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Tequesta: is published annually by the Historical Association of Southern Florida. Communications should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society, 101 West Flagler Street, Miami, Florida 33130. The Association does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or opinions made by contributors.
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Prof. Shappee’s memorable article on the “Celestial Railroad” in the April 1961 issue of the Florida Historical Quarterly, pulled together for the first time a multitude of stray references and various short newspaper articles. Dr. Shappee gives us an excellent picture of the contemporary scene but ends with the somewhat sad note that with the destruction of the historic marker in Juno the obliteration of the railroad was complete. Dr. Shappee should not have worried.

The writer has spent the last couple of months retracing the railroad and has in the process uncovered a number of items, some not previously recorded. There have been a large number of articles and news items published since 1961. The local historical societies and a number of individuals have respectable clipping collections. The sites of the termini at Jupiter and Juno have been visited and the writer has walked part of the original track. A number of individuals who researched the project from various angles have been interviewed.

It is the purpose of this paper to make an attempt to present this material in an up-dated review.

Prof. Shappee relates that the narrow gauge rolling stock for the line was obtained from the St. Johns and Halifax Railroad which had been converted to broad gauge. This presumably would have included the locomotive “Old No. 3”. When this broke down, according to
Shappee, all transportation ceased until it could be repaired, the line never having more than one engine.\(^3\)

It is possible that there is some confusion here. The engine in Shappee’s article in the picture facing p. 336 bears the numeral “1” on the circular plate at the front of the engine. The photograph of this “No. 1” engine first appeared in *The Christian Science Monitor* of May 25, 1959.\(^4\) This was sent in by Mrs. Margaret Noble Pleasant of Shreveport, La. This picture of the “wheezing wood-burning engine” had been unearthed by Mrs. Pleasant as a result of an earlier article in *The Christian Science Monitor* by Lt. Col. Caygill of Miami.\(^5\)

Mrs. Pleasant has confirmed that the little girl standing on the cowcatcher is her mother, Dora Doster.\(^6\) The two girls in the cab are her aunt and a cousin. Dora Doster Utz has written in detail about *Life on the Loxahatchee*.\(^7\) Her father, Ben Hill Doster, had a store on the Celestial Railroad dock at Jupiter and later employed the black fireman Milton Messer after the line had been dismantled.

A picture of a second engine was subsequently located by Mrs. DuBois in the Library of Congress.\(^8\) The front of that engine bears “No. 2.” The man alongside the engine holding the oil can has been identified as the engineer Blus Rice (or Reis). In the other hand Rice is holding his hunting dog, of which more later. The man polishing the headlights is Milton Messer. The conductor is Captain Matheson who is standing on the step of the half-passenger half-baggage car.\(^9\)

Pettengill in his chapter on the “Railroads of the East Coast of Florida” relates in some detail the involved development of the Florida railroad system.\(^10\) The St. Johns & Halifax Railway Company was organized early in 1882 by Utley J. White as a three-foot gauge logging road from Palatka to Daytona.\(^11\)

The date of October 1, 1888 for the conversion of the line to broad gauge matches the date at which the narrow gauge stock was acquired by the new Jupiter & Lake Worth line.\(^12\) The No. 3 engine according to Pettengill ended up in the Yucatan.\(^13\)

Pettengill’s very comprehensive survey of the Railroads of Florida includes 174 railroads which were actually built out of a total of 429 railroad companies chartered between 1834 and 1900.\(^14\) But it is curious that Pettengill makes no mention whatever of the Jupiter & Lake Worth RR which was to become the most celebrated of the discontinued lines. Its notoriety has been equated with that of the Barefoot Mailman.

The rolling stock was sold at public auction in Jacksonville in 1896.\(^15\) The eventual fate of engines Nos. 1 and 2 is not known but it seems certain now that the line had at least two engines.
It would be of the greatest interest to the railroad buff if one or both of these engines could be located or their eventual fate determined. This narrow gauge stock was used for logging railways. Some narrow gauge stock was used as a temporary spur track in the construction of the Florida East Coast’s Key West Extension. For transporting his guests to a fishing camp on Long Key, Henry M. Flagler built a special half-mile narrow gauge track. Guests were picked up at dockside, seated on straw seats in the little cars, and taken by way of a tunnel to the Atlantic side where cottages awaited them.16

The rails of the narrow gauge are only three inches high and weigh thirty pounds per yard as compared with regular rail stock which weighs 75-90 pounds a yard. Some of the rails from the “Celestial Railway” were used in the construction of the old Harrell Building in Boynton.17 The writer as recently as February 1982 located two thirty-three foot lengths of the Celestial’s rails in a dump at the back of the old Jupiter Town Hall.

The dock of the old Jupiter terminus has been replaced by a modern dock projecting into the river at the Suni Sands Mobile Home Trailer Park a few yards to the east from Clemons Street off Ocean Boulevard.18 The stumps of four or five wooden pilings of the old dock are clearly visible at low tide next to the sea wall. This tallies with the account we have from Dora Doster Utz.19 Mr. Ben Hill Doster had moved to Jupiter in 1894.

“At the base of our hill lay the right-of-way for the Celestial Railroad, which ran out onto the pier upon which Papa had his store, built on pilings over the River.”

The photograph of the “Celestial” locomotive No. 1 shows the engine standing in the middle of three tracks.20 This suggests the presence of a shunting yard at the Jupiter terminus and the use of at least two switches so that different cars could be coupled to the engine. This shunting yard must have been located in the parking area of the present trailer park. The lower end of the Indian River lies to the north from this area and enters at this point the Loxahatchee. When the old paddlesteamers rounded the bend on their approach to the Jupiter dock, the engineer, Blus Rice, who played the horn in the local band, would greet the passengers by playing Dixie on the whistle.21

Mrs. DuBois had located a picture of the Celestial Railroad dock taken in 1891 with three Seminole Indians posing on the edge of the dock.22 The Jupiter Lighthouse is clearly visible in the background. A similar view of the dock shows a black workman standing on the edge. This could be Milton Messer. In the background you see the lighthouse
and buildings of the keeper. There is yet another view dated 1891 taken from a slightly different angle showing a few small boats tied to the dock and the Jupiter Lighthouse in the background.

In 1974, Alfred Simpson painted a series of six pictures on Palm Beach county history for a local bank. In one of these, the Celestial dock is shown as it supposedly appeared in 1889 looking west. The Indian River Line paddle steamer Chattahoochee is shown pulling away from dock and heading upstream into the Indian River. The lighthouse is shown in the right background. The Jupiter dock is shown to the left with the engine, for better effect, facing the wrong way towards the lighthouse. There is a small shed at the end of the T-shaped dock.

The location of the line itself can be plotted with some accuracy from contemporary maps. A full length map by G.R. Knight was first recorded in October 1890. This map was re-published in the Jupiter Courier.

A most detailed view of the Jupiter end of the line can be seen from a 1930 plat on file at the Palm Beach County Court. The right of way of the railroad is shown to run along Juno Street, one block east of Clemons Street, this being the area now occupied by the Suni Sands Mobile Trailer Park. The map on file is a reduction of the original and much of the descriptive material is quite illegible.

The line of the railroad as shown in the Knight map first runs due south for about 500 feet and then swings slightly east to parallel the coast line. It then continues in a straight line at an approximate angle of 15° to the north-south line. Part of the roadbed is shown on the Jupiter Quadrangle sheet of the U.S. Geological Survey map. A broken red line, normally used to designate footpaths starts at Indian Town Road running due east-west, and continues for about three miles to a point level with Bench Mark 10 on the Federal Highway (Route 1).

The roadbed at this point is more accessible and closer to the Federal Highway than Ocean Boulevard (Route A1A). There is thick shrub and palmetto on the ocean side whilst the vegetation on the other side is not nearly as profuse. In February 1982, the writer visited the area between Federal Highway and Route A1A at the level of the public beach area on Ocean Boulevard just north of the Jupiter line. The ground was then being cleared for another development.

Modern machinery was required to strip the grounds of its dense growth. This gives us some idea of the task faced by the traveller in the 1880’s who ventured below Jupiter. It is not surprising that the legendary mailman took the easier route along the beach.

The ground having been stripped, we did not have much difficulty
in locating the original roadbed roughly half-way between route A1A and the Federal Highway. It formed a slightly raised bank one or two feet above the generally level surrounding area with the suggestion of ditches on either side from which some of the material for the roadbed had evidently been obtained by the workmen in 1888. As the clearing proceeded, stretches of the roadbed for a couple of hundred yards became clearly visible.

A few scattered palms of mature size stand on either side of the roadbed and help to identify the general direction of the line.

Jupiter Light is not visible at this point. The workmen clearing the site were not aware that this area had at one time been traversed twice a day by a whistle-tooting steam engine. Once alerted, the men using metal detectors, had no trouble in finding a large number of spikes. The wooden sleepers had all but rotted away.

The spikes on the west side of the track, away from the ocean, seemed to be generally in better shape than the spikes found on the near side. The ground closer to the ocean evidently contains more salt which over the years could accelerate the corrosion rate.

The roadbed of the “Celestial” is also clearly marked on the large scale county plat maps. These maps are at a scale of one inch to 200 feet. On sheet 7-A for instance the old roadbed intersects the old Jupiter town line (which has since been moved) at a point approximately 800 feet east of the Federal Highway (Route US 1).

On the west side of Ocean Boulevard, one and a half miles north from Juno Beach Town Hall, there is a Historic Marker dated May 1, 1932. The Federal Highway (Route 1) then followed today’s route A1A. The marker states “On this spot the Celestial Railroad once connecting Jupiter with Juno is crossed by the Federal Highway.”

This portion of Ocean Boulevard runs along the old portage trail travelled by the earliest pioneers. The old hack line must have followed this route, as indicated by Gardner and Kennedy in their Business Directory.

“Previous to the building of the line of the railroad a hack line was operated by Capt. U.D. Henrickson of Lake Worth and managed by his brother Alvin. The route was from Jupiter to a point inside the West Palm Beach City Park, in front where the Park Cottage Hotel formerly stood. The distance was 17 miles and the fare two dollars, one for trunks. The hack was a three-spring, three-seated wagon drawn by two mules, and passengers, baggage and freight used to be carried indiscriminately.”

The Historic Marker plaque was originally mounted on an elab-
orate splith surmounted by figures in relief showing Seminole Indians doing the sun dance against a typical Florida background. The figurines and original bronze plate have disappeared. The present marker is less elaborate with the bronze plate mounted on a simple plinth set back a few feet from the highway. The marker inscription is not now correct as the road on which it is located is no longer the Federal Highway but route A1A.

Continuing south on Ocean Boulevard, one soon enters the community of Juno Beach with the Town Hall and Police Station on the right. Quite a number of the street names in this area have galactic associations, as Saturn Lane, Venus Drive, Mars Way, Neptune Road, Starlight Lane and so on. At Neptune Road, Celestial Way branches off to the left and passes between the shore and the east side of little Pelican Lake. This side road then turns at a right angle back towards Ocean Boulevard. There is a “Celestial Building” on Celestial Way with the “Celestial Travel Agency” and the “Celestial Realty.” (The Celestial Travel Agency gives away ball pens inscribed “For Service out of this World!”)

After continuing along the Federal Highway for about four miles, the old line swings further east in an arc towards the tip of Lake Worth and ends up in the grounds of the Twelve Oaks Condominium.35

The terminal at Juno consisted of a T-shaped pier jutting into the shallow end of Lake Worth in a generally south-easterly direction.36 Railway engineers at the time had the practice of filling in this type of pier with rock and gravel. An embankment type structure is also suggested by the 1892 Burchfield (or Burchfield) plat.37 The head of the T-shaped pier supported a freight shed. There was no room for the engine to reverse so that as reported by a number of contemporary writers, on its return journey, the train had to back up with the engine pushing the passenger or freight cars.38

As the traffic on the line increased, some of its facilities became inadequate. In March 1891, Guy Metcalf writing in the Juno Tropical Sun had this to say about the terminal:

“....The building stuck on the end of the wharf at Juno that has to answer for the purpose of a waiting room for passengers, a storehouse for freight, a distributing room for mail, tickets, express and telephone offices, is one of the most unsightly buildings to be found in this entire country, and the matter appears worse when we think of the progressive spirit manifested by the company in other directions at other places.
""The house is very small, in the first place, being hardly adequate for a freight house, although it might do if used for that purpose exclusively. Persons obliged to wait in its stuffy confines for several hours, with all sorts of ill-smelling fertilizers and other freights, find it a very disagreeable resort, but as it is the only available room in which to spend their time when waiting for boats or train they have to endure and put up with what is furnished them—though it must be confessed they do it with very audible murmurs."

Very little money was spent on improvements to the road or the equipment and the locals felt that the wood burned in the engine which at that time sold for $2.25 a cord was the major outlay of the line. Juno became the county seat following the celebrated election of 1889 but the Town of Juno was not incorporated until 1953. In 1890, the settlement consisted of a small two-story courthouse, the office of the Tropical Sun newspaper and seven dwellings.

The Tropical Sun enjoyed the distinction of being the first and oldest newspaper between Melbourne and Key West.

During its Juno regime, the Sun building was located half-way between the courthouse and the dock of the railway. When the ‘‘Celestial Railway’’ had become defunct, the newspaper office was removed to Palm Beach in 1895. Some of the presses were actually taken by barge on Lake Worth as the roads at the time were very inadequate.

A Historic Marker on the median of the Federal Highway a little below the Juno Beach town line gives the former location of the old courthouse about 300 feet east of the road. This area is now occupied by the Oakbrook Square Shopping Center, Palm Beach Gardens.

The Juno courthouse was the scene of the famous and only lynching in this part of Florida. Sam ‘‘Sure Shot’’ Lewis was a bartender in Lemon City and following a quarrel shot and killed two customers. Lewis escaped to Bimini in a small sail boat but returned to Biscayne Bay where he killed a third man. Lewis was eventually taken to the county jail in Juno. On the night of August 17, 1895 a group of twelve men from the Lake Worth area took the steamer Lake Worth from Lantana to Juno. They then walked along the road bed of the ‘‘Celestial Railroad’’ for about half a mile to the courthouse yard. The jailer Gustave Kaiser was killed by the mob. Lewis was dragged outside and hanged from the crosspiece of a telegraph pole. The Celestial Railroad had installed a telephone line in April 1892 but it is doubtful whether
the eventual use of the telegraph pole had been contemplated by the installers.44

There were two wayside stops. The first stop was Venus three miles south of Jupiter. The second stop was at Mars two miles farther south. No photographs of these stations remain. Mrs. Utz who came to Jupiter as a little girl in 1894 left us this account:

"These stations or stops along the Celestial, except Juno, were nothing more or less than a few shacks and pineapple patches, soon to be deserted when the Celestial ceased functioning."

Other writers got a little carried away and allowed their imagination to run wild. "Three miles south of Jupiter was a freight-loading stop called Venus—for shipments of pineapples, tomatoes, etc. Two more miles south was Mars, where fish, turtles, and other seafood were hauled aboard. The trip north from Juno could be odiferous indeed; but tourists loved the little railroad with its three trips a day, its flower-picking along the tracks, its old smokey funnel and its cow-catcher—though there wasn't anything bovine within miles of the tracks."46

Another writer somewhat exaggerated the speed of the service: "Over six decades back Floridians whizzed from Jupiter to Juno via Venus and Mars in a half hour not by space ship, but by rail.... A boon to shippers too, was the railway with the array of unearthly station names. Onto the Celestial's box and flat cars, the Junoans loaded coconuts, the Martians fish and turtles and the Venusians pineapples and tomatoes."

