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ON THE COVER
Flagler Street, circa 1912.
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History of The Miami News (1896-1987)
By Howard Kleinberg

First Edition of The Miami Metropolis
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Walter Sumner Graham had not yet established himself in Miami. Writing from his Titusville law office on March 20, 1896, Graham advised one of his Miami partners that the name suggested by Henry Flagler for the newspaper at Miami was a good one.

Howard Kleinberg is editor of The Miami News and author of the book Miami: The Way We Were.
C. C. Chillingworth
Vice President
East Coast Publishing Company
Miami

Dear C:

Mr. Flagler suggests “Miami Metropolis.” None of us had ever thought of that, but it sounds first rate. How do you like it? I have dropped him a line saying we shall adopt this suggestion.

Walter S. Graham
Titusville

Graham soon would be at the Miami settlement where a wooden building was to be constructed near where today’s South Miami Avenue meets the Miami River. The one-story frame building not only would be home to his law and real-estate business — Robbins, Graham & Chillingworth — but it also would be home to Miami’s first newspaper.

In a Deep South version of a rough little pioneer shantytown by a clean green bay, The Miami News was born as The Miami Metropolis on May 15, 1896.

(The plan was to inaugurate the newspaper about April 15, to coordinate with the arrival of the first train into Miami, but the wreck of the schooner Seminole — with a loss of two lives and the greater portion of the material for The Metropolis’ building — caused a 30-day delay on the project.)

The 10-page weekly newspaper, in its initial issues, commented:

It is the first paper ever published on Beautiful Biscayne Bay.

Further, said this first issue, it was,

The most southern newspaper on the mainland of the United States, published at the most southern railroad point in Uncle Sam’s domain, and at the most southern telegraph terminal and express office on the mainland at Marvelous Miami, the town with over a thousand souls and the survey of the place not yet completed.

The Metropolis was published on cream-colored newsprint. In its first edition, it was reported that The Metropolis did not want to imitate a paper on the Indian River, which was published on pink newspaper, so it selected cream. It also asked its readers what they thought of the name of the newspaper, saying it was...
suggested "by one who could be trusted in the manner of naming a paper."³

An inventory of Miami’s businesses was listed in that first issue. No other, except The Miami News, remains active today.

There was not yet a city, that being more than two months away. Miami, on May 15, 1896, was a settlement to which Henry Flagler had brought his railroad, where he was building a grand hotel much on the scale of the ones he had built in Palm Beach and St. Augustine. It was where the visionary widow Julia Tuttle owned much of the land north of the river and where William Brickell ran his trading post on the south bank.

It was where a young Jewish-Russian immigrant named Isidor Cohen arrived in February seeking a location for a dry-goods business, only to be told by the widow Tuttle that he would have to wait. He made this observation in his diary of February 6, 1896:

Had an interview with Mrs. Tuttle, who is said to be the owner of the north-side territory, in regard to renting a piece of ground for the erection of a store building. Result very disappointing. Must wait until land is cleared and streets laid out, when lots will be put on sale. On declaring that I could not wait, owing to my destitute condition, I was told to take a job clearing land, whereupon I tried to impress this naive lady that the last labor of this character my race had performed was in the land of Egypt, and that it would be a violation of my religious convictions to resume that condition of servitude.⁴

The Metropolis reported that it had a bid of $1 for the first copy of the first issue of the paper. Instead, The Metropolis kept the first copy for itself, gave the second to Tuttle, the third to Mary Brickell. The fourth was mailed to Flagler. The fifth went to Coconut Grove author Kirk Munroe, and the sixth copy was given E. L. White, who had made the original bid of $1 for the first copy.⁵

(The Robbins, Graham & Chillingworth firm did not spend much time in The Metropolis’ building, which was just south of the railroad spur that ran to the under-construction Royal Palm Hotel. On July 17, an advertisement appeared in the paper seeking to rent the office in the building formerly occupied by the law and real-estate firm. The ad said the 12 x 24 room would be suitable for a barber shop, tailor shop or confectionary store.)

Walter Graham was one of Flagler’s local attorneys. A native of New Jersey, Graham also was a doctor, merchant and politician, a Democrat — as well as a newspaper editor. He and his family
Located near where today’s South Miami Avenue meets the Miami River, *The Miami Metropolis* shared quarters with a law office for a short time.

HASF Collection

came to Miami — at Flagler’s urging — from Titusville, where the firm of Robbins, Graham & Chillingworth was established.

For several months prior to publishing his first edition, Graham talked about a newspaper, but did not do much about it. Then he met Wesley M. Featherly, a recent arrival from Michigan — and a Republican.

Graham made Featherly his local editor; their names appear on *The Metropolis*’ first masthead. Featherly’s disappeared a year later, on May 21, 1897. Graham, it was reported, “was a man of forceful opinions and the ability to express them.” He was a strong advocate of U.S. paper money being redeemable in silver as well as gold — which it was not in 1896. There was a classic split between Republicans and Democrats on that issue, and this can be seen as a major reason for the breakup between the Democrat Graham and Republican Featherly.

From its first issue, *The Metropolis* began calling on the citizens of the new town to incorporate, citing that there would be 1,500 persons living here by July. Meetings were being held toward
that end, and legal notices were placed in *The Metropolis* regarding the issue.

Flagler wanted Miami incorporated, and what Flagler wanted, he usually got. The newspaper was run by Flagler's people; most of the people in town worked for Flagler — either on the railroad or on the hotel he was building near where the river met the bay.

On July 28, 1896, the city was incorporated. It was reported this way in *The Metropolis* of July 31:

Jos. A. McDonald, Chairman of the Citizens Committee on Incorporation, called the meeting to order in the hall over the Lobby at 2 p.m. last Tuesday. The same being the place, day and hour advertised in the notice of intention to incorporate.

It was announced by the chair that the law required that two-thirds of all registered voters residing within the limits which it was proposed to incorporate must be present before any business could be done, and in order to ascertain if the required number were present he directed the secretary to call the role of the registered voters. After some delay in waiting until the hall could be filled, it was ascertained that 312 voters were present, 275 being two-thirds of all registered voters residing within the proposed limits. There were thirty-seven more voters than the required number present. It was then moved by W. S. Graham that the vote on the territory to be incorporated, the name of the city and device for a corporate seal be by acclamation. This was carried and the metes and bounds as advertised, were adopted as the limits or boundaries of the City of Miami and a round seal two inches in diameter with the words City of Miami arranged in a semicircular form, constituting the border around the top, and words Dade Co. Florida, around the base, the design of the royal palm tree in an upright position in the centre of the seal and the inscription “Incorporated 1896” inserted just below the centre of the seal.

Thus, *The Metropolis* covered the birth of the city — a distinction few newspapers elsewhere ever have achieved. Not only that, but its editor — Graham — played a major role in the incorporation and, that same day, was among those elected to be the first seven aldermen of the new city.

*The Metropolis* appeared each Friday. Subscription rates for the newspaper were $2 on an annual basis or five cents per issue. The charge for a half-page advertisement for a full year was $400, while classified ads were five cents a line.

Featherly returned to *The Metropolis* on April 1, 1898, when he purchased the paper from Graham. Featherly, in turn, leased the
paper to E. T. Byington, a newspaperman from Georgia. In an announcement, Featherly said he had purchased the plant, business and good will of the paper but did it only as business speculation — as he did not have time to pursue the editing of a newspaper. Besides, he maintained, “Politically the views of this paper do not meet my own and there being no field here for a newspaper of my particular stripe, I cannot enter the field at present.”

Graham, who said he was selling the paper because he could not devote the proper care to it, returned full time to his law practice along with partner George M. Robbins.

Despite his disdain for a Republican running a newsletter in a Democratic town, Featherly repossessed the paper from Byington on August 26, 1898. Byington reportedly wanted out to pursue an agricultural endeavor. (Byington didn’t spend long in the field; he soon came back and established a newspaper called The Miami News — no relation to today’s Miami News.)

In returning to the editorship of the then small-town paper, Featherly wrote that the publication would pursue a conservative cause but that it would not be the property of any political party or faction. “When a party paper,” he wrote, “a country journal loses much of its scope of usefulness. People look to the metropolitan papers largely for their political ideas.”

Wesley Featherly, along with his brother Charles, continued to publish The Metropolis from the wooden building near the Miami River. On November 12, 1899, a second destructive fire hit young Miami — the first being on the city’s first Christmas night of 1896. The 1899 fire destroyed The Metropolis building, as well as Julia Tuttle’s Miami Hotel.

Despite the severity of the loss, The Metropolis kept the story of the fire on an inside page in its November 17 issue.

The second destructive fire in the history of Miami occurred Sunday last. The first alarm was given at 1:30 and within 30 minutes, the Hotel Miami, The Metropolis’ office, Greer’s grocery, Mrs. Knapp’s boarding house, machine shop of the Flagler interests, and Hainlin’s steam laundry with their contents were in a mass of ruins.

The fire started in one of the rooms in the Hotel Miami, where Mrs. John Smith was preparing food for Mrs. Pell who was ill of yellow fever. A blue flame oil stove was the cause of the fire, which when discovered was beyond control...

The building of The Metropolis was the oldest build-
The Metropolis claimed the honor of occupying the oldest building in the city at the time of the fire.

(A clue as to who rented the space vacated by the Robbins, Graham & Chillingworth firm in The Metropolis building in July 1896 can be found later in that story of the fire, where it was reported that The Metropolis building was “occupied by The Metropolis and Undertaker H.M. King.”)

The books and subscription list of the paper were rescued as was much of the printer’s type. The files of the paper, including the first-off-the-press inaugural issue, were lost to the flames. One small press and a perforator were all of the machinery that could be saved. The press was not adequate to publish a newspaper, and within 24 hours of the loss, a message was received from the owner of The News at West Palm Beach offering The Metropolis the use of its plant as a temporary solution. The editor of the West Palm Beach paper, Simpson Bobo Dean, was later to play a major role in The Metropolis, but for the present he was a generous colleague whose offer could not be accepted by Featherly as there was a quarantine placed on Miami by a yellow fever epidemic.

Instead, The Metropolis’ friendly rival, E. T. Byington’s Miami News, offered the use of its facilities, which the stricken paper was glad to accept.7

Dean did perform a good deed. His office in Palm Beach had a complete file of The Metropolis from its first issue in 1896, and Dean gave his files of Metropolises to Featherly for posterity.

Meanwhile, The Metropolis needed a home. The undertaker King had found new facilities in the Belcher block (today’s Southeast First Street and South Miami Avenue). Facilities for The Metropolis were located in the Chase Building (today’s Southeast Second Street and South Miami Avenue)8 and a press belonging to C. M. Gardner, publisher of Our Sunny Land, was used to print the newspaper.9

Within two months, on December 29, 1899, Wesley Featherly — returning to citing the difficulty in being a Republican trying to publish in a Democratic town — sold The Metropolis to B. B.
Tatum, editor and manager of the *Bartow Courier-Informant*. Tatum was one of three Tatum brothers who were to become instrumental in the development of Miami and, later, Miami Beach. Wesley and Charles Featherly purchased a paper in Harri-man, Tennessee, but Charles remained behind in Miami for several months, handling business affairs for B. B. Tatum, whose entry into Miami had been delayed by the yellow fever quarantine that cut Miami from the rest of the world in October 1899. More than 160 cases of yellow fever had been reported in the city, with at least eight deaths.

