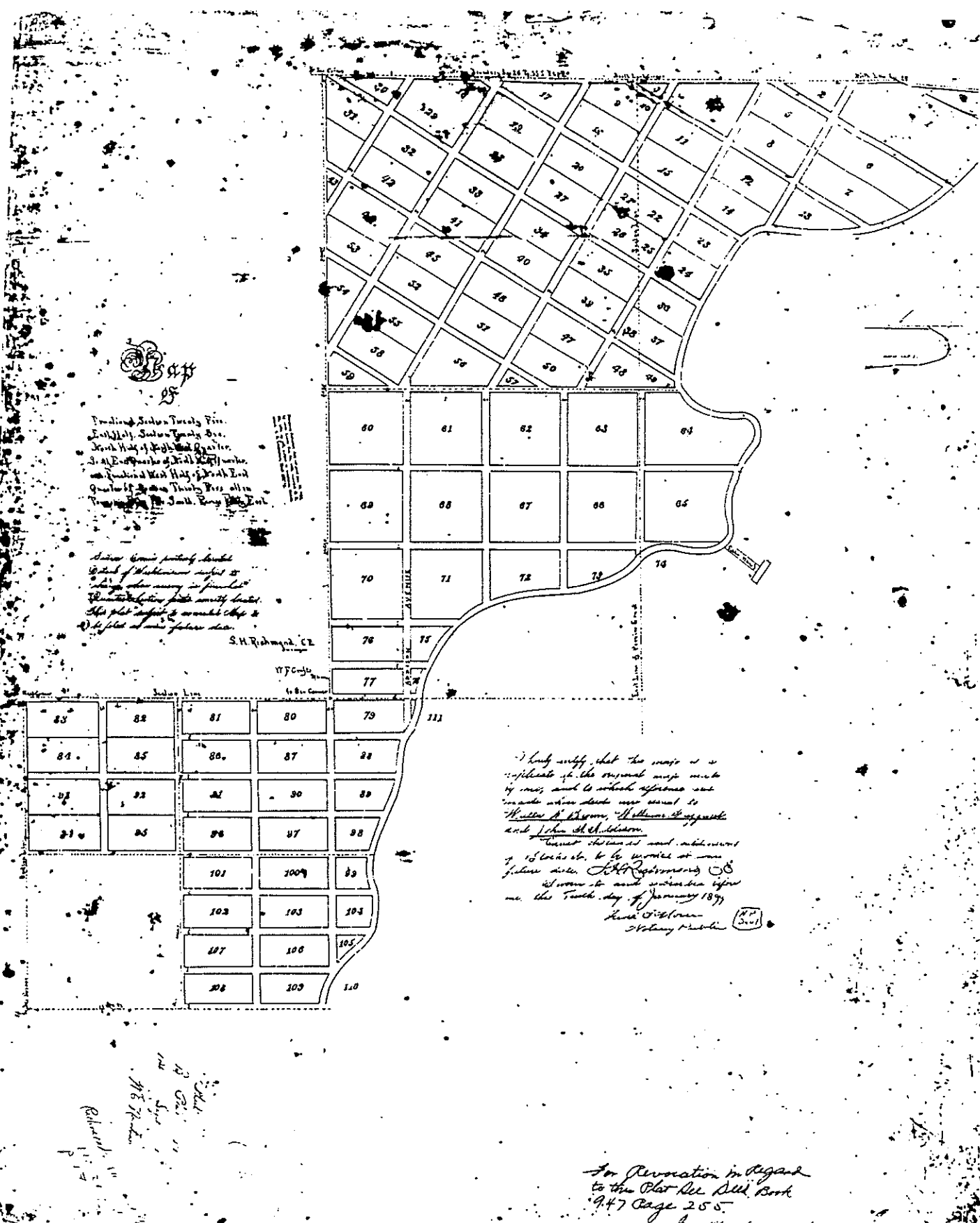


Figure 4.
S.H. Richmond survey, 1899

*For Revision in regard
to the Plat See Old Book
947 Page 255*

*Geo. F. Holly, Clerk
By: M. B. Smith, D.C.*



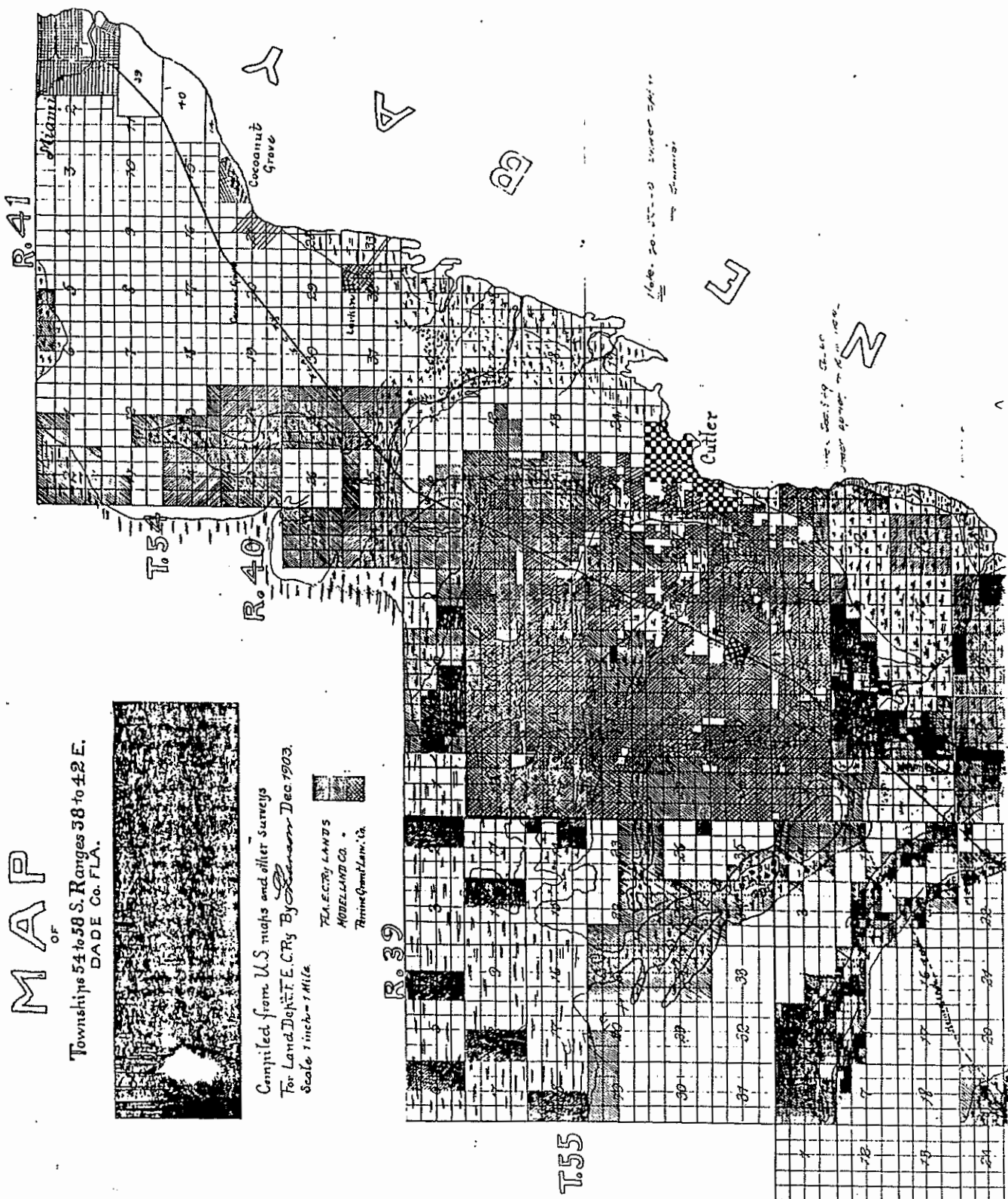


Figure 5.
Portion of Map of Townships 54 to 58 South, Ranges 38 to 42 East
(Showing Perrine Grant Land Company Holdings), 1903





CHARLES DEERING LAND ACQUISITIONS

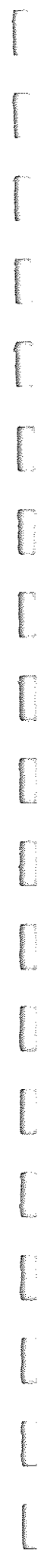
1913 MIAMI BANK & TRUST COMPANY
1914 PERRINE GRANT LAND COMPANY
1915 WILLIAM & ANTONICA M. FUZZARD
1915 J. D. & SARAH L. FOWLER
1915 W. C. WATSON
1915 ROLAND S. & MARY R. KOLB
1915 EDITH M. & S. H. RICHMOND
1916 JONATHAN JR. & HAZEL S. WAINWRIGHT
1916 KIRK & MARY B. MUNROE
1916 PERRINE GRANT LAND COMPANY
1916 HENRY M. BROGDON
1916 EDITH M. & S. H. RICHMOND
1916 JOHN M. HASSALL
1916 A. T. & ANNIE T. DUVAL
1916 J. N. & MARY G. HAZELHURST
1916 THE TROPICAL TRADES COMPANY
1917 PERRINE GRANT LAND COMPANY *
1917 LOUIS F. & EDNA M. SNEDIGER
1917 ANNIE A. (formerly Mrs. Alfred
G. Sixby) & JOSEPH SPELOCK

1919 EMMY NYBERG
1920 FREDERICK S. MORSE
1923 THE TROPICAL TRADES COMPANY
1923 SARAH R. W. PALMER
1923 ANNIE A. (formerly Mrs. Alfred
G. Sixby) & JOSEPH SPELOCK

1923 H. & ANNA SCHWENN
1923 WILLIAM T. & MINNIE S. ROBERTS
AND JOSEPH L. & ABBIE L. ROBERTS

1923 MARY A. & E. C. GAUNT
1925 J. N. & MAMIE MORRISON
1925 W. J. & LILLIAN DOUGHERTY

* (incl. riparian rights and submerged
lands adjoining fractional SE 1/4 of
Section 26, fractional SW 1/4 of Section
25, and north 306.75 feet of fractional
NW 1/4 of NE 1/4 of Section 35, all in
Township 55 South, Range 40 East)



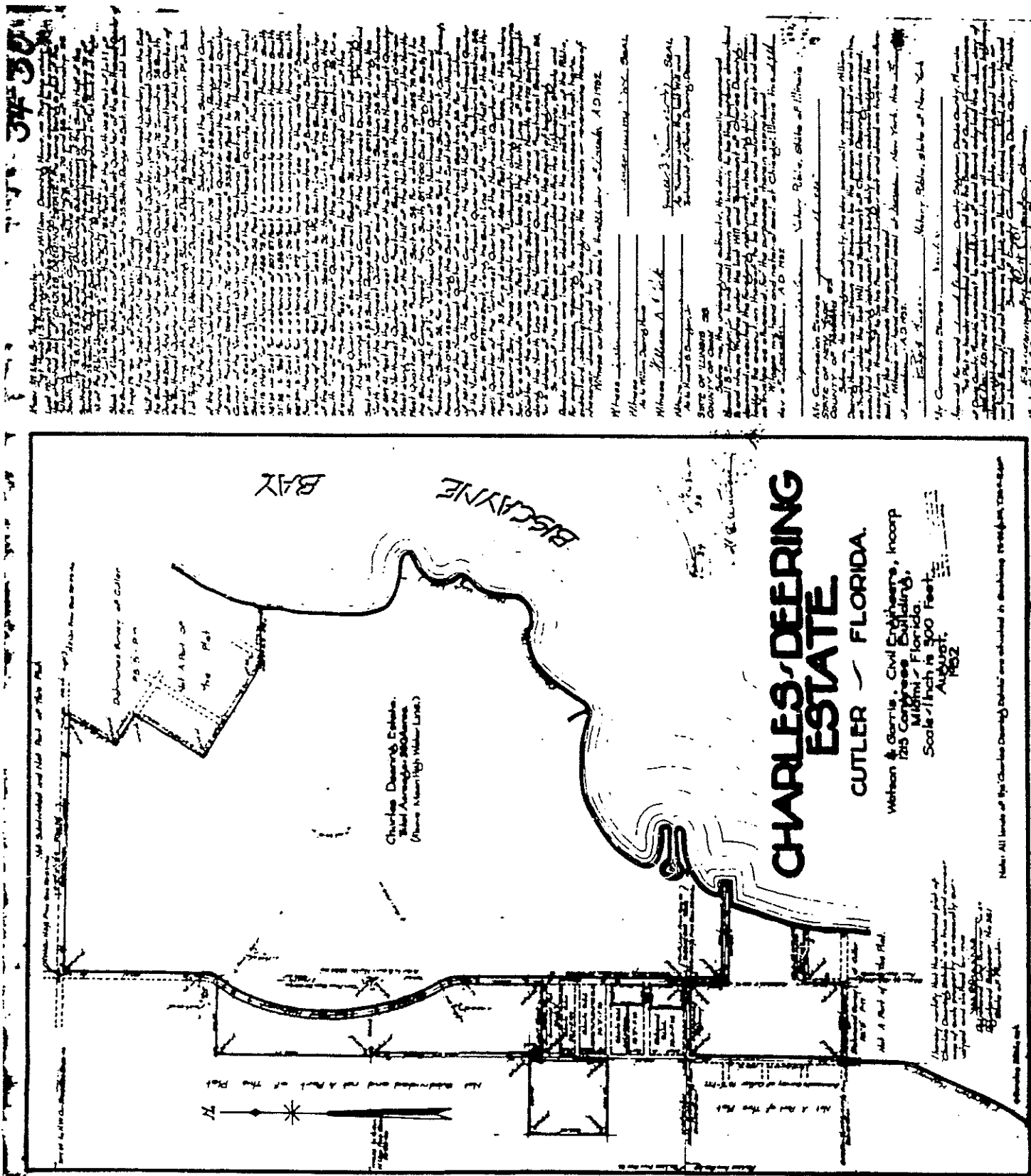


Figure 7.
Charles Deering Estate Plat, Cutler, Florida, 1932

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10/10/10

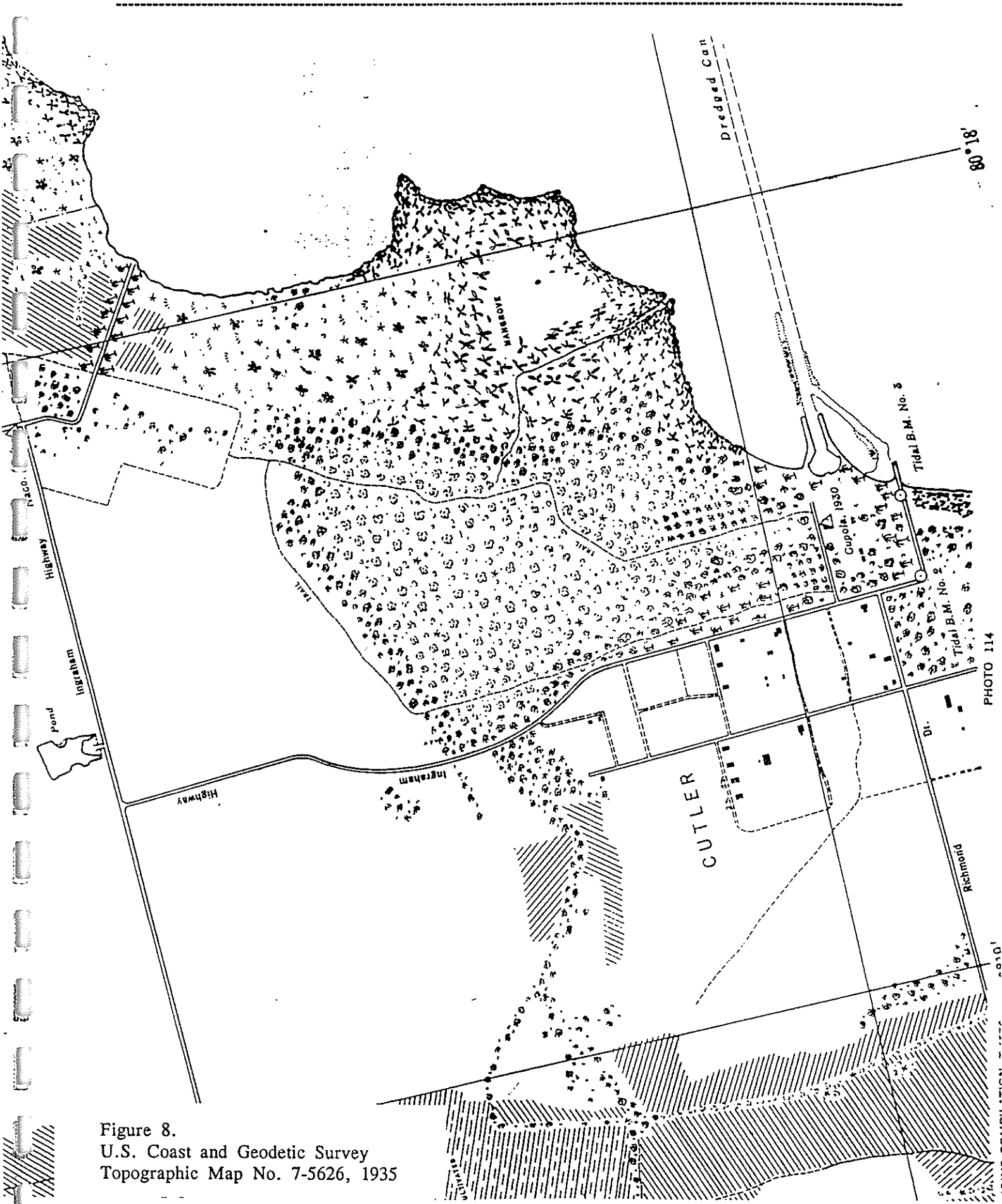


Figure 8.
U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
Topographic Map No. 7-5626, 1935



Appendix D.

Ralph Munroe photographs of Addisons, ca. 1890s





John Addison house
Arva Parks & Company Collection



Addison standing up in tree, Cutler
Arva Parks & Company Collection



Appendix E.

Caroline Rockwood, "Seminole At Home," ca. 1890s
Sketch of John and Mary Addisons' house and kitchen



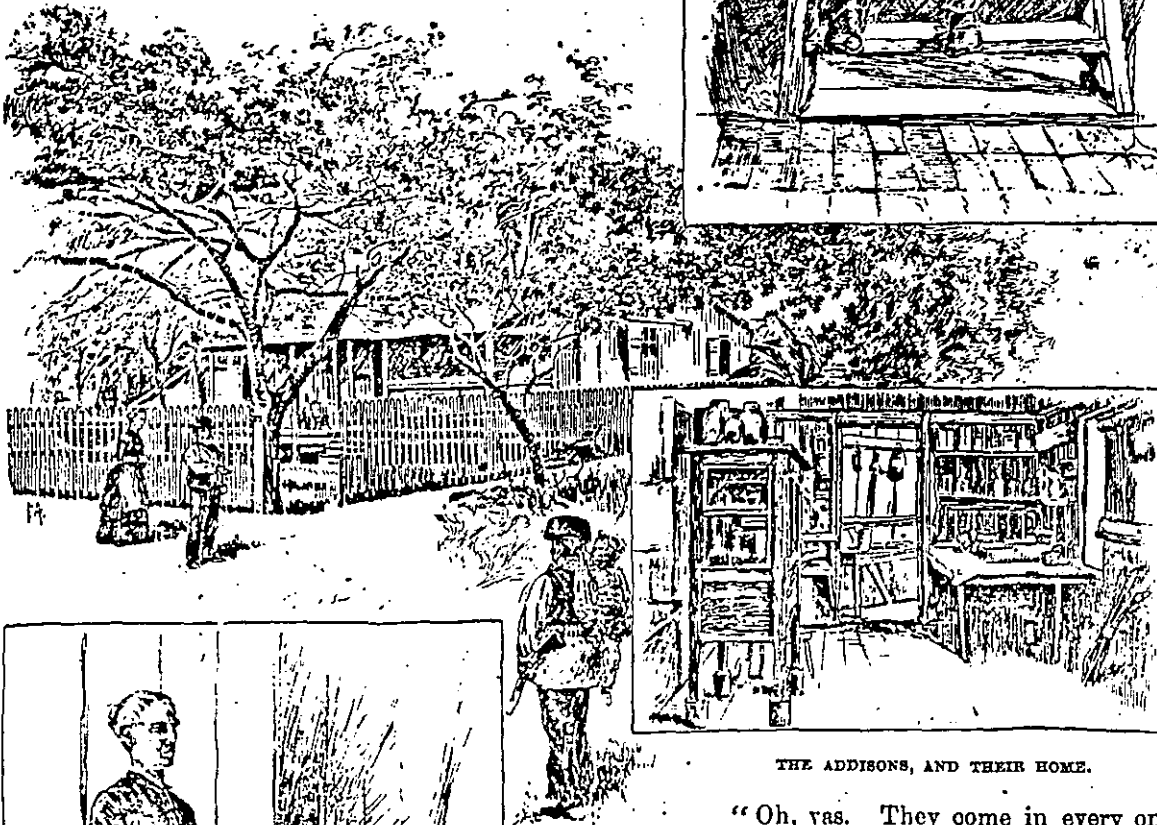
"You must have had a good many narrow escapes," I said, beguilingly.

"Yas. Lots of 'em."

"What is the closest you can remember?"

"Wal, I guess about ten foot, with an Injun back of it. Ef he hadn't missed his aim that time, I wouldn't be here now, sure;" and a quiet smile spread over the keen face, as he looked up at me with a quaint bob of his head.

"Do you see many Indians at your place, Mr. Addison?" was my next question.



THE ADDISONS, AND THEIR HOME.



"Oh, yas. They come in every once in awhile."

"Do you think they understand English better than they speak it?"

"Jest as well as you do, mostly, and can talk if they want to."

"Is it quite safe to go to their camps?"