A copy of a detailed plat map of the town of Venus has been located in Palm Beach County Court House.48 The plat shows an elaborate grid of streets laid out in upper quadrant of Section 21. The right of way for the Jupiter and Lake Worth RR runs at an angle of 25°N 45°W across the map. The survey provides for thirty-foot roadways on either side of the track. Streets run north-south and east-west and each of the nineteen blocks in the development is neatly divided up into twelve or more lots. Curiously enough Venus station itself is not marked on this plat but this may have been located a bit further south as suggested by Fugate’s 1937 Map of the county.49 This shows the abandoned track and the Federal Highway in its old location along the coast.

No similar layout for a township has been located for Mars. This is however shown on the 1889 map of The Tropical Trunk Line.50

There are occasional references in the literature to a third wayside
station "Neptune." Thus Marjory Stoneman Douglas mentions Neptune as one of the stations.51

"The most famous one on the east coast (of the narrow gauge railways) was the Celestial Railroad which began at Jupiter and ran through Neptune, Venus and Mars to Juno on Lake Worth, a sometime county seat of Dade County, where the mailmen started down along the beach to Biscayne Bay."

Neptune was a post office in the Carlin House from 1895 to 1908 at the south end of Jupiter Bridge. The post office was then merged with the Jupiter office.52

It is unimportant whether there were two or three wayside stations or stops, as the train stopped anywhere when requested by a passenger. These impromptu stops along the line were made so that gentlemen passengers could leave the train for hunting forays in the woods. Blus Rice would rent out his dog to the hunters.

The exploits of hunters along the "Celestial" line were recorded by Guy Metcalf in the columns of the Tropical Sun published in Juno.

"The largest 'gator seen in these parts for some time past was shot by Blus Rice Monday last. The boys of the Celestial RR saw him as they were going to Juno. On their return they stopped the engine long enough to put five bullets into him and haul him aboard the train. The 'gator measured 9 feet 6 inches.53

Another hunting incident is reported the following week:

"A party of young men went deer hunting the other day. They say they did not see a deer, although they walked all over the woods between Jupiter and Juno. They went away from Jupiter on a crank car, and they came back on-the remains of the crank car. Did you ever hear of any one hunting deer on a crank car, anyway."54

The crank car was also used occasionally to bring down visitors from Jupiter when the engine was being repaired.

Mrs. DuBois quotes the following item from the Florida Times Union of October 10, 1890: "R.R. McCormack (sic) and family, bound for the lake, forced to travel by handcar, the Celestial's one engine laid up."

Robert R. McCormick, who owned the Denver Colorado Water Works and later founded the International Harvester Company of Chicago bought forty acres on Lake Worth from Albert Geer in 1886 for $10,000 and built a winter home. The estate was later purchased for $75,000 by Henry M. Flagler for the site of the Poinciana Hotel.56
The lawyer C.C. Chillingworth, later a Palm Beach County judge, shared offices in the old Juno courthouse and made frequent trips on the "Celestial" line. In a talk given to the Harmonia Lodge in Palm Beach in 1932 he left us a detailed account of the scene at Juno and the railroad.57

"The courthouse ... was located just a little less than a half mile north of the end of the lake just west of the right-of-way of the Jupiter and Lake Worth Railway.

"This little railroad had a total length of seven and one half miles and extended from the south end of Indian river at Jupiter southward to the north end of Lake Worth. The fare was 10 cents a mile. It had one little wood-burning engine, and if the engine should get out of order there was no train until the engine could be fixed. There were only two passenger cars and two or three freight cars, and when the train came to Juno from Jupiter with the engine at the head of the train it had to go backward to Jupiter as the engine could not be turned around at Juno.

"The genial conductor, Captain Matheson, was one of the most obliging of men. No one could be more accommodating than himself. The train would run at most any time to accommodate the public."

Mrs. Utz has recalled the names of some of the other railroad employees.58 Gus Miller, the train conductor and wharf agent was assisted by his brother Ed Miller. Many of the pioneer families intermarried and were related. The men working the railroad were no exception. Mrs. Gus Miller was the sister of Mr. Ben Hill Doster, Mrs. Utz's father.59 Blus Rice or Reis was the engineer. Milton Messer, a black "man of all work" continued to work for Ben Doster after the line had been discontinued, as recorded by Mrs. Utz:

"Papa now secured a colored man-of-all work who had been employed on the Celestial. Old Milton was kind and gentle to us children, and very helpful to Papa in the store and hauling freight in the boat."60

During the building of the Poinciana Hotel, the trains were running day and night and two crews were employed.61 Others made a living off the railway, getting the passengers from the Juno dock to points along Lake Worth.

The trains were met by steamers, Captain Hendrickson and Captain William Moore running to the south end of the lake or to Hypoluxo. With the completion of this road a new epoch set in. Tourists came by
the hundreds and everything in the shape of a hotel or boarding house was filled to the overflow point, many private houses giving up their spare rooms. The Cocoanut Grove Hotel owned by Captain Dimick reported 1200 guests between September 1, 1890 and April, 1891.

One of those catering to the tourists was Henry J. Burkhardt who a few years earlier had been one of the "Barefoot Mailmen" who walked the mail in three days from Lake Worth to Lemon City. Burkhardt recalled some years later, "I made my headquarters at Juno living on my yacht the Maud S.B. I made a good living meeting the train from Jupiter and in competition with other craft succeeded in gaining my fair share of passengers at 50 cents a head landing them at Brelsford Dock, Palm Beach." Brelsford Dock is the present location of "Whitehall" mansion, the Henry M. Flagler Museum in Palm Beach.

Theodore Pratt in The Barefoot Mailman gives a good fictional account of the trip on the Celestial Railroad. Pratt who lived in Delray did his research carefully before embarking on his historical novels. His research notes are preserved in the Pratt Room in the Library of Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton. For The Barefoot Mailman alone, Pratt amassed 230 single-spaced typed pages of material.

Steven in the story is the legendary mailman who took a week off from his mail-walking duties to do some electioneering. He had taken the naphtha launch up the lake from Hypoluxo to visit the county seat at Juno. He was disappointed in Juno.

A tiny railroad station stood a short way back from the shore at the head of the lake. There was a dock for the launch, a warehouse at the foot of the dock, and five unpainted frame houses.

The train stood in front of the station. It consisted of a wheezy little wood-burning engine, a passenger coach, and a boxcar. It had come from Jupiter with the engine at the head of the train, and with no means of getting itself about, it had to run backward on the return journey.

Steven knew Captain Matheson, the conductor. For years before he turned to railroading, the genial old man was a fisherman, and Steven had often accompanied him. They hailed each other, and Steven asked if there would be time for him to register the people in the houses before the train left.

"Time?" asked the Captain. He tipped back his yacht cap, as faded as Steven's. He seemed puzzled. "Why, you go right ahead, Stevie, and let me know when you're ready to leave."

Steven obtained the names he wanted, and the promise of the people to go in to Jupiter on election day and vote. Then
Captain Matheson boosted him aboard the coach, and climbed on himself. The Captain jerked the signal cord running overhead along the length of the narrow little car. With a jerk, the train started, the engine snorting and issuing billows of acrid black smoke from its tall stack.

Again Steven was the only passenger. Captain Matheson, sitting beside him on one of the seats, said, "Lots more going down than the other way. The country is opening up. Stevie, yes, sir, it surely is going ahead. Faster than we can go backward."

Steven, looking out the window, his body rocking to the violent sway of the coach on the narrow-gauge track, felt he was on a toy train. Suddenly it came to a stop. On either side there was nothing except woods. Then he saw a small shack near the track. There was no sign of it being inhabited. "What's this?" he asked.

"This," announced the Captain, "is the city of Venus. One of our important stops, though nobody ever gets on." He reached up and pulled the signal cord and the train began to back up again. "Nobody ever gets on at the way stations," he continued, "You watch."

The Captain's word was good. After another mile had been covered, the train once again screeched to a stop. Looking out, Steven saw that it had passed a family consisting of a man, his wife, and child, who now walked down the track toward the train, which reversed itself to go to meet them. When they came aboard, Steven asked the man to register. He obeyed, saying surprisingly, "You're the fellow we've got to vote for to keep his island, ain't you?"

On its eight-mile journey the Celestial Railroad prudently took shelter behind the beach ridge. Only here and there did there come a glimpse of the ocean. When Steven saw the beach he compared his walking pace with the speed of the train. It would take him the better part of three hours to cover the distance on the giving sand. The train, if it ran steadily, could do it in half an hour.

The negro fireman is evidently "Old Milton" Messer who later worked in Ben Doster's household.68

Geoffrey Birt, a popular journalist, who had a regular column in the Palm Beach Post wrote an amusing eight-part series on the "Celestial Railroad."69 At one point Birt began to have some doubts whether Venus and Mars stations ever in fact existed and suggested that the stations were purely mythical as there were no buildings to mark the places.70 This view however is not supported by the evidence. The
stations may not have been overcrowded with shivering commuters as a suburban stop on the New Haven line but Venus and Mars were regular stops on the train's journey between Jupiter and Juno.

The stops at Venus and Mars were listed in the time tables which were regularly published in the local newspapers of the day.71

Lt. Col. Caygill in his original letter to The Christian Science Monitor reproduced a slightly more elaborate timetable with four trains a day making the Venus and Mars stops.72

Northern tour operators were quick in incorporating a ride on the "Celestial Railroad" in a Grand Tour advertised in 1893 for $114.95. The itinerary included going by rail from Jupiter to Juno. A stay in Lake Worth and then back by rail and Indian River steamer to Rockledge and Sanford.73

An 1895 railway map showing the entire system of the Jacksonville, Tampa & Key West Railway, "The Tropical Trunk Line," lists all the subsidiaries of the line including the Jupiter & Lake Worth Railway. The four stations, Jupiter, Venus, Mars and Juno are clearly marked on the map, Juno being the southernmost point of the system.74

Allen Morris in Florida Place Names has an entry under "Galaxy" for the short railroad linking these budding communities in what was then Dade County:75

"Juno's newspaper, the Tropical Sun, disapproved of the nickname originated by travelers, thinking that they were poking fun which could obscure the worth of the area. When cold nipped the area, the editor wryly called the Celestial roll – Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Mars and the Sun – and said even Mercury had fallen there."

The traveler who apparently originated the nickname "Celestial"
was the British writer Julian Ralph who visited the area in the 1890’s and reported on the trip in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* of March 1893 as follows:

“At Jupiter Inlet is found Captain Vail’s floating hotel – an old steamboat that serves well as a boarding house and that entertains not only fishermen, but many ladies that come with them. Beyond the termination of the tour is made by what is called the celestial railway system, so-called because it starts at Jupiter and passes stations called Juno and Mars.”

Another user of the line was Capt. T.M. Rickards, who is considered to be Boca Raton’s first settler. Rickards made a survey to determine whether the local rivers were suitable for navigation. Traveling by boat, Celestial Railroad and on foot, Rickards visited the area that would become his future home.

Rickards writing from Life Station 7, Biscayne, Florida reported on February 17, 1892 to an Ohio paper as follows:

“Next morning we took passage on steamer *San Sebastian* for Jupiter. There was quite a list of passengers, the table good, the officers courteous and pleasant, the weather delightful, scenery lovely and the river beautiful. The seven mile trip by rail from Jupiter (where the lighthouse looms majestically over the inlet) to Juno was through what appeared to me a rather barren waste, the monotony hardly broken by the flag stations Mars and Venus, (these latter planets, I can affirm confidently now, not withstanding the opinion of other eminent astronomers, are not inhabited.)…”

In March 1896, following suspension of the service, foreclosure proceedings were brought against the line by one Stephen E. Rice. In the Final Decree of Sale dated March 21, 1896, the property was ordered to be auctioned by C.C. Chillingworth, one of the local lawyers who had offices at one time in the Juno Courthouse.

Chillingworth was appointed a Special Master for the purpose of the sale. The property was described as follows: “That certain line of railway lying and being situate between Jupiter and Juno in the County of Dade, Florida, and also the equipment and rolling stock used by the defendant Railway Company in connection therewith; the same consisting of one engine and tender, one combination coach, one day coach, two box cars, two flat cars, all lettered J. & L.W. R.R. and also all depots, turnouts, hand carts, and material and tools and the lands and right of way upon which the depots and railway of the defendant railway company is situate…”
On March 28, 1896 Judge John D. Broome ordered that all the real and personal property be sold by the Special Master in front of the Juno Court House door.\(^8^2\)

The sale took place on June 1st. All the property was bought by Mike and Alex Sabel doing business under the style of Sabel Bros.\(^8^3\)

Among the creditors was Ben Doster, the father of Dora Doster Utz, who succeeded in placing a mechanics lien on the property, presumably for work done on the railroad. Ben Doster was awarded the sum of $67.50 after the taxes, cost of collection and advertising had been paid.\(^8^4\)

The later records at the Court are fairly complete and the title to the right of way can be traced to the present owners.\(^8^5\)

The Sabel Brothers sold the Right of Way of the railroad on March 21, 1933 to the Tennessee Company of Palm Beach for ten dollars and "other good and valuable consideration."\(^8^6\) The Tennessee Company was subsequently dissolved. The surviving directors acting as trustees on January 31, 1967 sold the Right of Way to an attorney practicing in West Palm Beach.\(^8^7\)

The astonishing fact is that the Right of Way of the "Celestial" is far from dead yet and the whistle is being blown on the developers of the land north of Juno unless they pay their dues to the present owner of the Right of Way.
NOTES

9. This photograph was originally taken by Mr. Sam Quincey of West Palm Beach.
25. Simson, Alfred Richardson, The History of Palm Beach County, a collection of six oil paintings sponsored by the Home Federal Savings and Loan Association. The pictures hang in the main office of the bank at 293 S. County Road, Palm Beach.
26. Knight, G.R., “Plat of the Jupiter and Lake Worth Railway” October 1890, recorded in Palm Beach County Court House, Book 1, p. 78.
30. For a description of the ground conditions see: Mahon, John K., History of
the Second Seminole War, 1835–1842, Gainesville, 1967, p. 233. Conditions were virtually unchanged in the 1880’s.

31. Pierce, Charles W., Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida edited by Donald W. Curl, Miami, 1970, p. 240. “A large force of Negroes started work grading the roadbed for a railroad from Jupiter to Juno at the head of Lake Worth. They had the grade through to Juno in short order and were laying track with handcars while waiting for the rolling stock to come down the river from Titusville.”

32. Conversation with Mr. Dale Alexander of Palm Beach, April 12, 1982. Mr. Alexander developed much of the land in south Jupiter traversed by the railroad.


36. Potter, Geo., “Plat of Juno,” May 5, 1892. This plat map was reproduced in Buckwalter’s article in the Saturday Courier of August 13, 1977.

37. On some of these old plat maps the name is spelled “Burchfiel” without the “d.”


40. DuBois, Juno Beach, p. 5.


42. Chillingworth, C.C., “Pioneering in South Florida,” Palm Beach Post, November 27, 1932.


44. DuBois, Juno Beach, p. 8.


52. Bradbury, Albert G. and Hallock, E. Story, “A Chronology of Florida Post Offices,” Handbook No. 2, The Florida Federation of Stamp Clubs, 1962, p. 58. See also Tropical Sun (December 5, 1895) “Neptune is the name of the latest post office established in Dade County. It embraces the region occupied by the majority of the Jupiter Reservation settlers.” In the Jupiter Lighthouse Museum, there are two letters addressed to “Neptune” post office.