When the quarantine was lifted on January 15, 1900, *The Metropolis* was ecstatic, as evidenced by the tone of its January 19 story:

> It is needless for us to state that it was with great rejoicing our people received the announcement Monday morning that all quarantine restrictions were removed from Miami, that we were once more free to come and go at will. We have waited long, weary months for this announcement hoping against fate that each week would see our beautiful city free of the epidemic which had so long held her in bondage. Our people have taken the matter more philosophically than was at first supposed could possibly be the case. When the first scare was reported a general stampede occurred, but when the real epidemic had fastened itself upon us, our people deported themselves wisely and thoughtfully, as always characterizes Miami citizens. Those who desired to leave the city did so quietly and deliberately, while those who remained accepted the position with the best grace possible. During the epidemic many self-sacrificing acts of Christian charity were reported, which will ever remain in the minds of our citizens as a bright spot in the dark part of Miami’s history.

B. B. Tatum lost little time in getting *The Metropolis* back on track after its disastrous fire and change of ownership. With himself as editor and manager, he hired E. Nellie Beck away from the *Tampa Times* to become his assistant editor. She was Miami’s first woman newspaper executive.

On May 15, 1900 — the fourth anniversary of the founding of Miami’s first newspaper — Tatum, Beck and N. L. Stafford were granted letters incorporating the Miami Printing Company, with a capital stock of $10,000, and purchased a large Cranston cylinder press and other machinery and material necessary to equip the plant for all demands.
In July 1900, M. F. Hetherington, who had for years conducted a prosperous newspaper and printing plant of his own in Lebanon, Ky., accepted a position as business manager of *The Metropolis*, and on January 1, 1903, he purchased a portion of the stock of the company, was elected secretary and treasurer and made associate editor. E. Nellie Beck’s name had long since disappeared from the masthead of *The Metropolis* — replaced with Hetherington’s on April 5, 1901.

The Georgia-born Tatum, who later in life was to become associated with his brothers in Miami real estate activities, reflected the white racial attitude of the day. In an editorial after a black man attacked a white woman in Miami, Tatum wrote: “The deplorable circumstances of the assault upon a respectable white woman, reported elsewhere, by a fiendish black brute, brings home to us the question of what can be done with these black sons of hell? All kinds of remedies have been resorted to including hemp, tar and torch and yet it seems that it is all of no avail . . . .” Further in the editorial, Tatum said that had a gang of white men gotten their hands on the assailant, few “familiar with the circumstances would have felt any regrets.”

Tatum’s *Metropolis* took two important steps in 1903. It announced, on August 21, that contracts had been let for a new, two-story brick building to be used as the permanent home of *The Metropolis* and of the job printing business of the Miami Printing Company. It would be directly across Flagler Street from where the new county courthouse was being built. Also on Dec. 11, *The Metropolis* became a daily newspaper — publishing each day but Sunday.

*The Daily Metropolis* (a weekly edition still was being printed for distribution on Fridays) became an eight-page paper with 1,500 circulation and joined the Associated Press, the first Florida newspaper to obtain that wire service.

The new *Metropolis* building was located at what became 72 West Flagler Street and was occupied by the time the paper became a daily publication.

Through the years, however, *The Metropolis* could not shake its image as a Flagler-run newspaper. In an editorial, Tatum complained of a speech in the city which charged *The Metropolis* with being owned or controlled by Henry Flagler. Tatum strenuously denied this, charging the speaker with having a record of an anarchist and socialist. Tatum editorialized that *The Metropolis*
was absolutely independent and unhampered. Yet, as late as 1949, when Sidney Walter Martin published a biography of Flagler, he referred to *The Metropolis* of July 1905 as being the “official mouthpiece for Flagler.”

Enter Simpson Bobo Dean, the man from Palm Beach who in 1899 offered assistance and files to a *Miami Metropolis* burned out of its home.

On January 7, 1905, Dean’s name first appeared on the masthead of *The Metropolis* as secretary-treasurer of the newspaper. Heatherington’s name was gone. Dean was a native of Alabama who started his newspaper career as a printer’s devil on a weekly newspaper and later worked on the *Knoxville (Tenn.) Journal & Tribune*.

Dean established the *Weekly Lake Worth News* in 1894, serving the sparsely populated Lake Worth/Palm Beach area. On February 12, 1897, he began the *Daily Lake Worth News* from a printing plant on Clematis Street in West Palm Beach. The paper described itself as a seasonal publication “devoted to the society happenings and events of interest at the Palm Beach hotels and Lake Worth cottages.” Dean published 41 issues that first season. He later changed the name of the newspaper to the *Palm Beach Daily News*, and held forth over that newspaper until coming to Miami in 1905.

In Lake Worth, Dean had continuing financial problems. It was reported that he had borrowed money from Flagler and was being pressed by the magnate for repayment. It was reported elsewhere that Flagler was not a lender so much as he was a secret partner with Dean from the beginning of publication and that fact did not surface until 1948 when it was disclosed in a sale.

Dean eventually sold the entire paper to the Flagler interests, went to Miami and declared war on Flagler. (Ironically, the *Palm Beach Daily News* has survived to the present and now is a part of Cox Newspapers — as is *The Miami News*, which started life as *The Miami Metropolis*.)

Dean crusaded for better roads and water and sewerage systems, and against illegal gambling and alcohol. A supporter of Flagler’s railroad empire when in Palm Beach, Dean turned against the railroad in Miami, which had given preferential shipping rates to Cuban pineapples and vegetables over South Florida products. It finally put to rest the perception that *The Metropolis* still was under the control of Flagler. In his crusade, he took full advantage of what other newspapers were saying of the situation, as evidenced
This paper has been frequently assailed for making attacks on the Florida East Coast Railway and the political system that has been built up through this agency. Such assaults are usually inspired and it is not difficult to place the source. We have attacked only the evil that has grown out of the system. But it is strange that the transparency of those who defend the system cannot be seen, and stranger that the people who continue to give their votes for the men who represent the system, when it is recognized that Florida has been hampered for years by this incubus. The following is from the *Atlanta Journal*:

"Flagler is not the power in Standard Oil that he was when he invented the famous come-back rebate system, whereby the oil trust profited by its rivals' shipments. His name is now synonymous with Florida, for if there is any one State owned body and soul by a boss, it is Florida; 25 of her largest hotels, all famous wintering places; most of her railroads; and many acres of her land are owned by Flagler."

Dean is given much of the credit by historians for his battle with the Florida East Coast Railway, but newspaper accounts of the day gave equal credit to Dean's editor, Joe Hough Reese.20 (By 1909, Dean had assumed command of *The Metropolis*. Tatum sold his interest in the paper to A. J. Bendle on April 20, 1909, and Bendle — a Colorado businessman who had interest in Everglades land companies — announced that he would take no part in the management or conduct of *The Metropolis*, leaving that, instead, to Dean who remained secretary-treasurer of the newspaper.)

As Reese — obviously supported by Dean — continued to attack the railway in 1910 for what the newspaper considered to be second-class treatment of South Florida by absentee capitalists of the railway, a plot was hatched to hurt the newspaper.

Many of the town's leading citizens and businessmen were urged — presumably by railway people — to petition *The Metropolis* to cease its opposition to the railway for the good of the community. The petition was presented to the newspaper. With 49 of the town's leading citizens and merchants signing the March 28, 1910, document, it was taken as a threat to the future of the newspaper. The editors, on April 1, ran on the front page the petition and the names of everyone who signed it — under the heading: 'Business Men Attempt to Put Quietus on Metropolis by Significant Petition.'

The story and names set off a storm. For the next few weeks,
the front page of *The Metropolis* was jammed with stories and letters of support — and an occasional word of protest such as the one from merchant William Burdine, who asked: “We wonder who will be next to lick *The Metropolis*’ soiled boots.”

As the petition signers found their names in public print, and saw the backlash — especially from the agricultural industry in Dade County — they backtracked. Dean won the day, and advertisers and subscribers who had dropped their support of the paper through FEC pressure came back. The railroad finally readjusted its rates.

Never again was *The Metropolis* to be considered the mouthpiece for the railroad.

Without fanfare — in fact, even without an announcement — Dean became sole owner of *The Metropolis* on October 17, 1914. On that day, Bendle’s name disappeared from the masthead and only Dean’s remained — as Editor-Manager.

He fought against America’s participation in World War I, ably helped by his crusading writer Hattie Carpenter, who had been principal at Miami High School but quit in a dispute with the school board. Sales dropped as a result of Dean’s opposition, but when the U.S. declared war on Germany, Dean pledged his full support — and members of his staff who went off to fight were retained on the payroll, though Dean never mentioned that fact in print.

Dean fought many wars of his own in Miami. He was a spirited editor who didn’t mind printing his editorial positions on the front page of the newspaper.

In November 1913, Dean won still another of his crusades when Dade County voted itself into prohibition — years before the rest of the nation.

For 10 more years, Dean continued his brand of crusading journalism for Miami’s readers. But, in 1923, another newspaper publisher — James M. Cox — was to arrive in Miami at the urging of Miami Beach pioneer Carl Fisher. Cox made note of his arrival and subsequent business deal in this passage from his 1946 autobiography, *Journey Through My Years*.

Fisher had importuned me to come to Miami. I finally did, in 1923, and fell completely in love with the place, confident that it would grow into a great city. Living in a hotel was always an intolerable experience for me. When I made up my mind to spend a part of each year in Miami, I realized that to find happiness there, I must get something to occupy my time.
Carl Fisher suggested that I purchase the only afternoon paper, *The Miami Metropolis*, the oldest paper in the region. It was owned by Bobo Dean. Fisher arranged a meeting for me with Mr. Dean. We came to terms quickly and the deal was made for cash. Before going back North in the spring I purchased land on the Beach and had a residence erected during the summer of 1923. At that time the Nautilus Hotel and our house were the only structures north of the Biscayne Canal.

Cox, ex-governor of Ohio and unsuccessful candidate for president in 1920 with Franklin Roosevelt as his running mate, already owned newspapers in Dayton and Springfield, Ohio. Both newspapers were named *The News*. When he purchased *The Metropolis* on April 18, 1923, the sale was reputed to be for a million dollars.

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Three years before purchasing the *Miami News-Metropolis*, James M. Cox was nominated for President by the Democratic Party. Franklin D. Roosevelt was his running mate. Hasl Collection
Best known nationally as a politician, Cox was first a journalist. He began his career at the age of 20 in 1890 at the Middle
town (Ohio) Signal, published by his brother-in-law. Starting as a printer's devil (an apprentice in the print shop), Cox quick
tly moved up to reporter, then city editor, makeup man and circulation manager of the weekly.

Cox reported a Middletown train wreck so well that he caught the eye of the Cincinnati Enquirer, which hired him as a reporter. He later became the political reporter, and that had much to do with shaping young Cox's future. He quit the paper to become secretary to an Ohio congressman and, with money borrowed from that congressman, bought the Dayton Daily News in 1898.

Cox, just as was to occur with Dean a decade later in Miami, took on the railroad and was almost wiped out as a result. But he had tasted politics and liked it. Cox, in 1908, succeeded the Ohio congressman who loaned him the money for the newspaper. He was re-elected in 1910 and was elected governor of Ohio in 1912. He lost his seat in 1914 but regained it in 1916 and was re-elected in 1918.

In 1920, Cox received the nomination of the Democratic Party to be that party's candidate for president. Franklin D. Roosevelt was chosen as his running mate. Another Ohio newspaper publisher, Warren G. Harding, won the nomination of the Republican Party and defeated Cox.