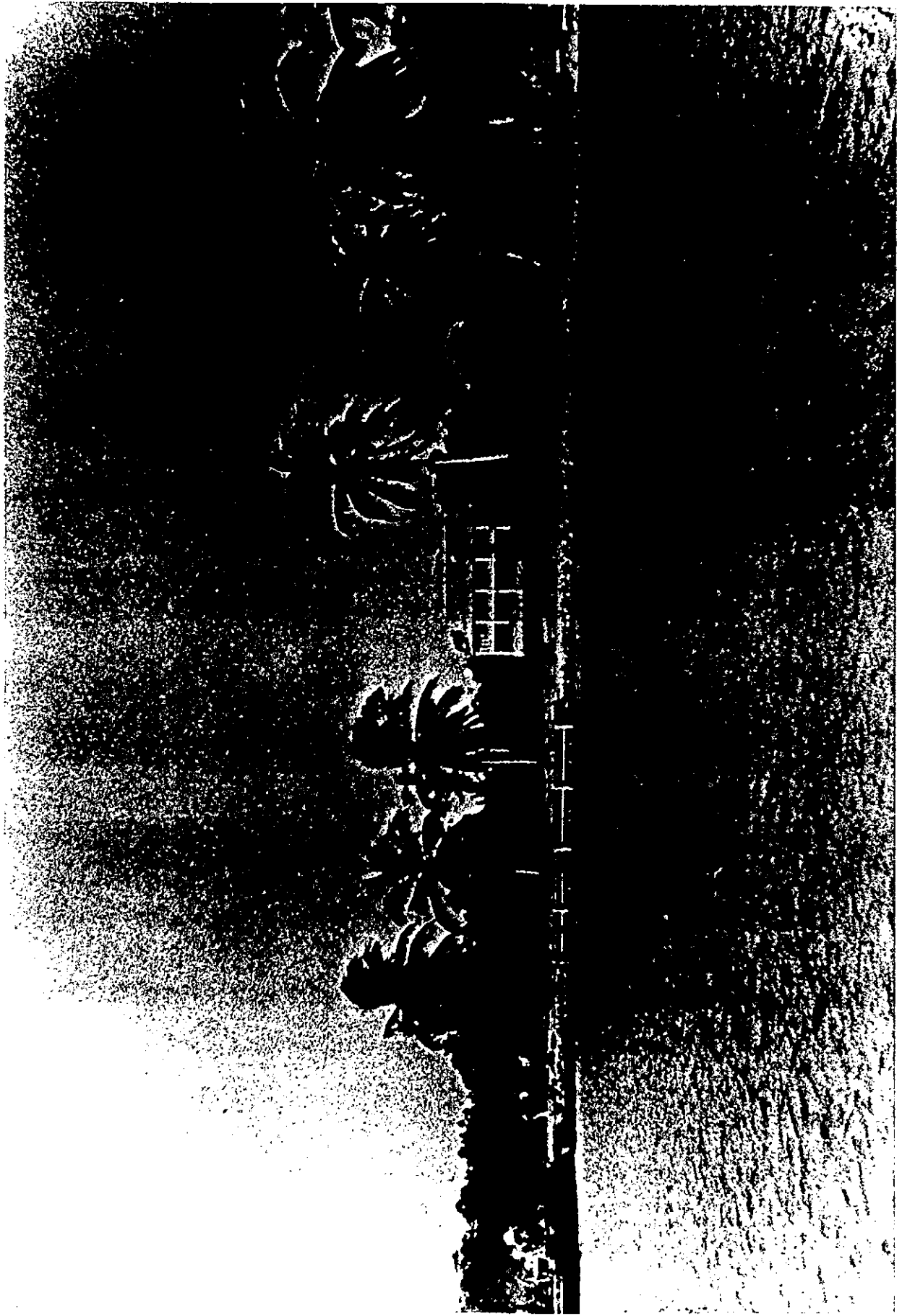
"Sartin—and they will treat you well every time. Why, me and ——— went to 'Matlo's' camp, and you never see such a rattlin' round to get up a good dinner. 'Matlo' said, 'Bucks stay,' and I tell you we got as fine a dinner as anybody wants. Sweet corn, sweet potatoes, Indian corn cake, roast venison, and the best of coffee, and plenty of it. Oh, yas. They had forty Injuns in that camp—braves and squaws and



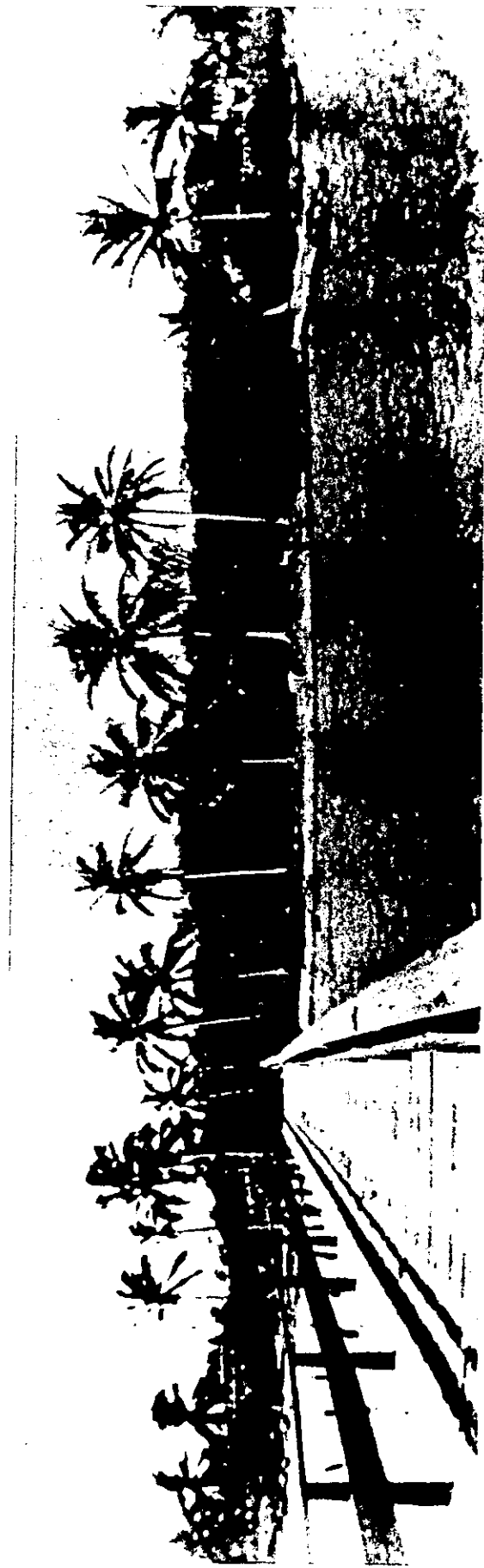
Appendix F.

Photographs of Cutler and Richmond Cottage

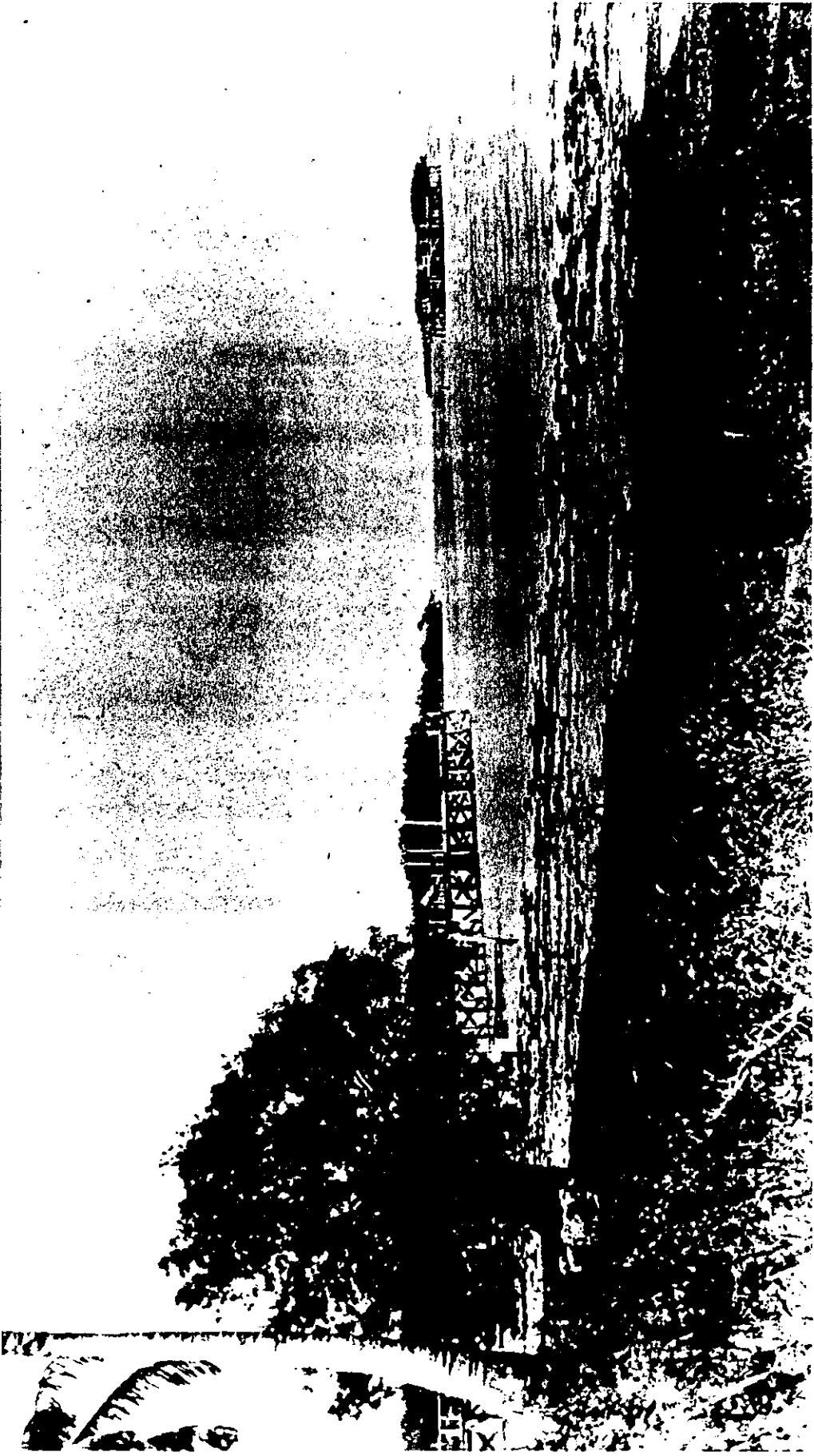




Cutler, Richmond Cottage. Looking across turning basin. November 1916.
(Finlay B. Matheson and Historical Association of Southern Florida collections)



Citizen's Dock and Richmond Cottage
(Finlay B. Matheson and Historical Association of Southern Florida collections)



Citizen's Dock, Outler
(Finlay B. Matheson and Historical Association of Southern Florida collections)



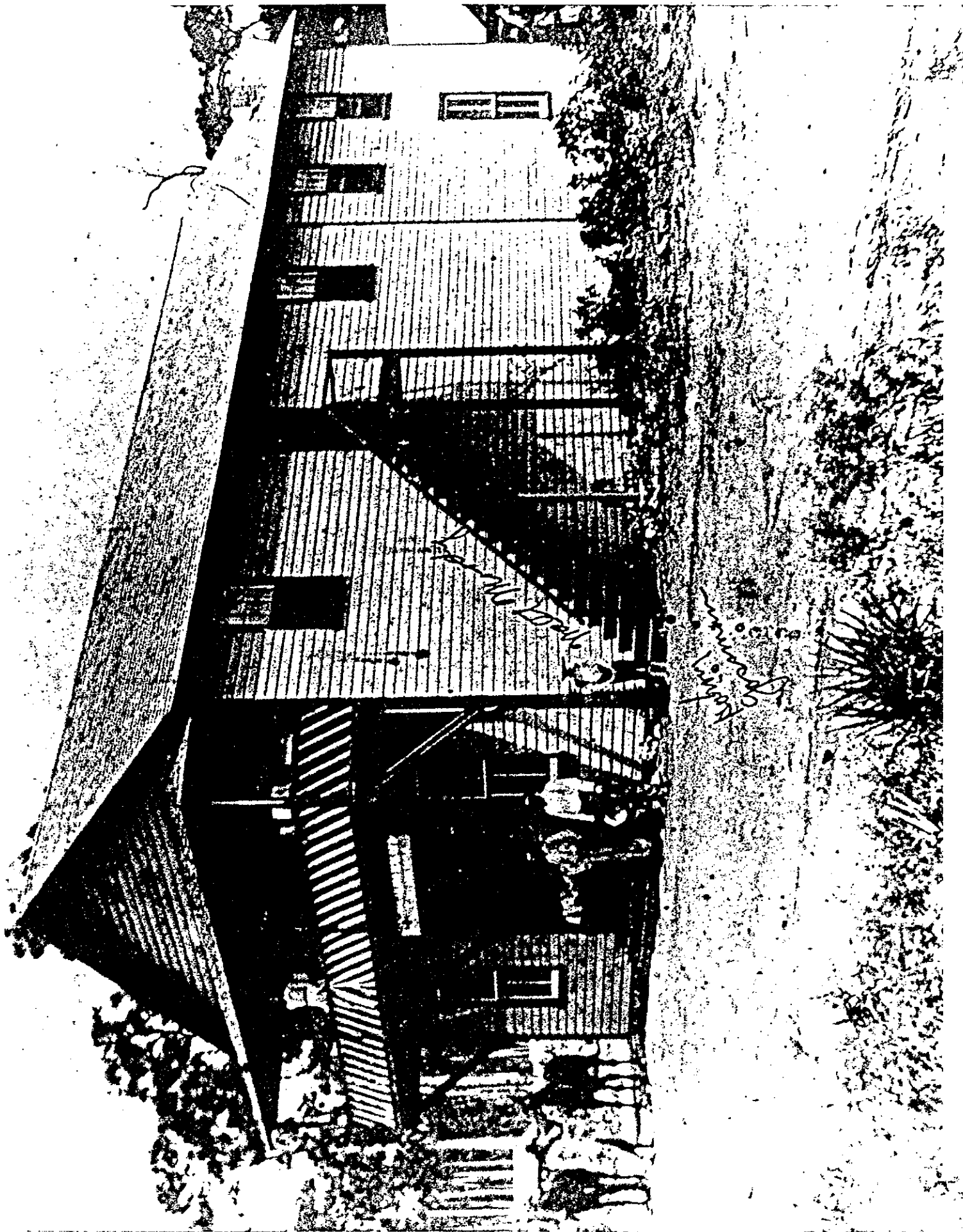
William Fuzzard Dock at Royal Palm Drive
(Finlay B. Matheson and Historical Association of Southern Florida collections)



Cutler Post Office, 1896
(Finlay B. Matheson and Historical Association of Southern Florida collections)



Dougherty factory and home at Cutler. Late 19th century.
(Arva Parks & Company collection)



Brown and Moody's store at Cutler. Late 19th century.

Arvid J. Arvola, Jr. & Company, Co., Astoria, Ore.



Wedding of Aggie Young Focht to Wilfred B. Focht in 1906 at Cutler.

Rear: Mabel Lane Gregg, Aggie Young Focht, Margaret Young Murray

Front: James Young, Abbie Young, James A. Addison

(Ferguson Addison collection)



Appendix G.

Charles and Marion Deering Family photographs
(Marion Deering Danielson Campbell Collection)





Brand

Charles Deering c.1870s



Mrs. Charles Deering
John Singer Sargent, 1856-1925
Signed with initials and dated 1877, L.R.
22 X 18 Inches

FIRESTONE AND PARSON

Ritz-Carlton Hotel: Boston 02117
Area Code (617) 266-1858

We are interested in purchasing your precious jewels, antique silver or fine paintings.



Marion Denison Whipple



Charles and Marion W. Deering



Marion W. Deering



07/24/1907

Sketch of Charles Deering by John Singer Sargent



Marion Deering, Charles Deering, Marion W. Deering

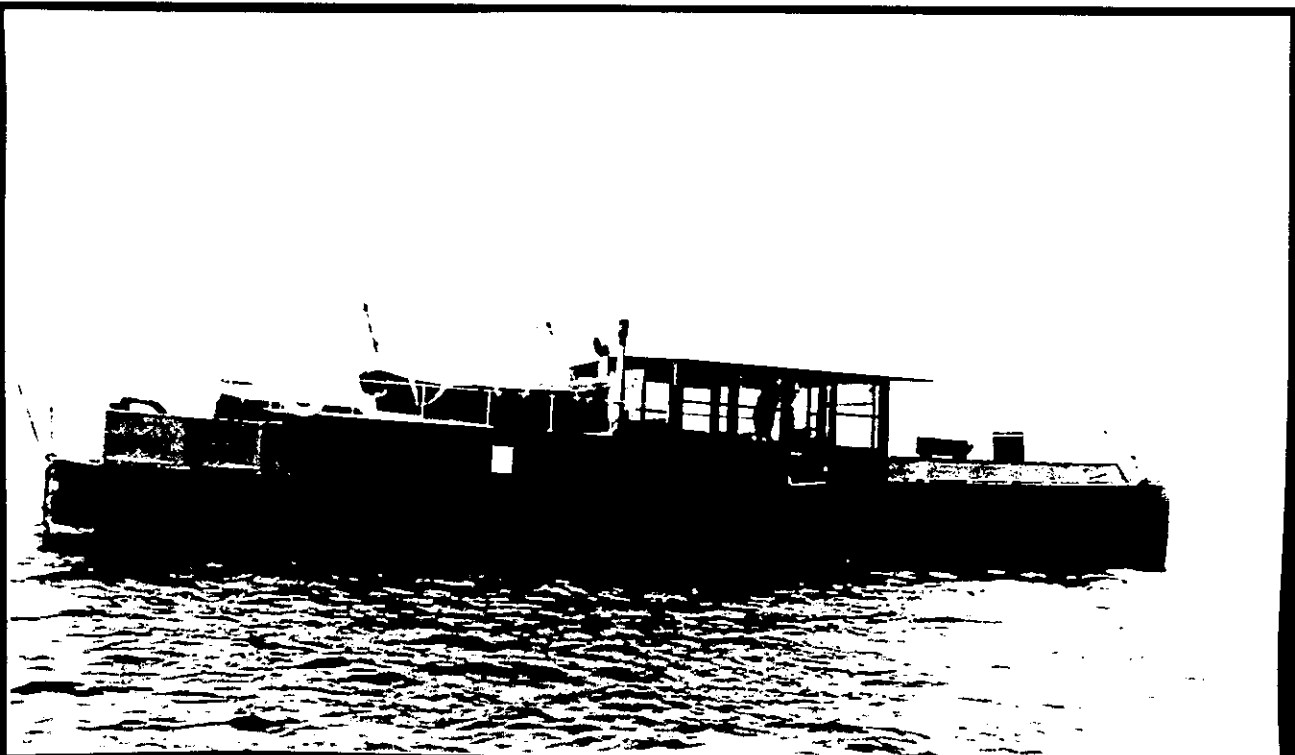


Marion W. Deering -

Marion W. Deering



Dr Small Dean West



... ..



Marion W. Deering
(Perhaps at Vizcaya)



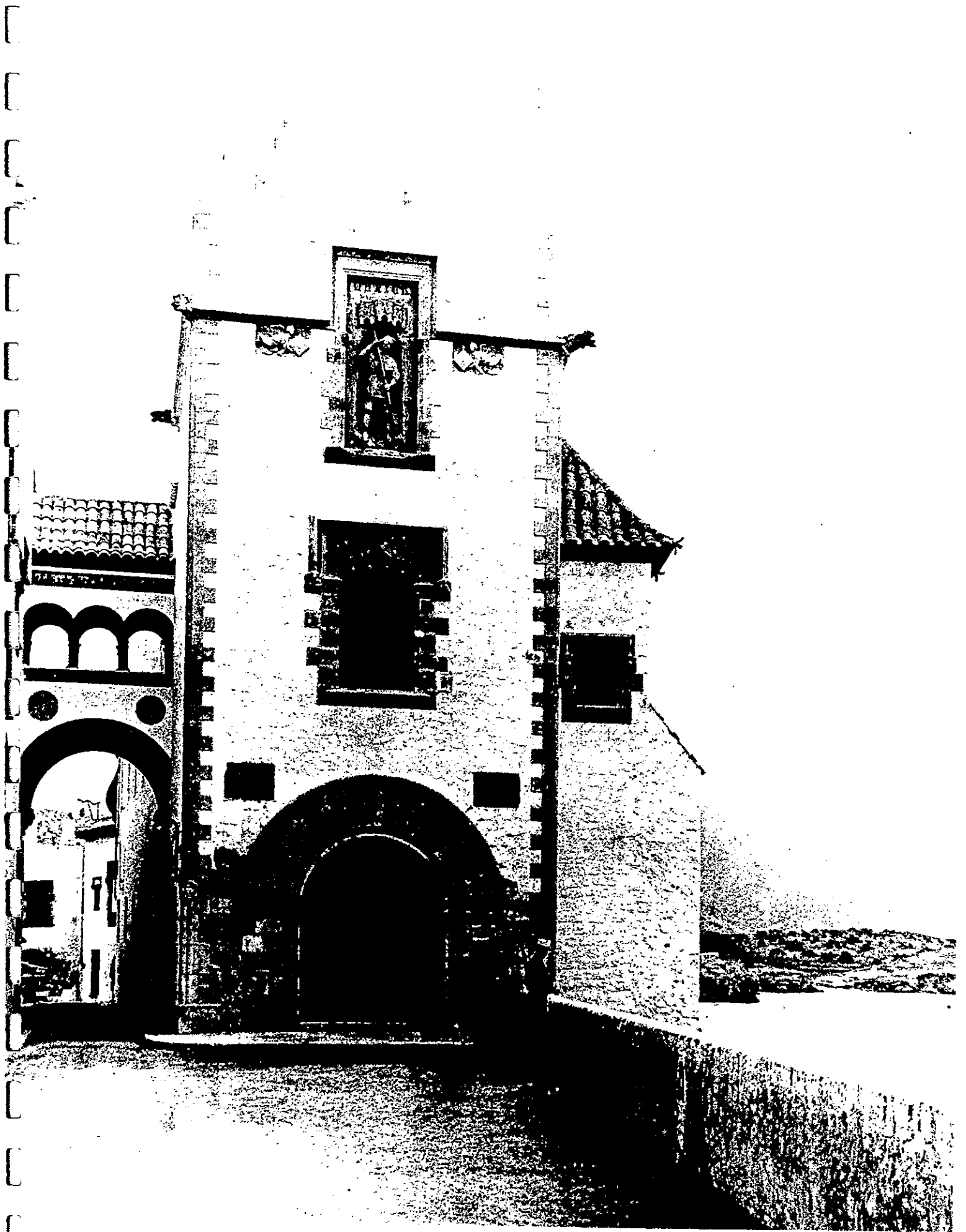
Marion W. Deering at Cutler in front of the "rock" house.