53. The Tropical Sun, October 18, 1894.
54. *The Tropical Sun*, October 25, 1894.
60. Utz, "Loxahatchee," p. 50.
63. *The Tropical Sun*, April 22, 1891.
64. H.J. Burkhardt, the last of the barefoot mail carriers, ran in the West Palm Beach election of 1894 and was elected alderman.
71. *Indian River Advocate*, June 30, 1893.
73. A copy of this itinerary was found pasted inside a scrap book preserved in the Florida Room, West Palm Beach Public Library. There is a handwritten notation "Maps, Florida The Far South, Tours, Sporting 1893." Immediately next to it is pasted in a map showing Jupiter, Mars and Juno. A curiosity of the map is that it also shows the stage line from Hypoluxo to Miami (Lemon City).
78. Ibid., p. 13.
79. Dade County Chancery Order Book AA, p. 79.
81. Dade County Chancery Order Book AA, p. 79.
82. Dade County Chancery Order Book AA, p. 357.
83. Dade County Deed Book X, p. 189.
84. Dade County Chancery Order Book AA, p. 95. (Mr. Doster had been commissioned to dismantle the railroad, see Utz, p. 49).
86. Deed Book 488, p. 291.
87. Conversation with Mr. Dale Alexander, Palm Beach, April 12, 1982.
In March 1772 the edenic wilderness of Biscayne Bay in British East Florida was visited by a charming gentleman whom contemporaries referred to as "reputedly a natural brother of King George III." As a Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers stationed in St. Augustine, where he had earned a reputation as a devotee of the dinner parties and night life of the town, Frederick George Mulcaster seemed an unlikely choice to explore the rugged Biscayne Bay area.

Like so much of Britain's new province, Biscayne Bay was totally uninhabited, its virgin soils uncultivated. Huge tracts of land throughout the province had been granted to British aristocrats, but most lay undeveloped, the major challenge to Governor James Grant's goal to make the colony prosper.

The governor had named Lieutenant Mulcaster the Surveyor General of East Florida in October 1770 in order to speed up the process of surveying land already granted and conveying final title. Mulcaster's experience as an engineer qualified him to conduct the provincial surveys, Grant said in his letter of recommendation, and he had also "served at the Reduction of Goree and Martinique, is God son to the late Prince of Wales, was brought into the Army under the immediate protection of the Royal Family, and has the honor to be known to the King."^2

Following his appointment as surveyor, Mulcaster travelled

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throughout East Florida and became skilled at identifying lands suitable for plantations. It was in this capacity that he visited Biscayne Bay in March 1772 with orders from Lord Dartmouth to survey 100,000 acres granted to his family, and with orders from Samuel Touchett and John Augustus Ernest to survey 20,000 acres they had each received.

Mulcaster travelled to Biscayne Bay via Andrew Turnbull’s New Smyrna settlement and William Eliot’s plantation on the Indian River. After a brief visit with Captain John Ross, a Scotsman who managed Eliot’s estate, Mulcaster departed for Biscayne, only to be caught in a severe storm. He was forced to lay up on oyster banks and mangrove islands, deprived of fresh water for forty hours on one layover, and to leave three men and a horse on Point Lucea, which he estimated to be forty miles south of Eliot’s plantation and one hundred miles north of Biscayne.

Most of his food supplies were lost or exhausted during the layovers, but Mulcaster and his remaining companions arrived at Biscayne on March 13, 1772, and energetically proceeded with the surveys. Travelling in a schooner and a smaller boat, the men were entirely dependent on fishing and hunting for their subsistence.

After experiencing frosts in the north of Florida, and violent storms on the way south, Mulcaster found at Biscayne Bay plentiful food supplies, pleasant weather, sparkling clear water, and a green, blossoming luxuriance of foliage. The land was uninhabited, yet capable of supporting several profitable plantations.

For several years Mulcaster had heard Governor Grant tell the wealthy landlords that if they would invest in the “state of nature” that he found East Florida to be upon his arrival in 1764, they would “create a New World” for the British Empire while adding to their personal fortunes. After viewing Biscayne Bay and returning to St. Augustine, Mulcaster shared his experiences in a lengthy letter to the governor, who was then in London. This correspondence has been preserved at Ballindalloch Castle in Scotland and provides a rare eye-witness account of Biscayne Bay and its environ during the era of the American Revolution.

“The Entrance of this Bay is at the North End of Key Biscayne, a channel of above a quarter mile wide, with above thirteen feet water, without a breaker, and the water so clear that you might see to pick a six pence at the Bottom. The main land is about three miles from the Inlett; it consists of large fresh marshes and rich open Savannahs, the soil of them Dove coloured, and
Blue Clay, in other parts varied by a rich greasy Marl. The Hammock land is Brown mould in some places entirely without land, in others with a very small mixture. It runs from ten to fourteen or fifteen inches deep upon a Rock foundation. The swamp resembles the Hammock land, only has sometimes a different foundation, which is Marl.

"The Timber growing on them are Live Oak, Red Bay, Mastick, Gum Elm, Mulberry, Grape Tree, Elder, Coro Plumb, Papa, Button Wood, Cypress, Yellow Plumb, Laurel, Black, Red and Yellow Mangrove, Pitsimmon, Willows Cabbage, Maple, Ivey, Pear Grannete, and several others which I am quite a stranger to. The Papa, which is killed at the Head of the Indian River, had here Ripe and green fruit on it, and everything carried the face of Spring and a fine vendure.

"The pine land nearest the Bay is very Rocky and the Pine not very good, but farther back the Pine Land is cut by savannahs, and the timber is straight, tall and exceeding good. The back part of these lands form back marshes of great extent, with small Hammocks here and there dispersed among them.

"The Sound which forms the Head of the Bay has four large fresh water Creeks, or rather small Rivers which empty themselves into it on the West side. Three of these Rivers I am confident no man has been up there [for] fifty or sixty years, probably much longer, but I was obliged to make my way up them by cutting away large branches of trees which from each side hang across. These Rivers are deep, clear and full of fine fish. The Bottom is Rock, and the water is sweet and good as any I ever tasted.

"On the banks of other Rivers are the same kind of land as I have already described. Upon one of them is a remarkable natural curiosity, being a Bridge of solid Rock forming a more regular Arch than you can well conceive when it is certain no Human hand has ever given it assistance. The width of the Arch at the surface of the water is twenty-five feet. The perpendicular height from the water is four feet and the River itself, in the center, is six feet. The breadth of the River is thirty-three feet covered with trees and makes a Romantic appearance."

As he passed under the arch in his four-oar boat, Mulcaster was forced to tuck his head. He recorded water-depth up to seven feet and estimated that the arch was located approximately one and one-half miles from the mouth of the river on a direct line, or three miles by the winding path of the river. There were remains of old Indian fields on the banks of some rivers, but the cultivators had long since vanished.

On Biscayne Bay Mulcaster surveyed 100,000 acres capable of producing rice, indigo, sugar or any other produce that was grown in
M. Dussaud. While surveying he admired the mangroves along the shore: "The Trees large straight and tall, with spreading tops and carry more the face of an open Forrest than of the Mangrove we see a little farther to the North. The roots of the trees are entirely covered with earth and not going out in suckers as is commonly seen."

Mulcaster noted that the head of the sound appeared to end in a small lake, but actually was a small river which led southwest and northwest and to several branches into a large marsh. From the lake Mulcaster sent the schooner to the mouth of New Hillsborough River, a distance of six miles, while he travelled overland, conducting further surveys enroute. From New Hillsborough back to Key Biscayne was only fifteen miles, Mulcaster estimated, "where a connection might easily be had by land." The river, shallow at its entrance, "for about five miles runs due North and is parted from the Sea by a Beach of forty or fifty yards wide; it then takes a West course and branches and seems to head in large marshes. Upon the Banks of it are many old [Indian] fields and exceeding good land....The fresh marshes run from the River all the way to Biscayne."

On the south branch of the Hillsborough River, Mulcaster surveyed several tracts of land he thought to be "most adapted for and capable of making pretty settlements, which, with the lands adjoining if once settled, would make a valuable Country. This River entrance is but Shallow, but the Beach is almost constantly smooth as a River and in the offing is fine anchoring ground. It is the Sea winds only that rustle the shore, and then not in any manner like the Northern parts, being defended by the force of the Gulph Stream and the Bahama Banks."

After viewing the North Branch of the Hillsborough River, which he thought looked like an arm of the sea with banks and shoals, Mulcaster departed on April 10 for Jupiter’s Inlet at the mouth of the Hobe River. Disappointed with the land on the south branch of this river, he spent little time surveying, departing instead for the Indian River to rejoin the men he had left at Point Lucea fifty days previously.

Arriving on the 13th of April expecting to find the rest of his crew, Mulcaster found instead an abandoned camp site. A distressing message scratched on a cabbage tree informed him that the party had run out of food, powder and shot and had headed for Captain Ross’s plantation.

Fearing the worst, Mulcaster abandoned the survey and launched
a search for the wanderers, who were inexperienced in the ways of survival in Florida's wilds. The schooner was sent to the settlements on the Mosquito River, while Mulcaster went up the Indian River in the small boat. After fifty miles he saw a blue flag on shore which proved to be a blanket waved by members of an Indian hunting party. They told Mulcaster that his men were safe and being led to Captain Ross's place by Indian Tom. They had waited forty-two days, "the last twelve without food but cabbage tree leaf," whereupon they wrote a "book with knife" and abandoned their camp. The Indians gave a hungry Mulcaster supplies of venison, honey and bear oil, as they had previously given provisions to the wandering men.

Assured of his men's safety, Mulcaster went the next day to Fishing Point to survey two tracts of 5,000 acres each for Michael and Robert Herries. Unable to find a lake said to run three or four miles back from the Indian River, he finally realized that it was instead a gray pond which resembled a marsh more than a lake. The Indian River shoreline looked to Mulcaster like its "savage name" implied, but upon closer inspection, he found the land and the back swamps to be promising.

Mulcaster described the land he travelled through as "totally unknown," although his father-in-law, and predecessor as provincial surveyor, William Gerard De Brahm, had previously claimed to be familiar with it. That was highly improbable, Mulcaster said of De Brahm, because "his age rendered him incapable of the hardship, and it requires the constitution of a horse to go through the wilderness. A large schooner with conveniences to make it comfortable is useless." The only effective means of conveyance for such work were "boats of little draught of water," but De Brahm had spurned these for the comforts of a larger vessel.

During a surveying trip in this region, Mulcaster said, a man had to be ready to expose himself to all extremes of weather, to sleep in an open boat, on the beach or on an oyster bank; these are the conditions "he must teach himself to laugh at." De Brahm, however, had been unwilling or unable to endure such hardships and had dispatched deputies to conduct the surveys. Mulcaster felt that the deputies had either been incompetent or had taken money without doing the work.

"The expenses are also enormous," Mulcaster said. "If I had not had several large tracts to survey I could not have afforded to have stayed so long as I did." The expedition had lasted three months and
the expenses had totalled 150 guineas. The last five weeks Mulcaster
had survived "on the chance of powder and ball, no bread, rice, flower,
or biscuit, ... [yet somehow] I am in perfect health."

The only pleasant part of Mulcaster's expedition had been Bis-
cayne Bay and its environs which had been warm and "what was very
remarkable, only few Musquitos, though in summer no doubt there is
plenty." The only place that mosquitoes had been a problem was at
the mouth of the Indian River.

After surviving the rigors of this expedition, Mulcaster felt be-
trayed when, several months later, Samuel Touchett refused to pay for
his survey, complaining that he ought not be expected to pay for the
chain carriers or for their rum and provisions. An angry Mulcaster
refused to process the grant until the bill was paid and referred Touchett
to Lord Dartmouth, who had paid his fees without complaint and who
"had an Agent on the spot as Judge if the charge was just. He [Touchett]
is the first grantee who ever disputed their fees since I have been in this
office. If Mr. Touchett had been with me in an open boat in the Gulph
Stream blowing a gale of wind and had on his return back lived six
weeks on the chance of powder and shott, without Bread and Rice, or
even salt, he would not suspect that going three hundred miles to run
land was quite a party of pleasure."°

Touchett eventually paid the fees and received title, along with
Dartmouth and Ernst, to tracts with great agricultural potential border-
ing Biscayne Bay. A subsequent bankruptcy, followed by his death by
suicide, kept Touchett from developing his tract, but both Dartmouth
and Ernst attempted unsuccessfully to establish settlements on Biscayne
Bay during the British period.° Further efforts were discouraged by the
turbulence of the American Revolution and by the cession of East
Florida to Spain in 1783.

Lieutenant Mulcaster, who left East Florida in 1776 to join Gen-
eral Clinton's army in the northern colonies (James Grant was already
there, a Major under Lord Howe), would have been surprised to learn
that at the time Britain receded the province to Spain in 1783 not a
single settlement had been started at Biscayne. The uninhabited paradise
he had found in 1772 and promoted as possessing abundant potential
for cultivation had continued bereft of permanent human settlement.°

Following the departure of the British from East Florida, Biscayne
Bay remained largely uninhabited and undeveloped for more than a
century. Neither the Spanish nor the reputedly landhungry Americans
(who gained hegemony in 1821) brought substantial change to the area until Henry Flagler arrived in 1896 with his Florida East Coast Railroad. Millions of tourists and permanent settlers followed Flagler’s railroad and Miami lost forever the uninhabited aspect of its idyllic appeal. Although its attractions remained, none more compelling than Biscayne Bay, recent visitors have been known to wonder what it looked like before development brought causeways, office buildings, high-rises, hotels and condominiums. With Frederick George Mulcaster’s recorded observations from the era of the American Revolution, it is possible to recapture Miami when it was still in a “state of nature.”
NOTES


2. James Grant to Lord Hillsborough, April 23, 1770, Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5/551 (Hereafter CO). Ironically, Mulcaster’s predecessor as Surveyor General had been his father-in-law, William Gerard De Brahm. Following a long-festering feud between De Brahm and Grant, prompted by long delays in conducting the surveys and a rash of complaints from impatient landowners, the governor suspended De Brahm in October 1770, and said of the man he found covetous and troublesome: “he is at variance with his son-in-law, as he is with all mankind.” (See Grant to Hillsborough, October 2, 1770, CO 5/545). Hillsborough upheld Grant’s action but De Brahm was subsequently reinstated as surveyor, although he never returned to East Florida.

De Brahm’s cartographic and scientific contributions have been admirably chronicled in Louis De Vorsey, Jr., editor, *De Brahm’s Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America* (Columbia, S.C. University of South Carolina Press, 1971). The controversy between the two men is retold in careful detail (pp. 39-54), although I believe De Vorsey has been too partial to De Brahm’s version of the incidents. Having read the extensive correspondence preserved at Ballindalloch Castle in Scotland (Grant’s home), as well as the Colonial Office materials, I am convinced that Grant was an unusually industrious and ethical governor and was justified in firing De Brahm.


3. Council Orders re: Petition of Earl of Dartmouth, CO 5/544; Mulcaster to Grant, April 7, 1773, Ballindalloch Castle Muniments, Ballindalloch, Scotland, Bundle 369 (Hereafter BCM followed by the appropriate bundle number); Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, II, 51-52.

4. Mulcaster to Grant, May 6, 1772, BCM 260.

5. For examples of the governor’s promotional letters see Grant to: Earl of Egmont, September 5, 1770, BCM Bound Letter Book; Thomas Thoroton, September 1, 1766, and John Tucker, September 1, 1766, BCM 659; Earl of Cassillis, February 9, 1768, and Earl of Moira, June 20, 1768, BCM Bound Letter Book.

6. Mulcaster to Grant, May 6, 1772, BCM 260. The quotes and paraphrases in the lengthy section which follows are taken from this source unless otherwise noted.