The victorious Harding came to Miami Beach in 1920 to celebrate before taking office. Here, he was the guest of Carl Fisher. Cox remained at home, tending to his newspapers — until Fisher convinced him to come to Miami in 1923, when he bought The Metropolis.

In a two-column box on the front page announcing the purchase of The Metropolis, Cox outlined his publishing philosophy:

The Metropolis will uphold the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy and devote itself to the public interest. Any city, growing as Miami is, needs a vigilant press. The public interest must always be paramount. The function of a newspaper carries a grave responsibility. It is the agency of information and truth. Its news columns should give all sides of an issue of general concern, regardless of the convictions which the paper has. A journal without convictions is of little use to a community. Influence of public opinion should be sought in the fairest manner. Either misrepresentation or suppression of essential facts profanes the traditions of a great profession.
One of Cox's first moves was to change the name of the newspaper to *The Miami Daily News-Metropolis*, with *Metropolis* in much smaller type. (*Metropolis* was later dropped, as was the word *Daily.*) Cox decided early that the two-story newspaper building on West Flagler Street was not adequate to his plans and decided to erect the structure that became Miami's most significant landmark.

Work on *The Miami News Tower* began on June 11, 1924, and was reported by the paper:

Work on the 15-story office building for *The Miami Daily News* began at 10 o'clock Wednesday morning, a large crew of men being engaged in removing the pine trees on the building site at the corner of N. Bay Shore dr. and Sixth st. As soon as these trees are removed, a steam shovel will be put to work at the excavation, and then actual construction work will begin. Adolph Freedlund has the sub-contract for the excavation. The Fuller Co. of New York, which built the First National bank and the Nautilus hotel, has the contract for the structure.

*The Daily News* building will be 15 stories high and will cost approximately one million dollars. It will cover the entire ground space of 125 feet frontage on the drive and 220 feet frontage on N.E. Sixth st. The first three floors, which will be occupied by the publishing plant, will be ready for occupancy by December. The tower, which will be 40 feet square, will not be finished until later in the winter. Offices in the tower will be for rent. Surmounting the tower will be a dome which will be flood lighted at night, and this can be seen far out to sea. The tower will be half as high as the Washington monument. *The Daily News* building will be the tallest structure in Miami.

Cox had purchased, from an undertaker, a large lot on the corner of Northeast Sixth Street and what then was called Bay Shore Drive, soon to be broadened and renamed Biscayne Boulevard. He engaged the New York architectural firm of Schultz & Weaver to handle the project.

It was decided to design a building in the Spanish style described as Plateresque. Leonard Schultz and S. Fullerton Weaver, who had designed the Waldorf-Astoria in New York and the Nautilus Hotel in Miami Beach, arrived at a 15-story structure topped by a cupola that could be seen far out at sea. "The News Tower," according to a newspaper article of the time, "derives much of its design from Giralda Tower in Seville, although the treatment of the tall cupola on the former is more vigorous and dominating."23
Begun in 1924, the *Miami Daily News* Tower was modeled after the Giralda Tower in Seville, Spain.

Schultze & Weaver soon were to further influence Miami architecture by designing the Biltmore Hotel & Country Club in Coral Gables and Roney Plaza Hotel in Miami Beach — all strikingly similar to The News Tower.
For his new building, Cox ordered a mural "symbolic of Florida as known by the ancient and embryonic maps of the 16th century." He then commissioned a poem to be written by renowned poet Edwin Markham to be a part of the mural on the mezzanine of the new building.

Here once by April breezes blown
You came, O gallant de Leon,
Sailed up this friendly ocean stream
To find the wells of ancient dream —
The fountain by the poets sung
Where life and love are ever young.
You found it not, O price, and yet
The wells that made the heart forget
Are waiting here — yea ever here
With touch of some immortal sphere,
For here below these skies of gold
We have forgotten to grow old —
Here in this land where all the hours
Dance by us treading upon the flowers —

(There is nothing to indicate that Gov. Cox ever saw the Giralda Tower. In his autobiography, Cox refers to only one trip to Europe prior to the building of The News Tower. He wrote that, in 1922, he visited Germany, England, France, Italy and Switzerland but he did not mention Spain.)

Cox added a Sunday edition to the newspaper on Jan. 4, 1925; then to celebrate the opening of his stylistic newspaper plant, he published on July 25 what then was the largest single edition of any newspaper: 504 pages in 22 sections. Not coincidentally, the newspaper that held the previous record was Cox's Dayton Daily News at 256 pages.

There had been hurricanes in Miami in earlier years but not for some time. According to weather bureau records, the last hurricane to hit Miami was in 1906. Almost all the people living in 1926 Miami had never experienced a powerful hurricane when, on September 18, they were tested. The damage was huge, as first reports in the September 18, 1926, Miami News indicated:

**HURRICANE HITS MIAMI**

*Tidal Wave Sweeps Bayshore Drive, Wrecking Boats
Fear Felt for Miami Beach; Pounded by Heavy Sea*

Miami was laid waste Saturday by a raging hurricane, attended by a gale of more than 130 miles an hour velocity,
and followed by one of the most disastrous tidal waves ever experienced on the Atlantic Coast.

Miami Beach was isolated from the mainland and no word has been received as to the effect of the storm there. It is feared that a monster tidal wave has swept across the entire island city. Newspapermen crawled from Miami Beach at 3 a.m. with a story of pounding surf, broken communication and distressed boats. It was the last information to reach Miami.

Scores of houses in Hialeah were reported leveled by the hurricane and under water from the overflow of the canal. Coral Gables was cut off from all outside communication at 4:40 a.m. Saturday. Continued efforts to reach the city by wire were impossible . . .

At least 114 died and thousands were left homeless. The city, especially along the waterfront, was flattened by the winds and tidal surge. The Miami Daily News & Metropolis published a one-page edition with a hand-run press on September 18 and again on September 19, all the way publishing hand-cranked mimeographed bulletins through the days and nights as a public service. The September 20 edition of the paper was printed, as a courtesy, by The Miami Herald, which had power restored before the News & Metropolis.

Gov. Cox, who was in Dayton at the time, recalled in his autobiography that first word about the Miami disaster came from a steamship in harbor at Mobile, Ala. “A dispatch stated that the News Tower was leaning thirty-three and third degrees,” Cox wrote. “We fell to wondering whether, in the construction, rubber had been used rather than steel.”

Miami, indeed, had been struck a major blow but there was a spirit about the place that fortified the resolve of its citizens and leaders. Out of the rubble of the hurricane, grew a greater Greater Miami.

Joining Cox in Miami at the time of the purchase of The Metropolis in 1923 was his son-in-law, a man who in later years was to become one of Miami’s most influential citizens. Daniel J. Mahoney helped negotiate the deal with Dean. He had married Cox’s daughter, Helen Harding Cox, in 1918. She died in 1921.

Mahoney was a burly Irish-American who thrived on adventure. This temperament did much to influence his reign of influence in Miami.

He was a school dropout who worked as an engineer on a Southern Pacific route survey team along the Mexican border and
later signed up as a scout for Gen. John Pershing against Pancho Villa. During World War I, Mahoney was a lieutenant with the 89th Division in France, then served in the occupation force as a captain.

Marrying Cox’s daughter after the war, he returned to Dayton and worked in the paper’s advertising department. He was named national advertising manager and, in 1925, became general manager of The News League, which is the name Cox gave his group of newspapers — which now included a newspaper in Canton, Ohio.\(^{27}\)

Mahoney built a home in Miami Beach in 1926 but spent most of his time in Dayton until 1930 when he moved here full-time. In 1929, he was named general manager of The Miami Daily News. Mahoney, said Cox, was one of the best public relations men and sales executives in the country. While promoting advertising and circulation sales with his paper, he also promoted the community and played a key role in many local institutions such as the University of Miami, the Greater Miami Crime Commission and many charitable organizations.

Cox and Mahoney soon had a tiger by the tail. Mobster Al Capone bought a house on Palm Island. The paper began a campaign to run Capone out of town.

That crusade included a wave of front page editorials aimed at the gangster, such as this one of April 21, 1930, which began:

Al Capone, with all his aliases, has arrived at Miami Beach. Except for a temporary restraining order which came from the United States court, he would have been met at the state line, under orders from the governor of the state and transported north. For the time at least, Governor Carlton is halted in his efforts to remove a person designated by him as an “undesirable.”

There is no surprise in Capone’s defying the spiritual sense of the people of Florida. He laughs at law, he gives it no respect; through the organized forms of criminal operation he has with one exception escaped, up until this day, anything beyond arrest or detention upon suspicion . . .

Cox and Mahoney had prevailed upon the governor to stop Capone at the state line but found they had no legal reason to keep him from entering Florida.

Mahoney went to work on Capone through daily front page editorials. Mahoney reported that he began receiving telephone calls asking if he would like to be measured for a coffin.

“I would like to meet at any hour at any place the man who
thinks he’s big enough to put me in it,” Mahoney would respond.28

One night, Mahoney discovered he was at the same party as Capone. “Get that bum out of here or I’m leaving,” he announced. Capone was asked to leave.

Cox wrote that he was offered $5 million for the paper and that there was no doubt in his mind that Capone interests were involved. He refused the offer.29 The governor is supposed to have told the Capone mouthpiece, “If you want to buy The News, you can get it for five cents on any street corner.”

Cox’s newspaper continued to pursue Capone but the mobster lived the rest of his days here.

The year 1939 brought the newspaper its first Pulitzer Prize, the Gold Medal for public service.30 A campaign, begun in 1937 against three city commissioners who had taken over city hall and were promoting their own pet projects and making jobs for their camp followers, finally bore fruit in 1938 with the recall of the trio.

The war years just ahead, however, were to forever alter Miami. Before war’s end, Greater Miami literally was a beehive of military activity, stretching from training schools on Miami Beach to operations at the downtown seaport, in Opa-locka, at Dinner Key, at Chapman Field on Old Cutler Road, at a massive blimp base in Richmond and at the University of Miami.

The war pinch was being felt at The Miami Daily News. Not only were the men and women of the newspaper off to war, but materials were hard to come by. In December 1943, The Miami Daily News introduced a nine-column wide news page, designed to cut down on the number of pages needed to produce the paper.31

The immediate post-war years also brought a time for another Miami News crusade. Miami, now with a population of 400,000, was faced with the legacy of Capone and his cronies: the S&G Syndicate. The syndicate was into casinos, bookmaking and police bribery.

Dan Mahoney and The News started roaring like a bull and were instrumental in setting up the Greater Miami Crime Commission under ex-FBI agent Dan Sullivan. “When The News kept doing stories about the mob,” recalled Sullivan, “officials on the Beach started worrying it was keeping the tourists away, so city commissioners went to The News building and complained. Mahoney was a pretty forthright guy. He told them to go to hell.”32

U.S. Sen. Estes Kefauver soon entered the scene with investigation into organized crime in the country. His first stop was Mi-
ami and it spelled the end of the S&G Syndicate in 1950.

There were many in those days who thought Mahoney was a heavy-handed autocrat. It was he, not the paper, who picked the political candidates. "I don't think he was an autocrat," said James Cox, "When he wanted something he'd get it, though. He didn't brook opposition. He was a slugger. The Tyrant of the Tower they used to call him.

"But, God knows, the town in those days really needed someone to run it."33

Cox died on July 15, 1957. His newspaper lamented the loss on its front page the next day.

James M. Cox, owner of The Miami News and an elder statesman of the nation died last night at his home in Dayton, Ohio. He was 87.