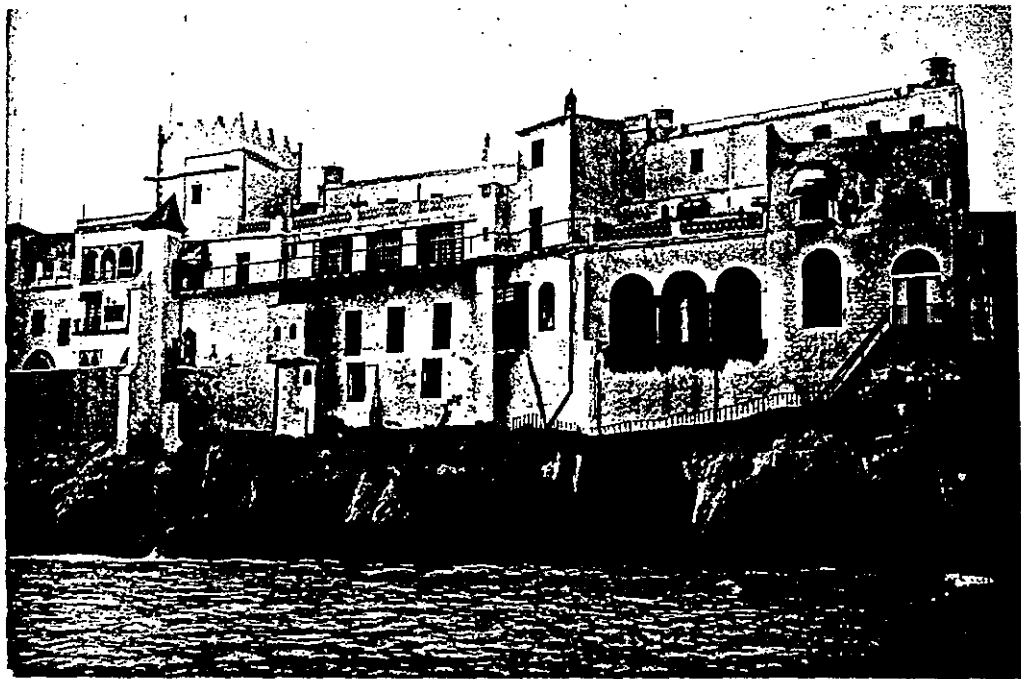


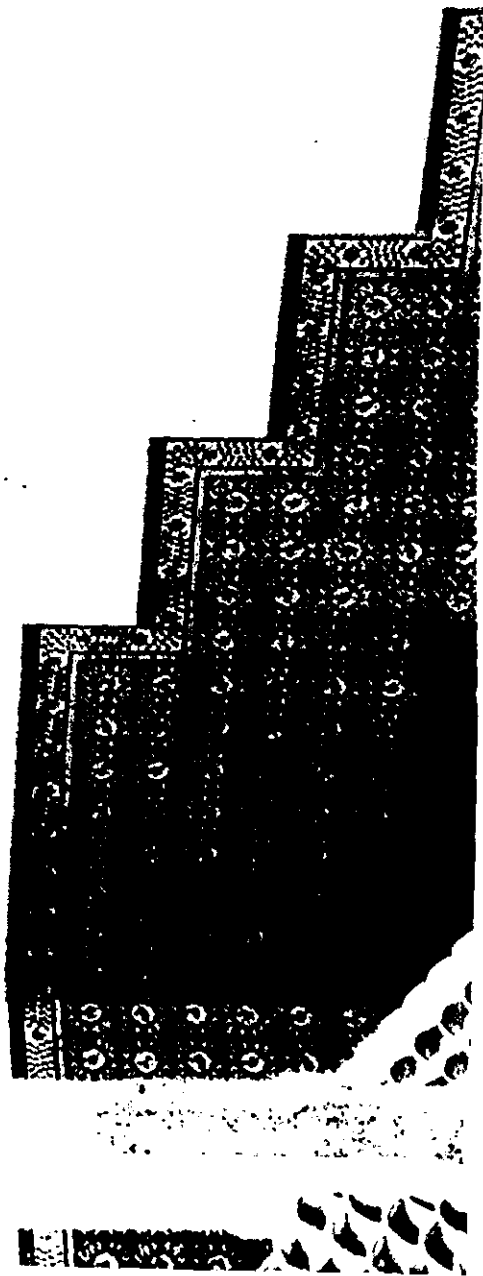
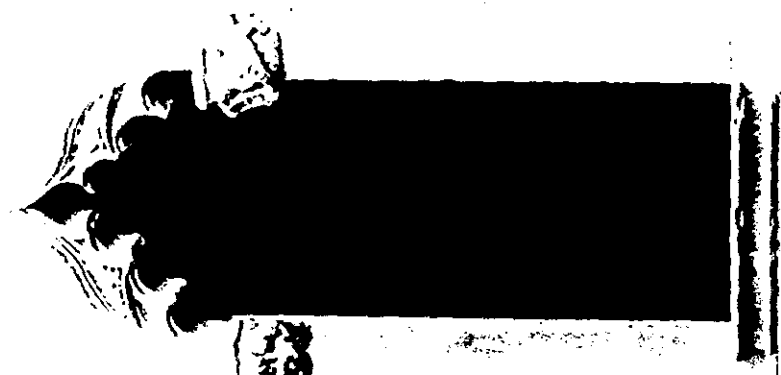
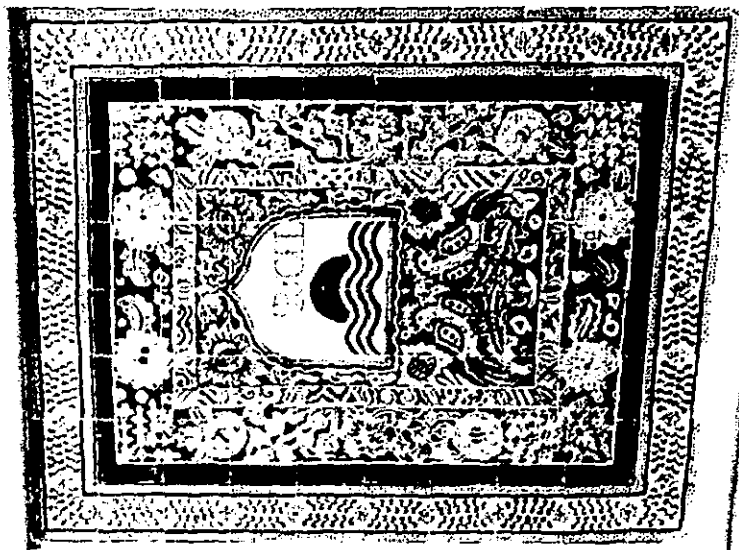
Appendix H.

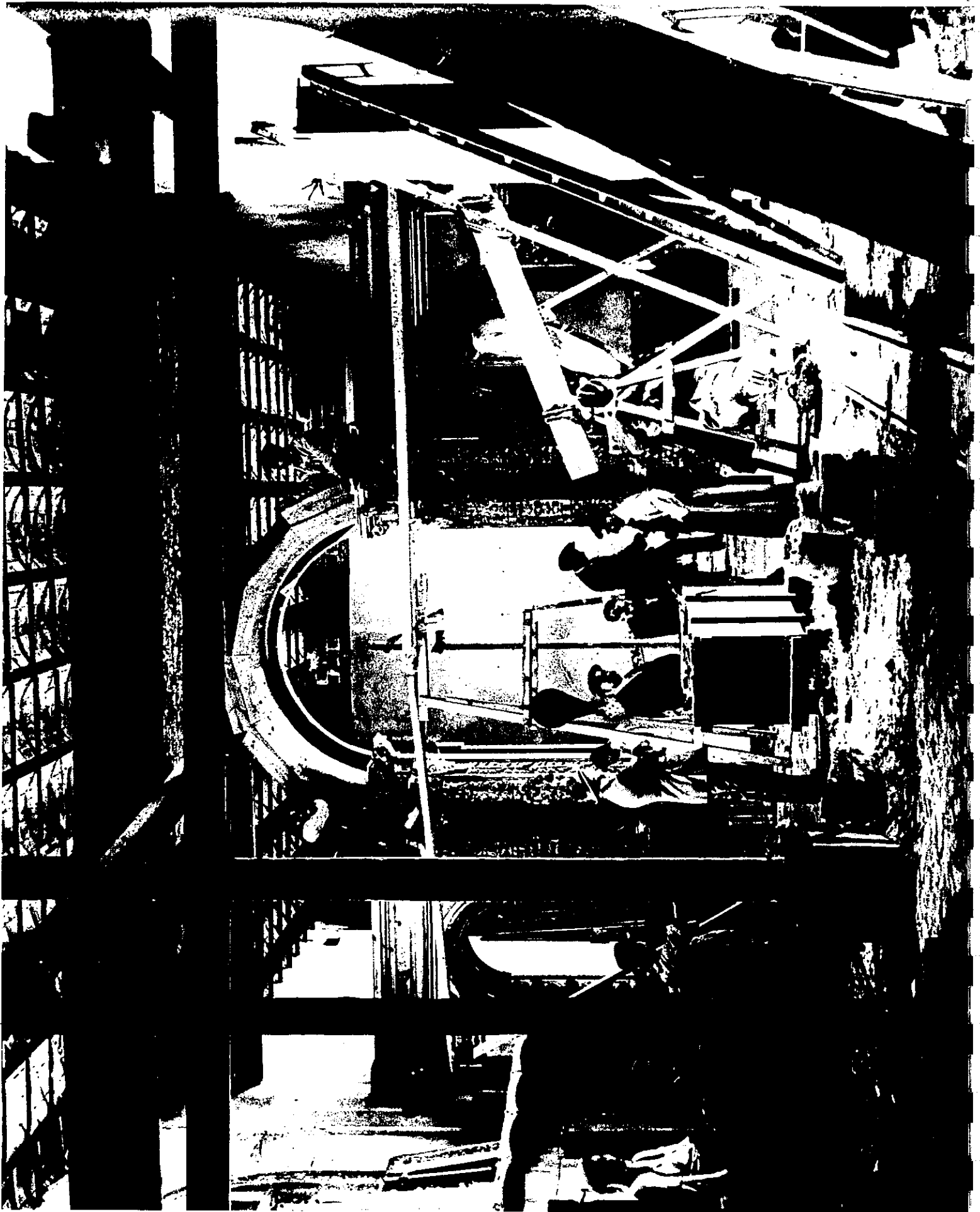
Mar y Cel at Sitges, Spain. Seventeen photographs depicting
restoration, interior rooms, artwork and courtyard spaces.
(Barbara Strachan Deering Danielson Collection)

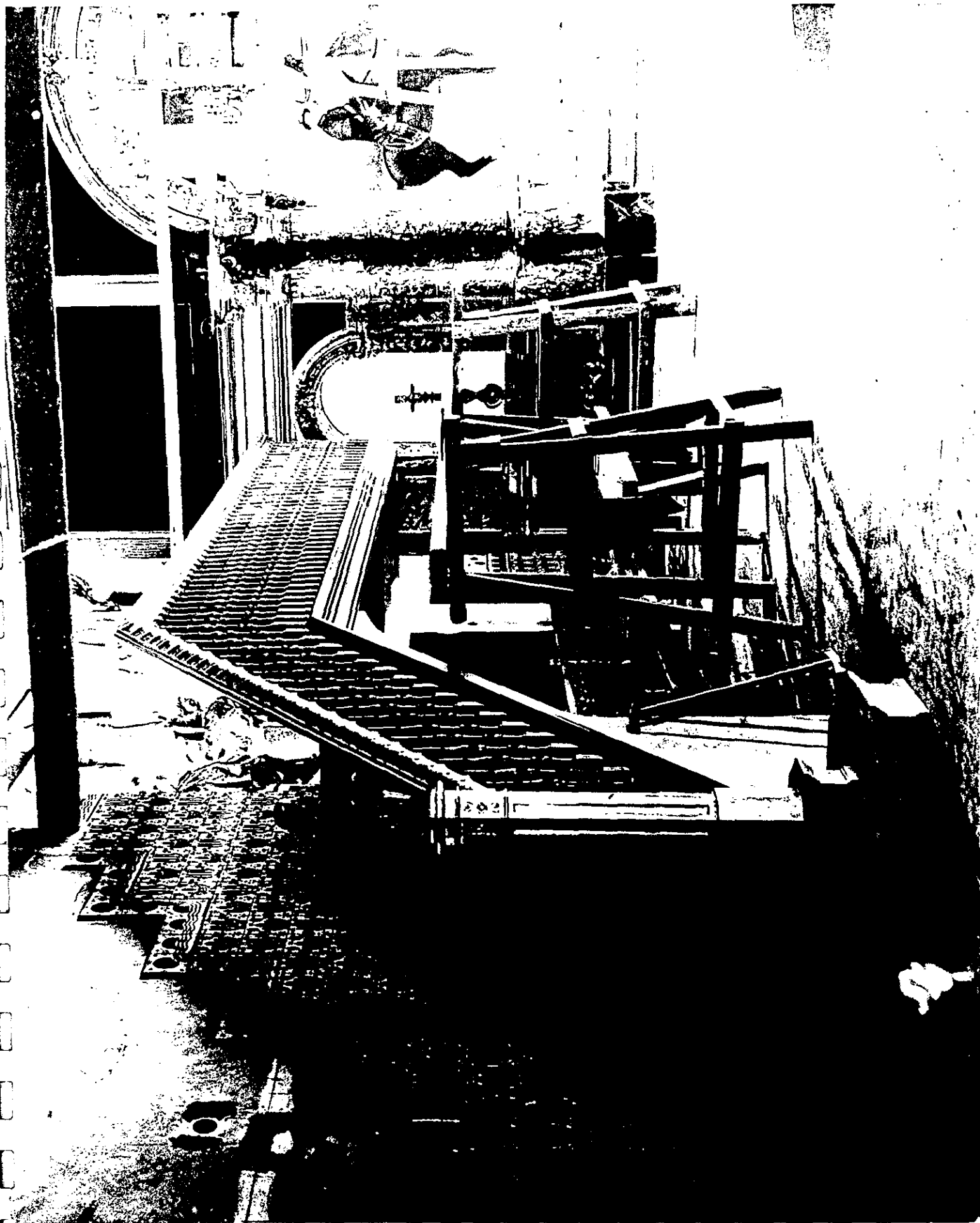


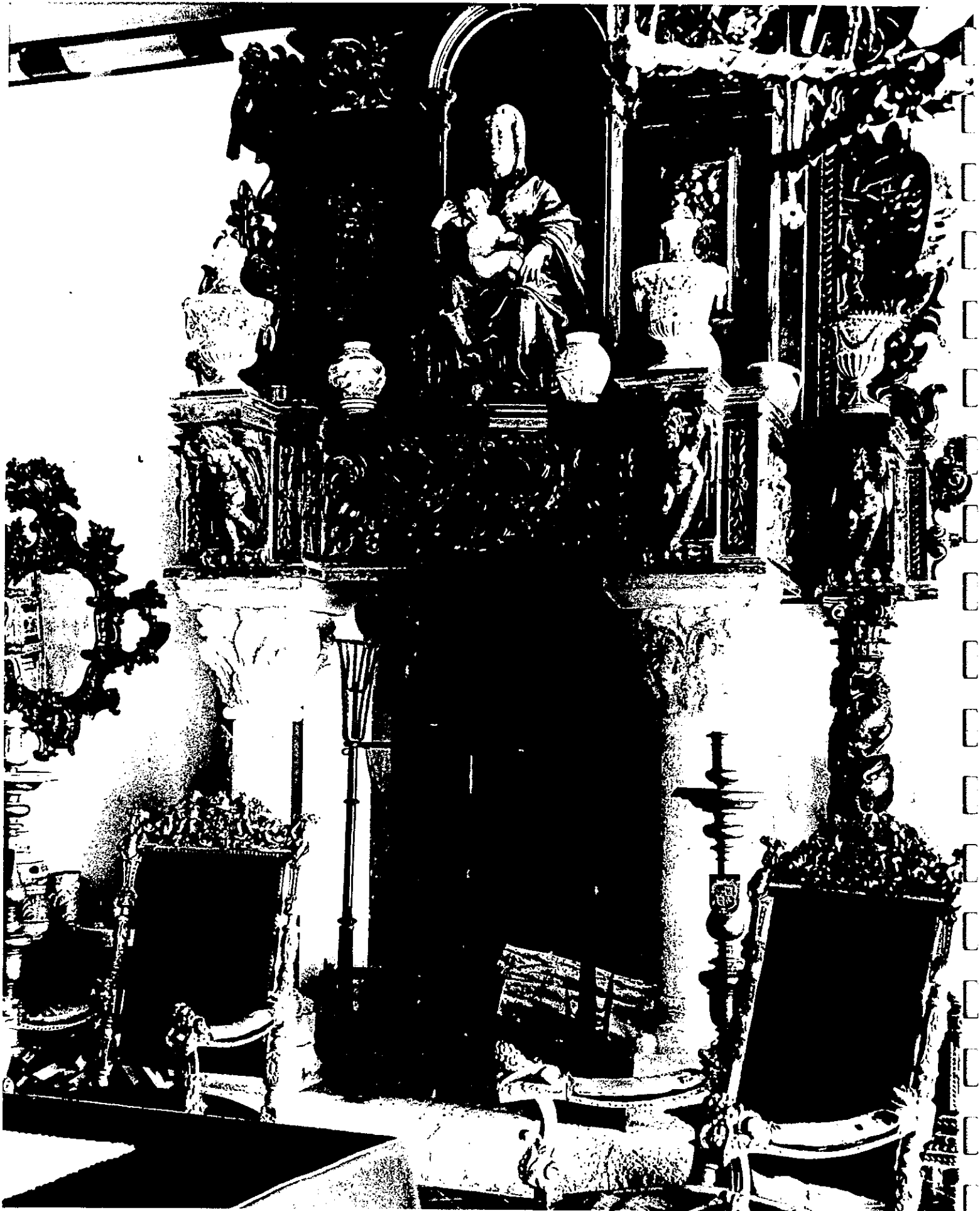




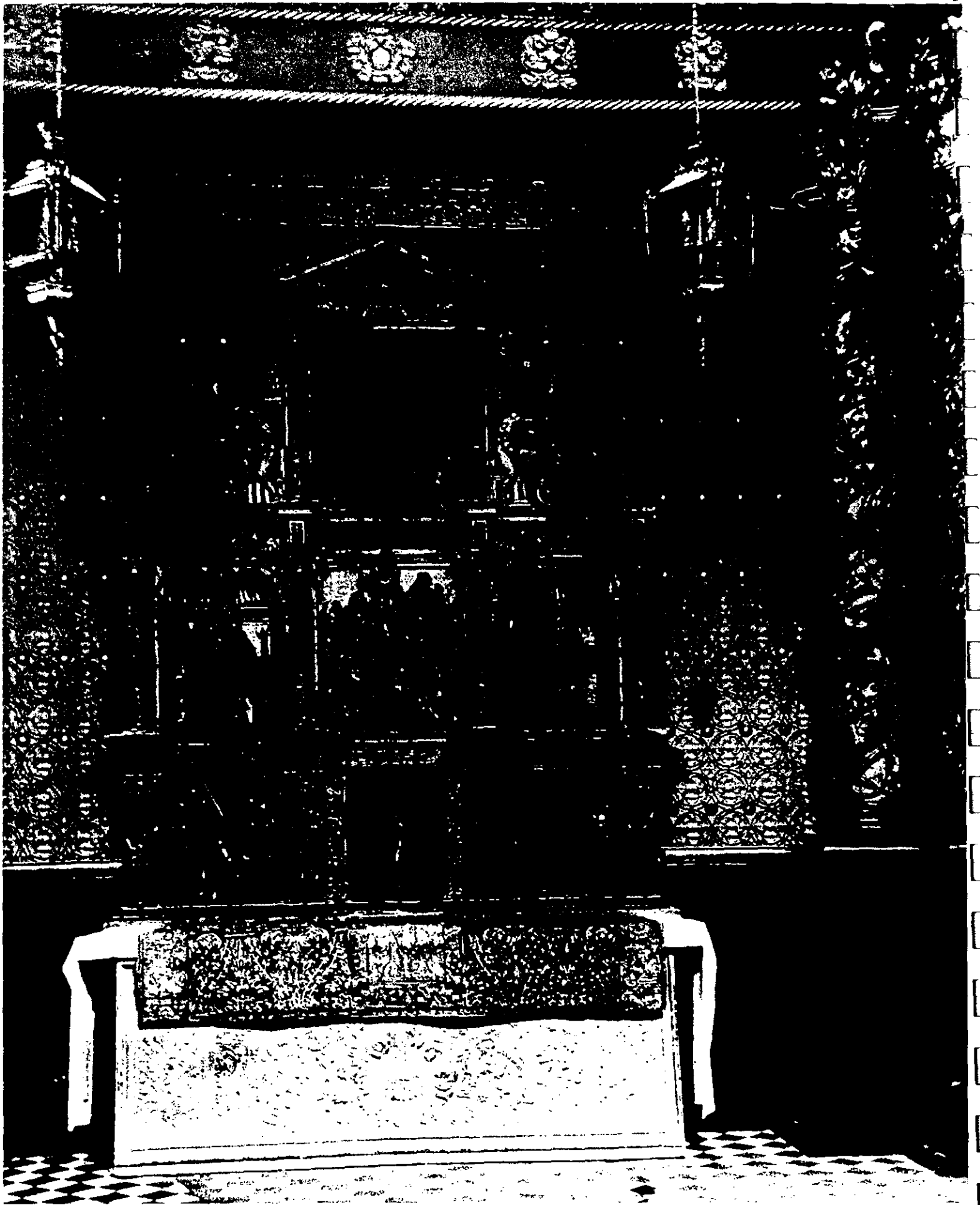










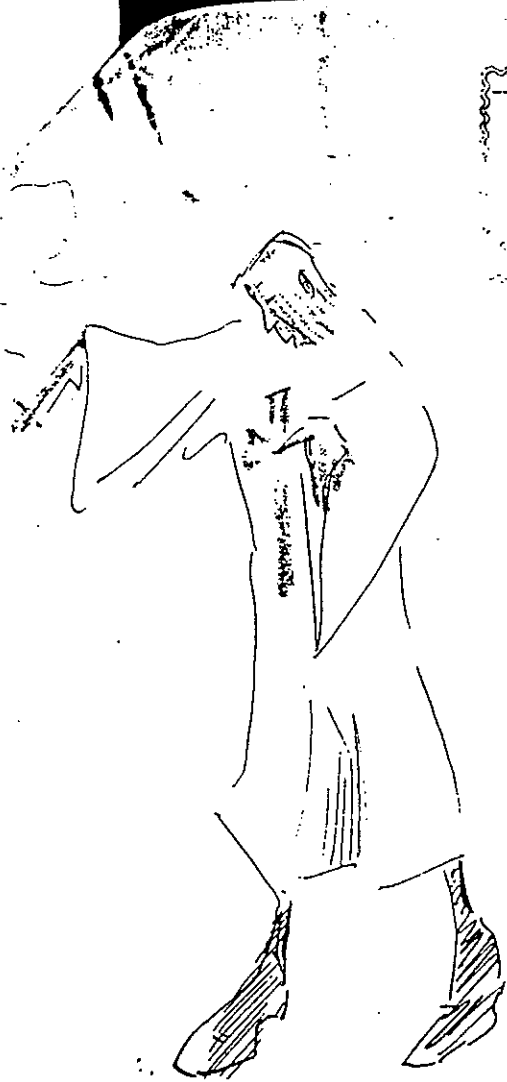






Appendix J.