7. The incident is discussed in Mulcaster to Grant, April 17, 1773, BCM 369.

8. For three interesting articles that deal with the Biscayne Bay lands owned by Dartmouth, Touchett and Ernst, see James C. Frazier, “Samuel Touchett’s Florida Plantation, 1771,” *Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida* (XXXV, 1975), 76-88; and in the same issue, Roland E. Chardon: “The Cape Florida Society of 1773” and “Northern Biscayne Bay in 1776,” 1-26 and 37-74 respectively.

9. Mulcaster to Grant, on board His Majesty’s Ship Scarborough, Cockspur in Georgia, March 2, 1776, BCM 260; same to same, March 26, 1776, from Cape Fear.
Presumably, Mulcaster was sent for a brief period to West Florida, where he petitioned Governor Peter Chester for 2,000 acres of land on December 21, 1776. The petition was approved that same day. The original is in the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

James Grant was in Boston in 1775; subsequent posts were Long Island, Halifax, Brunswick and Morris Town. In July 1779 Major General James Grant was Commander in Chief of His Majesty’s Forces in the West Indies. See letter book in Ballindalloch Muniments which begins August 10, 1775.
Miami’s City Marshal and Law Enforcement in a New Community, 1896-1907

By Paul S. George*

Most American police systems developed without fundamental reflection or debate, in response to specific problems of riot, theft, and disorderly behavior, which were generally condemned. They combined a variety of organizational patterns and functions, some inherited, some based on unique experience, others borrowed from each other or from abroad.

Roger Lane, Policing the City: Boston, 1822-1885

When Miami’s first city marshal assumed his post in 1896, urban police forces had been operating in the United States for just fifty years. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, most cities employed a night watch and a small daytime force to maintain order and to attend to other duties. New York, Boston and other large cities possessed more elaborate policing mechanisms, including constables and marshals, to complement their large night watch.¹

Organized police forces became necessary as America’s lusty, brawling cities grew in population and unruliness. Beginning with the establishment of the New York Police Department in 1844, one city after another organized a police force based on the model of the London Metropolitan Police. Departments grew quickly. By the 1890s, the New York Police Department employed 3,300, while its counterparts in Philadelphia and Chicago counted 1,600 apiece.²

In addition to fighting crime and maintaining order, police duties

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included "regulating public morality," enforcing sanitary laws, clearing streets and sidewalks of obstructions, and, in some areas, collecting stray animals. Police services, however, varied dramatically from city to city and even from neighborhood to neighborhood within single cities.³

Qualifications for police work were few, and members received little or no training. By today's standards, forensic technology was primitive and nowhere did the police function according to the principles of managerial efficiency or modern police codes. Policemen carried clubs and revolvers, and most wore uniforms. Their work week was long, and there was a high element of risk attached to the job. Salaries, however, were often higher than in other vocations. In some cities, pay was increased by a fee system that rewarded policemen for each arrest and conviction. Graft, a pervasive influence in municipal government, also supplemented the income of many policemen.⁴

Initially, police departments came directly under the purview of a mayor and city council, or in localities still denied "home rule," state authorities. But as the nineteenth century progressed, municipalities turned increasingly to independent administrative boards to oversee the operation of their police. Several police systems, including that of New York City, came under civil service guidelines. No matter who governed the police, however, the institution was highly politicized, serving as a tool to advance its control group's interests.⁵

Studies of major urban police forces indicate that despite numerous shortcomings, organized police forces were instrumental in reducing urban crime and disorder. Historian Roger Lane's study of crime in nineteenth century Massachusetts reveals a steady decline in felonies and street disorders accompanied by an increase in arrests for drunkenness and other misdemeanors as the nineteenth century waned.⁶

Such concerns were virtually unknown in Miami prior to its incorporation, for the tiny settlement on the picturesque Miami River experienced few crime problems. Miami came under the legal jurisdiction of the sheriff of Dade County and a district constable, an arrangement common to sparsely populated areas. Neither of these officials, however, saw much service in the cause of the settlement.

The picture changed dramatically in 1896, when the extension of Henry M. Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway to Miami brought an influx of settlers that transformed the sleepy village into a municipality of several hundred inhabitants. Now the problem of crime became a legitimate concern, especially in North Miami, an unincorporated area
lying one mile north of the Miami River. A Gomorrah among the palmetto brush and pine trees, North Miami offered saloons, gambling and prostitution to Miamians denied these pleasures by their community’s Puritanical founders.

The *Miami Metropolis* recognized the troublesome nature of North Miami in its inaugural edition of May 15, 1896. After noting the presence of “unsavory characters in the booming suburb of North Miami,” the *Metropolis* urged the sheriff to move quickly to quell the nightly antics of its more disreputable elements. As summer approached, the incidents of lawlessness multiplied, spreading throughout the area, and prompting the *Metropolis* to comment that it was “not safe to go about the town at night.” In June, Miami gained the services of a deputy sheriff who doubled as an unofficial marshal until its incorporation.

Miami incorporated as a city on July 28, 1896. In accordance with a Florida statute, Miami’s newly constituted mayor-council government included the office of city marshal. Young F. Gray, a dynamiter for Henry M. Flagler’s Florida East Coast Railway, became its first occupant.

In the summer and fall of 1896, the city fathers passed a series of ordinances designed to increase the efficiency of each municipal office. They turned to the police arrangements of the time in defining the scope and function of the city’s law enforcement agency. The office of city marshal, which predated that of chief of police in many American communities, was given a wide array of traditional powers both within and beyond the area of law enforcement. In its eleven year existence, this office grew steadily in terms of duties and responsibilities. In addition to “preserving the peace and maintaining order,” the marshal assumed the duties of a building inspector, sidewalk and street superintendent, scavenger (street cleaner), and sanitary inspector. The marshal also served as the city tax collector during the first decade after incorporation. For these tasks Gray and his immediate successors received $50.00 per month and a small percentage of the tax money collected.

The ordinance outlining the powers of the marshal also provided for specific limitations on the office. The most important of these provisions placed the city marshal under the direction of the Mayor and Council. Specifically, the mayor could suspend the marshal for incompetency or malfeasance, while the council, through the Committee on Police and Charities, was authorized to oversee his activities. Annual
elections to the office of city marshal meant that its occupant was also regularly accountable to the electorate. Finally, the size of his staff circumscribed the powers of the marshal. Until 1898, Gray was the city’s lone policeman.14

By October 1896, the Council had defined thirty-five offenses punishable by fine and imprisonment. The articles outlawed offenses of a serious nature as well as such peccadilloes as bathing in “any public place in a state of nudity,” or traveling upon the streets of Miami “without having thereon a bell, gong or whistle with which to warn pedestrians and drivers of vehicles at the street crossings.”15

During his first months as city marshal, Gray was hampered by the lack of an adequate jail, prompting the Miami Metropolis, to complain in November that the marshal was unable to arrest nude bathers, sanitary violators, and other lawbreakers because he had no place to intern them.16 By late December, however, a modern jail, located above the council chamber in the new city hall, opened. Gray now assumed the additional duty of jailer.17

The high incidence of typhoid fever and other diseases attributable to the unsanitary condition of numerous homes and privies forced the marshal from the outset to devote much of his time to rigorous enforcement of the sanitary ordinance. At the same time, the lawlessness of North Miami, combined with Gray’s predilection for liquor, took him to that quarter daily.18

In the early part of his tenure, Gray was vigilant in upholding the city ordinances. Clearly his *modus operandi* was colorful: whenever trouble erupted, Gray quickly mounted his bicycle (later he made his rounds on a black stallion) and rode into the “thick of the fray, brandishing his pistol” while bellowing, “Stop in the name of the law!”19

The most serious crimes during the community’s early years involved homicides in North Miami. Isidor Cohen, a pioneer merchant who regarded North Miami as “the worst seat of iniquity possible,” maintained with some exaggeration that “scarcely a day passed without Dr. (James) Jackson (the city’s first physician) being summoned there to probe for bullets in the anatomies of its habitues.”20 Another resident wrote Florida Governor William Bloxham, complaining that “more murders and shooting affairs have occurred in North Miami” over the previous three years “than in any section I know of.”21

Most crimes, however, were minor in nature. In retrospect, many of the charges appear as trivial as that of disorderly conduct, for driving a horse recklessly, against one of the first defendants in Police Court.22
On another occasion, Gray arrested a "dusky" couple for "hugging each other up" while strolling along Avenue D. In dismissing this case for lack of evidence, the judge insisted that if the marshal arrested everyone who put their arms around the waist of another person of the opposite sex, half of the population of Miami would be in jail. Despite the comical nature of many charges, the fines collected from numerous arrests, along with the money Tax Collector Gray received from the sale of merchants' licenses, provided the struggling city with its sole source of revenue during its first months after incorporation.

As the lone policeman in a rapidly growing settlement, Gray was obviously handicapped in his effort to provide a comprehensive system of law enforcement. The council refused to act on several entreaties by the marshal for an assistant until the city found itself host to 7,500 members of the United States Army at the height of the Spanish-American War in the summer of 1898. With the troops causing major discomfort for many Miamians, the city council, in June, 1898, empowered Mayor John Reilly to appoint additional police for the preservation of "peace and order." Marshal Gray then got his assistant.

Gray served as city marshal until June, 1899, after twice winning re-election by commanding majorities. The colorful marshal fell out of favor, however, with other municipal leaders through his failure to provide effective enforcement of increasingly stringent sanitary ordinances. Gray was particularly remiss in meeting this responsibility in the black community, which the Metropolis described, as early as September, 1897, as the "filth infested quarter of our city." Accordingly, Mayor Reilly suspended him from office in May, 1899. Gray subsequently resigned as marshal and tax collector, and he was replaced by his assistant John Girtman.

Girtman served briefly as marshal and tax collector. John Frohock, formerly the constable for the area encompassing Miami and an unsuccessful candidate for marshal in 1898, defeated Girtman and another candidate for city marshal in a spirited electoral contest in October, 1899.

This election occurred at the height of Miami's yellow fever epidemic. The epidemic claimed many victims, prompting the city council to add to the marshal's responsibilities in the realm of sanitary enforcement. In December, 1899, the solons instructed Frohock to place a yellow flag on the home of every victim. The lawmakers also passed an ordinance establishing rigid standards of cleanliness for each dwelling and directed the marshal to undertake a general inspection of
the entire community during the first week of each month to ensure a strict observance of this law. For the arrest of each violator, the marshal received one dollar.\textsuperscript{32}

Enforcement of the sanitary ordinances continued to consume a large portion of the marshal’s time as Miami entered the new century. But the office also acquired new duties and responsibilities, as well as additional compensation, from a variety of sources. At the behest of the council, Marshal Frohock began collecting the innumerable stray dogs that disturbed the city’s 1,681 inhabitants. A miniature police patrol wagon, pulled by a goat to the merriment of the citizenry, became an all-purpose vehicle, collecting, in addition to lawbreakers, many harmless canines.\textsuperscript{33}

With Frohock’s announcement of his candidacy for sheriff in the summer of 1900, five men entered the race for city marshal. Robert Flanagan, an early settler in the area, won both the Democratic party primary and the general election by wide margins. Flanagan served five consecutive terms in this post.\textsuperscript{34}

In addition to the crime fighting aspects of his office, Flanagan plunged into various other pursuits. In the waning months of 1901, the marshal, with council authorization, commenced a series of citywide inspections to assess the condition of its sidewalks and streets. Like his immediate predecessor, Flanagan became enmeshed in the vexing problem of dog control. This task became somewhat more palatable after the council provided a modest compensation for each unlicensed dog killed by the marshal. Flanagan collected $6.50 from the council for this service in the summer of 1902.\textsuperscript{35}

Flanagan’s activities as tax collector also became more profitable with the council’s establishment of a revised scale of compensation in January, 1902. Henceforth, the city tax collector would receive two percent of the first $2,000 in taxes collected and fifteen percent of the remaining tax monies.\textsuperscript{36}

Recognizing the additional work of policing a rapidly growing community, the council in 1902 increased the marshal’s salary to $60 per month. In the following year, the solons created a fee system that provided the marshal and his assistant with one dollar for each person arrested and convicted in Police Court. The profitable nature of this arrangement, which engendered great controversy, is evident in a financial report from the marshal to the council in November, 1904, indicating that Flanagan received $100 and his assistant, night policeman Louis Nicholson, $50 above their salaries for October. Other areas
of law enforcement added money to the municipal coffers. The campaign against unlicensed dogs continued, prompting many Miamians to obtain licenses from the marshal. Flanagan was especially busy here, collecting $50 from the sale of licenses in August, 1904. In the following month, the council instructed the marshal to purchase a net, hire a dog catcher, and construct a kennel for stray and unlicensed dogs.\(^{37}\)

By this period, the marshal’s duties had again broadened. He began conducting monthly inspection of all street lights. Moreover, he became the temporary fire chief; in this capacity, the marshal compiled a detailed inventory of the city’s firefighting equipment pursuant to the establishment of a municipal fire department.\(^{38}\)

The adoption of a new city charter in June, 1905, led to the most significant changes yet in the realm of law enforcement. The document increased the marshal’s term of office to two years, and granted the mayor, with council approval, the authority to appoint a police force “to insure the peace and good order of the city and the observance of the law within the city limits.”\(^{39}\) The charter also contained a provision authorizing the city council to replace the office of city marshal with a municipal police department under the direction of a chief of police. While the council failed to accomplish that immediately, it did establish a Municipal Court, which replaced the Mayor or Police Court, for the purpose of hearing cases involving city code violations. The municipal judge, its presiding officer, was elected biennially; in conducting daily sessions of the court, this official was assisted by the city marshal who, as the court’s chief executive officer, was responsible for the cases brought before it.\(^{40}\)

Frank B. Hardee won the first contest for marshal under the new charter in October, 1905. Several important police developments accompanied Hardee’s accession to office. After the council voted to double the size of the police, Mayor John Sewell appointed four men recommended by Hardee to the force. The council placed the salary of each new patrolman at $50 per month, and increased the marshal’s stipend to $65 for the same period. There were few qualifications for policemen aside from a brief period of residency in the area. During November, 1905, the police displayed uniforms for the first time. Their attire was similar to the blue serge suits used by other police departments. Mayor Sewell, a staunch advocate of a uniformed police force, predicted that the uniforms would not only enhance appearances, but would also increase the prestige and efficiency of the force and lessen the difficulties of arresting lawbreakers.\(^{41}\)
Surely arrests proved profitable with the operation of the fee system. The system, however, came under increasing criticism from several public officials and numerous citizens who argued that the lure of pecuniary gain led to many unwarranted arrests. In 1906, one hundred citizens gathered at a rally for abolition of the fee system. Hardee insisted that he also favored an end to it, but only if his monthly salary and those of his assistants were raised to $100 and $75, respectively.42

Amid that controversy, Marshal Hardee released a report in June, 1906, that illustrated the economic self-sufficiency of the police force. According to the document, the police in the first five months of 1906, collected $4,190.80 in fines and forfeitures (revenues gathered from fines paid upon conviction for an offense against the city code, or forfeited in lieu of court appearance.) Since the expenses of the marshal's office for the period were $2,372.70, the police had actually contributed $1,800 to city coffers.43

The figures for fines and forfeitures indicated the significant increase in police activity. In 1898, the marshal and his newly appointed assistant collected $181.40 in fines and forfeitures.44 Five years later, this figure had risen to approximately $1,500, owing to a marked increase in the number of arrests.45

Throughout 1904, the first year for complete statistics on arrests, the police arrested approximately fifty persons per month.46 Two years later the number of monthly arrests has risen to 125.47 The winter influx of visitors, which included a significant criminal element who preyed on vacationers, made that season the busiest time for arrests. In March, 1906, the police recorded a high of 243 arrests, which accounted for $1,086.73 in fines and forfeitures.48 Behind this rise in crime was the population growth, the increasing number of vagrants and confidence men in the area each winter, and the Bacchanalian celebrations of the Florida East Coast Railway extension workers, who poured into Miami from the Florida Keys on weekends. The majority of arrests were for disorderly conduct, a broad term that included drunkenness, cursing, fighting, and prostitution.