For more than half a century, Cox had been a prominent man in American life. He was a member of Congress, was three times the governor of Ohio and in 1920, he was the Democratic candidate for President.

It was in the 1920 campaign that Cox, agreeing with President Woodrow Wilson that the League of Nations was necessary to preserve world peace, became the premier advocate of the principles which a generation later led to the creation of the United Nations.

Beginning as a young man in 1898, he created a group of newspapers which eventually included The Miami Daily News, the Dayton Daily News, the Dayton Journal Herald, the Atlanta Journal, the Atlanta Constitution, the Springfield (Ohio) Sun and the Springfield (Ohio) News.

He was active in the publishing of his newspapers until he suffered a stroke five days ago. He maintained a home at 4358 North Bay Road, Miami Beach.

Prior to his passing, Cox already had set in motion the building of a new home for the paper on Northwest Seventh Street, the old Tower no longer being able to handle the growth of the paper.34

On October 20, 1957, The News staff moved in to its new building. By this time, the paper had a new editor, a Georgia boy with a crew cut and a permanently wry smile, named William Calhoun Baggs. It was he who changed the name of the paper from Miami Daily News to its present name, The Miami News.

Baggs plunged into the civil rights crusade, along with Rev. Theodore Gibson and Elizabeth Virrick. It is reported, but never admitted, that Baggs pressured major businesses in the community
to commit to hiring exact numbers of blacks for better than menial chores and that Baggs kept those pledges under lock and key in his desk drawer, calling upon the businesses every once in a while to honor their obligations.

The Pulitzer Committee was to honor *The Miami News* again in 1959 when it chose reporter Howard Van Smith’s series on the plight of South Florida’s migrant workers for the national reporting award. The years of Fidel Castro also were at hand and, with it, came the Cuban Missile Crisis. It led to the paper’s third Pulitzer Prize, for international reporting in 1962. News of the Russian missile buildup was first broadcast to the world by *The Miami News*, despite guarded denials from Washington. Eventually, the administration made it public.

As the world sat breathless, wondering if the Russians would back down, Baggs received a telephone call — he was never to reveal from whom — and loped into the city room to get into print the fact that the Russians had, indeed, backed down. It scooped the State Department by an hour. When *Time Magazine* pressed Baggs to reveal his source, he grinned that lopsided grin and said: “A roseate spoonbill told me.”

As *The Daily News* staff worked from its new building on the banks of the Miami River, the *News Tower* was deserted; it was dubbed “the dowager of the boulevard,” by one journalistic observer. Soon, however, there was to be a change in Miami — a change so severe that it not only changed the image of the tower but of the entire city as well.

In 1960, Cuban refugees fleeing Fidel Castro began pouring into Miami. The temporary processing center at Miami International Airport could not handle the volume and a new center was sought. That center turned out to be “the dowager of the boulevard.”

On June 20, 1962, life returned to Gov. Cox’s tower. Reported *The Miami News* that day:

> The old Miami News Tower woke up today. After almost five years of silence where presses once roared and typewriters rattled, the Tower was full of human voices and human activity.

> With a new name — Freedom Tower — the historic building will begin a new and even better life Monday.

> It will become headquarters for the Cuban Refugee Center. Nearly 3,000 penniless refugees from Fidel Castro’s Cuba will come there daily in search of help, and will find it.
The building that Cox built after a tower in Spain was now a bastion of liberty for those who spoke Spanish.

The first four floors of the building were leased by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Each month, hundreds of new refugees arrived at the Tower for processing. They got there either through the Freedom Airlift, or on leaky boats — much as did Haitians who began following the Cubans to our shores a decade later.

It is estimated that between 1962 and 1974, a total of 463,854 refugees passed through the Freedom Tower.

(The building originally had been sold by The Miami News in 1957 to a New York real estate investor for $1.25 million. The investor, Irving Maidman, at the time also owned three hotels in New York. He planned to turn the News Tower into an office building, but did not. Through the years, ownership of the Freedom Tower has passed through many hands.)

Meanwhile, in 1963, Dan Mahoney passed away while undergoing surgery in New York. He was succeeded by James M. Cox, Jr., son of the founder of the newspaper league.

Three years later, the paper signed an agreement with the Miami Herald Publishing Company whereby the publishing company would print, distribute, sell advertising and promote The Miami News. The paper moved out of its home on the Miami River and into the Miami Herald building on July 29, 1966.

It followed, by a few months, The Miami News' fourth Pulitzer Prize, awarded to Don Wright for editorial cartooning. Wright, who started at the paper as a copy aide and subsequently was a photographer, photo editor and cartoonist, became a nationally-acclaimed cartoonist and is widely syndicated.

Fate dealt the paper and the community a cruel blow, when on January 7, 1969, Baggs died at the age of 48. Exhausted by years of battling for civil rights and against the American presence in the Vietnam War — he twice visited Hanoi as an unofficial representative of the U.S. government — Baggs succumbed to pneumonia.

In 1974, James M. Cox, Jr., passed away and was succeeded as publisher by Daniel Mahoney, Jr., son of the former publisher. Young Mahoney had been publisher of The Dayton Daily News and came to Florida to oversee both The Miami News and Cox's newspapers in West Palm Beach.

Recognizing the need for a full-time publisher at The Miami
News, however, Charles Glover, then president of Cox Newspapers, selected David Kraslow, chief of the Cox Washington Bureau, to be publisher of the paper in 1977. For Kraslow, it was a return home.

A graduate of the University of Miami, he began his newspaper career at The Miami News in 1948 as a sports writer, later moving on to The Miami Herald, Los Angeles Times and Washington Star before accepting the Cox Washington job in 1974.

In the period from 1976, The Miami News was redesigned into one of the nation’s most exciting formats, truly modular. Meanwhile, awards continued to pour in for the newspaper. In 1980, Don Wright received his second Pulitzer Prize for editorial cartooning.

In May 1986, The Miami News celebrated its 90th anniversary. With the exception of the Florida East Coast Railway, which opened the town in April 1896, the newspaper is the longest continuing business in Miami.
NOTES

3. Ibid.
7. Miami Metropolis, Nov. 17, 1899.
10. Miami Metropolis, Feb. 9, 1900.
17. Ibid.
23. Miami Daily News and Metropolis, July 24, 1925.
25. Ibid.
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"Watch Miami:"
The Miami Metropolis and the Spanish-American War

By Thomas F. Fleischmann

Fought in 1898, the Spanish-American War marked the arrival of the United States as a world power. Few institutions celebrated this event more than the print media, especially the New York World and the New York Journal. During the three years preceding the outbreak of hostilities, these tabloids led the way in arousing a national mood of militarism through the techniques of sensationalism and yellow journalism.¹

However, not all newspapers followed the lead of the national press. Founded on May 15, 1896, more than two months before the city incorporated, The Miami Metropolis was one such journal. It was an eight page weekly published Fridays at five cents a copy. Walter S. Graham and Wesley M. Featherly were the paper's first editors and publishers whose policy was to boast of Miami's weather and location as a means to boost the city and its commercial expansion.² Preoccupied with his insurance business, Featherly quickly leased the paper to Edward Byington, who became its manager and editor. Byington also saw the newspaper as an important factor in Miami's future, centering primarily on commercial and social growth. This practice was not uncommon for nineteenth century frontier tabloids and their editors.³

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Thomas F. Fleischmann is currently on active duty with the United States Navy stationed in Miami. He recently received a second Masters Degree in History from the University of Miami.
This study will analyze The Miami Metropolis’ coverage of one event, the Spanish-American War, as a case study of the nature of the newspaper and how it reflected the aspirations of the recently established city. The Spanish-American War offers not only an excellent opportunity to study the tone of the newspaper and the new city but also to observe how a major national event affected Miami. The war caused Byington, The Metropolis, and the city to seize their first real chance to boost Miami nationally. It provoked patriotic excitement along with fear of invasion, and an opportunity to enhance the city’s growth and development. The Metropolis recognized Miami’s location and port as important factors in playing a dominant role in the Caribbean during and after the struggle.

From 1896 to 1898, The Metropolis paid little heed to the Cuban rebellion or the possibility of war with Spain. This lack of attention was typical. Historian William J. Schelling discovered that Florida’s major newspapers underestimated the extent of the problem in Cuba while believing that war was unthinkable. Fearful Floridians believed that war would jeopardized the prosperity they had experienced throughout the 1890s. They also believed that the United States would annex Cuba, thereby creating economic rivalry in agriculture and tourism. He concluded that Florida’s newspapers did not support the conflict until war was inevitable and until the Teller Amendment, disclaiming any intention on the part of the United States to annex Cuba, passed.

As recently as five weeks before the outbreak of hostilities, in April 1898, The Metropolis predicted there would be no war with Spain. It based its belief on the fact that Spain appeared to have little money or credit, few men, and had been humiliated by the United States too often not to meet its demands, which included freedom for Cuba, an indemnity for the loss of the battleship Maine, and a pension for the survivors of those killed. The paper felt that a show of force and the appearance of a few warships in Havana harbor would get the compliance the U.S. desired. Locally, there was fear that if war came, Miamians would be attacked, not by invaders but by Spanish gunboats which would use Miami as their target.

Several weeks later war seemed inevitable. The Metropolis realized that Miami’s geographical liability could also be an
asset. "In the event of war between this country and Spain," the journal noted, "there can be no doubt Miami will play an important part." Consequently, the eight-page tabloid began boasting the significance of Miami as a supply station for both the Army and Navy and an embarkation point and coaling station for the latter. Repeatedly, The Metropolis listed Miami's advantages: the most southern point by rail, closer than Tampa or Jacksonville to the seat of war, a harbor safely landlocked and sufficiently deep, with direct and quick railroad connection to the coal mines of Alabama. It reasoned, therefore, that "Very early in the fray the Navy Department will recognize its superior advantages as a base of supplies," and recommended, "that a regular army post should be established and suitable fortifications erected here without delay."

Not surprisingly, The Metropolis' perspective echoed that of the city's and newspaper's chief benefactor, Henry M. Flagler. A founding partner of Standard Oil, Flagler devoted the last thirty years of his life to developing Florida's East Coast. His chief instruments were his railroad, the Florida East Coast Railway, and a chain of luxury hotels. For Miami, the coming of Flagler's railroad and construction of the Royal Palm Hotel signaled the beginning of the city's growth and expansion. When war was declared, Flagler, like other railroad men in Florida, saw an opportunity to increase the value of his developments at government expense. And The Metropolis expressed in public what Flagler uttered in private. In a letter written by the industrial magnate to Senator Platt, Flagler described the benefits which Miami could provide the government if troops were stationed in the city.

In my judgment, Miami would be a preferable point for a large number of troops . . . At Miami, we have an inexhaustible supply of purest water . . . I have built an iron water tower at Miami, 120 ft. in height. On the south side of the Miami River, across from the town, there is an unbroken stretch of five miles of bay front most admirably adapted for camping purposes. A water pipe could very easily be extended to the camp, and thus an abundance of pure water be supplied. The drainage is excellent, and for the comfort of officers and men, they can depend upon the constant sea breeze. I don't believe there is a pleasanter location on the Atlantic Coast, south of Bar Harbor, to spend the summer in than Miami.
The possibility of being left out of the preparation for war caused anxiety among many Florida communities. Signal stations for lookout and early warning programs were being erected along the east coast of Florida, but only as far south as Cape Canaveral. The paper objected, believing that signal stations should be constructed as far south as Miami because of its proximity to Havana and the potential need for protection. *The Metropolis’* attitude toward security was “better safe than sorry.” “We do not anticipate an excursion from the Spanish,” the journal noted, “but at the same time the unexpected often happens and it is well to be prepared for it.” Further, in its efforts to obtain its objectives, *The Metropolis* resorted to reprinting articles and excerpts supporting this viewpoint in the Jacksonville *Times-Union and Citizen*, a newspaper in which Flagler also had an interest. In the matter of Miami’s potential role as a supply and embarkation center the *Times-Union and Citizen* stated, “Miami unquestionably should be this point, on account of proximity.” It added, “The rail routes via Jacksonville to Port Tampa and Miami are open, and there is plenty of good coal up in Alabama.”