David Fairchild photographs of Charles Deering Estate at Cutler
(Fairchild Tropical Gardens Research Center)



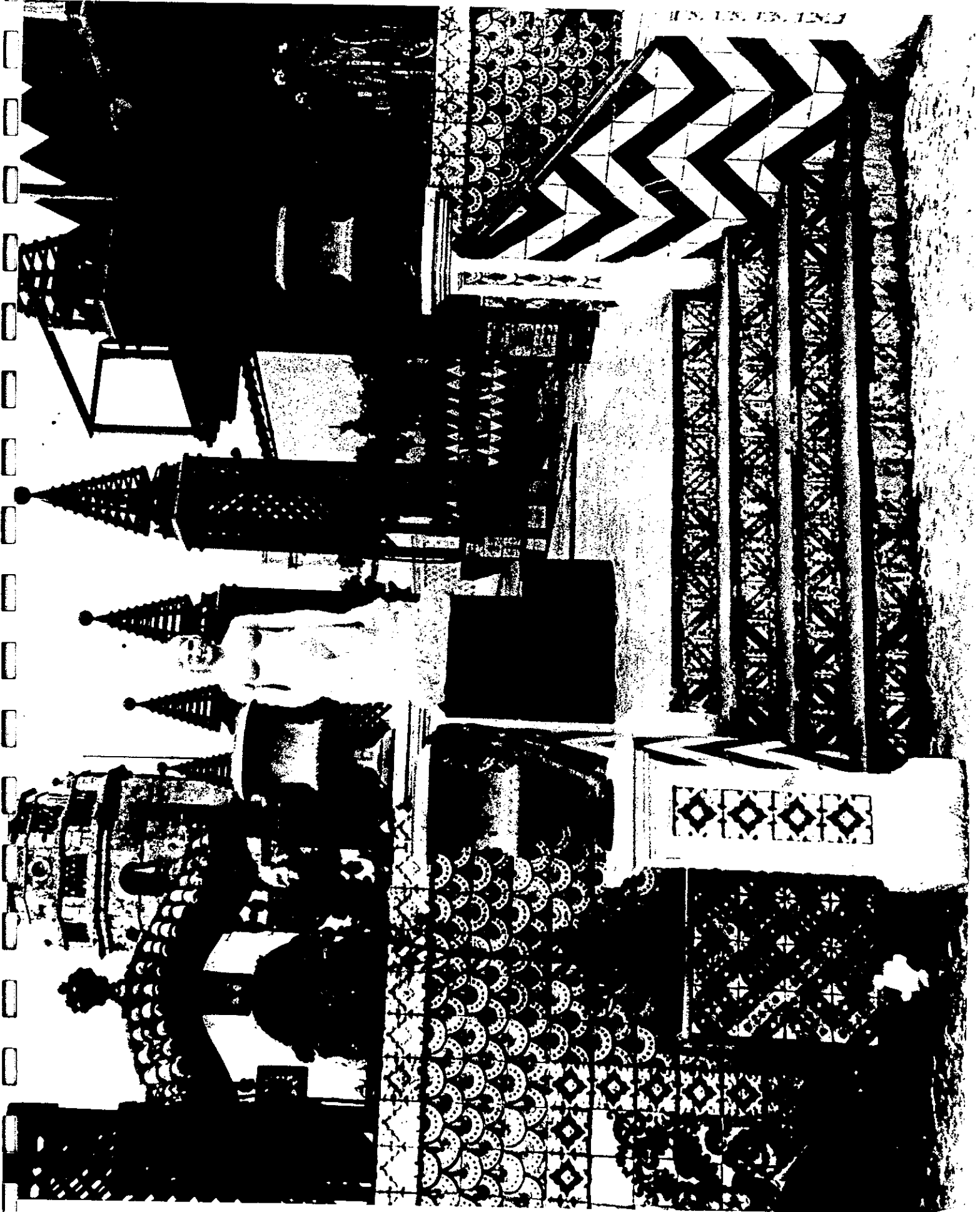
POST OFFICE
ST. LOUIS, MO.
APR 15 1895

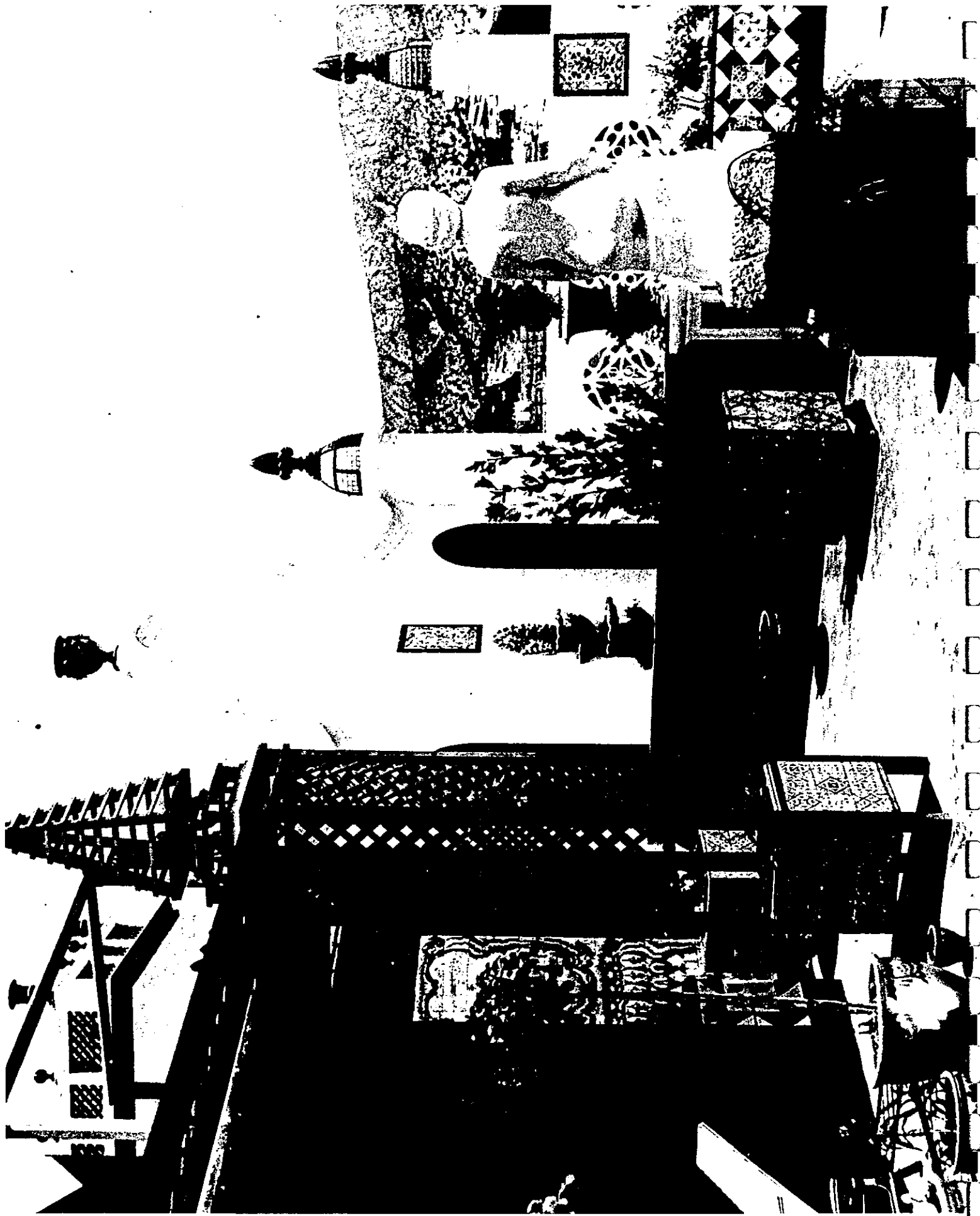
Blessings on the Fairchild
family.

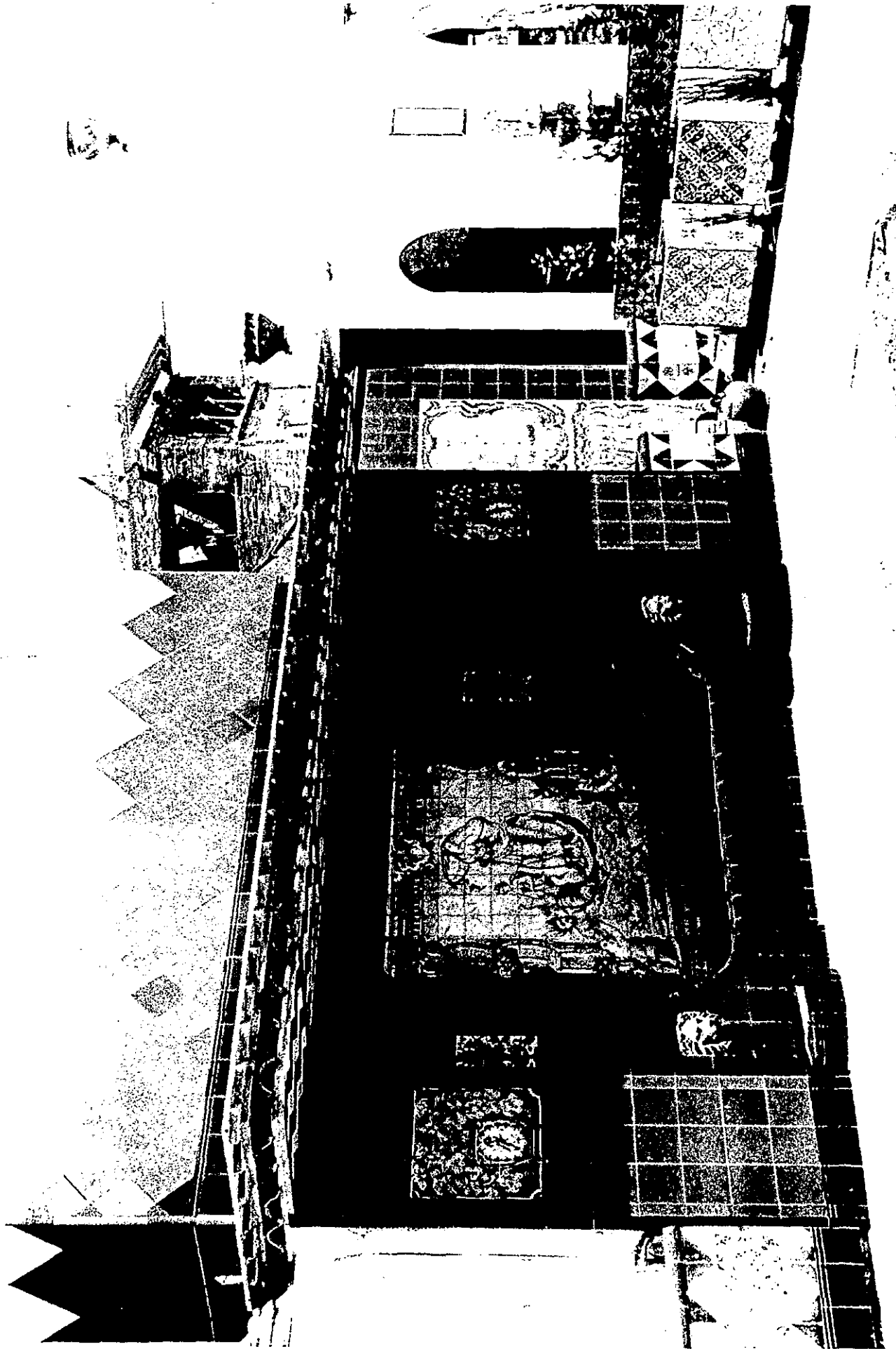
I am "settling" on the postcard
accordingly, with Gratiety and
Hosier "spelling" me.

C.D.

12 Apr 15

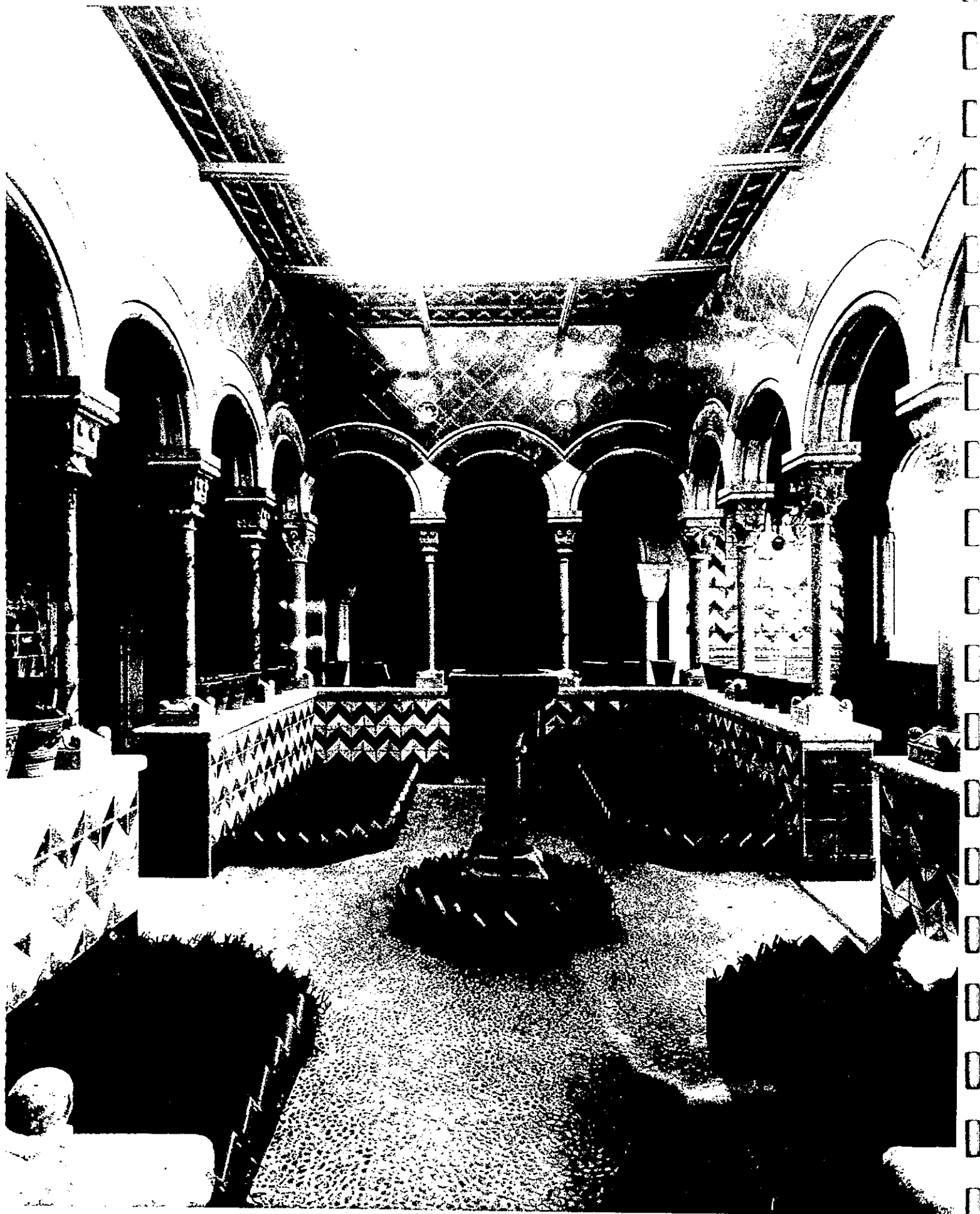












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Appendix I.

J.K. Small photographs of Charles Deering Estate at Cutler
(Marion Deering Danielson Campbell and Florida State Archives collections)





Zoysia japonica. Lawn of Palm Beach grass
at Charles Deering's place, Cutler, Fla. (Fairchild)

Neg. No. 25315. March 28, 1919.





SPI No. 6450, Aleurites (triloba) moluccana. From Heneratgoda, Ceylon. Sent to Mr. Richmond; received by him March 18, 1902. Injured by hurricane October 18, 1906. Standing in front of Mr. Charles Deering's place at Cutler, Dade Co., Florida. Planted by Mr. S. H. Richmond, the former owner of the place. (Fairchild.)
Negative No. 19952, February 8 or 10, 1916.



SPI No. 755, Leucaena glauca (Mimosa leucocephala) sent to Mr. S. H. Richmond, at Cutler, Florida, May 10, 1898. Mr. Richmond says this legume has become a weed or is becoming one rapidly. It came from St. Denis, Island of Reunion, where it is said to be a good forage crop. It should be studied further. On the estate now owned by Mr. Charles Deering. (Fairchild.)
Negative No. 19937, February 10, 1916.

Miami - People

John Kunke1 Small

Internationally known botanish, author, musician
and photographer

Source: Photo from George K. Small
(FSA)



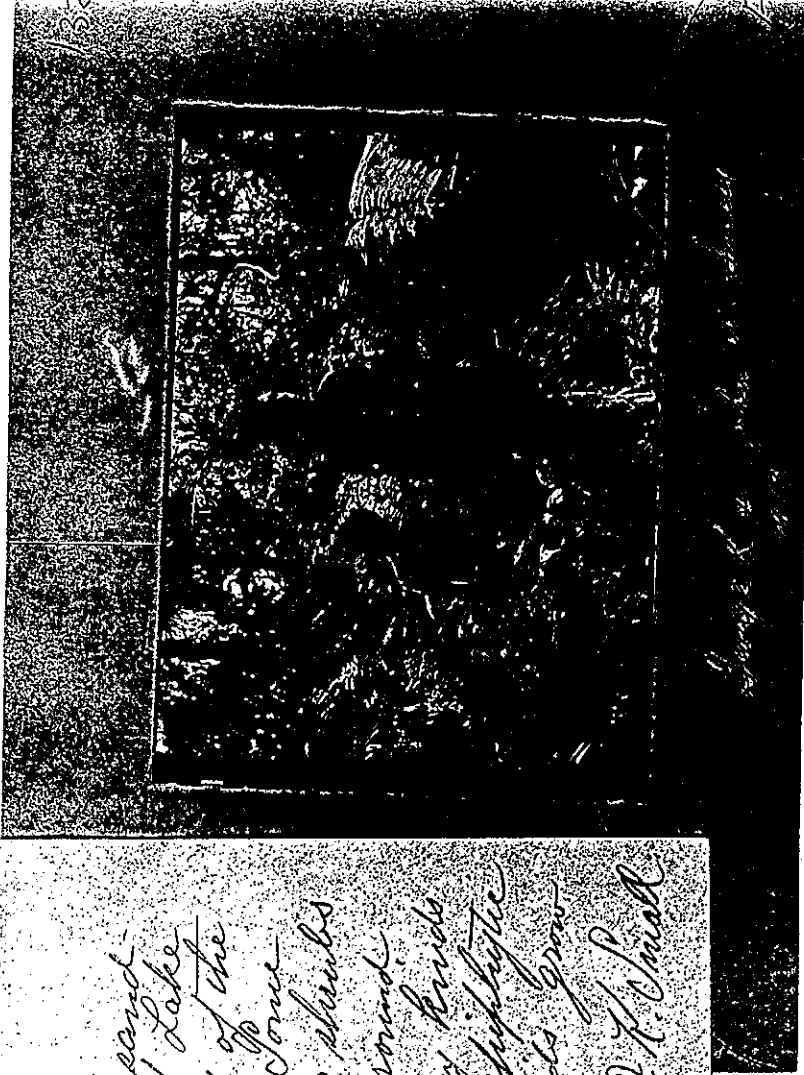


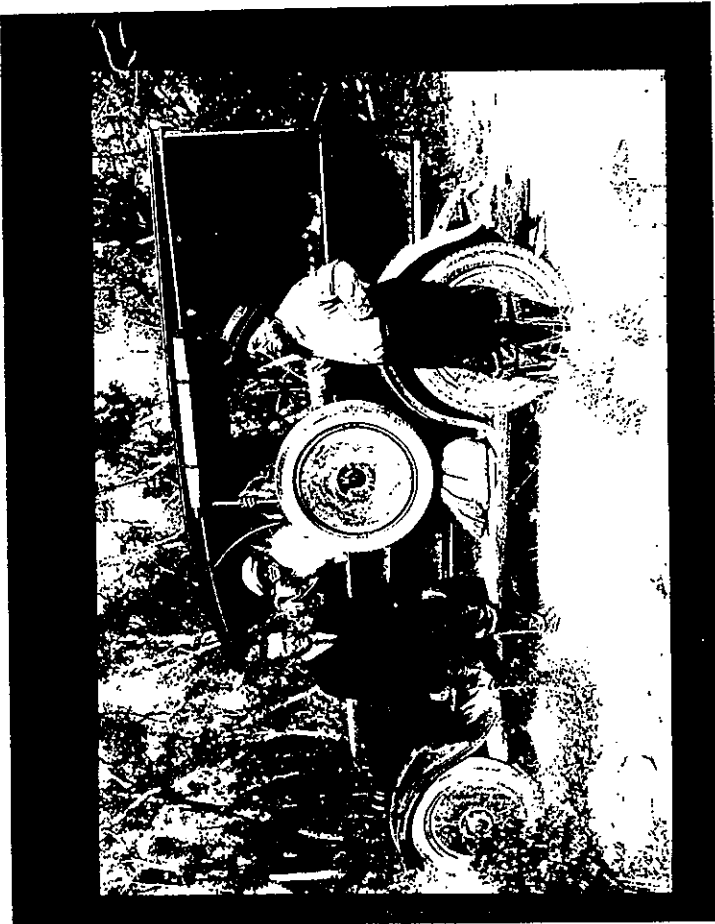
132

Dense cypress swamp back of sand-
ridge along eastern shore of Lake
Okechobee, Florida. — West of the
trees are the bald-cypress. Some
cabbage-palms and various shrubs
are present. The swampy ground
is thickly covered with silt and
of terrestrial ferns; whole leptophytic
ferns, bromeliads, and orchids grow
on the trees.

Photo by J. K. Smith

(FSA)





Miami - People

Dr. John K. Small, John DeWinkler in truck
Charles A. Mosier.

Source: Swinson gift
(FSA)

No.