Many of those arrested were blacks. The police jailed blacks not only on charges of disorderly conduct, but also on charges of vice and vagrancy. Arrests in the latter category were especially plentiful and often followed on the heels of periodic "cleanup" campaigns at the behest of municipal leaders. The police also took into custody alleged black fornicators in large numbers. In one roundup, the city marshal,
in collaboration with the sheriff's department, arrested thirty-seven persons, almost all of whom were black, and charged them with fornication. As early as 1901, black Miamians requested a Negro policeman. For two years, the city council refused to act. Finally, in 1903, Frank Wharton, Chairman of the council's Committee on Police and Charities, announced that he, Mayor John Lummus and City Marshal Flanagan regarded employment of a black policeman as unnecessary.

As the incidents of crime increased along with the city's growth, the mayor appointed several "special policemen" to "maintain peace and good order" during periods when the police required such assistance or in areas of the city considered highly vulnerable to criminal acts. Marshal Hardee welcomed this assistance while calling for an expansion in the number of regular policemen. The marshal's tireless arguments for an enlarged police force led to the addition of two policemen in October, 1906. With the police force now numbering six and operating on a budget of $9,292.18 for fiscal year 1907, Hardee instituted three eight-hour shifts or "watches" to provide the city with adequate police protection.

Police operations continued to spark periodic controversy. In the fall of 1906, several city officials, joined by the Metropolis and numerous citizens, criticized the force for its alleged failure to rid the city of vagrants and other undesirables. Stung by this criticism and the pervasive discontent with the fee system, the police commenced a highly successful campaign against those troublesome elements in the waning weeks of 1906.

In the following year, the council adopted another new charter. Like its predecessor, this document contained provisions to abolish the office of city marshal and to replace it with a Miami Police Department. Acting on this charge, the council, in September, 1907, legislated the Miami Police Department into existence. The chief's duties included most of those performed by the marshal with one exception: the office of city tax collector became a separate entity. The salary of the chief of police was set at $1,200 per annum. His subordinates also received a hefty pay increase ranging from $720 to $840 per annum, depending on length of service with the force.

As its population spiraled upward, the city had abandoned its initial law enforcement arrangement for a more modern concept. But the office of city marshal had "kept the peace," albeit on a somewhat ad hoc basis. For police work in Miami's first decade of corporate life had consisted primarily of a series of daily challenges and assignments
with one day’s performance quickly forgotten in the rush of the next day’s demands. With the establishment of the Miami Police Department, however, the city’s leaders signaled their intent to place the police force on a more systematic basis to meet the needs of their rapidly-growing community.54

NOTES


8. Ibid., June 5, 1896.

9. Ibid.


11. Ordinances of the City of Miami, 1896, Article IV, Section 4, 11, 13, 14, & 33; *Miami Metropolis*, October 23, 1896.

12. Ordinances of the City of Miami, 1896, Article IV, Section 3, 30.

13. Ibid., Article IV, Section 15, 33.

14. Ibid., Article IV, Section 4, 30.

15. Ibid., Article XVI, Sections 4 and 32, 34–35.

18. Minutes of the City Council, Volume One, December 17, 1896, 45. Hereafter Cited as MCC; Miami Metropolis, December 11, 1896; March 13, 1899.
23. Miami Metropolis, August 6, 1897.
24. Ibid.
26. MCC, I, December 17, 1896, 46; July 2, 1896, 101; Miami Metropolis, December 18, 1896, January 8, 1897; Miami Daily News and Metropolis, July 26, 1925.
27. MCC, I, November 1, 1897, 97; October 31, 1898, 137; Miami Metropolis, October 28, 1898.
28. MCC, December 22, 1898, 144; Miami Metropolis, December 11, 18, 25, 1896; January 15, 1897; April 22, 1898.
29. Miami Metropolis, September 24, 1897.
30. MCC, I, June 1, 1899, 154–155; Miami Metropolis, June 2, 1899.
31. MCC, October 24, 1899, 167; Miami Metropolis, September 27, 1899, October 20, 27, 1899; Ethan V. Blackman, Miami and Dade County. . . Its Settlement, Progress, and Achievement, Washington, D.C., 1921), 241.
32. MCC, I, December 9, 1899, 171; Miami Metropolis, December 22, 1899.
34. MCC, I, October 29, 1900, 196; Miami Metropolis, September 21, 28, October 16, 1900.
35. MCC, I, June 5, 1902, 229; July 3, 1902, 231; August 7, 1902, 234; Miami Metropolis, September 6, 1901; January 23, 1903. Miami’s police did not publish an annual report until the end of the 1920s, forcing the researcher to rely on minutes of the city council and newspaper accounts for statistical information on this arm of city government.
36. MCC, I, January 3, 1902, 224.
37. MCC, December 4, 1902, 248; December 17, 1903, 373; November 3, 1904, 448; Miami Metropolis, December 12, 1902; Daily Miami Metropolis, September 2, 9, 1904.
38. MCC, I, October 20, 1904, 440, II, December 6, 1904, 14–15; Daily Miami Metropolis, December 9, 1904.
41. MCC, II, October 30, 1905, 102; November 16, 1915, 199; Daily Miami Metropolis, October 27, 1905; November 24, 1905.
42. MCC, II, October 19, 1905, 158; Daily Miami Metropolis, October 27, 1905; November 24, 1905. Despite the opposition to the fee system, it remained in operation after the office of the city marshal had been replaced by the Miami Police Department.

43. MCC, II, June 7, 1906; Daily Miami Metropolis, June 8, 1906.

44. Miami Metropolis, October 9, 1903.

45. Ibid.

46. MCC, II, December 1, 1904, II; Miami Daily News and Metropolis, July 26, 1925.

47. MCC, II, July 5, 1906, 311; August 2, 1906, 322; September 6, 1906, 340; October 4, 1906, 357; November 1, 1906, 366; December 6, 1906, 377; Daily Miami Metropolis, April 13, 1906; January 4, 1907.


50. MCC, II, November 1, 1906, 361; Daily Miami Metropolis, November 3, 1905.

51. MCC, II, August 19, 1907, 483; Daily Miami Metropolis, October 12, 1906.

52. MCC, II, November 1, 1906, 360; Daily Miami Metropolis, October 19, 1906; November 23, 1906; December 26, 1906; January 11, 1907.

53. Laws of Florida, 1907, Chapter 5823 (No. 228), 531–532; MCC, III, September 19, 1907, 1–33, 40–41, 44; October 3, 1907, 48.

54. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Population, II, (Washington, 1913), 311. The nearest population figures to 1907 are, of course, those for 1910. By that date, Miami's population stood at 5,471, a significant increase over that of the previous census.
Ordinary soldiers have often affected the outcome of battles and thus changed the course of history. Mutineers have cut their own notorious swath across the years. In Spanish Florida in the year 1566, soldier-mutineers almost cost the Spanish Crown its newly-established colony. Conditions in Florida helped breed the revolts, but their root causes lay deep in the past of the soldiery of Spain.

Three successive phases of development brought the rough and enduring peasant soldiers of Castile to the attention of the world. The last struggles against the Moors in the Kingdom of Granada helped to strengthen and unify the inchoate feudal levies which had featured the earlier reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Artillery helped overcome enemy resistance in town after town while lightly-armed cavalry proved its value in rough terrain. But the basic infantry arm was ill-equipped for the mission Ferdinand’s Mediterranean diplomacy set for it in Italy. In 1495, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdova, the “Gran Capitán,” led the Royal troops to battle in Calabria. The initial successes of the French soldiers and Swiss pikemen who had opposed them led Fernández de Córdova to make basic and lasting changes. Based upon a national militia, the Spanish infantry and cavalry were thoroughly reorganized. During the next century, they became the most feared and admired soldiers in the world.

Heavier armor and stronger cavalry were provided, and there was greater reliance upon the use of the long pike and arquebus. But the most vital reform was that of formation and leadership. Larger units

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of manpower were formed upon the basic company, commanded by a captain, and the *cornelia*, led by a colonel, was created. Philip II’s military reforms set the larger unit, the *tercio*, at 3,000 men, composed of ten companies, two of which would be arquebusmen and the rest pikemen. Each *tercio*, commanded by a *maestre de campo*, featured a sergeant-major. Each company had its ensign, the adjutant and flag-bearer; the companies were subdivided into four squads of approximately twenty-five men each, commanded by a squad-leader, often a corporal. The men often lodged and drew rations and pay in a smaller unit, the *camarada* group.

In the wars in Italy and with the French through the mid-16th century, the Spanish soldier became a professional, loyal to his company’s flag. Recruitment into the King’s service was done among youth eager to advance themselves and to live the free life of a soldier. In continual tension with the form and control imposed upon the Spanish soldier, there co-existed a tradition of individualism and pride. As the Conde-Duque of Olivares observed of the Castilian: “One sees, along with loyalty to their Kings, the brio and liberty with which the sorriest commoner treats any noble, even though he be greatly unequal in power…” Although such men were capable of the most striking deeds of individual valor, they could also commit acts of infamy. The seeking of prizes for valor could degenerate into a search for booty. As well as noblemen, the professional soldiery included an admixture of the foul scrapings of society. When unpaid or otherwise unhappy, these men could and did rebel. Once when the Great Captain could not pay his troops, they gathered to insult him; “one Biscayan captain bawled, ‘Sell your daughter, and you will find the money.’”

After the discovery voyages, the major Spanish 16th-century colonial conquests were made by adventurers who often assembled their forces in the Indies. But the men in the little armies which captured the city of Mexico and took the empire of the Incas were direct inheritors of the Spanish spirit and military knowledge of that time. Against Indian warriors who often battled them with ferocity and skill, the Spaniards opposed their own valor while keeping the discipline of formation. In entering new, strange, and unconquered lands, Spanish soldiers clung to what James Deetz has termed a “corporate alliance”—in this case their comrade-group, squad, or company. They also felt loyalty to their commanders. Yet there were mutinies against both Hernando Cortés and Francisco Pizarro. The great effort of Tristán de Luna to settle West Florida failed after mutiny. Discipline was harsh,
and their captains held the power of life or death. Soldiers were caught between the twin poles of organization and anarchy. Deference to superiors always contained the seeds of mutiny.

The 1565 Spanish attempt to conquer Florida was not at first intended to be a largely military expedition. Although it was known in Spain that Frenchmen had established Port Royal, in present South Carolina, in 1562, it was understood that their colony had failed. When Philip II approved the contract of March 20, 1565 with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the newly-created Adelantado was required to build two cities, transport one hundred settlers, and bring four hundred armed men to protect the whole. When belated news of René de Laudonnière’s Fort Caroline reached Spain, the King agreed to add three hundred soldiers of his own to Menéndez’ force. As further news reached Spain of the reinforcement which Jean Ribault was planning for French Florida, Philip approved a larger Royal expedition, which did not sail until the spring of 1566, too late to affect the events which this paper treats.6

Under the urgent pressures of time and Royal exigency, the organization of Menéndez’ main forces at Cádiz was hasty. Although this was a matter for later controversy, the Adelantado evidently enrolled some five hundred soldiers on his own account. Crown soldiers (288) and eleven corporals were enlisted.7 Although Menéndez equipped his men with arquebuses as their primary weapon, pikes, swords and crossbows were also brought. Many of Menéndez’ men were craftsmen; 117 were soldier-farmers. The King’s soldiers were given two months’ pay as arquebusiers (at four ducats per month), discounted for the cost of their weapon. A basic difference among the soldiery was that Menéndez furnished his own men rations like the rest, but gave them no pay. His agreements with them promised their passage to Florida, lands for farms and stock-breeding, and a part of any gold, silver, pearls or precious stones which might be found.8 There were thus created at the beginning two classes of soldier: the paid and the unpaid. The King’s men, however, had received no great sum for those going on a lengthy expedition, when Menéndez’ ships finally sailed from Cádiz on June 27, 1565.

The Florida Adelantado, en route to his clash with the French in Florida, appointed commissioned and non-commissioned officers to train and control the ill-assorted body of men under his command. Although his forces by no means approximated the number in a tercio, the Adelantado appointed a maestre de campo, his future son-in-law Pedro de Valdés. Valdés had more military experience than many in
Menéndez' entourage of mariners—he had served five years as a soldier in Italy. Ten of the twelve Captains he named were from among his own personal soldiery, while two were from the body of the King’s men. Menéndez always believed in making his appointments where possible from among the Asturian or at least north-of-Spain noblemen who were tied by blood, marriage or close friendship to himself. By this stiffening, Menéndez hoped to insure loyalty and discipline and overcome the disadvantages of his heterogeneous soldiery, in which there were many raw troops.⁹

It appeared that the results of Pedro Menéndez’ hastily-arranged expedition justified the risks. When, after enduring storm and the loss of some of his ships, the Adelantado arrived at Florida, he was able to build his base at St. Augustine, capture Fort Caroline, and erase the forces of Ribault and Laudonnière in rapid order. The Spanish infantry, well led by virtue of Menéndez’ clever tactics, had triumphed. Philip II had his Florida colony. But the victory had its price. After Menéndez’ major ship had been sent away to avoid the French and then was lost, supplies began to run low in the two garrisons he had built. His royal soldiers had not been paid since they had left Spain four months before; Menéndez did share out with them a clothing allowance, for which he charged the men against their future pay. The last of October, 1565, he left St. Augustine, promising his men to return soon. En route to Havana, Menéndez captured a group of Frenchmen at their makeshift fort on Cape Canaveral and then marched southward along the beaches to Ays. There he encountered friendly Indians and determined to leave a garrison. Captain Juan Vélez commanded at Ays, with two hundred men and fifty French prisoners.¹⁰ At Fort Caroline, which now bore the name of San Mateo, there remained Captain Martín Ochoa de Argañarás and the former Sergeant-Major of the tercio, Gonzalo Villa-roel, acted as Governor. In St. Augustine, Valdés commanded military forces, while Pedro Menéndez’ brother Bartolomé served as civil governor there.¹¹

The Adelantado had promised Captain Vélez to return within twenty days at the outside, but left rations for fifteen days only. Once in Cuba, Pedro Menéndez made every effort to send food to his Florida garrisons, but obstacles put in his way by Governor García Osorio and the link-up with his Asturian ships took time. By the time the Adelantado had the first goods on their way, it was too late. The first of a chain of mutinies among the Florida soldiers had already begun.

By November 28, rations at Ays had run out, and the men had to
subsist on fish, shellfish, cocoa-plums and cabbage-palm berries. The
soldiers foraged in the woods, and relations with the Indians, who could
not long support such a large body of men, deteriorated. Some soldiers
had already died when one named Escobar preached open rebellion.
The men should, he stated, make their way to Mexico or some other
rich land. Chaplain Francisco López de Mendoza Grajales came to the
Captain, advising that the rebels planned to kill him and take the small
boat Menéndez had left. When Vélez defended himself and the boat,
Escobar left with a hundred men, walking the beach or the river shore-
line southward until they reached an inlet too wide to swim—probably
the present St. Lucie River or inlet.