Simultaneously, *The Metropolis* discovered that the war scare, Miami’s location, and its real or imagined apprehensions about the Spanish could mean geographic, demographic, and financial growth. As fleeing refugees from Key West landed in Miami, the newspaper expressed concern for their safety and continued to hope that war could be avoided.

On April 15, 1898, *The Metropolis* reported that construction of fortifications had commenced on Brickell Point overlooking Biscayne Bay. A battery of four large guns consisting of two ten-inch and two eight-inch mounts were to be installed in order to protect and guard Miami’s harbor entrance. *The Metropolis* suggested that a gunboat or two and one or more torpedo boats might also be stationed in the bay as additional protection. The War Department, however, felt that the gun emplacement was adequate security. Sarcastically, Byington, the editor, observed that, “The War Department is evidently in need of a revised map of Florida.”

By this time though, the press approached hysteria over Spanish preparations to ravage Miami and the countryside in search of provisions, and *The Metropolis* issued a call to arms.
Spain had to obtain supplies from somewhere, and consequently, *The Metropolis* noted, "her war ships can come near enough to send a few hundred men in small boats on some dark night to pillage stores, carrying off provisions, and do other damage." A well-equipped home guard, the paper theorized, would be of valuable service during such a time and therefore should be organized immediately. The community, in turn, responded by forming two local militia groups, the "Miami Minute Men" and the "Miami Rifles," containing 100 and 63 men, respectively. Apparently, the paper reasoned that if the War Department was not going to protect them, they would protect themselves.

When war came on April 25, 1898, the War Department announced that it had selected Tampa as its primary logistical site in the Caribbean because of its harbor and railroad facilities, a decision *The Metropolis* was quick to call short-sighted. Annoyed by the choice, the paper wondered how Tampa could be chosen over Miami, when Miami offered itself willingly to the government during this critical time. Discarding the notion that Miami was jealous of its sister city, *The Metropolis* instead insisted that the city took pride in Tampa's achievement. *The Metropolis*, however, did lament, "the focus which has been drawn upon Tampa, and the utter disregard which has been shown for Miami is difficult to understand."

As if to point to the faultiness of the government's choice and the advantages overlooked, *The Metropolis* reiterated Miami's salient features. Again and again, it noted that in terms of transportation and location the city contained an ample railway which placed the city one hundred miles closer to Key West than Tampa and a deep harbor which was viable and feasible as demonstrated by the established steamship line connection with the island city. Miami's climate was an ideal spot for a camp because it was the healthiest summer point in the South with an unlimited supply of pure water. These valuable aspects alone, the paper felt, made it imperative that the authorities reconsider the southeast coast of Florida for a military camp.

The pride of Miamians and *The Metropolis* was not the only thing smarting from the War Department's snub; so were their pocketbooks. Byington editorialized that there were good times, "By reason of the massing of troops at Tampa the merchants of the city are reaping a rich harvest." Troop expenditures, gov-
ernment purchases, and an influx of visitors which necessitated the opening of its winter hotels, allowed thousands in profits to be made by Tampa's businessmen. This effrontery weighed heavily upon The Metropolis and the city, particularly since they believed that Miami possessed advantages equal, if not superior, to Tampa's from the standpoint of location, hotels, water, and climate. However, Miami, "had seen nothing of war preparation beyond the location of small guns at Brickell's point." Indignantly, the editor declared, "We are patriotic all right, but when this near to the seat of war it would be more satisfying to have some of the recognition which is naturally to fall to us." In the meantime, the biggest thrill that Miami received was the arrival of Spanish prisoners-of-war as they came from the front and were transferred northward for confinement. One of the more memorable of these occasions occurred when Colonel Cortijo, reputed son-in-law of Captain-General Valeriano Weyler, commander of the Spanish troops in Cuba, arrived during the week of May 9 as part of an exchange for two New York World correspondents held captive by the Spanish in Cuba. The Metropolis lost no time in public relations when the Colonel was forced to remain overnight because of a missed steamship connection to Key West. The colonel and his entire entourage were comfortably provided for and given a tour of the city with the result that they, "expressed themselves as being much pleased with Miami." At approximately the same time the army sent Brigadier General James Wade to study Miami as a possible camp site, but quickly rejected the city for reasons unexplained by The Metropolis, even though the paper enthusiastically predicted that, "Nothing has yet been given out as to what will be done in this matter, but the indications are that several large commands will be ordered here within a week." This setback did not discourage the paper from launching another offensive to obtain more war preparation or troops.

The paper reiterated what the government could find in Miami:

Everything was here and available except Spaniards. Anxious to curry favor with the government, *The Metropolis* averred: "If Uncle Sam doesn't see what he wants let him ask for it."  

Additionally a new endeavor was found for Miami. In June discussion began over the possibility of transferring the prize depot for captured ships from Key West to either Savannah or Charleston. This became necessary because of harassment of prisoners on board detained ships by the Cuban populace. One way to end this abuse and prevent further trouble would be to move the prize depot. Not missing an opportunity or taking the chance of being ignored, *The Metropolis* interjected, "We beg to interrupt the progress of the row with the suggestion that as a prize depot, Miami would be better than either Savannah or Charleston, and that if Key West is to be abandoned Miami should be chosen in its stead."  

Secondly, the paper introduced efficiency as an argument for Miami. Taking note of the postal problems at Tampa, the paper commented that the same would occur here unless the government took action by forwarding additional postal clerks if and when soldiers would be stationed in Miami. However, if the government had the foresight to do so then *The Metropolis* felt that their postmaster would have little difficulty in handling the task.  

Meanwhile, a second inspection of Miami was underway by General Lawton as a possible site for troops. After spending a day in "Marvelous Miami," General Lawton drafted a more favorable report than that of General Wade. This second tour was prompted because, as the paper saw it, the government recognized the value of Miami's geographical location and decided that it would be prudent to go over the ground a little more thoroughly. *The Metropolis* now revealed what it felt were the reasons why Miami was rejected in the first place: Secretary of War Russell Alger had heard rumors of mosquitoes, bad water, and fever. But the presence of such maladies were dismissed by the paper stating that a physician was sent who, "found absolutely no fever here of any kind and he pronounced the water good," and, "The mosquito problem was looked into and it was found that there were no mosquitoes here." The paper hoped that because of the differences between the first and second report troops would be located in Miami shortly.  

*The Metropolis* had figured right. Troops of the Seventh Army Corps began arriving the following Friday, June 24, 1898. They
There were 2,000 people living in Miami on June 24, 1898, when the troops of the Seventh Army Corp began arriving. Within seven days their number reached 7,500. HASF Collection

consisted of two brigades of volunteers comprising six regiments. The First brigade was composed of the First Texas, First Alabama, and First Louisiana while the Second brigade was composed of the Second Texas, Second Alabama, and Second Louisiana. These infantry regiments were transported by rail, arriving at the rate of one thousand a day until they numbered 7,500, quite a number considering Miami's population stood at 2,000. Assured a week earlier that the soldiers would arrive, the paper now came out slugging at what it considered a severe oversight from the beginning: “The truth is that Miami should have been selected in the first place, instead of Tampa, over which we have every advantage in the matters of location, healthfulness, good water, and freedom from the pests which afflict most other places.”

Once the troops settled, they discovered that Miami was far from idyllic. Studies have shown that the soldiers experienced an uncomfortable, difficult and even violence-plagued tour. Various
reasons accounted for their unpleasant stay. Some were due to the army’s logistical problems and others to Miami itself. Supply shortages were a constant problem. Shortages of cooking items, camp equipment, improper uniforms, missed pay days, and irregular rations made the soldiers angry and unhappy.43

Soldier displeasure was compounded by the partially completed camp site and their enlistment in clearing the land in addition to their military training duties. Nearly sixty years after the encampment, Sgt. Charley H. Carr of Company F, First Texas, recalled that he, “cleared a lot of land for Henry Flagler when Miami was only a depot, a hotel and a jungle.”44 As if this situation was not bad enough, the soldiers experienced unhealthy water, miserable weather, and a growing sick list. Ill soldiers received poor treatment due to inadequate medical supplies. Mrs. Harlan Trapp, a Coconut Grove pioneer, reminisced: “I was glad to mend garments and gave them all we had for an improvised hospital across the road.”45 Not surprisingly, rowdyism became a problem, and the scarcity of recreational facilities and activities needed to occupy soldiers in their off-duty hours did little to alleviate trouble. As Donna Thomas in “Camp Hell,” inferred, Miami’s chief contribution to this predicament and an added source of disillusionment for the troops was the city’s complete lack of facilities needed to sustain a military camp.46 The reality contrasted sharply with The Metropolis’ comment during the first week that, “They’re all pleased with Miami.”47

Reading The Miami Metropolis, one would not realize the sense of dissatisfaction felt by many camped here. Only through a careful perusal can one distinguish the change in tone from enthusiasm to defensiveness. During the first several weeks of Camp Miami, the local press appeared only interested in what the troops meant to the city, the business community and the diversions provided to the troops during their off-duty hours. The paper literally bubbled with exuberance as it claimed that a “Report says that the deposits in the Bank of Bay Biscayne have increased over $55,000 since the coming of the troops. Business of all kinds has more than doubled. The merchants can hardly get goods fast enough.”48

Distractions from the loneliness and rigors of camp life were supplied by local groups and institutions, and the Army. The swimming pool of the Royal Palm Hotel, Miami’s major hostelry, was opened to the soldiers. The Young Men’s Christian Association
put up tents where soldiers could read and write letters or play checkers or backgammon. The First Texas and First Louisiana erected booths for the purpose of reading and writing. The Second Texas even organized a band to entertain the troops and Miamians. Military canteens were opened to provide soft drinks and personal necessities such as soap, razors, and tobacco. Also, local pastors and churches attempted to assist regimental chaplains in their moral advising and counselling duties. However, these attempts proved insufficient because of the difficult tour that the soldiers were experiencing.

Soldiers found other means to distract themselves in their off-duty hours. Sgt. Carr remembered mischievously that on July 4, 1898, "He and a few buddies took their rifles, 'borrowed' a boat, and went up the Miami River to shoot alligators." Others swam naked in the bay, spent time on the beach or practiced their marksmanship by shooting coconuts out of trees. While these pranks were harmless, other attempts to alleviate boredom proved to be dangerous to Miami's black residents.

J. K. Dorn, a Miami pioneer, wrote of harassment of black Miamians by Company L of Texas over the course of several days. It started one afternoon when two white women came across a black man coming down a sidewalk. Instead of stepping off the walk and allowing the women to pass, the black continued on course forcing them to move aside. This scene was witnessed by a couple of Company L soldiers who reacted with rage. They grabbed the man, beat him, and attempted to lynch him on a nearby tree. Some officers, however, were able to prevent the murder. That evening, soldiers from Company L marched into the black section of Miami and began shooting out every kerosene lamp found burning. This action caused blacks to evacuate to Coconut Grove, a community five miles to the south. Without black labor, Dorn recalled, white Miamians found it difficult to operate their restaurants, hotels, and stores, "so we sent a squad to Coconut Grove and promised them they would be protected, so they returned and by eleven o'clock were working again."