Name

Order

Remarks Swinson Gift

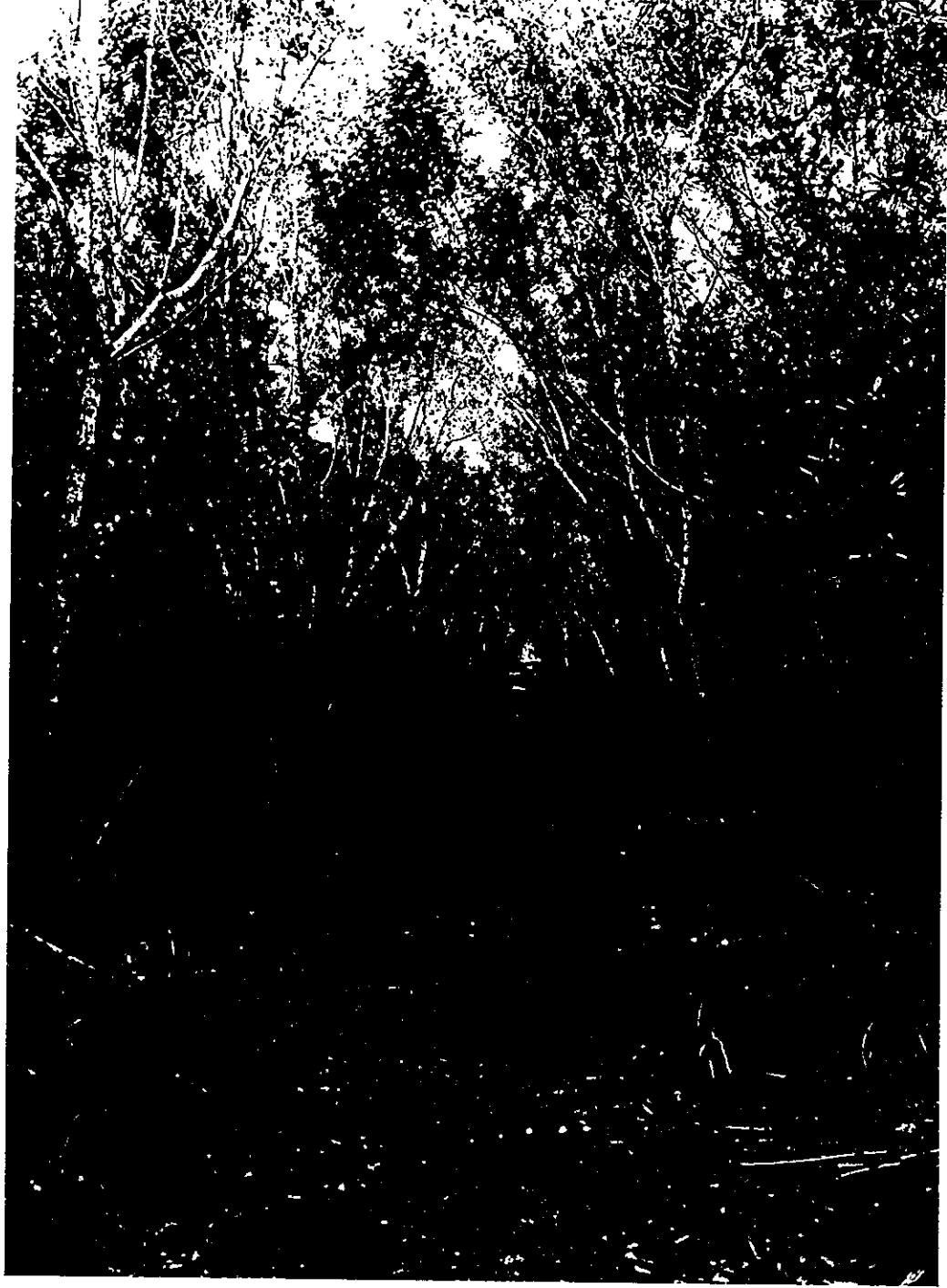
Retouched

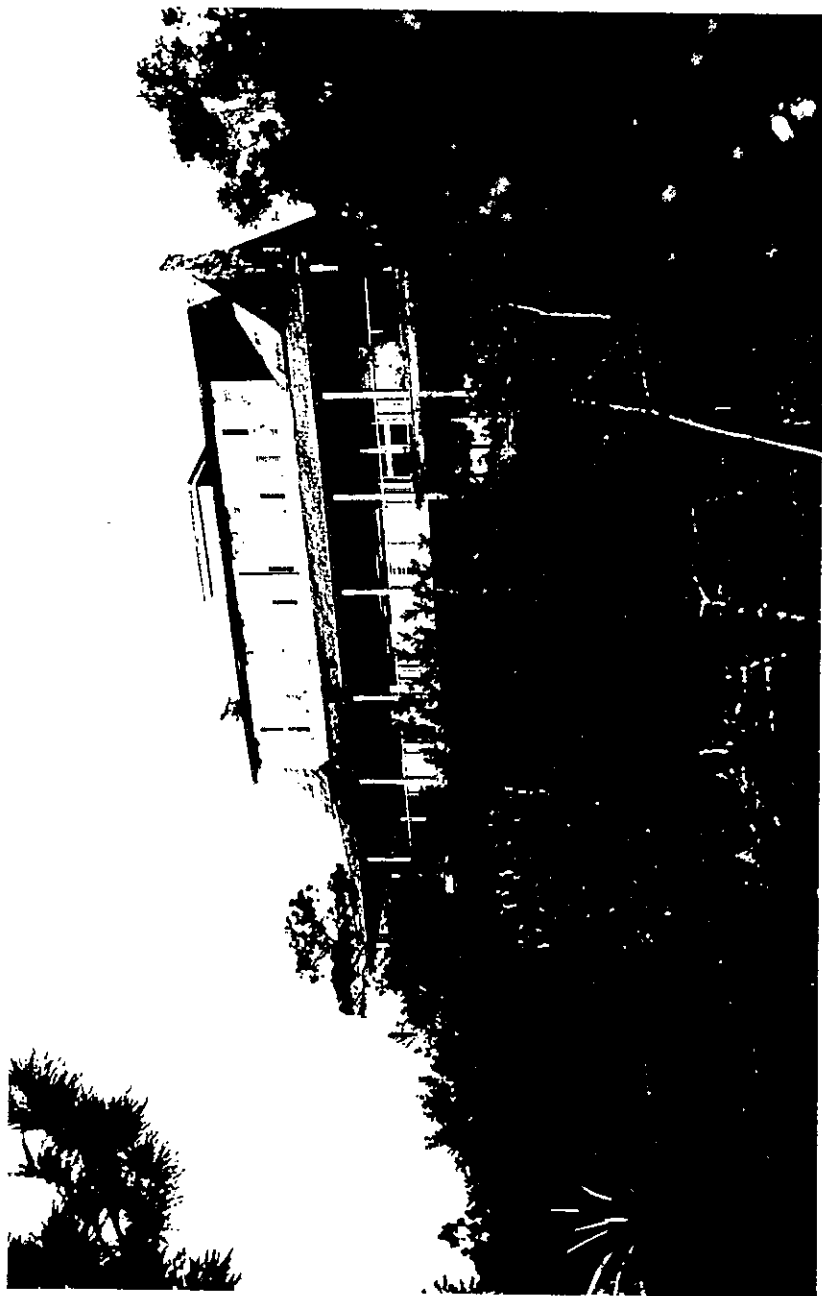
Order Finished 3/72 PA

Reorder

In Addison hammock, Cutler, Fla. East
line of the Perrine Grant. Jan. 1916.
photo by J. K. Small

(FSA)





(MDDSC)





(MDDSC)



(MDDSC)

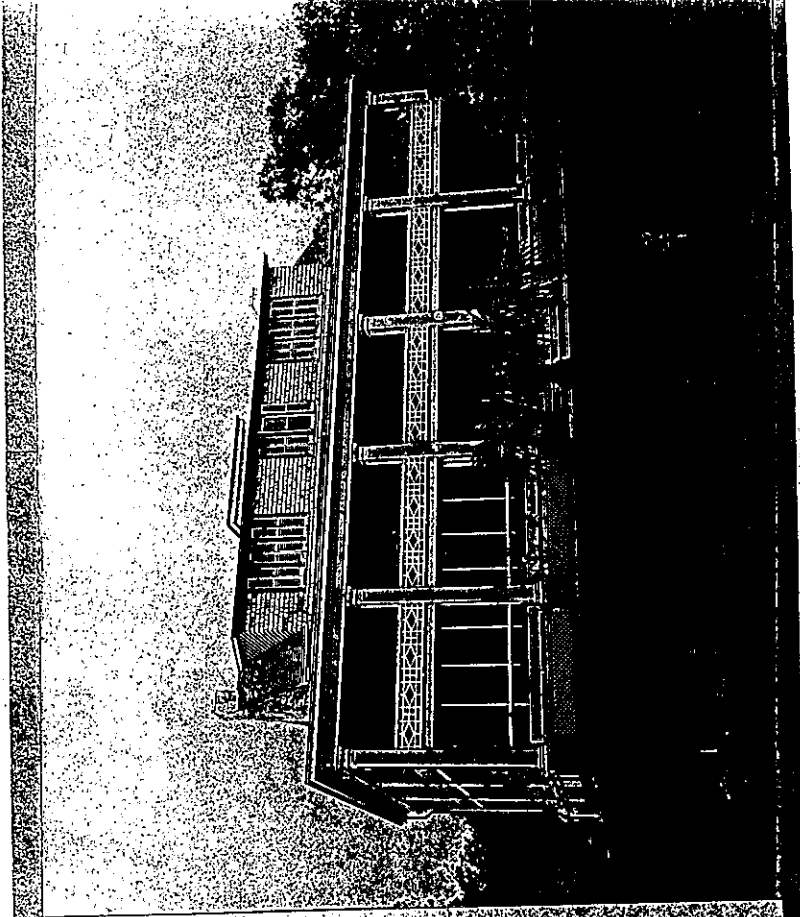


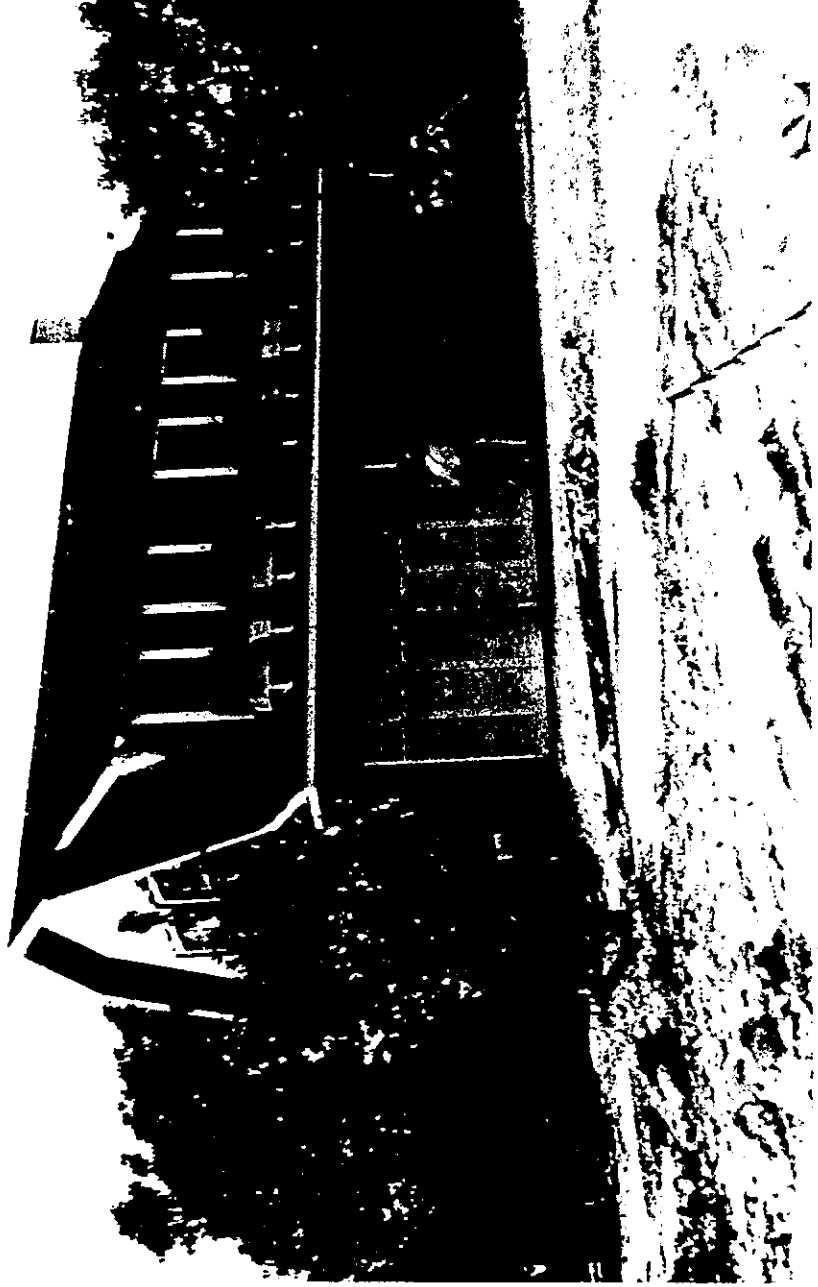
284 - (Sec. 375-377-433-463-717-718-
1503-1505-1506-1541-1557.)

In reservation of Charles Deering
at Cutler, Fla. - Lawn and house
facing bay.

Photo by J. T. Small

(FSA)





(prior to Nov. 1966)

(MDDSC)



#293 - (See 263-295-296)

In Deering-Addison Hammock,
Crotcher, Florida. -

Much eroded section of hammock
near western side. - Note wild-cab
dens and jungle.

April 1916. Photo by J. K. Small,

(FSA)



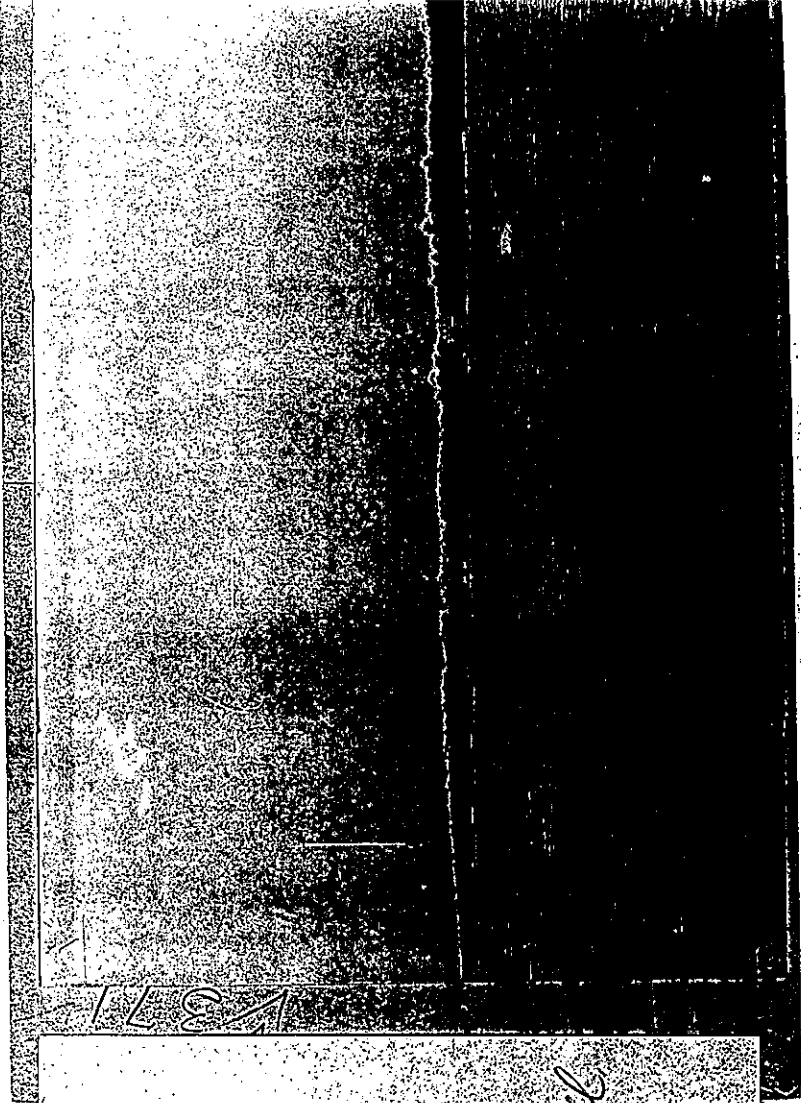
371 -

Looking across the bay from a
point of Deerling Reservation.

November - 1916.

Photo by J. H. Small

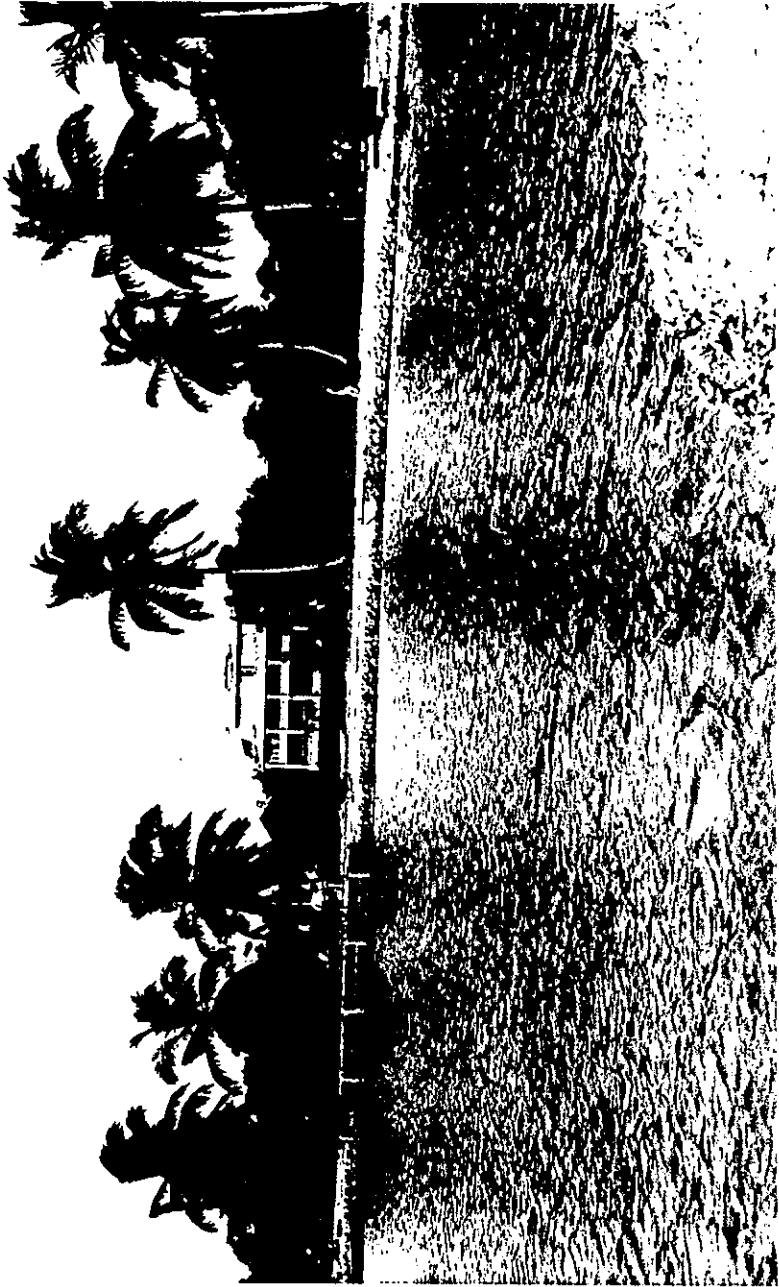
(FSA)





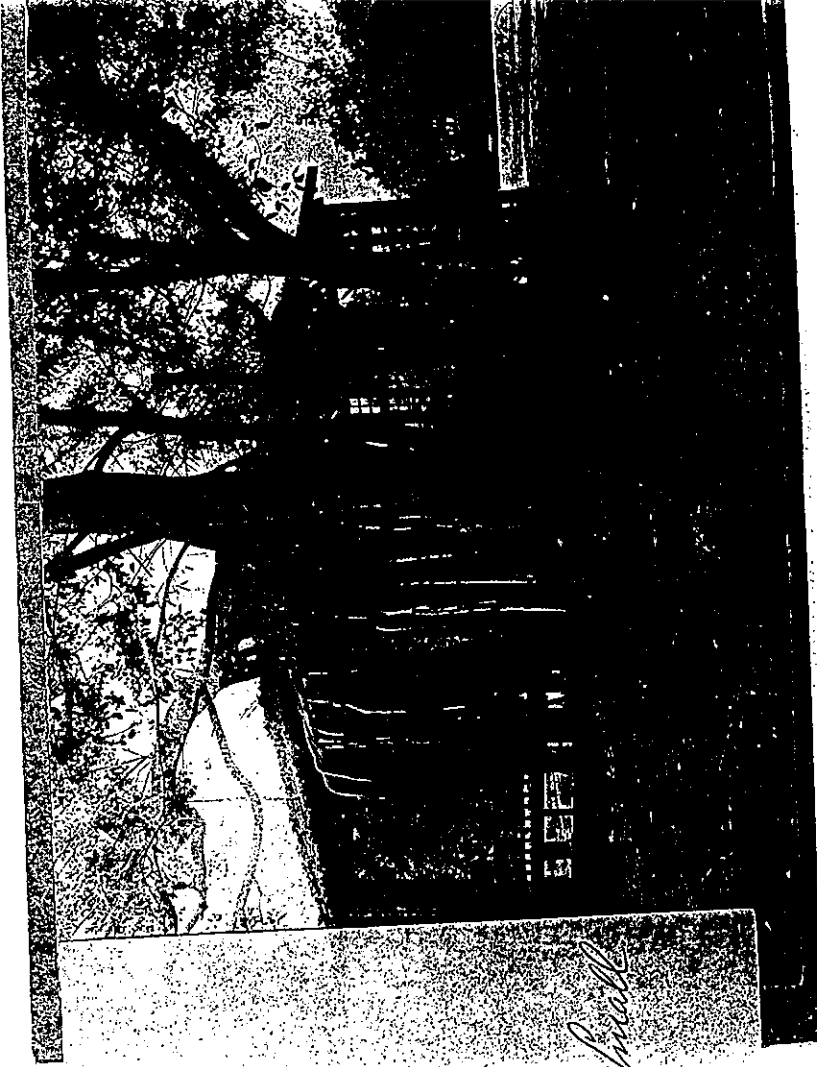
#377 ?
(MDDSC)

c. Nov. 1916



c. Nov. 1916 (similar to #380)

(MDDSC)



#381-

Photo by J. K. Churchill
(FSA)

461-

Ab. Cutler, Florida. Deering reservation
One upper lawn, looking southeast.

May 1917.

Photo by J. H. Small
(FSA)



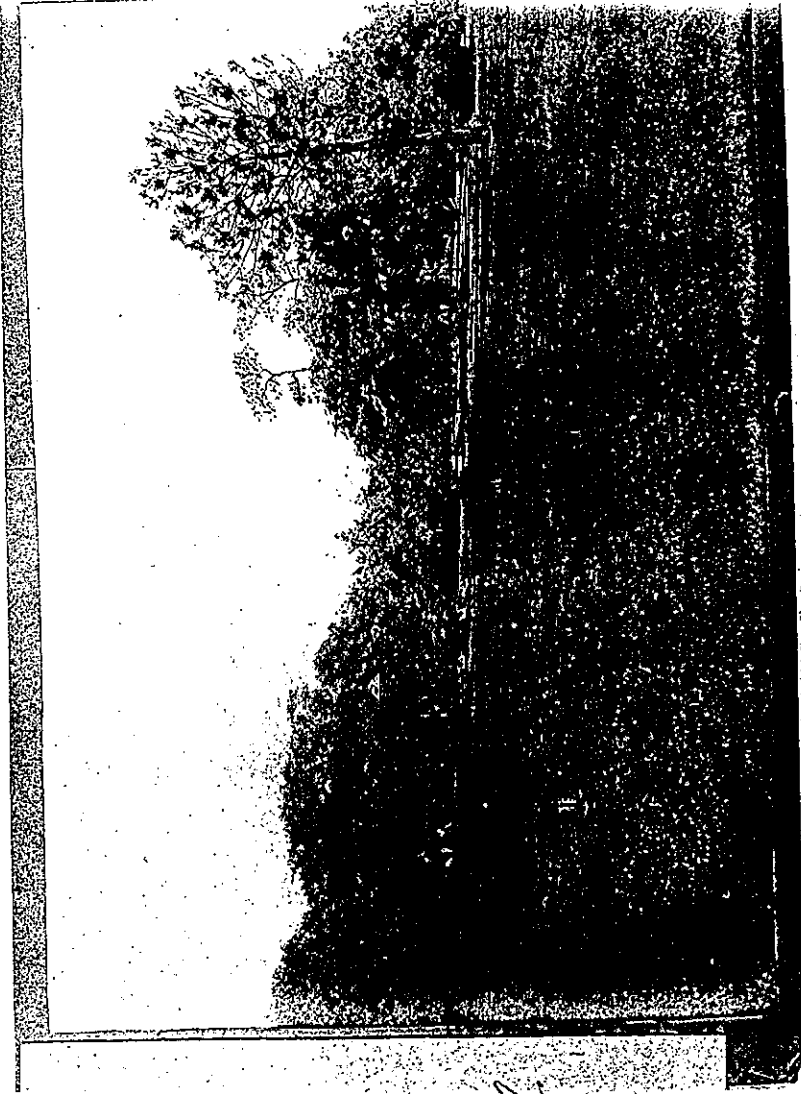
462 -

At Cutler, Florida, -
On upper bank, looking northeast.

May 1917.