Guiding his own few loyal men and prisoners southward, Captain
Vélez caught up with the mutineers. Careful to stay offshore in the
small boat, he shouted to them that he would attempt to bring supplies
to them from Havana. But shortly after leaving the inlet for the open
sea, Vélez encountered Diego de Amaya, Menéndez' supply ship cap-
tain, with a shipload of foodstuffs. It had been thirty-three days since
the departure of the Adelantado. Before they returned to succor the
soldiers, the two discovered another port further south and moved the
whole garrison there. Since it was discovered on December 13, the day
of St. Lucie, the fort they shortly built was called Santa Lucía.¹²

Evidently it was an early and stormy winter in northern Florida.
The Spanish garrisons there remained alert for the possible return of
the French, and against the attacks of enemy groupings of the Timucuan
Indians. According to Juan de Junco, a faithful member of the Mené-
dez entourage, serious murmuring and discontent began in the St.
Augustine garrison within a month after the Adelantado left. When
Bartolomé Menéndez, who never possessed the charisma of his brother,
ordered soldiers to make themselves houses, they swore that they had
no intention to cultivate or populate Florida. "Why," they asked,
"build in a bad land?" Only the Devil himself, they thought, could
have ever brought them there. Three Captains—Juan de San Vicente,
Diego de Alvarado, and Francisco de Mexía—became openly disaf-
fected, together with several of their subordinates and many of their
men. The garrison chaplain, Father Rueda, was of the same mind.
Rations grew short, though food was still available. Late in December,
Pedro Menéndez sent a supply ship. St. Augustine’s portion, though,
had to be shared out with the San Mateo garrison after the vessel
grounded and broke up in the heavy winter surf off the St. John’s River
bar. Word was sent to Pedro Menéndez in Havana that more than a
hundred men had died from hunger or cold in the two northern forts.\textsuperscript{13} Growing bolder, the malcontents began to meet; they exchanged letters with others in Fort San Mateo. At noon one Sunday, Captains San Vicente and Alvarado challenged Bartolomé Menéndez in the main plaza of the fort and town. Saying that he governed \textit{“no nada,”} nothing, they belittled his authority and said they would trample the flags of his companies. They stamped their feet on the ground. When the governor reprehended them saying, \textit{“Gentlemen, what insubordination is this?”} they drew their swords and daggers. Cooler-headed bystanders separated the men, but an unmistakable challenge to authority had been made. Another moment of defiance came when the rebels began to prepare a small boat at St. Augustine for their escape. They began to cut wood and make pitch, and came to chief smith Alonso Vélez with an order to make nails for the boat. Vélez told Captain San Vicente that the Governor had ordered him to work on the garrison’s arquebuses. San Vicente said that he, not the Governor, gave the orders, and that the smith would make nails or be hung. At that moment, Bartolomé Menéndez arrived, having heard the conversation, and said \textit{“Watch what you say; you have put yourself forward, and you are in the wrong.”} San Vicente shook his walking-stick at the Governor, saying \textit{“Count yourself lucky! Go to your fort and hole up there.”} From that moment, Bartolomé Menéndez withdrew to his quarters, the rebellion gathered its own momentum, and there was little royal authority left.

Meanwhile, events at Fort San Mateo proceeded apace. A key figure in spreading the infection of mutiny was Sergeant Gutierre de Valverde of Captain Mexía’s company. The rebel party in St. Augustine forced \textit{Maestre de Campo} Valdés to give Valverde written permission to go to San Mateo. There he worked openly to subvert the garrison, and to prepare for launching a sizeable galley left by Laudonnière. Spanish soldiers and French prisoners joined in the work. St. Augustine chaplain Reuda had opened correspondence with Captain Francisco de Recalde in San Mateo, and he had come over to the rebels. Governor Villaroel suspected that Valdés’ letter had been signed under duress, but there was little that he could do. Captain Martín Ochoa later said that the watchword of the rebels was that they \textit{“would finish the ship, burn the fort, and kill any who oppose us.”} Since their superiors in St. Augustine had yielded to the spirit of mutiny, what could they do? Yet both parties—the loyal and the disaffected—lived in a shadow-land. The threat of the death penalty for treason was strong. Remaining officially in the background, the military captains at St. Augustine put forth
Christoval Rodriguez and Sergeant Sebastián de Lezcano as nominal leaders, while the San Mateo rebels chose Gregorio de Robles at “electo” of mutineers. Ensign Sargüero, Sergeant Goyán, and a soldier named Miguel de Mora were also among the rebel leaders at San Mateo. But no overt act to overturn formal authority had yet occurred.

If the rebels’ plot could have matured fully, they would have struck when both sailing craft were ready. Then the San Mateo contingent was to ship the garrison aboard the galley, stop at St. Augustine to pick up more soldiers there, and go in company with the smaller vessel to seek their fortunes away from Florida.

In the meantime, Pedro Menéndez, on his mission of exploration and evangelism, had made an expedition to the town and village of Carlos, on Florida’s lower southwest coast. Instead of returning to his peninsular garrisons, he continued to send small supply ships to Florida. Late one afternoon in the first week of March, the fregata La Concepción crossed the St. Augustine bar and anchored in the river by the town and fort. Its captain, García Martinez de Cos, came ashore. Together with the corn, meat and wine he brought, Martinez carried a message from the Adelantado, promising his return within three weeks with more supplies. This precipitated the crisis. Now the rebels had to act quickly; another ship with supplies had been put into their hands, the better to support their escape.

Captain San Vicente went to San Mateo to warn his fellows there to finish preparing the galley for sailing. Pedro de Valdés sent his own letter to Gonzalo de Villaroel, warning him to be alert for signs of mischief. When Pedro Menéndez’ letter was read at San Mateo, Gutierre de Valverde gathered all the rebels in the plaza and declared “To the Devil with (future) supplies! We want to leave this land!” Then he and San Vicente, two leading spirits of mutiny, went to St. Augustine to be in on the final act there.

First, the rebels seized the fregata. They tied the hands of Martinez de Cos behind him, took him ashore to a little room in the fort, and put him in the stocks. A little after midnight on Friday, March eighth, the mutineers came with torches and matchcord lighted, carrying their swords and arquebuses. Crying “Open up!” they beat upon the door of the fort storeroom with lances and halberds. Pedro de Valdés, ill and discouraged, had locked himself inside. The rebels finally broke through and captured Valdés, Juan de Junco, storekeeper Diego de Hevia, Martín de Argüelles, and Sergeant Pedro de Coronas—and imprisoned them with Martinez, also in the stocks.
Next, the mutineers began to load the *fregata* with arms from the fort. They took the books of the city council away. San Vicente vowed that he would put everyone aboard: "sick, well or crippled, dogs or cats." They gathered 115 of the soldiers from the garrison and ferried them out to the little ship. Sebastián de Lezcano still commanded a small force ashore, detailed to spike the guns of the fort while they awaited the coming of the vessel from San Mateo.

The number of officials and soldiers who remained loyal to their King and *Adelantado* at San Mateo was also small. As at St. Augustine, they included fellow Asturians of Menéndez retinue or others from the north of Spain. One of these, Rodrigo Montes of Oviedo, was fort storekeeper. In true Spanish fashion, he drew up a remonstrance in written form when a mob of soldiers came to clean out the storehouse. But they took all the food anyway, together with sails, an astrolabe and a marine chart to help them on their future journeys. Then, hastily launching the galley from the ways next the fort, they loaded 128 persons aboard. Only twenty-five, including Governor Villaroel, Captain Ochoa, and Montes, remained at San Mateo. The vessel dropped downriver towards the bar, but the mutineers hesitated and the ship remained anchored there. It was later reported that some of their sails had accidentally burned, and repairs held up their departure into the ocean.

Meanwhile, at St. Augustine, the rebels there wondered: where was the San Mateo galley? While they puzzled over the delay, Pedro de Valdés managed to work free of his bonds and escape from his imprisonment. Now he displayed a burst of energy and courage at variance with his previous reluctance to act. Quickly, he freed the other prisoners—eight men in all—and armed them. They made their way to the riverfront, and boldly seized the small boat in which the remaining mutineers were about to embark. These, including Sebastián de Lezcano and Gutiérre de Valverde, then surrendered.

The *maestre de campo* then issued a *bando*, calling upon all still ashore or afloat to return to the lawful service of their King. He was quick to work justice upon the leaders of the rebellion in his hands. As soon as Lezcano had confessed is guilt, Valdés issued an order for his execution. That same night, Lezcano was taken out of the fort jail with a rope around his neck, and led with it to the public gallows. There he was hanged with placards at his head and feet proclaiming his twin crimes of mutiny and treason.

At first light the next day, Pedro de Valdés had a fort gun cleaned,
loaded and trained upon the fregata in the river. But his warning shot fell short, as the mutineers’ ship moved closer to the bar, so Valdés put a twelve-hundred pound artillery piece in a boat and went after the rebels himself. Coming near the ship, Valdés requested the mutineers in the name of God and King to put back into the port, and that they not leave the city without supplies, lest those in St. Augustine die from hunger. The rebels’ response was to cut their anchor line and sail away.

While his garrisons were being decimated by desertion, Pedro Menéndez was returning to them as he had promised. The first of the unpleasant surprises awaiting him was encountered on March nineteenth, when his lookouts spied the caravel *Asención*, which Menéndez had sent from Yucatan loaded with corn. Pedro Menéndez himself went aboard and immediately saw that he had to restore his authority over a boatload of mutineers from Santa Lucía. Captain Juan Vélez and his ensign, Graviel de Ayala, both wounded, had a harrowing tale to tell.

There had been fresh troubles with the Jeaga Indians, and attacks came continually against Fort Santa Lucía. Supplies grew short, and then ran out. There had been no food for four days when Menéndez’ supply caravel came into the harbor on March fourteenth. Then a scenario similar to that played out in St. Augustine took place. The soldiery rebelled against Vélez for a second time, took a small boat, and captured the caravel. For three days they waited, while the shipmaster pleaded with the mutineers to allow him to finish his voyage to St. Augustine. When Vélez and Ayala attempted to back up the master, they were wounded. The mutineers held a meeting, and elected their captain—all properly done before a notary. But the second day out, on their voyage south to freedom, Menéndez had caught up with them. Of the two hundred fifty Spaniards and Frenchmen whom Menéndez had left at Ays in November, only seventy-five had survived. One of the survivors, Diego López, swore that some of the men had turned to cannibalism during their long ordeal, and this ugly report spread as ships and men left Florida for other ports in the next few months. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés turned the caravel around, and, in company with his other ships, headed north to St. Augustine.

At that fort, Pedro de Valdés had begun a formal legal investigation of the mutinies, and was taking testimony when the *Adelantado’s* little fleet anchored off the bar on March twentieth. The next day, he entered the city. His own appearance with the troops he brought from Cuba was enough to restore Royal authority in St. Augustine. On the twenty-second, the *Adelantado* summoned a notary. He issued a pro-
clamoration, giving all his titles, and reviewing the reasons for the Spanish presence in Florida. He noted that the King had licensed him to come to convert the natives to the Catholic faith, and to expel the Frenchman who had preached what he termed their “evil Lutheran sect.”

Menéndez reminded his soldiers how they had been recruited for the journey to Florida: he had come openly with drum, fife, and trumpets to proclaim the expedition, and they had freely enrolled. He had expended much to send a heavy armada, with 1500 men, of whom only three hundred were paid by the King. He recalled the rapid and effective conquest of the French, and how Ribault’s sea attack before the Spanish victory had necessitated sending away many of the supplies. Then Pedro Menéndez noted that all had agreed that he go to eradicate the French fort at Cape Canaveral, proceeding from there to Havana for supplies.

All that he had promised, he said, he had done, but returned to find that robbery, mutiny and treason had occurred. Now he took over and continued Valdés’ investigation; the leaders of the mutiny would be punished, but he would give the rest another chance. Menéndez feared the coming of another French invasion fleet to avenge the taking of Fort Caroline and the killing of many Huguenots. If this should happen, he wanted no more secret or open disaffection among his soldiers. He gave the men two choices: stay, or go home at their own expense. They had two days to make up their minds, and put their decision in writing.

Pedro Menéndez learned that the shipload of mutineers from San Mateo had not yet put to sea, but lingered in the St. Johns River. He sent to order them to return to duty, while he prepared a force to go thither and supplies to share with those who would obey. Whether out of fear or hope of amnesty, there were now divided counsels among them. First, one Ortuna, a loyal soldier, had come to St. Augustine and told Menéndez that the rebel galley was at the bar. Then Ensign Sargüero and two soldiers came to advise that the ship had returned to the fort, where many of its people had landed; he added that he and many of them had changed their minds and did not now wish to leave. They asked for pardon for what they had done.

On April first, Pedro Menéndez set forth in a bergantín; Captain Antonio Gómez accompanied him in a shallop, together with a small boat loaded with corn. Gómez, in the lead, neared the mouth of the St. Johns and sighted a ship: it was the galley. The mutineers had changed their minds again.
Gómez signalled the mutineers to lay-to and anchor for a parley. They did so, but would not allow him to approach the galley; instead, they sent a small boat with armed men, their matchcords smouldering. Gómez told them that they were ruined men if they persisted in their mutinous course. He relayed Menéndez’ message that supplies had come. If they would return to duty, the Adelantado would grant them full amnesty. If not, he would hunt them down and hang them all.

The mutineers went to talk with their leader Robles, who soon returned, saying he wished to speak personally with Pedro Menéndez. Gómez accordingly went to land, where Menéndez had put ashore to await a favorable wind. But, by the time the two men joined forces, the rebel galley had fled far out to sea. Even though it was dark, Menéndez ordered Gómez to pursue, showing a stern lantern so that the Adelantado could follow. The next day, they would take the ship. Although Gómez spoke to the mutineers once more, they were far from land. Menéndez did not arrive, and a storm arose, scattering the ships. The mutineers had escaped.

After initiating the usual legal investigation at the newly-reconstituted San Mateo garrison, Pedro Menéndez went northward to establish his next colony. He took with him Estéban de las Alas, a long-time associate from Asturias, with a hundred soldiers. After traversing the sea islands, they arrived at Port Royal, probably on Easter day, April 14, 1566, for they named the first fort San Salvador. This, with the associated city of Santa Elena, was established upon present day Parris Island. Alas was named civil and military governor of the region, and given seventy-five men. Menéndez left, promising to send supplies shortly. But, when he returned to St. Augustine, he found the fort had been burned together with many supplies. It was again necessary to supply the lack in Cuba, and yet again a garrison was left on short rations.16

After some time had elapsed, Estéban de las Alas and company Captain Pedro de Larrandia began to lose control of their men. Twenty soldiers went inland to seek food among the Indians; then Alas issued a decree authorizing them to scatter and find food. A small boat loaded with corn, enough food for ten days, arrived from St. Augustine. As had happened further south in March, this inspired mutiny. On June fourth, forty-three soldiers seized their officials and put them in irons. Twenty-eight loyal men, disarmed and with little food, were left at Santa Elena as the rebels left in the small boat.17

The first half of 1566 in Spanish Florida had indeed been a trau-
matic time; mutiny and disease had reduced the garrisons of 1565 to about half their original number. This had occurred at a critical time, when the Spaniards feared the threat of another French intervention and relations with the aboriginals were unsettled.

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés had to change his military tactics to adapt to Indian warfare. The Timucuans and other groupings did not often fight in large bodies, but often staged ambushes and minor skirmishes. During 1566, many Spanish soldiers were killed in those engagements by clubs and arrows. The Indians could fire more quickly than Spanish soldiers could load, prime and fire their arquebuses. During attacks in the rain, their matchcord would often go out. Menéndez' solution was to import crossbows for more rapid fire, and adopt the protective padded cloth armor developed in Yucatan: the escupil. In the vicinity of St. Augustine during 1566, northward through Cumberland Island toward Santa Elena, the soldiers had to live, as Pedro Menéndez put it, “with their beards over their shoulders” in a constant state of alert. Florida was still no easy assignment, and it still offered few compensations for service. Although some booty had been won at Fort Caroline, or traded for with the Indians along the east coast or at Carlos, it was evident that this was no Mexico nor Peru.