The next night soldiers from Company L went north a mile outside the city limits to Billy Woods Saloon where liquor was sold and blacks were permitted to drink separately. The soldiers went into the saloon and raised a ruckus before returning to camp.

The most outrageous act occurred on July 23, 1898. That eve-
ning Virgil H. Duncan, a private in Company M, First Texas Regi-
ment, shot and killed Sam Drummer, a black cook, in the middle
of a public street. The incident began in a crowded store when
Drummer brushed against a white woman while attempting to
pass here in a narrow aisle. According to The Metropolis, “Duncan
seems to have had cause to regard this occurrence as intentional
rather than accidental.” He became enraged and threatened
Drummer but did nothing until the black completed his business,
walked out of the store and into the street. Duncan followed Drum-
mer and several seconds later fired four shots into him killing him
instantly. At this point, “Lieutenant T. S. Smythe rode up on horse-
back, and having seen what had occurred, disarmed Duncan and
sent him under guard to camp.” A coroner jury exonerated Dun-
can, ruling that, “Drummer came to his death by an unknown.”

Next, the army had its turn. A General Court Martial was held
charging Duncan with first degree murder. Specifically,

In that he did, in time of war, with premeditation and design
to effect the death of one Levi Drummer, a citizen of the United
States of America, unlawfully and with malice aforethought,
killed the said Drummer, by shooting him to death with a pistol
or revolver. This at Miami, Florida on the 23rd day of July,
1898.

Without explanation, the court found Duncan not guilty, released
him from confinement, and returned him to duty.

Nevertheless, financial and commercial growth remained a pri-
mary focus of The Metropolis. The first pay day for the troops on
July 21, 1898 attracted considerable attention. Nearly $80,000 was
paid to the soldiers. One regiment received $40,000 because it had
not been paid since May 1st. The Metropolis eagerly watched
and followed the money as it went to businesses, “Any one passing
through the streets last night could not have any doubt about yes-
terday being pay day. The cold drink stand reaped a rich harvest,
and those that had eatables for sale filled their coffers with the filthy
luchur.” Accordingly, Miami’s banks and post office had banner
days, as over $3,700 passed into the money order department,
while the understaffed express office simply could not keep up
with the business. Evidently, many soldiers saved or sent money
home to their families. In typical Horatio Alger fashion the paper
moralized that the boy who saved his money or sent it home to as-
sist his family was a prince. Noting one boy in particular, who
sent all but three dollars of his pay to his mother in Louisiana, *The Metropolis* predicted that, "That boy will, bye and bye, make his mark in the world."  

On the other hand the hardships of the men were minimized by the paper: "Despite hard drilling and the general disagreeableness of soldier life, the boys are enjoying their stay in Miami. Some of them spend almost the whole of their spare time on the bay."  

But by the third week and throughout the remainder of the encampment, *The Metropolis* hinted at an undercurrent of problems endured by them. July heat prompted a change in drill hours and the necessity of restricting soldiers to camp between the hours of 11:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. as a means of keeping them out of the sun during mid-day. Nevertheless, *The Metropolis* felt that, "A three hour's steady drill in the hot sun is a good test of the ability of the troops to stand hard service in a tropical climate. This is what one company did yesterday and we are told not a man fell out."  

Sanitation was a problem from nearly the beginning. Of particular nuisance was the disposal of human waste, which was the major source of disease and death within the camp. Soldiers were advised that Miami was healthful and every precaution should be taken to keep it so, warning that, "It is hot weather and garbage decays rapidly filling the air with disease germs." Obviously, this admonishment was not enough since two weeks later *The Metropolis* announced that the Sanitary Committee had appointed a new sanitary inspector citing that, "There has been a great deal of just complaint in regard to the general sanitary condition of the town, also of the dumping of garbage in the north portion of the city." The inspector was authorized to stop illegal dumping of garbage in the northern end of the city and placed in charge of seeing to it that the area was cleaned and stayed that way. Along with these responsibilities, he was empowered to condemn spoiled fruits and vegetables being sold by grocers and vendors.  

Though the retailing of liquor was not practiced in Miami, alcohol abuse and alcohol related problems plagued the city and the soldiers. The organization of a local chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and its call in *The Metropolis* for help from local churches supports this conclusion. Further, the Union requested a meeting with women and ministers in order to enlarge its working force by forming an auxiliary. The W.C.T.U.'s expressed aim was to work for the comfort and best interest of the soldiers camped in Miami.
Nightly church gatherings and revivals were a clue that morale was a problem. Miamians were scolded for their lack of concern for the moral and spiritual welfare of the soldiers. Some system had to be devised to ensure that at least one chaplain or pastor would be present each evening to preach or talk to the men. These meetings were felt to be a source of encouragement for the soldiers to do right and to help them through a hard day.\(^7\)

This attitude of concern shifted to one of defensiveness when on July 29, 1898, *The Metropolis* revealed that Secretary of War, Russell Alger, had dispatched General Fitzhugh Lee, commanding the Seventh Corps, to investigate incidents of sickness in Camp Miami. A week earlier, the paper reported that besides measles and mumps there were no serious illnesses.\(^7\)

However, on the 29th, it reversed itself while defending Miami:

> There are quite a number of cases of sickness among the soldiers. The great majority of these are cases of measles, for which Miami is in no wise responsible. The other cases are typhoid fever and a variety of minor ailments for none of which this climate is responsible. Our own citizens are enjoying the very best of health.\(^7\)

According to the newspaper this investigation was prompted by an inquiry by the governor of Texas to the Secretary of War Alger concerning the condition of the Texas troops at Camp Miami. The Secretary responded by ordering General Lee to Miami to examine the situation first hand, instructing him to move the troops north if illness prevailed to an unusual degree.\(^7\)

Apparently, the general did not like what he saw, for on August 1, 1898, General Order No. 37 was issued detailing the troops to Jacksonville. The soldiers began breaking camp on the following day.\(^7\)

*The Metropolis* should not have been completely surprised by the situation. It had a point of contact within the local chain of command and had become aware of the possible departure. The paper admitted as much in its July 22nd issue, noting: “We met a soldier with whom we have become quite well acquainted and he said, ‘I am awful sorry but we have received marching orders. The 7th corps is to be consolidated at Jacksonville.’”\(^7\)

Obviously, what became the immediate concern of the paper was not the pullout of the troops and loss of business but the reasons why. The army ostensibly removed the soldiers because of widespread sickness and the general unhealthfulness of the region. Circulation of
such accusations was bad publicity which could hold far reaching ramifications for a city that prided itself on its location and climate as its major appeal to attract further settlement and development.

With this prospect evidently in mind the paper printed a separate defense of Miami and its climate, absolving it of any responsibility for the illness of the soldiers. Calling the stories circulating exaggerated and false, *The Metropolis* shifted the blame to the victims, to another area of the country, and, indirectly, to the war and the Army. Causes for the illness, it wrote, were the result of the soldiers undergoing the transition from civilian to military life and their arrival from a malarial infested region off the gulf coast of Alabama. Miami, on the other hand, should be judged by the health of its citizens, which was never better; not by conditions which existed in the encampment among men who brought illness with them or as a consequence of military life. Among the 7,500 troops the paper counted only 13 deaths in five weeks, listing the cause of these fatalities: suicide (1), gunshot (1), typhoid fever (6), and from measles complicated by other ailments (5). These figures were compared and contrasted to Miami's own population of 2,000 citizens of which no adult citizen had died since February, 1898. With defiant air *The Metropolis* concluded that Miami was a healthful city as evidenced in its citizenry.

The Army's reasons for removing the troops, and the paper's defense, served only to cover the larger explanation for the departure. In a somber letter from Brigadier General William W. Gordon, Commanding Officer of the Second Brigade, to Joseph A. MacDonald, civilian director of Camp Miami, a more plausible explanation, beyond health reasons, was offered. While not blaming MacDonald for any of the shortcomings experienced by his troops, General Gordon wrote, "The fact is that the number of troops were too great for the resources of a place where almost everything they needed had to be created." Miami simply did not have the resources and facilities to accommodate 7,500 troops, 2,000 citizens, plus a number of assorted camp followers who were attempting to reside within its limits, let alone serve the needs of the 36,000 soldiers, 10,000 visitors, and 25,000 citizens who located at Tampa.

Nevertheless, the newspaper celebrated the immediate accomplishments of the encampment and a dynamic profitable future awaiting the city at the close of the war. In the short run, the stay
of the troops meant one hundred acres of scrub land cleared, one mile of railroad sidetrack, construction of two warehouses, additional streets paved, an artesian well begun, employment for everybody for six weeks, profits running into the thousands of dollars for some businesses, and the advertisement of Miami from Maine to California. The Metropolis believed that this progress was only a foretaste of events to come because,

When the war closes, with steamships plying between Havana, Nassau, Key West, and the islands of the sea, the ships loaded with the products of these islands which are being exchanged for American products, all passing through this port, will begin to reveal to the world something of the important position Miami occupies in the commercial world. Watch Miami.

With its geographical position and proximity to Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Caribbean, the recently incorporated city of Miami welcomed the Spanish-American War as an opportunity to further its growth and development. The Miami Metropolis, the city's lone newspaper at this time, reflected this booster attitude. Since the paper's inception on May 15, 1896, it had been the policy of its editors to boost the new settlement, focusing on location and climate as its major assets. The Spanish-American War offered still another element for boosterism. There is a sense of irony to the city's boosterism. Like other Florida papers before the war, The Metropolis perceived peacetime as the proper environment for prosperity. Once the war began, however, and the paper discovered that the city would remain untouched by the war's destructiveness, it targeted its attention toward gaining benefits from the army and government in furthering Miami's self interest.
NOTES


8. Ibid.

9. “Miami as a Supply Station,” Ibid.


14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. “Leaving Key West,” Ibid.


18. *Miami Metropolis*, April 22, 1898

19. Ibid.


21. Ibid.


24. “Good Times at Tampa,” Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. “Cortijo Here,” Ibid.


32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. “As It Is At Tampa,” Ibid.

35. Ibid.
41. "Soldiers are Coming," *Miami Metropolis*, June 24, 1898.
46. Thomas, "‘Camp Hell’", p. 155.
47. *Miami Metropolis*, July 1, 1898.
55. *Ibid.*
75. *Miami Metropolis*, July 22, 1898.

80. “What the Encampment Did for Us,” Miami Metropolis, August 12, 1898.

81. “Miami the Center of Business,” Miami Metropolis, July 29, 1898.
Arch Creek:
Prehistory to Public Park

By Emily Perry Dieterich

An Arch Creek outing, circa 1897. HASF Collection

Meet me at the bridge. The natural limestone bridge. Meet me at the bridge at old Arch Creek . . . the little natural bridge. The natural bridge where all good friends meet.