Photo by J. H. Small

(FSA)





C. MAY 1917

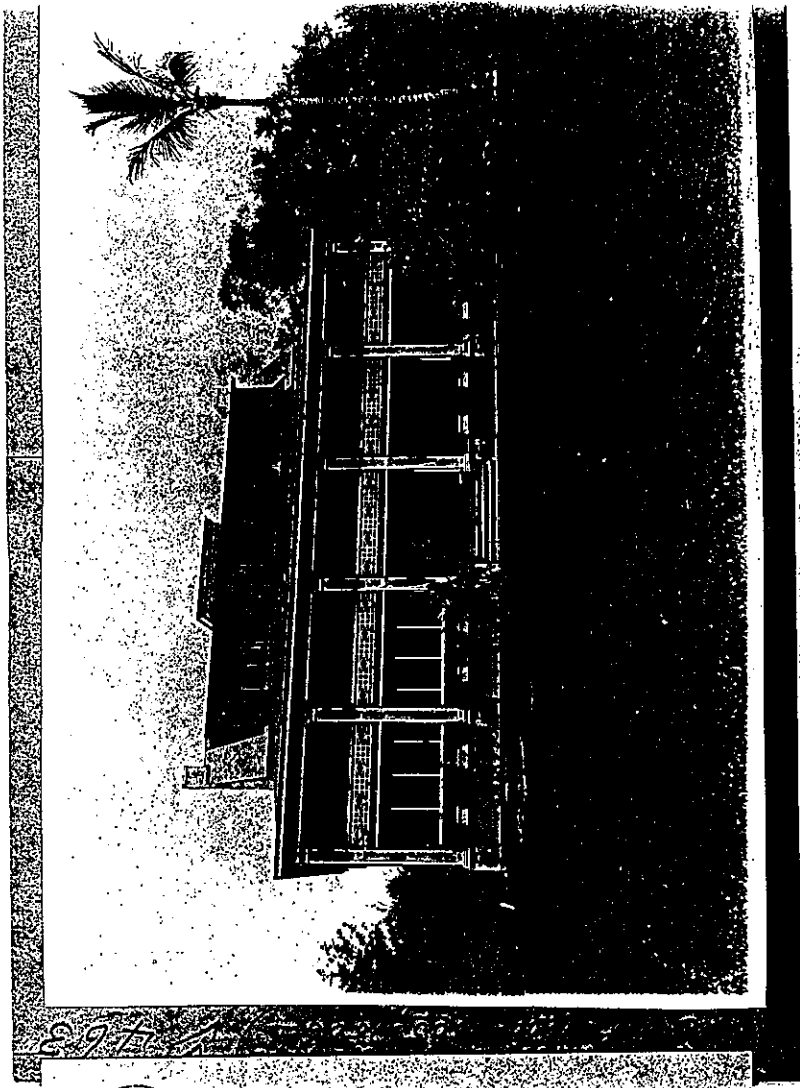
(MDDSC)

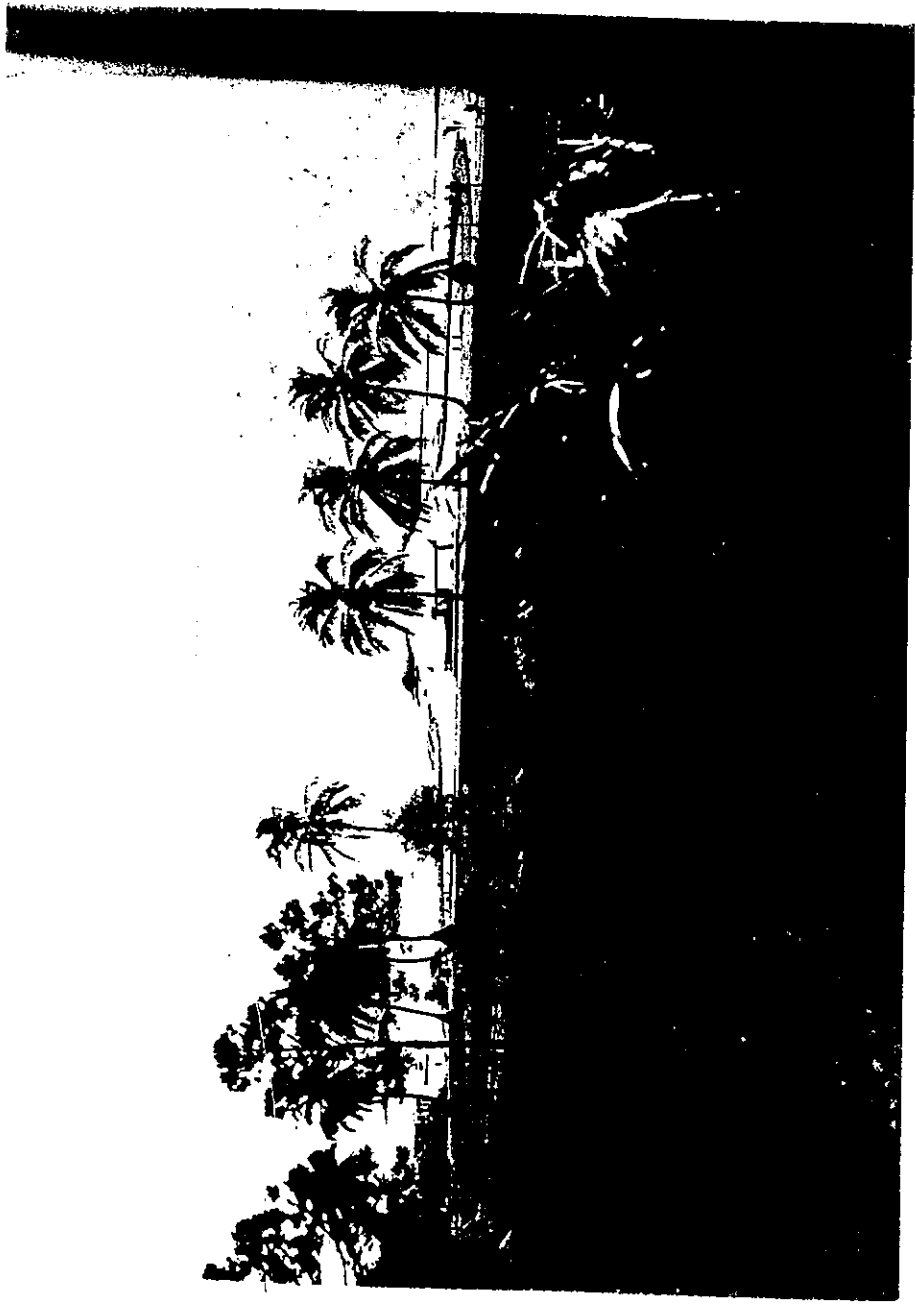


463 - (See - 284-375-377-433-717-718 -
1503 - 1505 - 1506 - 1541 - 1551.)

Ash Cutler, Florida -
Resurrection of Charles Deering.
Lawn and house facing bay.

May 1917. Photo by J. K. Small
(FSA)





(MDDSC)



502 - (Sec. 383-729-790-840-962-1508.)

At Cutler, Florida. -
Restoration of Charles Deering looking
from upper terrace to ocean.

May 1917. Photo by J. H. Seward.
(FSA)





(MDDSC)



555 -

On Chicken Key, Cutler, Florida.
Fallen trunk of very old buttonwood
(Conocarpus) overgrown with red-
mangrove (Rhizophora) roots.

May 1917.

Photo by J. W. Small
(FSA)





On Chicken Key, Cutler, Fla. May 1917. Large dead tree of black-mangrove (*Avicennia*). Measured approximately 9 feet 4 inches in circumference and is estimated to have been between 150 and 200 years old when it died, and it appears to have been dead for fully 25 years. Photo by J. K. Small

(FTA)

#748 - (See 719-722 - 723-782)
783-784-786.

In large bank - bank in E. Long Hammock
Central Florida. -
Trog (*Nana sphaerocarpa*) on bank.

May 1918.

Photo by J. H. Small
(FSA)



760 - (See 768)

In Deering Hammock, Cutler, Florida.
New bridge (built the previous day)
over stream. Looking west!

May 1918.

Photo by J. K. Small.

(FSA)



#762 - (Similar to 767)

In reservation of Charles Deering,

Cutter, Florida -

Large strangling-fig (*Ficus aurea*)

May 1918.

Photo by J. K. Small
(FSA)





767?
(MDDSC)

c. MAY 1918



#785 - (See 667-714)

In Deerung hammock, Cutler, Fla. -
Cub dead in rook in low part
of hammock.

Photo by J. R. Small

May 1918.

(FSA)



820 - (Dec 825-827-835-905a)

At Crotter, Florida. -
New bridge on west line of
Charles Deering's reservation.

December 1918. Photo by J. H. Small
(FSA)



827 - (See 520-825-838-905²)

At Cutler, Florida, -
New bridge on west line of
Charles Deering's reservation.

December 1918.

Photo by J. K. Conall.

(FSA)



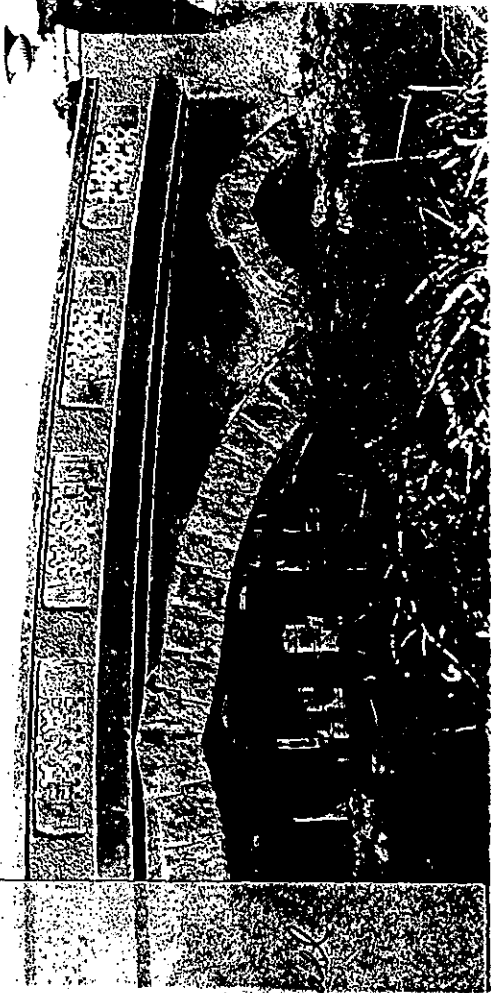
838 (see 820-825-827-905^a)

Abk Cutler, Florida.
New bridge on west line of
Charles Deering's reservation.

December 1918.

Photo by J. W. Powell

(FSA)



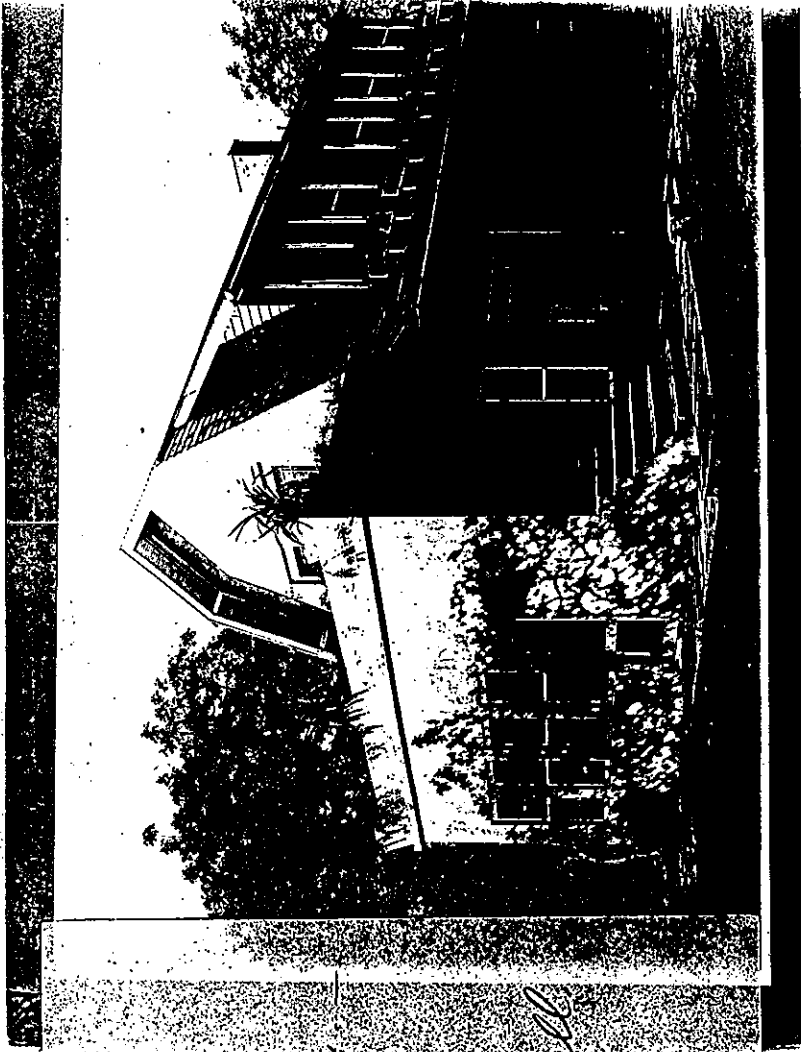
1115-6 - (See 378-379-1116 & 1130 a)

Garage and Laundry on reservation
of Charles Deering at Cutler, Florida

December: 1919.

Photo by J. K. Small

(FSA)



Miami - Cutler

In (Charles?) Deering reservation.
First stage of new Century plant garden
along the south wall of the reservation.
Dec. 1923

Source: J.KK Small photo gift of Mrs.
Swinson

(FSA)



ABBREVIATIONS

AAIC	Archives of the Art Institute of Chicago
AMPC	Arva Moore Parks Collection
DNR	Florida Department of Natural Resources
FAC	Ferguson Addison Collection
FSHS	Florida State Horticultural Society
FTG	Fairchild Tropical Gardens Research Center
FSA	Florida State Archives
HLC	Harriet Liles Collection
HMFMA	Henry Morrison Flagler Museum Archives
MDDSC	Marion Deering Danielson Strachan Campbell
MDCPRD	Metro-Dade County Parks and Recreation Department Files
NARG	National Archives and Records Service

1. Actual Settlements, Doc. No. 70 [441], 28th Cong. 1st sess., H. of Reprs. 1844.
2. Armed Occupation claims Giraldo, Mabrity, Fletcher #269, 270, 281, 293, 1843: AO Land Permits, Drawers A-L, E-F, M-Z, DNR; Actual Settlements, Doc. No. 70 [441], 28th Cong. 1st sess., H. of Reprs. 1844: 50-51. The Congressional document dates their permits July 20 and 21st. Territorial Papers of the United States XXIV: 136-137, 682, 702, 743-744, 934; XXV: 92, 197, 242.
3. Browne 1912: 13.
4. Territorial Papers of the United States XXV: 249, 406.
5. Arva Moore Parks ms.: 23, citing Dade County Deed Book A: 8, 50 and 25, citing reference for Robison map. After 30 years in Miami, Fletcher sold his store on the river and "moved back to Key West," see Arva Moore Parks ms. "Communities on the Bay": 12, citing Parks, "The Wreck of the Three Sisters," Tequesta XXXI (1971): 19-28.
6. George MacKay July 1845: U.S. Field Notes T55 R40, V.84: 114-116; U.S. Plat Map Township 55 South, Range 40 East. 1845/1847; To the north and east of the hammock, the plat map may show several small hammocks, an oolitic coral ridge is well defined there, in Township 55 South Range 41 East 1845/1847, DNR.
7. Coast Chart No. 66. Florida Reefs from Key Biscayne to Carysfort Reef. A.D. Bache, Superintendent. 1846, DNR.
8. U.S. Coast Survey: 1848-1851, NA RG 23.
9. Rockwood n.d.: 675.
10. Howe supported Perrine's petition to Congress. He provided Dr. Perrine with the Indian Key house where he died in 1840. Jackson informed Howe, "you may point out to me the location of the claim of the Widow and Heirs of the late Dr. Henry Perrine, if you fail to do so my instructions are to locate it as an indefinite claim." Jackson informed Howe he would be "on the ground" by the first of March. Jackson to Howe, February 20, 1827, p. 811, letters and Reports to Surveyor General, Vol. 1: 1825-1847; Howe to Perrine, February 1, 1838, Senate Bill 300, 25th Congress, 2d Session: 19 - 20.

From the "Hunting ground near Key biscayne," Jackson wrote in April to the Surveyor General, apologizing for not reporting his progress sooner and explaining, "but there are so few opportunities of sending or receiving communications here . . .

. . . J.P. Baldwin Esq. of Key West who is authorized by C. Howe Esq. to locate the Claim. . . says that he will be here in the course of a few weeks more to make the Selection. . . . I am in great haste with this before the sloop departs." Jackson to Butler, January 16, February 20, April 5, all 1847, pp. 807, 811, 815-816, Letters and Reports to Surveyor General, Vol. 1: 1825-1847.

11. Baldwin was among a group of Key West men characterized as pro-southern, "cultivated and wealthy," by Jefferson B. Browne. (Baldwin was appointed Customs Collector in 1853 and served as Mayor during the Civil War.) Browne (1912) 1973:11-12, 27, 53, 90-91, 130, 203, 217, 223.
12. Jackson to Butler, September 13, 1847, pp. 819-820, Letters and Reports to Surveyor General, Vol. 1: 1825-1847.
13. Jackson, Field Notes, 1847:49*, 550-551.
14. John Dubose to Dr. H. Perrine, November 1, 1837, House of Representatives Report No. 564 (Committee of Agriculture): 59; Arva Moore Parks ms., p. 9, citing "Lighthouse Letters," 1825-1839, National Archives Record Group 26. Perrine commented that the "pulque de Manguey, is the celebrated substitute for beer, cider and wine, preferred even by foreigners to every other liquor," from Perrine, "Plants of Mexico," letter from New York, November 8, 1831 to the Secretary of the Treasury, AMPC.

Dubose mentioned other varieties: aloes, Turmeric, Cochineal Cactus, or prickly pear, and a specimen he called "three-cornered pear," called by Perrine "strawberry pear." He mentioned "Arnotta plant, African date, Paper Mulberry, Multicaulis, and a plant like the Tanyar." Although the Seminole war sent Dubose fleeing in January of 1835 to Key West, he wrote Perrine and described the flourishing young plants. "As soon," he wrote in 1837, "as the Indians give us permission to return to our homes, I expect to find more plants than will be wanted."
15. Perrine to Editor, June 30, 1837 and Howe to Perrine, September 2, 1837, House of Representatives Report 564 (Committee of Agriculture): 37 and 59; Howe reportedly engaged in commercial production of salt, his output reported in 1851 at an annual average of 30,000 pounds worth \$.20 per pound, see Florida Historical Quarterly 8 (July 1929).
16. House of Representatives Report No. 564 (Committee of Agriculture) :2, 17, 27. 47.
17. Ibid.:34 - 35.

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18. Howe to Perrine, February 1, 1838, Senate Report 300 [to accompany Senate Bill No. 241], March 12, 1838, 25th Congress, 2d Session: 19 - 20.
 19. Margot Ammidown, "The Deering Estate," c.1985:2-3, citing U.S. Congress, 2nd Sess., 25th Cong., "Extracts of Letters from John Dubose," Rep. 564, (February 14, 1838):59-60.
 20. Senate Report No. 1574, 54th Congress, 2d Session, March 3, 1897:1-2.
 21. Hester Perrine Walker, "The Perrines at Indian Key, Florida 1838 - 1840," Tequesta (1947):69-78.
 22. Henry Perrine, "Random Records of Tropical Florida," Tequesta (1951):51-62; Perrine to Ralph Glover, July 17, 1840 from Miami Metropolis, May 4, 1900:4, AMPC; Perrine [re. incorporation and company expansion] to the Secretary of the Treasury from New York, November 8, 1831, AMPC.
 23. Blake to Conway, July 11, 1843, Territorial Papers XXVI 1839 - 1845): 684.
 24. Senate Report 1574, March 3 1897:2; S.H. Richmond, "The Perrine Grant," The Tropic Magazine, (June, 1915), 9-13.
 25. "A Town" Miami Metropolis February 1897, AMPC.
 26. Arva Parks ms. :2, citing Rose Richards reminiscences.
 27. Ferguson Addison 1990: 1-3.
 28. The Addison children ranged in age from 5 to 21 when the Manatee frontier opened, the eldest son establishing a homeplace of his own. The 1850 census taker found John and Ellen Addison living in one household, while the household of William, 30, included his wife Ann, 24, their son, 1, and William's siblings-- David (26), John (23), Eliza (20), Joel (18) and Lucy (13). Seventh U.S. Census (1850), Population Schedule, Hillsborough County, Florida, households 193, 194.

At Manatee the 1850 census taker found the Addison families producing typical crops and livestock. They planted three acres at William's place, ten at the father's and mother's. The family clearings produced peas and beans, 200 bushels of sweet potatoes, clover, 25 bushels of Indian corn, and 25 tons of hay. The family owned five horses, more than 200 head of cattle, and as many swine. They slaughtered animals in commercial quantities and manufactured more than 400 pounds of butter a year from 60 "milch" cows. Seventh U.S. Census

(1850), Schedule 4, Productions of Agriculture for Hillsborough County.

29. Matthews 1983:191.
30. Territorial Papers XXIV:743,681-682,701-702,934
31. Harriet Liles to Matthews, April 13, 1992; Ferguson Addison, "The Addisons in Florida" 1990:4).
32. John Addison [Sr.] organized a 40-man company composed of many settlement leaders. His company was officially sworn into state service by General Jesse Carter. His sons, John A., William and David served as "Corporal, Bugler, and Farrier." The youngest brother, Joel, served as well. During the war, isolated settlers typically gathered, or "forted," together at larger settlements for safety, while the men rode out as home guards. Fort Addison, or "Fort Rough & Ready," on the Manatee River, was one such fortification.

In Spring of 1855 several attacks upon Manatee River settlements occurred, Lieutenant John Addison [Sr.] led out seven men of his 40-man company, including his sons and Dave Townsend. Other militiamen joined them on the trails. They tracked a band for several days and managed a surprise attack at Joshua Creek, a trek well over 30 miles from Manatee River (in present day DeSoto County). Lieutenant Addison killed one Indian and wounded another. After the skirmish, which lasted half an hour and resulted in four Indians killed, the cowboys scalped two Indians. One was dead, the other was not. The scalped survivor spoke "good English" and asked to be taken to a doctor. He was shot when he reportedly fell en route back to the Manatee village. Matthews: 1983:177, 191, 194, 215, 221, 226-227, 229, 234, 240-241; Soldiers of Florida:27; Addison 1990:4; South Florida Pioneers 12 (Apr 1977):2 and 13 (July 1977):14.
33. Matthews 1983:214,219,246.
34. Addison 1990:5.
35. 8th U.S. Census (1860), Population Schedule, Manatee County, Florida, households 71, 73, 77, 75. Harriet Liles located an 1860 census entry at Fort Lauderdale "near the lighthouse," for a John and Mary Addison. See also Ferguson Addison 1990:4. Although there is some record of a John Addison enlisting into the Confederate military service, the Manatee County John Addison does not appear in Compiled Service Records of the Confederate Armies, or in the Index to Confederate Pension Applications.

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36. Matthews 1989:56,65.
37. Harriet Liles notes re. 1860 and 1870 census entries, Liles re. John A. Addison, 2 pp. typescript, FAC.
38. Senate Report 1574, Addison and Fuzzard affidavit December 1887:25-26; Addison 1990:6.
39. Wagner, Henry J. "Early Pioneers of South Florida" Tequesta, 1948, all in Harriet Liles transcript, John A. Addison, FAC.
40. George W. Parsons diary 1873 - 1875 (December 17-26, 1873):14-17, AMPC.
41. Ibid., (December 27-31, 1873, January 11 and 14-15, February 23-25, March 5-10, 1874):17-19, 21-22, 47-48.
42. Ibid. (January 10, 24 and February 12, March 18-22, 25, 27-28, 1874):21, 37, 43, 55-58.
43. Ibid. (February 25 - April 2, 1874):48-60.
44. Parson related a humorous account of Mrs. Addison shopping at Miami; mentioned Addison cutting "fence posts & saplings" for sale at Key West; referred to "the Addison cotton claim;" and wrote that Mrs. A brought 18 cocoanuts to plant at the Hunting Ground....to plant in a row "between Henry's [Barnes?] place & . . . where I [Parsons] may want to build." Parsons commented on a common illness: "All of the settlers tell the same old story of chills & fever." Ibid. (February 18, 1875):182, (March 22):192, (May 3-4):209, and (May 15):217.
- Several 1875 entries suggest that Parson's friend, Henry Barnes and Addison may have had business interests together--the mutual cutting of saplings for fence posts and Henry's planned construction of a house at Addisons. See (February 18, 1875):182 and (May 3, 1875):209.
45. Col. Ewan "Early Days" Miami Metropolis July 27, 1906, Liles file John A. Addison, FAC.
46. Notes re. Tax Roll 1876, 1877 and 1879 for Dade County, Florida, FAC.
47. Arva Moore Parks ms.:12-13, citing Parks, "The Wreck of the Three Sisters," Tequesta XXXI (1971): 19-28.