Therefore, troubles did not cease with the coming, at the end of June, of a major reinforcement force. Fifteen hundred short-term soldiers under six captains had been raised in lower Spain and sent by Philip II to help Menéndez defeat the expected next French thrust. Pedro Menéndez sailed off again to explore the St. Johns, to pacify the Indians in the interior, and to settle affairs in the north. The reinforcements enabled the re-garrisoning of Santa Elena and San Mateo, and enabled the rebuilding of the fort at St. Augustine. Many of the newer soldiers, however, proved as untractable as the first had been. Although an old soldier and diligent engineer, Captain Pedro de Redrobin was soon embroiled with Pedro de Valdés. When Valdés assigned a man from his company to perform carpenter work, Redrobin seized the soldier and beat him, breaking his arm, and swearing that he was a Maestre de Campo. Although Redrobin seemed to have no part in the plot, soldiers from his company were soon conspiring to desert Florida. This time one Pedro de Pando, sergeant in Redrobin’s Company and Sergeant Joaquín de Redrobin, nephew of the Captain, led the dissension.

Joaquín de Redrobin was arrested at San Mateo by Gonzalo de Villaroel, and put on trial there on the charge of inciting mutiny. The
charges claimed that the Sergeant had “enormous and atrocious guilt” for secretly gathering almost a hundred men of like mind to go inland across Florida to Carlos, seek gold there, and make their way to New Spain. The leaders of the plot had gone inland about five leagues to spy out a route when they were caught. The younger Redroban was condemned to hang, but appealed his case.

This time, Pedro de Valdés acted promptly and decisively. Under torture, the ringleaders confessed, and Valdés had Pando, a corporal and a soldier hung. He exiled three others to serve for ten years as galley-slaves. Upon the return of Pedro Menéndez to St. Augustine, suspicion fell upon Captain Redrobán himself; he was arrested on September eleventh.

Now Pedro Menéndez faced a dilemma: he had been charged by Phillip II to lead many of the ships and men which had come in the reinforcement on a naval expedition to seek corsairs and build the defenses of the island Indies. He had to leave his Florida garrisons in strong condition to withstand external attack and avoid further mutinies. Menéndez set up a system of regional governors, prepared viable supply networks, and addressed the problem of soldier discipline.

The Adelantado gathered all his Captains and issued a declaration which was proclaimed by voice and drumbeat in all corners of the fort. He first noted that many past attempts to conquer Florida had come to grief because of insubordination and poor discipline. Once lack of respect for authority had begun, he said, then plots among the soldiers could multiply. Thus, Menéndez averred, the plans of both Emperor Charles V and King Philip II had often gone astray, and the Royal monies had been wasted on the effort. In this way, the holy enterprise of building the Evangel among the Indians had come to naught. Now, Menéndez stated, the latest expedition had been put into danger through mutiny. Therefore, he had agreed with his Captains upon certain ordinances to govern the soldiery and the community’s life. These were published forthwith, and made the law of the land.

The Florida ordinances reflected the closely interwoven nature of Royal government, religion and current military tradition. A scold or complainer would be punished by sitting eight days with his head in the stocks and then eight more with his feet in them; he would also forfeit his wine ration. Any man blaspheming against the saints would lose a day’s wine. A soldier was obliged to recite the catechism twice daily; if he did not know it after a year, he would forfeit three months’
pay. The fine would go to the hospital, and for Masses for the Catholics who died or would die in Florida. Each man had to hear Mass every Sunday and feast-day or lose his ration; anyone showing disrespect in church would be rigorously punished.

To discourage the well-known hot temper of the soldiers, it was forbidden to put hand to sword or dagger against another, on pain of six months at hard labor on the Royal fortifications. Assault was also forbidden; the penalty, perpetual galley service. Libel was punishable by three lashes. Desertion by going from a soldier’s assigned post to another fort without permission could result in the death penalty.

The ordinances provided that soldiers should lodge and draw their rations in camarada groups of ten men. Finally, it confirmed a system of local government and justice, quite similar to that of the Metropole, except that military Captains would serve ex-officio on the Council.

What were the immediate results of Florida mutinies of 1566? The mutineers who had left St. Augustine in March made their way to Hispaniola, and Pedro Menéndez could not persuade the authorities there to bring them to trial. The rebel galley from San Mateo sailed down the coast, and put in at Tequesta in Biscayne Bay for water. There a rising wind forced them to leave twenty men on shore. The rest of the men sailed to Cuba. Pedro Menéndez later rescued the men at Tequesta, leaving some as a garrison. These he granted amnesty. The Santa Elena mutineers were captured in the port of Matanzas in Cuba, and brought before Governor Osorio, who took their confessions.

The 1566 mutinies severely endangered and hampered the enterprise of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in Spanish Florida. The innate strength of the Spanish soldier, well-led, seems to have enabled the conquest; his innate weaknesses almost nullified it. Allegiance to the Crown was insufficient to prevent mutiny. The events of first victory set a body of men ashore with insufficient supplies to maintain them through the difficult first period. This sowed the seeds of mutiny, which grew in the absence of the strong personal leadership of the Adelantado. Those of especial trust, with close ties to the leader, were too small in number to resist the mutineers’ demands.

Menéndez now thought little of the common soldiers who had come on the first expedition to Florida outside of his circle of associates. Compared with the people of good blood who came in his own group, they were “vile,” incapable of being led to good behavior. His own
choice would be simple countrymen, instead of these so-called soldiers—men raised with "gazpacho, onion and garlic, instead of those accustomed to inns, banquets, booty and wine." 

Despite ordinances and organizations, soldiers' mutiny had not ceased in Spanish Florida; there was more trouble in 1567 over the alleged insubordination of Captain Miguel Enriquez. In 1568, the garrison of San Mateo deserted in the face of the French enemy, Dominique de Gourgues. In 1570, the colony was again threatened by a major refusal of duty by many of its soldiers. But eventually the establishment of the Royal subsidy enabled a more settled military garrison to become the socio-economic base for Spanish Florida. But never to be forgotten was the recollection that ordinary soldiers with weapons in their hands could threaten a conquest from within.
NOTES


7. An example of the enlisting of one of the Crown soldiers is found in the personnel file of Antonio de Ornutegui, a native of the town of Zumaya. The excerpt from the muster document, certified by Francisco Duarte, Royal agent of the House of Trade in Cádiz, was done on 17 June 1565. It noted that Ornutegui was the son of Pedro; Fernández de Ornutegui, a native of Zumaya, was twenty-two years old, and had a wound scar on his right temple. Ornutegui was paid two ducats for each of two months and given an arquebus with all its equipment, flask and bullet mold. This is from AGI Justicia 905, No. 4. Menéndez claimed that he sent 1,504 men, women and children to Florida, including soldiers, sailors, and twenty-six settlers, in his Cádiz contingent. (Other groups sailed from Ávila, Santander and Gijón in the north of Spain.) It certainly appears that this was incorrect. See Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida*, 97–98, n. 62–65; 114–115, n. 27. Muster of the Royal troops is found in AGI Justicia 817, No. 5.

8. The characteristics of the Adelantado’s soldiers and the lists of supplies he brought from Cádiz are found in “Relación de los navíos, gente, bastimentos, artillería, armas, municiones . . . que lleva el Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Ávila para la conquista de la Florida,” from AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1,024-A. Menéndez’ agreement with his own private soldiers is dated at Seville, 25 May 1565 and is found in AGI Justicia 879, No. 3, piece 1.

9. The naming of Valdés is described in “Relación de los bastimentos, artillería, armas . . . municiones que recibió Juan de Junco,” AGI Contaduría 941, ramo 1. Menéndez describes the naming of the captains and Valdés in his letter to the King, dated at St. Augustine on 11 September, 1565, from AGI Santo Domingo 231. The author has described the interlocking familial network which acted as the governing elite in Spanish Florida in “The Control Structure of Spanish Florida,” *(Unpublished
paper, St. Augustine Restoration Foundation, Inc., 1980), and in *The Enterprise of Florida*, “Network for Conquest,” 71–77. The raw nature of the troops was described by witness Antonio Díez Pereyra in a hearing on the mutinies held on 28 March 1566 in St. Augustine, from AGI *Justicia* 999, No. 2, ramo 9. Menéndez himself said in hindsight that the admixture of experienced soldiers was insufficient; this from his letter to the King from St. Augustine dated 20 October 1566, from AGI *Santo Domingo* 115.

10. Menéndez' succor of his Royal soldiers with clothing in the fall of 1565 is described in AGI *Justicia* 817, No. 5. The appointment of Juan Vélez de Medrano as commandant of the Ays garrison (also known as Ais, Aiz or Ayz) is found in his petition for benefits from AGI *Justicia* 894, No. 8, and in the Madrid Notaries’ archive, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos (hereinafter AHP) 646, fol. 265–59.

11. Gonzalo de Villaroel’s appointment is found in AGI *Contaduria* 941, under the date of 20 September 1565; that of Bartolomé Menéndez was done at St. Augustine on 7 September, from AGI *Indiferente General* 1,219. Gonzalo Solís de Mérás, Menéndez’ brother-in-law, wrote that the military captains left in St. Augustine were also ex-oficio members of the cabildo, or city council there, and thus had their place in the civil-military hierarchy. See Gonzalo Solís de Mérás, Pedro Menéndez de Áviles; (translated by Jeannette Thurber Connor; DeLand: Florida State Historical Society, 1922; facsimile edition, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964), 125.

12. The materials relating to the Florida mutinies of November, 1565 to June, 1566 are largely found at the end of a legal case involving the alleged mutinous acts of a few months later, in “El Fiscal con Capitan Miguel Enriquez . . .” from AGI *Justica* 999, No. 2, ramo 9. It may be assumed that the papers relating to all the mutinies were joined together at some later time. The testimony of Juan Vélez de Medrano (taken on 15 May 1566 at St. Augustine) and other data relating to the mutinies has come from this bundle, except as otherwise noted. See also the “Merits and Services of Diego López,” “the petition of the chief artillerist of the garrison who was present at Santa Lucia, found under the date of 16 December 1569, from the Woodbury Lowery Collection (microfilm in the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida), I:2:414: 265–290.

13. Pedro Menéndez described conditions which had been reported to him from Florida in his letter to the King dated at Havana 30 January 1566, from AGI *Santo Domingo* 168.


15. With regard to the number of troops Menéndez brought, see note 7 above.

16. For detailed information regarding the settlement and eventual abandonment of Santa Elena, see Eugene Lyon, “A Brief History of the Colony, 1566–1587,” in History and Archaeology: The Spanish Colony of Santa Elena, , unpublished paper, Southern Historical Association, Memphis, Tennessee, November 5, 1982.

17. The Santa Elena mutiny is described in testimony taken before Governor García Osorio of Cuba from July 5–19, 1566, and found in “El Fiscal con Capitan Miguel Enriquez,” AGI *Justicia* 999, No. 2, ramo 9.

18. Pedro Menéndez describes his adaptation to Indian tactics and the state of vigilance of his men in his letter to the King dated at St. Augustine 20 October 1566, from AGI *Santo Domingo* 115. An illuminating chronicle on the similar use of the crossbow by Spaniards in the first exploration of the Amazon by Orellana in 1541–42 is found in George Millar’s *A Crossbowman’s Story*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955).


20. Valdés’ letter about punishment of the August-September mutiny attempts is dated at St. Augustine on 12 September 1566, from AGI *Santo Domingo* 168. Another example of judicial torture in St. Augustine occurred when soldier Jorge Cardoso was
given the torture of cord and water to force a confession of petty larceny. This case is
detailed under the date of 18 November 1567 and is found in AGI Escrituría de

21. Menéndez' statement and ordinances, probably issued in mid-September,
1566, are found in the Enriquez segment, AGI Justicia 999, No. 2, ramo 9.

22. See “Probanza de Alonso de Grafeda,” Santo Domingo, 15 February 1569,
AGI Santo Domingo 12.

23. See Pedro Menéndez to Crown, St. Augustine, 20 October 1566, AGI Santo
Domingo 168.

24. The Santa Elena mutineers’ inquiry is in AGI Justicia 999, No. 2, ramo 9.

25. Pedro Menéndez’ comment about the soldiers is found in his letter to the King
dated at St. Augustine 20 October 1566, from AGI Santo Domingo 115.

26. The Enriquez case is in AGI Justicia 999, No. 2, ramo 9. The desertion in
1568 is treated by Alas under the date of 5 May 1568, and is found in AGI Patronato
254, No. 2, ramo 1; it is also discussed in the case in AGI Justicia 1001, No. 2, ramo
5. The 1570 mutinies were described by Juan de Junco at folios 1494–1495vo, from
AGI Escrituría de Cámara 154–A.
Moved by the boom—as millions of others were—Birdie’s brother-in-law, Chester Weekes, came down from Nebraska. His father was a grain dealer and he had grown up in that business. It isn’t a very big jump to switch from selling grain to selling real estate. He talked me into renting an office and going into the real estate business with him. So Kelsey City had another business—Williams and Weekes, Real Estate. He ran the office and I stuck to my engineering. Among the first properties we listed was my other 160 acres. At the same price I sold the 80, together with the notes for my cows and my house in Kelsey City, it brought my present worth up to well over $100,000. The Real Estate Office did a lot of business till the bubble burst, but did not sell my land. The Abstract Office was so slow that the bubble burst before they got my abstract for the 80 acres. Although the buyer had paid me $2,000, he told me I might keep my land. For $100 he would give me a quit claim deed to clear my title. I accepted his offer. As things turned out later, I had better have kept my money.

Kelsey had a big tract of timber land up in Georgia. It was in the southeast part of the State and lay south of the Satilla River. The Atlantic Ocean was its eastern boundary. A big part of this land had belonged
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to General John Floyd of Revolutionary fame. After the Revolution, he and his descendants had a lot of slaves and raised a lot of cotton. Being on deep water—the Estuary of the Satilla River—they had convenient shipping to any part of the world and this became one of the most prosperous parts of Georgia. The Civil War freed their slaves; the railroad passed them by; the descendants scattered and the whole plantation reverted to woods. We cut many pine saw logs on land once in cotton. Kelsey gave Felton and me a letter to his representative up there and sent us up to see what we could do about building barges out of his lumber, cut off his land. We made a thorough investigation, then came back and signed a contract to build him 100 barges—each one of which would carry one hundred tons and would draw only four feet of water.

On the bank of the Satilla Estuary there had been a very large sawmill served by a narrow gauge railroad with many of the buildings still standing. We found one, that by patching a few holes in the roof, was good enough to live in. We utilized the lumber of others to build us a big shed. We got a tractor for power and bought a planer to set up in this shed. We then made deals with two natives who were operating portable sawmills to move over onto Kelsey’s land and saw for us. We got the lumber coming through the mills and running through the planer; hired carpenters; built ways; got everything running smoothly; built and delivered one barge and had another on the ways and about half built when we got a letter from Kelsey. The bubble had burst! He wouldn’t be able to pay for any more barges and couldn’t get any freight to haul on them if he had them. Return our planer (at a loss); pay our bills and figure up all of our expenses. He would pay all the expenses we had incurred and pay both of us salaries for the time we had worked. We thought that was mighty nice of him under the circumstances, for he had been hit awfully hard. It left both of us out of a job. We had almost enough lumber sawed to finish the barge we had on the way, so we went ahead and finished it on our own. We rented it to a road contractor for a while and eventually sold it. Then we dissolved partnership and Felton went home.