*from the song “Meet Me At The Bridge”,
by Jessie Freeling*

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Arch Creek — perhaps no other South Florida landmark evokes more colorful mental images. By definition, Arch Creek is a body of water which historically flowed from the Everglades eastward into Biscayne Bay. Frances Densmore described it as “an avenue to the depths of the Everglades . . . where rare beauty of vegetation may be seen . . .”¹ For Tequesta Indians, Arch Creek was the shady oak tree hammock which provided food and shelter. For early pioneers, Arch Creek was a favorite picnic spot. For passengers on the stage coach route, Arch Creek was the long awaited rest stop. It was also the last stop for boats on sightseeing tours from Miami. Throughout the years, enterprising individuals tried to develop the area, prosper from its uniqueness, incorporate it, re-route it and even destroy it. Artists have painted pictures of it and written songs about it. The concentration and range of activities associated with the Arch Creek area is truly amazing. Even more amazing is the fact that portions of this beautiful place have survived relatively intact.

No description of the Arch Creek area would be complete without reference to the natural limestone bridge which spanned the creek and gave it its name. In a discussion of south Florida geology, archaeologist Irving Eyster noted,

Of all the openings in the limestone ridge, Arch Creek was the most unique. Here the water cuts under the oolite limestone, rather than through it. This left an arch forming a natural bridge . . . ²

A variety of interesting theories have been proposed regarding the formation of this geological curiosity. In historian Thelma Peters’ *Biscayne Country*, she writes the following account:

When the arch was created is not known. One theory of how it was created is this: Arch Creek was an underground stream . . . until one day it lost its cover through erosion or by an earthquake . . . except for forty feet where the solid rock refused to fall. (Lest the earthquake theory be lightly dismissed, there has long been a myth that New River of Fort Lauderdale was the result of an earthquake).³

Bert Mowers, an avocational archaeologist, described the natural bridge as “originating from a partially collapsed cavern roof.”⁴ Archaeologist Dan Laxson suggests still another theory:

. . . Arch Creek runs through the only natural bridge forma-
tion in south Florida. Originally, the creek was a horizontal solution hole. Swampy, acid-charged ground water gradually weakened the roof of this tunnel until large pieces caved in, eventually forming an open limestone gorge.\footnote{5}

Regardless of its origin, the natural bridge was undoubtedly one factor which made the area so attractive to prehistoric Indians, and, later, to the pioneers of the Arch Creek area in the 19th century. Approximately 40 feet long and 20 feet wide, the bridge was the focal point of much human activity throughout history.

Botanist John K. Small described the archaeological site at Arch Creek as having "... evidence of much activity, in the way of kitchen middens, village sites, and burial mounds."\footnote{6} The site was recorded in the Florida Master Site File by archaeologist John Goggin in 1952.

Laxson was the first to excavate the site in 1956. He described the soil as sand over a basal formation of pot-holed limestone which frequently appeared at the surface. An area of black dirt indicated the site's boundaries, within which a total of eight pits were excavated. Laxson recovered over 300 pottery fragments, a dozen Strombus shell tools, bone points and a stone pendant. According to the Everglades Culture Sequence, the stratigraphy and the ceramic time markers indicated the most intense occupation of the site was during the Glades II period (A.D. 750-1250).\footnote{7}

A joint excavation of the site was undertaken by the Broward County Archaeological Society and the Miami-West India Archaeological Society in 1972. The team excavated eight pits, recovering over 6,000 pottery fragments which represented the Glades II period. Only a few Glades I period (500 B.C. - A.D. 750) pottery fragments were recovered, and even fewer Glades III period (A.D. 1250-1700) time markers.\footnote{8}

The most extensive work at the Arch Creek site was conducted by archaeologist Robert Carr in 1975 for the Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management. Considerable care was exercised in this project, which succeeded in locating a relatively undisturbed portion of the site. A total of eight pits were excavated yielding over 2,000 pottery fragments, numerous artifacts and faunal remains. The ceramic assemblage and radiocarbon dates obtained from Carr's study indicate a long occupancy of the site, covering almost the entire Everglades Culture Sequence.\footnote{9} The dates of occupation suggested by Carr are 500 B.C. through A.D. 1300, with the most intense occupation between 300 B.C.
and A.D. 100. Carr reports the area was “no longer the site of a large village after circa A.D. 1200.” As an explanation, he suggests, 

...the demise of the Arch Creek village reflects a population shift by its occupants to other village sites... reflecting a trend towards greater nucleation of coastal groups in or near emerging town settlements in South Florida, such as the town of Tekesta at the mouth of the Miami River.¹⁰

Archaeological excavations, research, and references in the literature, help to recreate the following chronology for the Arch Creek area, beginning in prehistoric times and continuing through the 20th century.

The area around Arch Creek was one of many prehistoric Indian habitation sites along Dade County’s estuaries. Other large villages were established around the same time at Oleta River, Surfside, Little River, Miami River and Snapper Creek. Arch Creek was the site of a substantial village which was able to support a sizable population due to the abundant natural resources in the area.

The oak tree hammock, adjacent to the creek, provided much needed shade and shelter for the Indians, as well as nutritious plants, nuts, and berries. Biscayne Bay, less than half a mile away, offered a variety of food sources: fish, shellfish, shark, manatee, and turtle. To the north of the hammock were pine flatlands, home of the important coontie plant, (Zamia integrifolia), whose roots the Indians ground to make an edible starch-like paste. According to botanist Dan Austin, “the plant was a staple starch source for the Glades Indians... and also later for the Seminoles and European settlers.”¹¹ Arch Creek provided access into Biscayne Bay and the interior Everglades and, of course, the natural bridge allowed the Indians to cross the creek without getting their feet wet.

The historic Tequesta and Seminole Indians may have occupied the area around Arch Creek on a seasonal or temporary basis from circa A.D. 1300 through the 1800s. Evidence confirming this theory was long ago destroyed by surface disturbance to the site.

During the Third Seminole War (1855-1858), U.S. troops built a military trail between Fort Lauderdale and Fort Dallas in Miami. It used the natural bridge at Arch Creek.

It follows through its whole extend a dry belt of country grown up with pine, palmetto, koontie, and crosses three streams; the Boca Ratones, Arch Creek — which is spanned by a natural bridge — and Little River.¹²
The trail was actually a portion of a rock road, built by order of Captain Erastus Capron, linking Fort Dallas with Fort Capron five miles north of Fort Pierce.\textsuperscript{13}

Unconfirmed reports indicate an arms dealer who sold guns to the Indians during the Seminole Wars lived near the bridge.\textsuperscript{14} Known as Luis the Breed because he was part Indian and part Cuban, Luis was supposedly killed during one of the many bitter battles at the natural bridge.

Having served its purpose, the trail was abandoned and in many places obliterated. Soon after this, a coontie mill and water sluice were constructed at Arch Creek.

As indicated earlier, the coontie plant was an important food source for Indian tribes in south Florida. The plant, which once grew abundantly in the pinelands around Arch Creek, has been the subject of much ethnobotanical research.\textsuperscript{15} A brief review of these studies is important to an understanding of the significance of the mill site at Arch Creek.

The plant and its edible by-product have been referred to by a variety of names in the literature: koonti, koontie, coontie, coomtie, cunti, comptie, compte, arrowroot, arrowroot starch, comfort root, flour root, and Indian bread root.\textsuperscript{16} The coontie plant belongs to the genus \textit{Zamia}, a member of the ancient cycad family, and is widely distributed from Florida to Brazil. The common species in southeastern Florida is \textit{Zamia integrifolia}. According to Emile Moya, “the plant seems to prefer limestone soils, doing well on the eroded late Pleistocene rocks of southern Florida, Yucatan, and the West Indies ...”.\textsuperscript{17} Superficially, the plant may appear to be a small palm, or heavy fern, with its neat rows of stiff, pinnate leaves. Coontie reaches a maximum height of only two and a half feet and most of the plant’s structure is found underground in the heavy stem or tuber which may weigh several pounds. The stem, which is commonly referred to as a root, resembles a sweet potato and is composed of a tough fibrous material with a high proportion of starch grains. Additionally, the root contains a soluble poisonous compound, probably a glycoside.\textsuperscript{18}

The first step in processing coontie involves cutting the roots into small pieces. The pieces are then grated or ground into a moist pulp. The pulp is washed and strained, separating the starch from the fiber and removing the toxin. The starch which remains is allowed to settle, the water is drained off, and the process is repeated. The author’s experience indicates the water will exhibit a reddish
cast until the poison is entirely removed. The starch is then dried in the sun for several hours. The result is a powder-fine, high quality starch with a sweet, vanilla-like flavor.\textsuperscript{19}

According to Sleight, "the earliest reference to the use of the roots for making of ‘bread’ by the Indians of Florida is to be found in the\textit{ Memoir of Hernando d’ Escalante Fontaneda}, dating from about 1575."\textsuperscript{20} John Fix reports the Tequestas and Calusas prepared a “pudding” from coontie roots which was a basic ingredient in almost every meal.\textsuperscript{21} A study by Austin revealed the Seminoles called it “coontie-hateka” or “white bread”, from which the word coontie is derived.\textsuperscript{22}

During the 1800s white settlers in south Florida learned the art of preparing coontie starch.\textsuperscript{23} Not only did the pioneers enjoy the culinary rewards of the coontie plant, but they turned the process into a profit-making business which endured almost a century. The backyard manufacture of coontie starch was a dependable source of cash for early pioneers until about 1900 when commercial mills began operating.\textsuperscript{24} According to Ernest Gearhart:

\begin{quote}
... manufacturing starch from the coontie root is probably
the earliest known industry in Dade County ... it has been
established that white settlers engaged in the industry some
time prior to 1840.\textsuperscript{25}
\end{quote}

Probably the best known of the commercial mills was owned by Albert Hurst located at Northeast 2nd Avenue and 103rd Street. The mill turned out two tons of high quality, fiber-free starch a day, most of which was sold to national baking companies for biscuits, crackers, cookies and spaghetti. As early as 1845, George W. Ferguson also owned a large mill which sometimes employed as many as 25 workers. Ferguson’s mill was located about three miles up the Miami River at present day Northwest South River Drive and Northwest 28th Avenue. The\textit{ Florida Tropical Cookbook} contains many recipes for using coontie in sauces, gravies, puddings and pies. Reportedly, coontie starch was also good for burns.\textsuperscript{26} A by-product of the industry was the decayed pulp which made an excellent fertilizer for fruit trees.\textsuperscript{27}

Most of the earlier mills were makeshift and operated by hand. The Hurst mill utilized steam for power to turn the grinding wheel. But one of the most unusual mills was operated at Arch Creek and was powered by running water. The only known reference to the Arch Creek coontie mill comes from Rose Wagner Richards'
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Reminiscences of the Days of Miami, published by the Miami News, in 1903. Mrs. Richards gave the following account:

It was in the fall of the year, 1858, that Mr. George Lewis returned to Miami . . . desirous of finding a good location on which to build a factory and engage in the manufacture of starch. Such a place he and Mr. Robert Fletcher, who was to share in the enterprise with him, found on Arch Creek . . . The factory was built immediately on top of the arch. On the south side where a ditch was cut through the rock, can yet be seen, and where the water was made to flow through after the main passage beneath the arch had been closed up sufficient to cause the water to rise and flow through the ditch with such force as to turn the water wheel attached to the machinery used in the factory. A year or more of time was consumed by them at this place and not succeeding as well as they could have wished, the place was abandoned by them altogether.28

The seemingly inexhaustable supply of coontie gradually disappeared in the early 1900s. The Hurst mill was destroyed by a hurricane in 1926 after it moved to Southwest 104th Street and U.S. 1 and was never re-built. The slow growth habit of the coontie plant was not conducive to cultivation, and their natural pineland habitat was the first to feel the crunch of the bulldozers during the land boom of the 1920s. The mill at Arch Creek, although unsuccessful in the starch business, was certainly unique in operation. It is one of the only known coontie mills to have used a sluice and the only excavated mill site in south Florida.