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48. Henry E. Perrine, A True Story of Some Eventful Years in Grandpa's Life. Buffalo, E.H. Hutchinson Press (n.d. c.1885):245,247-249,253-303, Arva Moore Parks Collection; Reese, Joe Hugh, "Florida's Priority in Plant Introduction, Story of the Perrine Grant," The Hollywood Magazine (March 1925):30-34,40, AMPC.
 49. Perrine 1876:13-14.
 50. Perrine 1876: 15.
 51. Perrine 1876:17.
 52. Notes re. Tax Roll 1876, 1877 and 1879 for Dade County, Florida, FAC.
 53. Addison 1990:8.
 54. Parks 1966: 57,96-97; McIver:8-9.
 55. Liles to Addison, Liles file, John A. Addison, 2 pp. typescript, FAC.
 56. Juno, Dade County, Florida March 17, 1892, Harriet Liles files, FAC.
 57. "A Town" Miami Metropolis February 1897, AMPC.
 58. Rockwood 32:680-683.
 59. Rockwood 32:682-683.
 60. Parks 1966:65.
 61. Munroe photographs n.d., AMPC.
 62. Munroe and Gilpin 1930:95; Rockwood 32:681.
 63. "A Town" Miami Metropolis February 1897, AMPC.
 64. "A Town" Miami Metropolis February 1897, AMPC.
 65. "William C. Cutler" Miami Metropolis, May 12, 1899, AMPC.
 66. Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund deed #11909 1883:Sec 25 [125.90 acres] including also Sec. 24: Lots 1,2,3 and 4 and S.W. 1/4. Deed #14273 conveyed the N.W. 1/4 Sec 24 to Florida Coastline Canal & Transportation company September 24, 1890. Fuzzard bought 108 80/100 acres, "All of fractional Section 25" January 8, 1885 for \$136, (Deed #219), Deed Book B:46-47.

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67. 40 acres Florida Land and Mortgage Company Ltd. to Cutler, June 29, 1886, (lying in the SW qtr Section 6 Township 55 South Range 41 East), Dade County Deed Book C:97-99; 56 acres Simonson to Seibold to Cutler, March 14, 1887, (lying in the SW qtr Section 7) Deed Book C:46-48, witnessed by John A. Addison and Wm. Fuzzard. Florida Land & Mortgage Company to C.F. Siebold, \$100 for 80 acres (Township 55 South Range 41 East) November 16, 1886, Deed Book B:355. Fuzzard to Cutler, 80 acres for \$170 (West half S.W. qtr Sec 24 Township 55 Range 40 East), Deed Book E:111.
68. American Encyclopedia of Biography:229-230; "William C. Cutler" Miami Metropolis, May 12, 1899, AMPC.
69. "William C. Cutler" Miami Metropolis, May 12, 1899, AMPC; "A Town," Miami Metropolis February, 1897, AMPC.
70. "A Town" The Miami Metropolis February 1897, AMPC.
71. Location Paper August 1884, NARG 28: REDI 1990 photograph: 309 [Township 55 South Range 40 East, Section 26].
72. Fuzzard placed his 1884 site in the northwest extreme of Section 25, but a subsequent site location [1900] placed it in Northeast extreme of Section 26, see Location Paper, August 1884, NARG 28; Bradbury and Hallock 1962:20).
73. "A Town" Miami Metropolis February 1897, AMPC; The Miami Metropolis of June 5, 1896 reported that Fuzzard had lived on his land thirteen years, therefore 1883 and Addison 31, therefore an 1865 arrival if correct. Also see Cutler Post Office photograph 1896, AMPC).
- S.H. Richmond, writing in 1915, indicated that Fuzzard "who was a friend of Dr. Cutler . . . had been living on the ground about twenty years" before Richmond's arrival [1895-1896]. S.H. Richmond, "The Perrine Grant," The Tropic Magazine (June, 1915): 13.
74. Richards, John R., comp. The South Publishing Company's Florida State Gazetteer and Business Directory. New York: South Publishing Company 1886:122.
75. "A Town" The Miami Metropolis February 1897, AMPC.
76. "William C. Cutler" Miami Metropolis, May 12, 1899, AMPC.
77. J.R. Parrott, Vice President , Florida East Coast Railway, to A.P. Sawyer, Boston, November 9, 1895, Box 21A, HMFMA.
78. W.S.Webb to Ingraham April 30, 1894, HMFMA.

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79. "A Town" Miami Metropolis February, 1897, AMP.
 80. Following a brief 30-day examination, the General Land Office Commissioner and the Secretary of the Interior gave approval that settlement requirements had been proven. Minority View, Senate Report 1574, Part 2:2-3,7-9.
 81. Perrine Grant, Senate Committee for Public Lands Report 1574, 54th Congress, 2d Session, March 3, 1897:2-5, 8.
 82. The nine were J.A. Smith, Ephriam W. Sigsbee, J.W. Roberts, J.F. Roberts, Sarah M. Roberts, George H. Mehring, Robert O. Swindel, E.I. Robinson, and Annie R. Woodward. The F.E.C. agent cited by the nine as present when the proofs were made was S.H. Richmond, George A. MacDonald was "a professional witness. . . to . . . proofs," Eugene McKinley was "attorney of said company . . . delegated to superintend the making of said proofs."Senate Report 1897:8.
 83. Senate Committee Report March 3, 1897:14.
 84. Cutler affidavit of testimony before committee, April 1888, Senate Report 574: 19-21.
 85. Extract of testimony of William C. Cutler, Senate Committee Report 1574, Minority View Part 2:3. Cutler indicated he had sent "one of my help, who was then very ill in the North. . . to take care of [Cutler's] property, and he bought some there himself." Material suggests the possibility that this reference is to William Fuzzard.
 86. Senate Committee Report 1574:22-23, Addison affidavit of November 19, 1895:18.
 87. Senate Report 1574, Addison and Fuzzard affidavit December 1887:25-26.
 88. Drusilla G. Williams affidavit January 1896, Senate Report 1574:22.
 89. David Pent affidavit of March, 1888. Senate Report 1574:19.
 90. Petition to Congress, March 16, 1897, Senate Report 1574:9-12.
 91. Affidavit of Edward I. Robinson, January 23, 1896, Senate Report 1574:13-14.
 92. Affidavit of Edward I. Robinson. January 30, 1897, Senate Report 1574:14.

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93. Senate Report 1574:11, 24-25.
 94. Senate Report 1574:23.
 95. Senate Report 1574: James E. Ingraham affidavit 26-27.
 96. S.H. Richmond, "The Perrine Grant," The Tropic Magazine (June, 1915:13; Senate Report 1574, Minority View:3.
 97. George M. Chapin, Florida 1914:321-322.
 98. S.H. Richmond, "The Perrine Grant," The Tropic Magazine, (June, 1915): 10.
 99. Chapin 1914:321.
 100. Richmond to Ingraham, April 3, 1896, Box 21A: HMF.M.
 101. Kate Biscayne Stirrup Dean interview by Arva Moore Parks c. 1982. E.W.F. Stirrup became a major landowner and developer of land along Charles Avenue. Dean received a graduate degree from Boston University and served as longtime dean of students at Carver High School in Coconut Grove. Parks to Matthews June 9, 1992. Cutler's account published in the Senate Committee Report 1574, suggests the possibility that Stirrup may be one of the Bahamians hired to develop Cutler's land, many of whom lived seasonally on the Perrine grant, see Report 1574, Minority View, Part 2:20.
 102. "The Perrine Grant" The Miami Metropolis, June 5, 1896:3, MDCPRD; Ingraham to Flagler, June 8, 1899, Box 21 A, HMFMA.
 103. "The Perrine Grant" The Miami Metropolis, June 5, 1896:3, MDCPRD.
 104. "The Perrine Grant" The Miami Metropolis, June 5, 1896:3, MDCPRD.
 105. Perrines to Addison 1898:Deed Book *: 466-468; Richmond Survey Town of Cutler Plat Book B:17; Title Search 1985:1-8, MDCPRD.
 106. Richmond survey Plat Book B:17; see also Addison conveyance.
 107. "The Perrine Grant" The Miami Metropolis, June 5, 1896:3, MDCPRD. The Florida Central & Peninsular Railway later became Seaboard Airline, in the course of the corporations eighteenth name change. See Florida Department of State Division of Corporations records, Elizabeth Peck to Matthews, telephone June 8, 1992.

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108. Reese 19225:32.
109. Encyclopedia Britannica 1980:II:994.
110. Perrine letter, Miami Metropolis, June 26, 1896:6, MDCPRD.
111. "Cutler" August 21, 1896:8, MDCPRD.
112. "The Perrine Grant" Miami Metropolis, September 25, 1896:8, MDCPRD. Senate Report 1574 includes affidavits from the James A. Smith regarding J.F. Roberts's with his father, J.W. Roberts, Smith and W.G. Stevens's construction of a road across the prairie--"a long and high-banked causeway for the neighborhood road to the shore landing," see Minority View, Part 2:21,24.
113. Miami Metropolis October 2, 1896:5, MDCPRD. Seibold, who resided in the 1870s with the Addisons, bought 56 acres of land several miles northeast of the Addisons, off the site of today's Deering estate. Seibold sold to Dr. Cutler in 1887 for \$500. (Charles F. Seibold to Cutler, July 11, 1887, Deed Bk C:46-49.)

W.J. and Lillian Daugherty owned a strip of land 66' X 185' [the south side of present day 166th Street extending to the corner of present day S.W. 72nd Avenue] The Daugherty strip lay to the west just outside the wall of today's Deering estate. (W.J. and Lillian Daugherty to Charles Deering, February 17, 1925, Title Search 1986:16, MDCPRD, also see Plat of Roberts' Subdivision, Plat Bk B:23 and Charles Deering Estate . . . 1932, MDCPRD.) Dougherty also owned [mapped in 1909] a parcel a half mile or so south of today's Deering estate south wall. (See Richmond survey c. 1909: S.W.4 Sec. 35, Township 55 South Range 40 East. HASF, Model Land Co. file.)

Seibold's 1895 affidavit indicated that he arrived in 1871. An F.J. Seybold petitioned along with the Roberts family and Dougherty, see Senate Report 1574, Part 2:11 and 16.

114. Pinder owned several parcels of land a half mile or so southerly of today's south wall of the Deering estate, along the bay. Her bayfront property was severed, along its western extremity by the road. See Richmond survey c. 1909: S.W.4 Sec. 35, Township 55 South Range 40 East. HASF, Model Land Co. file.

The land also contained parcels owned by Dougherty. See "County commission," Miami Metropolis, November 13, 1896:8, MDCPRD.

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115. Roberts' subdivision of several blocks mapped by Richmond lay to the west, just outside the wall of the present-day Deering estate, lying between approximately S.W. 164th Terrace and 167th Street. See Plat of Roberts Subdivision, Plat Book B:23, Corrected Plat of Block C, Roberts' Subdivision, Plat Book 1:129. Roberts' three blocks were bounded on the east by today's S.W. 72nd Avenue and on the west by Ingraham Highway.
116. The Florida East Coast Homeseeker Vol. 1 No. 4 (April 1899):cover; THE DADE COUNTY FAIR Vol. 3 No. 3 (April 1901):2; Blackman Miami and Dade County, Florida, Washington D.C.: Rainbolt, 1921:70-71.
117. Deed Book Y:466-468, Dade County.
118. "A Town" February 1897 Miami Metropolis AMPC.
119. Perrines to Addison 1898:Deed Book *: 466-468; Perrine Grant Land Company corporation records (Florida Department of State). The Perrine Grant Land Company remained active until 1969.
- A.T. Duval, relationship to H. R. Duval unknown, appears in April of 1910 as a major owner of lands in Section 10 of Township 55 South Range 40 East. Survey, bound, linen, Model Land Company and Perrine Grant Land Co. &c lands c. 1903-1922, organized by Township maps. HMFMA.
120. Richmond 1899: MDC Plat Book B:17.
121. "William Cutler," Miami Metropolis, May 12, 1899, MDCPRD.
122. S.H. Richmond, "The Perrine Grant," The Tropic Magazine (June, 1915):13.
123. Scott Loftin to R.A. Gray, September 25, 1936, and Perrine Grant Land Company corporation file, Florida Department of State, Tallahassee, Florida.
124. A \$1500 entry apparently related to a \$3940 construction item, perhaps reducing a mortgage amount to \$2440. Perrine Grant Land Company ledger, entry Dec. 9, 1908:64, HMFMA.
125. The Florida East Coast Homeseeker Vol. 2 No. 2 (February 1900):15.
126. Richmond Cottage register, 1900 - 1908 [1915], HASF; Thelma Peters, Lemon City 1976:66; Richmond Cottage rates as

- advertised The Florida East Coast Homeseeker Vol. 3 No. 9 (September 1901):19.
127. S.H. Richmond, "The Perrine Grant," The Tropic Magazine (June 1915):13.
128. Miami Metropolis April 27, 1900, Shepard 1988:7.
129. Cutler Post Office Relocation report, February 2, 1900, NARG 28; Bradbury and Hallock 1962:47,68.
130. H.M. Flagler to "J.E. Ingraham, 3rd V.P." March 19, 1900. Box 21 A. HMFMA.
131. "Cutler," The Florida East Coast Homeseeker No. 4 (April, 1899):12.
132. S.H. Richmond to Blackman, September 25, 1888, Vol. 1 No. 10 (October 1899).
133. "The Perrine Grant," The Florida East Coast Homeseeker No. 16 (December 1898):4-5 and Vol. 1 No. 9 (September, 1899):17.
134. Ibid. Vol. 2 No. 4 (April 1900):6,13.
135. Ibid., Vol. 2 No. 8 (August 1900):13; Vol. 2 No. 9 (September, 1900):6; Vol. 2 No. 10 (October 1900):22.
136. Ibid., Vol. 3 No. 2 (February 1901):7, HMFMA. Dynamite for planting on the ridge appears regularly in agricultural history. The Homeseeker titled a 1912 article, "Dynamite and Modern Farming." In the article, Flagler was quoted in regard to what was an old practice on the ridge but a new one for him:
- Three years ago the writer, while in Southern Florida, was talking with Mr. H.M. Flagler about . . . the limestone formation where the surface showed little or no soil. Mr. Flagler . . . finding . . . it was necessary to dynamite the ground in order to make a hole in which to plant the tree, since the ground was too rocky to dig holes in any other way. . . . Mr. Flagler expressed his surprise at the results. . . and said At the time . . . dynamiting the soil for tree planting . . . had not attracted much attention. (Vol. 14 No. 7:11, HMFMA.)
137. "CUTLER TOMATO FIELDS," Ibid. Vol. 3 No. 4 (May 1901):9-10.

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138. The Florida East Coast Homeseeker Vol. 3 No. 7 (July 1901):12, HMFMA.
139. CUTLER, DADE COUNTY, Ibid., Vol. 3 No. 10 (October 1901):2.
140. DADE COUNTY'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS The Homeseeker Vol. 3 No. 3 (March 1901):6.
141. Ibid., Vol. 5 No. 8 (August 1903):3-6.
142. F.E.C. map of lands and systems, c. 1903, HMFMA. Not all growers used the F.E.C. rails exclusively, a packing house at Peters ultimately connected to the Bay via spur-line tracks. Thelma Peters to Matthews, April, 1992.
143. Map of Perrine, Dade County, Florida. Surveyed by S.H. Richmond, C.E. December 1903, Drawn by L. Larson, January 1904, HASF. Also see Richmond Cottage register notes, HASF.
144. Parrott to Goff, September 5, 1902, F.E.C. Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
145. J.R. Parrott to R.T. Goff, April 15, 1903, F.E.C. Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
146. Sidney Walter Martin, Flagler's Florida Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1949:213-214; Carter to Dooley, June 29, 1903, Godwin to Carter, June 28, 1903, Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
147. Carter to Dooley, September 5, 1903.
148. Carter to Dooley, November 11, 1903, Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
149. Carter to A.A. Dooley at Miami, August 28, 1903.
150. Carter to Dooley, October 6, 1903, Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
151. E.Ben Carter to Dooley, June 19, 1903, Cuter Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
152. Boyett to Dooley, October 15, 1903, HMFMA.
153. Carter to Dooley, September 30, 1903.
154. F.E.C. Order No. 5046, October 8, 1903, Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
155. Ibid., Carter to Dooley, August 3, 1903.

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156. Carter to C.T. McCrimmon, Miami, Florida, Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
157. Carter to Dooley October 12, 1903, Carter to McCrimmon October 12, 1903, HMFMA.
158. Carter to Dooley, November 6, 1903, Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
159. Carter to Dooley, November 20, 1903, Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
160. Ibid., E.B. Carter to A.A. Dooley, January 26, 1904. On January 29, Dooley penned a memo to Carter, "Do you wish the name of Mr. James Ingraham Jr. to appear at all on the check roll which I send in? Carter pencilled his answer, "Yes, so as to cover mess." Dooley to Carter, January 29, 1904, Cutler Extension correspondence.
161. Carter to Dooley, January 26, 1904, Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
162. Carter to Dooley at Miami, February 2, February 6, 1904, and March 3, 1904, Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
163. F.E.C. Order no. 5376, January 21, 1904 and Receipt Carter for Baggett by Car no. B&O 77605, February 25, 1904, Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
164. E.B. Carter to Dooley, November 28 and December 26, 29, 1903, March 15 and 28, 1904, and Carter to McCrimmon, March 28, 1904, Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
165. E.B. Carter to A.A. Dooley, May 12, 1904, Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
166. E.B. Carter to Dooley, May 28, 1904, Cutler Extension correspondence, HMFMA.
167. Allan R. Parrish, Official Directory of the City of Miami and Nearby Towns 1904:1222-124.
168. Melvin Camus interview, Dade County Deering Estate videotape interviews c. 1985, Tape 2. Melvin Camus also reminisced about his experiences as a temporary worker for Charles Deering in 1921, when he assisted with carpentry and hanging bird houses in the trees at the Cutler estate--something he had done earlier at Deering's Buena Vista estate, see the interview as well as Shepard Associates 1988:17.

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169. Bradbury and Hallock 1962:66.
170. Liles to Addison, John A. Addison, 2. pp. typescript, FAC.
171. Miami Metropolis, August 24, 1906:4, Harriet Liles Collection/FAC. The Evening Record of September 1, 1906 reported that May was in a state of "declining health and blindness." Harriet Liles to Ferguson Addison, FAC and HLC.
172. The Miami Metropolis, September 7, 1906:5, from Harriet Liles Collection, FAC. According to the 1860 and 1870 census, Mary's age at death would have been about 71 or 74, FAC.
173. Harriet Liles 1992.
174. Deed Book 35:134-136.
175. The Miami Metropolis, December 14, 1906:17.
176. Miami Metropolis, January 11, 1907, HLC.
177. 1910 Dade County, Florida Census, page 178, HLC.
178. Addison affidavit regarding 1892 agreement with James Smith and Henry A. Howe, Dade County Deed Book 63:383-384, HLC.
179. Addison:1990:8; Ferguson Addison interview 1992.
180. The Florida East Coast Homeseeker Vol. 12 No. 4 (April 1910): cover, 126-127, HMFMA.
181. Ibid., Vol. 14 No. 5 (May, 1912):cover,170; Vol. 14 No. 1 (January 1912):3, HMFMA.
182. Perrine Grant Subdivision of fractional Sec. 35, Township 55 South Range 40 East, Surveyed by M.W. McRae, March 1912 for the Model Land Company, HASF. Compare Richmond survey of the Southwest quarter, ca. 1900, HASF.
183. Ibid. Vol. 14 No. 7 (July 1912): cover, 248.
184. M.D.D.S.Campbell 1992; loaned from Mrs. Campbell's collection--The Deering Lines:75-76 and Charles Deering notes "W.D." typescript n.d.:1-3; Scott and Harshe: 23, 59, 73; Encyclopedia Britannica 1980:II,431.
185. William Deering to Charles, November 10 and December 12, 1861, Scott and Harshe 1929:66-68.

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186. Charles Deering notes, "W..D.":4, MDDSCC; International Harvester:21-22; Darby 1986:247.
187. Darby 1986: 246.
188. Charles Deering notes, 4 pages typescript, Marion D.D.S. Campbell Collection; Scott and Harshe 1929:3.
189. M.D.D.S.Campbell 1992; Charles Deering notes, Campbell collection; Stanley Olson, John Singer Sargent 1989:66; Scott and Harshe 1929:71, 31-32; Register of Alumni 1980:167, Gus Ludlow died in his thirties, drowning at Bristol Bay on October 17, 1890; U.S. Naval Academy records, Crew correspondence 1986; American Naval Fighting Ships 1959:I:20,27,67.
190. Scott and Harshe 1929:71, 31-32.
191. Marion Deering Danielson Campbell, 1992.
192. Marion Deering Danielson Campbell 1992; Scott and Harshe 1929:14,15,16,17; Olson 1989:66. Charles may have painted at Zorn's studio in 1895, at which time he produced a portrait of his daughter bearing that date, Barbara Strachan Deering Danielson Collection, 1992.
193. Scott and Harshe 1929:36.
194. Scott and Harshe 1929:38A, 74A; "Chas. Deering..." Metro-Dade files, n.d. ca. May 1924; Olson 1989:66, 254.
195. Mary Crawford Volk to Matthews, telephone conference of March 13, 1992; Scott and Harshe 1929:48.
196. Scott and Harshe 1929: 9, 60-64.
197. Scott and Harshe 1929:1-4, 14-15.
198. The Deering Lines:76, M.D.D.S.C. Collection; Scott and Harshe 1929:73; Encyclopedia Britannica 1980:II,431.
199. M.D.D.S. Campbell 1992; The Deering-Whipple Lines:319-321, M.D.D.S. Campbell collection; Scott and Harshe 1929:31-32.
200. Darby 1986:246,254.
201. Zorn to Deering 1895, Scott and Harshe 1929:40-41.
202. Scott and Harshe 1929:40A; Deering also sketched John Cutler, one of few surviving Deering pieces, see p. 47.