In my running around through the woods, I had seen a lot of ash in the swamps. I learned that there was a carriage factory not too far away that was buying ash, so I wrote to Kelsey and got permission to cut his ash on a stumpage basis. I put the sawmills to sawing ash instead of pine and put in several months there. I didn’t get rich at it but did make a pretty fair salary and I had a job.
When I finished getting my ash lumber out up in Georgia (prior to the 1926 election) and came back to Florida, the bubble had burst in a big way. I not only had no regular job but found very few little jobs. The first of the year, 1927, I took over my duties as County Commissioner. That gave me a little to do, but not enough to keep me busy nor to feed my family. So I moved back to my farm west of Jupiter and started farming between my other jobs. The man who had bought my cows had paid a little along, but only a very small percent of what he was supposed to pay. He said he didn’t see how he would ever be able to pay for them, so suggested I take them back. I borrowed money; built a barn; took the cows back and was in the dairy business again. As if I hadn’t already had enough trouble, my cows suddenly commenced dying. The veterinarian had never seen anything like it. He started searching his doctor books and eventually found a tropical disease in Africa that had the same symptoms. How a disease from Africa could ever get over here, we had no idea. Nevertheless, he injected my entire herd with the recommended medicine and it did the trick. In the meantime, I had lost several cows.

In July, 1928, my sister Luella, and two children from Cuba stopped for a visit on their way to Indiana to put her daughter in school. When two women get their heads together, you never can tell what will come up. Birdie hadn’t seen her mother for two years, so decided this would be a good time to go and pay her a visit. Result, two women with seven children, ranging in age from eighteen months to fourteen years, set out for Indiana in an Oldsmobile touring car that was well past its prime and had a leaky radiator in the bargain. Only one woman and the fourteen year old boy could drive, and he wasn’t supposed to.

A few days later I got a wire from Rome, Georgia. The water had run low; the engine had heated and burned out some bearings and they were tied up till they could get some parts from Atlanta. Please wire money. But that wasn’t the end of their troubles. Things went fairly well till they reached Richmond, Indiana, only about forty miles from their destination. There, right in the heart of the city, about five o’clock on Sunday afternoon when everybody was rushing to get home, the old car died. Birdie phoned my sister, Zona, at Charlottesville, and her husband drove to Richmond and brought them in with a rope. Then she wrote me that they had had so much trouble that if I wanted her back I would have to come and get her. We had an uneventful trip back home and reached there just in time to get the three oldest children off to
college; Gordon and Vera for the first time and Elizabeth for her second year.

Just one week to the day from the time we got the children off to college, on Sunday, September 16th, 1928, the worst hurricane that ever hit the East Coast of Florida, hit us. Radios had just been invented and were not yet in common use. On Saturday afternoon I was down in West Palm Beach. The latest report was that it was headed straight for there and had winds of tremendous velocity. Men were standing around in groups discussing it and wondering if it would hit there. They were guessing which of the big buildings could withstand it and which ones would go down if hit and all were hoping it would change its course. On Sunday morning I took my milk, as usual, to the bottling plant near Kelsey City. Owners of buildings in town were out boarding up their windows. They said that according to the latest information, the hurricane was coming right at us. When I got home, instead of getting ready for church, as I usually did on Sunday morning, I got some boards and went up on the roof and nailed them on to hold the roll roofing down so the wind would not tear it off and boarded up the windows. It was wasted effort.

A big fruit company had erected a high-power radio station in Jupiter so they could communicate with their banana plantation in Central America. At three o’clock in the afternoon a neighbor came in and said the radio station had sent him out to warn people to flee for safety. They recommended that we go to the new $160,000 schoolhouse in Jupiter. He said the hurricane had gusts of wind up to two hundred miles per hour, and was preceded by a tidal wave fifty feet high. I had run levels over a lot of the country around there and knew that the Coastal Ridge was only twenty-five feet high, so I said, “If the wave is that high, it will top the Coastal Ridge. We are more than five miles inland here, so the water will have that much room to spread itself in. This house isn’t too strong, but the barn is new and well-built. I think we would be safe there; or, if we run at all, we should go inland. The trouble there is, there is no protection at all against the elements.”

One of my tenants said, “I have a hunch that those people have figured this thing out and know what they are talking about. I think we should do what they say.”

I went to the barn. The men had just put the first batch of cows in to milk and fed them. I told them the bad news. Then I told them to fasten the barn door open so it couldn’t blow shut and to loosen the
cows in the stanchions so they could come and go at will. We would
go to the schoolhouse. I had a screen-side truck that had been worked
over into a school bus. It had better curtains and would hold more
people than the touring car. Birdie gathered up a lot of bedding and
pillows; and, between the bus and one milkman’s car, we all went to
the schoolhouse. The road ran straight east and had a very high crown.
The wind was already so strong from the northeast that I was afraid to
drive on the right side of the road for fear the wind would turn the bus
over, so drove on the left. There was no one going west at that time.

About five-thirty the wind and rain hit with all their fury. I stood
by a south window and watched lumber from houses and big tree limbs
go by and big trees snapped off like toothpicks. I saw a dog standing
in the lee of the building. He suddenly took a notion to go somewhere
and started off on the run. When he got out where the wind could hit,
it just rolled him. He half rolled and half crawled back into the lee of
the building. He was still standing there when the darkness shut down
till I could no longer see him.

As the night advanced, the wind intensified. Windows, transoms
and doors on the windward side gave way. The carpenters had very
conveniently left some two-by-fours and two-by-sixes inside the build-
ing. When a door gave way we got enough men ahold of it to force it
shut between gusts. We then nailed a brace in place to hold it shut. All
we could do with the windows and transoms, was to move things away
from in front of them and let the rain blow in. When those strong gusts
hit, they shook the building from stem to stern and we feared that the
next one would bring down the building. There wasn’t a thing we could
do but pray. Strong men prayed who had never prayed before. Strange
to say, those who were not in the habit of praying, prayed the loudest.
Those who were in the habit of praying were more trustful. Many of
them did their praying in silence. Birdie spread the bedding on the floor
and put the children to bed just the same as she did at home, except
that she didn’t undress them, and for the most part they slept. Some
other children slept too, but many of them cried in panic till the storm
abated. Did the children who slept do so because they had their beds,
or was there a deeper reason? Did the children who cried do so because
they didn’t have their beds, or did they get fear from the attitude of
their parents? I can’t answer.

About one o’clock in the morning the wind abated a little, and I
stretched myself on the floor for a little sleep. At two the janitor called
me. They wanted help. An elderly couple lived in a two-story garage
apartment near the schoolhouse. The stairway was outside. I don’t know whether they had not been warned, or didn’t take the warning. But that as it may, they stayed in their apartment until they were afraid it was going to blow away, then came down and started for the schoolhouse. The wind was so strong it blew them down. They managed to crawl back and sat down in the lee of the building under the stairway. The apartment blew off the garage and the garage careened over to such an extent that it pinned them down. Eventually he was able to free himself. Just as soon as the wind abated a little he crawled over to the schoolhouse for help. Enough men went over to get the stairway off her and carry her to the schoolhouse. She was badly injured. By that time, the wind had pretty well died down but the rain was coming down in torrents. A carload of us set out to see if we could find anyone else in distress. The destruction was terrific! Many times we had to turn back because the road was blocked with fallen trees and other debris. Where we went no one had stayed at home except those with houses strong enough to stand.

We got back to the schoolhouse just at daylight. I called my son, Kenneth, and two of my dairy hands to go home with me. When we got to the first bridge, it was out. The tidal wave had not topped the Coastal Ridge but it had shoved enough water through the Loxahatchee Inlet to raise the water in the bay and its tributaries to wash out some of the nearby bridges. We turned back to the schoolhouse and found about one hundred and twenty-five people who wanted some breakfast. In times like this most people are helpless. They need a leader. Whether it was because I was County Commissioner or not, I don’t know; but they promptly appealed to me. I went downtown to see what I could find. We found a store that had blown away. Most of the goods that water would damage were ruined but there was a lot of canned goods. When the owner heard that the hurricane was coming, he turned the key in the door and fled north. We loaded all the usable goods in my bus and took them over to the schoolhouse, where I had them all inventoried so they could be paid for. The Red Cross paid for them later.

Just as there was no leader in getting something to eat, so there was no leader in the kitchen to prepare it. It is no small job to feed 125 people, especially when your facilities are so meager. Finding no head cook, Birdie turned the care of her children over to others and she took over the kitchen. She didn’t do the work. There were plenty of willing helpers. She did the planning and directing.
After breakfast we started for home again, by a longer road. Half a mile before we got there, we passed where had been a two-story concrete block house. Several of the immediate neighbors had assembled there thinking that, being of concrete, it would stand. It had gone down, killing four on the spot and another died later. Men were at work taking out the dead and laying them out on the ground with nothing over them. A ghastly sight!

When we came in sight of home, it didn’t look like home at all! Our dwelling was blown about ten feet off of the foundation and broken off at the upper story! All the upstairs furniture was strewn over the landscape! The north wall was blown out as if there had been an explosion, and the whole north side of the upstairs floor was just hanging. I hunted a 2-by-4 and propped it up. The roof and the sides to the upstairs looked like they had been picked up and shaken to pieces and were scattered out in a fan shape to the northwest.

The tenant house nearest our dwelling was treated even worse. The south side was blown clear across the highway to the southwest. The roof was picked bodily up; hit a pine tree to the west and broke the tree off about fifteen feet above ground and landed wrong side up some thirty or forty feet away. The other three sides and the floor went very much as the roof and upper part of the dwelling and went in the same direction. The longest piece of flooring I found was about eight feet long.

The sleepers were lying around with the nails sticking out of them where the floor boards had been ripped off. One sleeper was near a dead cow, some five or six hundred feet to the northwest of where the house had been. She was my biggest Holstein cow and just happened to be dry at that time. She was the only animal I had killed out in the open. The rest were killed right in the barnyard. I figured this cow was killed by that sleeper and the rest by flying timbers from the barn.

The other tenant house was located northeast of the barn and suffered least of anything. It was well enough built that it didn’t fly to pieces. It got up and started all in one piece! When it was about ten feet on its way, a big pine tree about twenty inches in diameter hooked it; brought it down and held it. The fiber of the tree was twisted off about stump height. It had caught the house just as it was leaving and the only damage to it was a few roof boards broken where the tree fell and some of the roll-roofing torn. The furniture in the house was damaged very little. The foundation was concrete blocks. It was easier to move the blocks than the house, so we jacked up the house; put the
blocks under it; mended the roof and the tenant moved back in. The windmill and water tank were down. The milk house and chicken house were scattered far and wide. The barn wasn’t exactly gone. It had too much concrete in it to get away. The stanchions were set in concrete, but the roof was gone. Eleven head of my cows were lying dead in the barnyard. The fences were down in many places and about half the cows had wandered away. (The hurricane was on Sunday night. We didn’t find them till Wednesday afternoon. They had been so long without milking that the udders on the heaviest milkers were spoiled.) We milked what cows we could find and took the milk to the schoolhouse for consumption there.

When I got back to the schoolhouse and told Birdie how things were, she insisted on going right out to see for herself. When she saw the wreckage, she sat down and cried like a child. ‘‘For twenty-three years we have worked and slaved to get something ahead. We got it and now it’s gone in a night.’’ I told her I didn’t feel like crying. I felt much more like being thankful. We had been hit very hard financially. I didn’t yet know how hard. Many people had been killed. Four of them I had seen within half a mile of home and not a one of us had received a scratch. It turned out later that several had been killed within just a few miles of us. Out south of Lake Okeechobee, more than two thousand people, two of them our very dear friends, had been drowned. They took draglines into the cemeteries and dug trenches to bury the corpses as they were brought in.

How right Birdie was! Our entire life savings, amounting to more than thirty thousand dollars, was gone. I thought I could save some of it, but I could not. I had mortgaged the cows to build the barn. When I was forced to sell them, it took all I got for them to pay the mortgage and a few back bills. I tried to sell my land. I listed it with several local real estate firms, and advertised it in northern real estate magazines. After the break of the boom and the hurricane, people just weren’t buying Florida. I couldn’t pay the taxes. It took the County eleven years and a new tax law before they could sell it for the taxes—and I didn’t get a nickel out of it.

I got a truck and salvaged all our household goods possible and hauled them to the schoolhouse. All trains were stopped and no mail either out or in. We promptly wrote to the children and assured them that we were personally all right, but that the property destruction had been terrific. We sent the letter by the first person we found going north. They all three wrote right back and offered to leave school and
come home if they could help. I wrote them that there wasn’t a thing they could do. Elizabeth and Gordon had their tuition paid till mid-year, and Vera had a scholarship for all year. They should stay right there and make the best of it, but they were on their own. I couldn’t help them anymore. They all three went through. Vera had a scholarship. Gordon had worked a year after high school and found work to do in school. Those two went straight through. Elizabeth had to stay out a year and teach.

It was time for school to begin, so we had to vacate the schoolhouse, with no place to go. Near the schoolhouse was a small house. It had been shoved off of its foundation, and some of the roll-roofing blown off, but aside from that, it was in pretty good shape. The owner was in the North, so I got some material and repaired the roof. We moved in without even so much as a “by your leave” to the owner. It was small, but we crowded in.

All the milk I got right after the hurricane, I took to the schoolhouse to supply the folks there. After the folks scattered to their homes, I had to do something else. The bottling plant near Kelsey City, where I had been selling, was scattered over the landscape and was never rebuilt. My milk production had been cut down so much by the cows that died of disease; those that had just been killed; and those whose udders were spoiled, that I didn’t have enough to justify the twenty-seven or eight miles haul to the West Palm Beach Creamery. Trains were running again. I tried shipping, but the trains were very irregular. The milk frequently had to sit long periods on the platform, and, consequently, soured. I had to throw up my hands! The Red Cross was buying cows to rehabilitate other dairies, so I sold them all of mine except enough to supply ourselves and Jupiter.

I turned back to farming. I reasoned that the Everglades was drowned out, so beans would sell high this year. I plowed up a large part of my pasture and planted beans. My reasoning was all right, but the rains all fell during the hurricane—then quit! My beans didn’t make half a crop! I also planted a few watermelons. They did just fine and the price was good! I had gambled on the wrong crop and lost. My job as County Commissioner expired about three months after the hurricane. My sad experience at farming convinced me that farming was too hazardous, and that I should look for an engineering job.
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Weisenfeld, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph J.
Weissenborn, Mr. & Mrs. Lee
Weldon, Norman R.
Welles, Mr. & Mrs. Peter D.
Welsh, Mr. & Mrs. R. M.
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<td>Wenck, Mr. &amp; Mrs. James H.</td>
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<td>Zwick, Charles J.</td>
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**INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIPS**

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<tr>
<td>Abercrombie, Ms. Nell</td>
<td>Apple, Mr. Lawrence B.</td>
<td>Appleby, Mr. Vernon F.</td>
<td>Barritt, Ms. Evelyn R.</td>
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<td>Barbara</td>
<td>Arango, Mrs. Judith</td>
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<td>Abreu, Ms. Gloria M.</td>
<td>Armentroux, Ms. Tommy J.</td>
<td>Arredondo, Dr. Carlos R.</td>
<td>Bauer, Ms. Doris C.</td>
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<td>Adams, Mrs. Betty R.</td>
<td>Arrington, Ms. Viviana</td>
<td>Artiles, Ms. Ana M.</td>
<td>Baumann, Mr. John</td>
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<td>Baumez, Mr. W. L.</td>
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<td>Atwood, Mr. Charles F., III</td>
<td>Aye, Mr. Charles</td>
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<td>Adker, Keith</td>
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Minden, Connie
Minton, Thomas L.
Mitchell, Mr. Michael J.
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<td>Sottile, Mr. &amp; Mrs. James</td>
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<td>Steirheim, Hon. Merritt</td>
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<td>Sweeney, Mrs. Ethel</td>
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<td>Yetkow, Mary</td>
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