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203. Darby 1986:248-249.
204. The Deering Lines:76, M.D.D.S. Campbell collection; Scott and Harshe 1929:59; M.D.D.S.Campbell 1992.
205. Scott and Harshe 1929:9, 60-64 Encyclopedia Britannica 1980:II,431; Darby 1986:254.
206. Scott and Harshe 1929:55-59.
207. M.D.D.S.Campbell 1992.
208. Scott and Harshe 1929:7,73-74.
209. Darby 1986:250-251.
210. Darby 1986:252.
211. Encyclopedia Britannica 1980:VII,21; 5:185; 12:379.
212. Darby 1986:256-258.
213. New York Times, February 7, 1927:19; Scott and Harshe 1929:4.
214. Scott and Harshe 1929:75-76.
215. Melchers to Charles Deering, September 8, 1912, Scott and Harshe 1929:42-43;Encyclopedia Britannica 1980:768.
216. Scott and Harshe 1929: 49-51.
217. Scott and Harshe 1929:47; For Harshe's distinction of the Cutler house as "Deering's home near Cocoanut Grove," see p. 40.
218. Scott and Harshe 1929:26, 84A.
219. M.D.D.S Campbell 1992.
220. The Deering Lines:76, M.D.D.S. Campbell Collection; M.D.D
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Scott
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1929:
23,59
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221. New York Times Index 1905:901.
222. New York Times Index 1907:3.
223. New York Times Index 1907:3, 1908:7, 123.
224. New York Times Index 1909:14.
225. New York Times Index 1910.
226. New York Times Index 1914:207.
227. New York Times Index 1913:185.
228. New York Times Index 1911:9,119.
229. New York times, December 19, 1913: 4:3.
230. Miami Daily Metropolis, December 20, 1913.
231. Charles Deering notes with The Deering Lines:75, M.D.D.S. Campbell collection; Dill and Harshe 1929:59.
232. Charles Deering typescript, M.D.D.S. Campbell collection; Scott and Harshe:22,55-59.
233. Mary Crawford-Volk 1992.
234. Barbara Strachan Deering Danielson 1992.
235. Scott and Harshe 1929:51-52.
236. Scott and Harshe 1929:51-53.
237. Scott and Harshe 1929:22-23, 19-20, and 2.
238. Title Search 1985:1-6; Richmond Survey 1899; Perrine Grant Land Company to Addison 1898: Deed Book Y:466-468.
239. Title Search 1985:1-6; Richmond Survey 1899.
240. Title Search 1985:7-8.
241. Title Search 1985:9.
242. S.H. Richmond, "The Perrine Grant," The Tropic Magazine (June 1915):12, AMPC; Photo, AMPC.
243. Site survey; Small correspondence; south wall photos by John Kunkel Small, HASF.

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244. "James Deering . . ." Miami Metropolis, October 20, 1915, MDCPRD.
245. "Former Richmond Home Being Transformed to Mansion for Deerings," Miami Metropolis, November 19, 1915, MDPFRF.
246. "Large Irrigation" Miami Daily Metropolis, June 12, 1916:1, MDCPRD.
247. Scott and Harshe 1929:38; Olson 1989:66; Shepard 1988:11-13; Crawford-Volk 1992.
248. Olson 1989:254.
249. H. Schwenn to Deering, September 4 1918, HASF.
250. Deering to Fairchild, January 12, 1917 and January 15, 1916, FTG.
251. Scott and Harshe 1929:8,26; Encyclopedia Britannica 1980:IV:426.
252. James to Elbert Gary, March 8, 1920, Scott and Harshe 1929:77-78.
253. Gary to James Deering, April 5, 1920, Scott and Harshe 1929:79-80.
254. Gary to James Deering March 10, 1921, Scott and Harshe 1929:80-81.
255. Scott and Harshe 1929:17-18, 19; AIC 1992 correspondence re. 1922 accessions;
256. Barbara Strachan Deering Danielson 1992.
257. Secretary to Butler, January 17, 1922; RBH to CHB (telegram) January 16, 1922, AAIC.
258. McCormick and Erminger to Trustees, January 5, 1928, AAIC.
259. John Ferguson receipt August 25, 1919, McCormick to MacLean February 3, 1922 AAIC.
260. "Chinese Material": March 24, 1922, AAIC.
261. J.A. McLean to Harshe March 27, 1922, AAIC.
262. "Kept by The AIC" May 10, 1927; "Items in the Oriental Division," 5pp., "(Deering coll) Oriental" n.d., AAIC.

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263. Chauncey McCormick to Robert B. Harshe, January 19, 1922, AAIC.
264. List of cases to be shipped to Mr. 'Chas. Deering Miami, Florida, January 24, 1922, 2pp. AAIC.
265. McCormick to Harshe, March 20, 1922, AAIC.
266. Harshe to McCormick, April 11, 1922, AAIC.
267. "Receipt, April 12, 1922, AAIC.
268. Louderback to Deering, June 20, 1922, Shepard 1988: appendum, notes. Note: Construction history and photos appear within Shepard report 1980.
269. Paist to Deering, August 18, 1922, Shepard report 1988, appended notes.
270. U.S.C.G.S. T-Chart 5662 1935, DNR; Dewey A. Dye to Matthews, July 1, 1992.
271. M.D.D.S.Campbell 1992.
272. Paist to Deering, July 13, 1922, Shepard 1988, appended notes.
273. Shepard 1988:16,18,21, including appended notes. January, 1923.
274. Small to Deering, October 24, 1922, FTG.
275. Deering to Fairchild October 17, 1922, FTG.
276. James Deering to Elbert Gary, December 12, 1922, Scott and Harshe 1929:80-81.
277. Therefore, Charles Deering's departure for Florida would have occurred on Saturday, December 9 1922. James Deering to Gary, December 12, 1922, Scott and Harshe 1929:81-82.
278. Shepard 1988: 14-15 and appendum notes re. Paist to Deering, July 19, 1922.
279. J.N. Morrison to Deering, December 20, 1922, Shepard 1988: appended notes.
280. Bisbee, Metropolis, September 25, 1922, HASF.
281. Bisbee, July 27, n.d. HASF.

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282. Bisbee: "Providing Nests", n.d. and June 21 and August 11, 1922, HASF.
283. Bisbee: "Charles Deering Attempted" July 29, 1922, HASF.
284. Scott and Harshe 1929:38-39.
285. Sargent to Charles Deering, November 18, 1923, Scott and Harshe 1929:39-40.
286. Deering to Comings, January 26, 1924, AAIC.
287. Scott and Harshe 1929:31.
288. "Charles Deering . . ." n.d., ca. May 1924, Metro-Dade files.
289. The Deering Lines:76, M.D.D.S.C. collection; New York Times September 24, 1925:25; Davenport Democrat, September 22, 1925.
290. New York Times September 2, 1925:3.
291. New York Times, September 22, 1925:25.
292. New York Times September 22, 1925:25.
293. Scott and Harshe 1929:72-75. The Deering fund for assistance to needy patients today (1992) funds a monthly program at Jackson Memorial Hospital. Dr. Gillen Ward to Matthews, May 1992.
294. Elbert Gary to Charles Deering, Scott and Harshe 1929:28-29.
295. McCormick and Erminger to Trustees, January 5, 1928, AAIC.
296. Miami Herald July 15, 1926, MDCPRD.
297. New York Times February 7, 1927:19; Davenport Democrat, February 6, 1927.
298. Munroe and Gilpin 1930:356.
299. Mrs. Charles Deering, November 9, 1926, descriptive list, 2 pp., AAIC.
300. Scott and Harshe 1929:26.
301. New York Times, February 6, 1927:2.
302. New York Times February 7, 1927:19.

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303. New York Times, February 14, 1992:2.
304. New York Times, March 25, 1927:32.
305. Scott and Harshe 1929:14, 30. The Deering fund today (1992) benefits needy patients each month at Jackson Memorial, Dr. Gillen Ward to Matthews, May, 1992.
306. McCormick and Erminger to Trustees, January 5, 1928 and 13pp. itemization, AAIC.
307. "Loan Collection", May 11, 1927, 33pp. typescript, AAIC.
308. Loan Committee, The Charles Deering Collection, gift December, 28, 1927, 1 pp. typescript, AAIC.
309. "Extract from a letter to . . . McCormick," July 20, 1927, AAIC.
310. Scott and Harshe 1929:33.
311. FSHS 1955:348 and 1928:235; Scott and Harshe 1929:7; Encyclopedia Britannica 1980:IV:30.
312. Fairchild 1913: 10,11-15.
313. Fairchild 1913: 10 - 15; FSHS LXVII:235.
314. Deering to Fairchild October 30, 1913, FTG.
315. Dill and Harshe:58-59.
316. Deering to Fairchild October 30, 1913. FTG.
317. Deering to Fairchild December 9, 1913 FTG.
318. Fairchild "Trip" 1914:1,6a,8a,9a,16a.
319. Deering to U.S.D.A. 1914, FTG.
320. Fairchild to Deering, March 9, 1915,FTG.
321. Fairchild to Deering, March 9, 1915,FTG.
322. Deering to Fairchild April 12, 1915, FTG.
323. Title search 1985:2-5, regarding Fuzzard, Fowler, Watson, Kolb and Richmond.
324. Title Search 1985: re. lots 6 - 19 of Block 77.

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325. Deering to Fairchild, January 15, 1916, FTG.
326. Fairchild Trip 1916:9, 23.
327. Fairchild Trip [Feb. 8-10] 1916: 46-50, FTG.
328. Fairchild Trip 1916:50.
329. Fairchild Trip 1916:71.
330. Deering to Mrs. Fairchild, February 27, 1916, and Deering to Fairchild February 20, 1916, FTG.
331. Asking about Mrs. Fairchild and a guest, Deering wrote, "Will you please let me know when they are coming? or will they let me know when they arrive?"
- In the margin of Deering's letter, Fairchild scribbled, "This explains why he [Deering] has not called I think. Drop him a note at once hadn't you better?" D.Deering to Fairchild January 12, 1917, FTG.
332. Deering to Fairchild January 18, 1917, FTG.
333. Deering to Fairchild August 26, 1917, FTG.
334. Fairchild Trip 1919:106-111.
335. Fairchild Trip 1920:40-41.
336. Fairchild Trip 1920:16-18.
337. Fairchild to Marian and A.G. Bell, n.d. Zuckerman ms. 1991: Appendix 7.
338. Zuckerman 1992.
339. Fairchild Trip 1920: 10,11,45,48,71,160-161.
340. Fairchild Trip 1920:161.
341. Fairchild to Deering, December 8, 1920, FTG.
342. Deering to Fairchild, November 4, 1921, FTG.
343. Lease draft, FTG.
344. Fairchild to Deering, December 13, 1921, FTG.
345. Deering to Fairchild February 7, 1922, FTG.

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346. Fairchild Trip 1922:1,49.
347. Fairchild Trip 1922:64.
348. Fairchild trip 1922:65.
349. Fairchild Trip 1922:66,76.
350. Deering to Fairchild and Morrison to Deering, February 22 and 16, 1922, FTG.
351. Fairchild Trip 1922: 193.
352. Fairchild Trip 1922: 193-194.
353. Deering to Marian Fairchild, April 28, 1922, FTG.
354. Deering to Fairchild, May 14, 1922, FTG.
355. Deering to Fairchild October 17, 1922, DEI.
356. Deering to Fairchild March 9, 1923, DEI.
357. Deering to Fairchild April 13, 1923, DEI.
358. Barnhart 1938:73-74,76; New York Times January 21, 1938:19.
359. Barnhart 1938:73.
360. Barnhart 1935:74.
361. Barnhart 1935:74-76.
362. Small obituary, New York Times, January 21, 1938, Accession file, FSA.
363. Small biography, n.d.:2, Accession file, FSA.
364. Barnhart 1935: 74, 76, 77.
365. Bibliography 1935:1-15.
366. Bibliography 1935:1-15.
367. McDonald 1992; Accession File, FSA.
368. manuscript, n.d: 2, Accession File, FSA.
369. Barnhart 1938:77.
370. Small manuscript n.d.: 5, Accession file, FSA.

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371. Small manuscript, n.d.:2, Accession File, FSA.
372. Barnhart 1938:77; George K. Small, "Activities" n.d.: 1.
373. Barnhart 1938:79.
374. Small manuscript, n.d. (ca. 1920): 1, Accession file, FSA.
375. Deering to Small, March 19, 1915, FSA.
376. Deering to Small, March 29, 1915, FSA.
377. Deering to Small, April 1, 1915, FSA.
378. Small to Deering, April 3, 1915, FTG.
379. Small photos: November 1913, FTG.
380. Small photographs March 20, 1915, FTG.
381. George K. Small wrote:

We carried hundreds of plant driers and sheets of newsprint paper for drying herbarium specimens, plus glass jars filled with preserving fluid for special types of fruit and plant collections.

While we were still in New York my father prepared a supply of dried beef, made by ourselves, for our journey. After smoking, chunks of beef were hung up in a dry place until it became hard as wood. They could not be cut with a knife, so father placed clean paper around and under our wood vice on the carpenter bench in the cellar. The meat chunks were clamped in the vice and cut with an iron carpenter plane. This made delicious chipped beef. Along with this beef we took loaves of bread and tins of pilot biscuit and crackers. We had evaporated milk and the ingredients for making pancakes and grits. My mother would make pancakes or cook oatmeal on the gasoline stove in the small galley, but mostly we ate peanut butter and guava jelly on bread or biscuits. We also carried cans of sardines and baked beans. After our initial supply of water was exhausted we dipped water from the lake and boiled it before using. My father built up a pleasant expectation for everything that might be expected to take place on the cruise including the food.

George K. Small, "A Family Cruise around Lake Okeechobee," Accession file:2-3, FSA.

382. Deering to Small, April 5, 1915, FSA.

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383. Deering to Small, April 7, 1915, FSA.
384. Small to Deering, April 5, 1915, FTG.
385. Deering to Small, April 10, 1915, FSA.
386. Small photos (3): June 28, 1915, FTG.
387. Small photos (2): July 2, 1915, FTG.
388. Small photos (2): July 6, 1915, FTG.
389. Small photos (2): July 18, 1915, FTG.
390. Small photos (2): July 29, 1915, FTG.
391. Bisbee, Miami Metropolis, September 16, 1922, HASF.
392. Small to Deering, October 10, 1915, FSA.
393. Small to Deering, October 29, 1915.
394. Small to James Deering September 13, 1915, FSA.
395. Marion Deering to Small, December 4, 1915, FSA.
396. Small to Deering, December 20, 1915, FSA.
397. Deering to Small, January 8, 1916, FSA.
398. Deering to Small, Feb 2 n.d. FSA.
399. Deering to Small, Saturday evening, n.d., FSA.
400. Deering to Small, March 14, n.d., FSA.
401. Small to Deering, March 18, 1916, FTG.
402. Small photos (28): January 1916, FTG.
403. Small to Deering, March 22, 1916.
404. Deering to Small, February 26, 1916, FSA.
405. Small to Deering, March 24, 1916, FTG.
406. Small photos (1): January 1916 and (1): July 8, 1915, FTG.
407. Small to Deering, April 28, 1916, FTG.

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408. Simpson added words of praise for some Deering staff members:
I cannot speak too highly of the faithfulness and willingness of Paul Matthaus and Victor Soar who were always ready for any trip or work. Mr. John Soar has an excellent working knowledge of the region we visited and of the distribution of a great many plants. He was well satisfied with the results of his trip.
Charles R. Simpson to Deering, April 10, 1916, FTG.
409. Shepard 1988, appendix notes.
410. Deering to Small, April 30 1916, FSA.
411. Deering to Small, 7 May, FSA.
412. Deering to Small, May 27, 1916, FSA.
413. Small photos (3): November 1916, FTG.
414. Small photos (2): n.d. (c. November 1916).
415. Small photos (2): December 1916, FTG.
416. Small photographs: May 1917, FTG.
417. Bibliography 1938:7.
418. Small Report to Britton, "Botanical Exploration . . . in 1917": 1918, FTG.
419. Deering to Small, June 2, 1917, FSA.
420. Small to Deering, June 6, 1916, FSA.
421. Deering to Small, June 18, 1917, FSA.
422. Deering to Small, July 5, 1917, FSA.
423. Deering to Small, July 24, 1917, FSA.
424. Deering to Small, August 21, 1917, FSA.
425. Deering to Small, August 26, 1917, FSA.
426. James Deering to Small, September 5, 1917, FSA.
427. Deering to Small, September 17, 1917, FSA.
428. H. Schwenn to Deering, september 4, 1918 and photographs #1989-102-346, 358, 367, 374-375, 378-379, HASF.

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429. Photographs #1989-102-352,355,357,HASF.
430. Deering to Small, December 5, 1917, FSA.
431. Small to Deering, September 14, 1918, FTG.
432. Small photographs: May 1918 and "Tree and Wheel," n.d., FTG.
433. HASF photo 1989-102-336.
434. Small: Planting at Cutler, Note number 30, August 12, 1918; #31, August 14; # 33, August 16; #34, August 28; #35, August 27; #36, August 28; #37-38, August 31; #39-40, September 2; #41, September 3; #42-44, September 16, FTG.
435. Small to Deering, September 14, 1918, FTG.
436. Small to Deering, September 20, 1918, FTG.
437. Small to Deering, September 21, 1918, FTG.
438. Small, "Of Ancient Dunes . . December 1918" ms., FTG.
439. Deering to Small, Aug. 24, n.d. [filed w. 1925], FSA.
440. Bibliography 1938:8.
441. Small to Deering, January 19, 1919, FSA.
442. James Deering to Small, January 23, 1919, FSA.
443. James Deering to Small, June 16, 1919, FSA.
444. Small obituary, n.d., typescript, 2 pp., and George K. Small "Activities, n.d. Accession File, FSA.
445. George K. Small to John K. Small, May 4, 1919, Accession file, FSA.
446. Small, "Historic Trails, By Land and By Water. . . December 1919" ms., FTG.
447. Small to DeWinkeler, November 3, 1919, FSA.
448. Small to DeWinkeler, November 19, 1919, FSA.
449. Small to Deering January 5, 1920, FSA.
450. Deering to Small, March 12, 1920, FSA.
451. Small to DeWinkeler, March 16, 1920, FSA.

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452. Small to DeWinkeler, March 16, 1920, FSA.
453. DeWinkeler to Small, October 11, 1920, FSA.
454. Small to DeWinkeler, November 8, 1920, FSA.
455. Small photo 1920, and attached Small note to Deering August 4, 1920 FTG.
456. Small to Marion McCormick, March 2, 1921 and Small to Deering, March 25, 1921, FSA.
457. Small to DeWinkeler, November 14, 1921, FSA.
458. George K. Small to family, Friday, December 16, 1921, Accession file, FSA.
459. One article was dedicated to "Reminiscences of Alvah Wentworth Chapman," another was on "Seminole bread--the coonti." Bibliography 1938:9 and Small, "The Land Where . . . December 1921" ms., FTG.
460. Small, Eden to Sahara ms. 1922:1, , 90, FTG.
461. Small to Deering January 28, 1922, FTG.
462. Small to Deering, June 2, 1922, FTG.
463. Small to Deering August 4, 1922, FTG.
464. DeWinkeler to Small August 2, 1922, FSA.
465. Small to DeWinkeler, August 11, 1922, FSA.
466. Small to Mrs. A. Cuthbert, November 6, 1922, FSA.
467. Small to A. Cuthbert, October 6, 1922, FSA.
468. Small to Cuthbert, November 6, 1922, Small to A. Cuthbert, October 6, 1922, FSA.
469. Small to DeWinkeler, September 28, 1922.
470. Small to Deering, October 24, 1922, FTG.
471. Small to James Deering, December 11, 1922, FSA.
472. Planting at Cutler, Note number --, FTG.
473. Planting at Cutler, Note number 175, FTG.

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474. Small to Morrison, Planting at Cutler, Note number 176, FTG.
475. Planting at Cutler, Note number 178, FTG.
476. Small to Deering, January 18, 1923, FTG.
477. Miami Daily Metropolis, April 21, 1923, HASF.
478. Small to Morrison, February 28, 1923, FSA.
479. Small to Morrison, March 12, 1923, FSA.
480. Small to Morrison, June 8, 1923, FSA.
481. Small to DeWinkeler, June 18, 1923, FSA.
482. Deering to Small, September 12, 1923, FSA.
483. McCormick to Small August 15, n.d., Small to McCormick, November 2, 1922 and Small to Morrison, September 24, 1923, FSA.
484. Small to DeWinkeler, October 22, 1923, FSA.
485. Small to Deering, October 27, 1923.
486. Small to DeWinkeler, November 12, 1923, FSA.
487. Small to Morrison, November 12, 1923, FSA.
488. Small to Louderback November 21, 1922 and Louderback to Small, November 29, 1922, FSA.
489. Britton to Deering, December 13, 1923, FTG.
490. Barnhart 1938:78.
491. Small and Morrison 1924: January 29, February 4, 9 and 14, March 15, receipt n.d., Small to Mosier November 21, 1924, FSA.
492. Morrison to Small, August 2, 1924, FSA.
493. Small to Morrison 1925: August 9, September 29, FSA.
494. Small to Deering, March 1, 1924, FTG.
495. Small to Deering, March 13, 1924, FTG.

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496. Small to McGinnis, February 13, 1924, McGinnis to Small February 25, 1924, FSA.
497. Munroe to Small, March 15, 1942, Small to Munroe, February 13, May 27, 1924, FSA.
498. Munroe to Small, October 30, 1924, FSA.
499. Hugh M. Matheson to Small, December 24, 1923, and January 17, 1924, February 24, 1924 and Small to Matheson, January 14, March 15, 1924; Small to W.D. Maxwell, February 13, 1924, FSA.
500. Morrison to Small, June 3-4, 1924, Small to Morrison May 26 and June 18, 1924, FSA.
501. Morrison to Small, December 13, 1924, FSA.
502. Deering to Small, March 5, 1925, FSA.
503. Deering to Small, May 12, 1925, FSA.
504. Deering to Small, May 31, 1925, FSA.
505. Small to Deering, June 6, 1925, FSA.
506. Small to Deering, June 6, 1925, FSA.
507. Deering to Small, June 8, 1925, FSA.
508. Deering to Small, June 9, 1925, FSA.
509. Small to Deering, June 12, 1925, FSA.
510. Deering to Small, June 13, 1925, FSA.
511. Small to Deering, June 18, 1925, FSA.
512. Deering to Small, June 20, 1925, FSA.
513. Small to Deering June 23, 1925, Deering responses penned into margins, June 27, FSA.
514. Small to Deering, July 3, 1925, FSA.
515. Deering to Small, August 29, 1925, FSA.
516. Small to Danielson March 24, 1925, FSA.
517. Small to Deering, August 25, 1924, FTG.

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518. Small to Deering September 8, 1924, FTG.
519. H. Nehrling to Deering, November 27, 1924, FSA.
520. Morrison to Small, February 21 and 24, October 16 Small to Morrison, February 24, March 9, and September 18, 1925, FSA.
521. Small to William J. Matheson, February 24, 1925, FSA.
522. Small to McGinnis, March 9, 1925, FSA: F.L. McGinnis, manager; George Pearce, Superintendent; of James Deering Property.
523. Small to McCormick, March 23, 1925, FSA.
524. Marion Deering McCormick to Small, April 5, 1925, FSA.
525. Deering to Small, May 4, 1925, FSA.
526. Small to Deering January 23, 1925, FTG.
527. Small to Deering March 7, 1925, FTG.
528. Small to Deering, July 25, 1925, FSA.
529. Small to Deering, July 18, 1925.
530. Small to Deering, August 18, 1925, FSA.
531. Deering to Small, August 2, 1925, FSA.
532. Deering to Small, August 14, 1925, FSA.
533. Deering to Small, August 23, 1925, FSA.
534. Morrison to Small, August 6, 1925, FSA.
535. Deckert to Small, April 6, 1926, FSA.
536. Small to Deering, August 15, 1925, FTG.
537. Marion Deering to Small, October 15 [1925], FSA.
538. Small to Morrison, November 21, 1925, FSA.
539. McGinnis to Small, October 31, 1926, FSA.
540. Small to Marion Deering, November 4, and to Deering, December 17, both 1925, FSA.
541. Marion Deering to Small, November 14, 1925, FSA

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542. Marion Deering to Small, January 25, 1926, FSA.
543. Small to Marion Deering, February 8, 1926, FSA.
544. Deering to Small, January 28, n.d. [ca. 1926], FSA.
545. Lee to Deering, April 12, 1926, FSA.
546. Small to Deering, May 29, 1926, FTG.
547. Small to Deering June 9, 1926, and Torreya, vol. 26, March-April 1926, FTG.
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553. McGinnis to Small, July 15, 1926, FSA.
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