Township 52 South, Range 42 East was officially surveyed in 1870 and the natural bridge and surrounding tree hammock were duly noted on the map.29 Settlers in the 1870s included Mike Fallon, William S. Milliken, Mr. and Mrs. J.R. Rhodes and their two children, the brother of Mrs. Rhodes, Benjamin Coachman, and Mr. and Mrs. William Fogg. Milliken died February 5, 1876 and was buried close to the natural bridge.30 A large granite tombstone marked his grave which remained until at least 1934. An article in the Daily News indicated that the grave had been disturbed through the years reportedly because the word “treasure” was used in the epitaph.31

The J.R. Rhodes family came from the Carolinas and settled near the arch on the south side. Mr. Rhodes was known as “Arch Creek Rhodes” to distinguish him from Samuel Rhodes of Coconut Grove.32
Mrs. Rhodes, in crossing the arch one day, met and killed the largest rattle-snake with a small garden hoe, that I have ever heard of being killed in the country, the snake measuring 6 feet 9 inches. The skin was preserved as a trophy. She was a plucky little woman, and thought nothing of what she had done.

The Rhodes moved away in 1877. According to Peters, Charles J. Ihle deserves the title of First Settler in the vicinity of Arch Creek. In 1891 Ihle bought 80 acres, for a dollar an acre, and planted fruit trees, coconut palms and landscaped his property with tropical plants. In 1922 the Deloss LeBaron Perrine family purchased the Ihle property. Mr. Perrine published *Tropic Magazine*, which featured articles on outdoor life and sightseeing in Florida. He used a photo of the estate on the cover of the magazine in April, 1925.

Rattlesnakes were not the only over-sized creatures that lived at Arch Creek. In 1874 William T. Hornaday, a taxidermist in Miami waged a vicious battle with a 14'2" crocodile in Arch Creek. Hornaday claims it was the first true crocodile ever captured on American soil. "Old Crock" was stuffed and put on display in the United States National museum.

Commodore Ralph Munroe and Charles Peacock, early Coconut Grove pioneers, engaged in a ferocious fight with a 14'8" crocodile in Arch Creek. They succeeded in capturing and killing the 1,200 pound saurian which was exhibited at the American Museum of Natural History in 1887.

Perhaps the most colorful account comes from Dr. John G. Dupuis of Lemon City, who wrote the story of "Gladiator, The Crocodile of Arch Creek." According to Dupuis’ Seminole Indian friends, Gladiator’s parents were huge crocodiles that resided in Indian Creek. Gladiator was "blown by a very severe hurricane when he was a baby into Arch Creek River and was immediately adopted by a mother Manatee (Sea Cow) who protected him . . ." Gladiator became a "vicious and terrific fighter and if a shark or saw fish or animals invaded his home he executed them without fear or favor . . . but in all the time he resided at Arch Creek he never fought or annoyed any of the Manatee family in his chosen homestead." Dupuis terminated Gladiator’s fighting career and hung the croc’s skin in the reception room of his White Belt Dairy Farm.

The first county road built at taxpayers’ expense was completed in 1892. According to Peters, the road “ran from Lantana
at the lower end of Lake Worth to Lemon City on Biscayne Bay, sixty miles, ‘built’ at a cost of twenty-five dollars a mile . . .” In 1890 E.L. White was commissioned to build three ferries, in conjunction with the county road, to cross Little River, Snake Creek and New River. There was no need for a ferry at Arch Creek as it had a natural bridge. A hack line (stage coach), “consisting of a springless wagon drawn by mules, with boards to sit on and a canvas for shade, began operating in 1893.” Peters reports “the stage coach . . . made the last rest stop southbound at the arch — there were no facilities but plenty of bushes and good water if one had a long reach.” A portion of the trip was described by Guy Metcalf, editor of the Tropical Sun newspaper:

At noon (of the second day) we reached Arch Creek where is to be found a natural rock bridge under which runs the clear, deep waters of the creek, full of the finest fish, which can be seen gliding hither and thither.

“The military trail of the Seminole Wars, the first county road, and later the Dixie Highway, all followed almost identical routes crossing the natural bridge at Arch Creek.” Peters calls it the “Check Point Charley of the Bay country, the welcome mat for early tourists, and a natural phenomenon that all South Floridians came to regard with pride, even awe.”

Other south Florida pioneers besides Lewis, who built the coontie mill, took advantage of the natural bridge and sought to prosper from it. Unlike Lewis, however, Clarence Billings capitalized on the beauty of the Arch Creek area and operated a sightseeing tour between Miami and the natural bridge. The Metropolis reported that Billings had cleaned out the obstructions in Arch Creek so he could operate his launch, the Laura, which drew only twenty inches of water. “It was a good trip, the paper said, because of ‘the deep gorge near the Natural Bridge, the bridge itself, the tropical foliage covering the banks of the winding streams, the trees covered with immense orchids, the alligators sunning along the banks . . .’

Pioneer Caroline Washburn-Rockwood took a sightseeing trip from the Peacock Inn at Coconut Grove to the natural bridge, and wrote the following account in her book, In Biscayne Bay:

About two hundred yards ahead the coral had formed a solid mass across the river . . . leaving a natural bridge, on which vegetation had taken a luxuriant hold, while a transparent veil of vines half revealed the upper waters of the creek beyond
... The tide was low enough to allow the boats to go under the arch, and they followed the creek a mile farther toward the Everglades, where quantities of white lilies were growing among the waving grasses.48

The residents of the community and nearby towns appreciated the beauty of the Arch Creek area too and utilized it for rest and relaxation. Pupils of Miami's first downtown school celebrated the end of the school year with a picnic at the natural bridge in May, 1887. According to Peters, "barbecues, fish fries, political rallies, Easter egg hunts, community Thanksgiving dinners, and even on one occasion a baptism, were held there."49

Not only did Ralph Munroe capture crocodiles at Arch Creek, but he also captured the beauty of the area on film. According to Munroe's uncle, Alfred, "the narrow river, which most of the way is bordered by mangrove trees, whose roots shoot out from the body of the trees twenty feet above... together with the long hanging moss make pictures that are worth coming down to see."50

Another enterprising pioneer, Captain John Welsh, was attracted by the beauty of the Arch Creek area. Welsh's pet project was the town of Natural Bridge. He bought 160 acres of land immediately surrounding the arch and planned his town.51 Among other ideas, his design included building a hotel in the oak tree hammock. To promote the town, Welsh offered prospective buyers a boat ride from Miami to the natural bridge. The end of the trip, Arch Creek, was the most popular part:

... the launch passed through thick mangroves arching overhead, across the salt marsh, and into the shade of the dense hammock. Alligators sunning on the banks plopped into the water... and startled birds awkwardly took wing. When the tide was low enough Welsh provided a rowboat so his guests could have the thrill of passing under the arch.52

George Hinckley, a wealthy restaurant owner and nature lover, moved to the Arch Creek area about 1910. He built a house near the oak hammock where he made a hobby of enhancing the natural beauty of the area and sharing it with others. Hinckley trimmed sections of the hammock, planted tropical trees, laid out trails, and provided picnic tables. According to Peters, "he even had two peacocks to entertain his visitors."53 The Metropolis reported that Hinckley "was getting his place to look like a park."54 Hinckley also built a refreshment stand where he sold cold drinks and souvenirs.
The refreshment stand was later enlarged and became known as "the shell house," because the outer walls were covered with conch shells. Peters reports,

... during Prohibition when tea rooms were in vogue, this building was known as the Arch Creek Tearoom. (Metropolis, October 27, 1921). The tearoom almost overhung the stream near the arch and was itself the subject for many souvenir postcards.55

The town of Natural Bridge, or Arch Creek as it later became known, grew and prospered in the early 1900s. A group of people from Elmira, New York, established a winter colony where they grew grapefruit and tomatoes. The Elmirans are credited with the first organized settlement in the area.56 The Florida East Coast
Railway came through and established the Arch Creek depot in 1903, about a half mile south of the natural bridge. A post office opened the same year and classes began at the Arch Creek School in 1905. By 1920 Arch Creek boasted a population of 307 residents. The real estate boom in the mid 1920s transformed the small community into a fast-paced city. Arch Creek incorporated as the Town of Miami Shores in 1926.

Portions of the oak hammock were cleared for a trailer park in the 1950s. Known as the Seabreeze Trailer Park, the owners destroyed much of the native vegetation surrounding the trailers. The trailer park operated for approximately five years before the property was sold.

In 1957 the first of many threats against the natural bridge and the Arch Creek tree hammock materialized. A flood prevention program designed to drain low-lying areas placed the arch in danger. The Army Corps of Engineers proposed blowing up the bridge or rerouting the creek. The Miami Herald announced, “one of Southeast Florida’s historic landmarks may be doomed... Dade County engineers say that the bridge must be sacrificed for better drainage of the area.” Fortunately, protests from the Audubon Society, the Historical Association of Southern Florida, and local residents prevented either of the alternatives from becoming a reality. Coincidentally, this was the same year that Laxson published his report indicating the presence of an important prehistoric Indian midden in the hammock. The Miami News featured the natural bridge in a “Believe-it-or-Not” column in 1958.

It was not until the 1970s that the Arch Creek area again received such widespread public attention. The Chrysler Corporation, owner of the property in 1972, proposed to build a used car lot where the oak hammock stood. Citizens’ groups such as Tropi- cal Audubon Society, Miami-West India Archaeological Society and the Arch Creek Trust were outraged at the idea of destroying the beautiful tree hammock and paving the ground with concrete. The groups initiated an extensive campaign aimed at saving the land from destruction. Meanwhile, the Chrysler Corporation gave the Broward County Archaeological Society 60 days to conduct salvage excavations in order to determine the property’s archaeological significance.

Finally, after almost a year of intense lobbying, the Florida Cabinet voted unanimously to preserve the property. The Miami News reported that $822,000 was allocated from the state’s land
acquisition trust fund to buy 7.9 acres east of the creek which would be developed into a state park.\(^6\)

Within hours of signing the official documents one month later, the natural bridge collapsed into the creek. Fortunately no one was hurt, but unfortunately, the newly acquired property was without its most prized natural feature. Initially there were claims of sabotage but explosives were finally ruled out as the cause. There are almost as many theories regarding the mysterious collapse of the natural bridge as there are about its original formation. Erosion and old age were finally determined to be its downfall, combined with auto traffic and vibrations from nearby railroad tracks.

In 1975 state officials held a ground-breaking ceremony for a museum at the park. It was at this time that archaeologist Bob Carr excavated the Indian midden in order to gather interpretive data and materials for displays in the proposed museum. Between 1975 and 1978, state funds for the building were directed elsewhere and nothing more than breaking the ground was ever accomplished.

In 1978 Dade County leased the property from the state and began planning a park. The early 1980s brought clean-up crews to the property and construction began on a museum.

An unfortunate incident occurred in November, 1980. A North Miami police officer, Carl Mertes, died in the line of duty on the property. Today the park bears his name in its title.

During the summer of 1981 the Youth Conservation Corps planted over 500 trees and established a nature trail through the hammock. Also in 1981, the Dade County Historic Survey and archaeologist Irving Eyster discovered and excavated the historic coontie mill sluice. Among the artifacts recovered by Eyster were a clay pipe bowl and stem, a fragmented Spanish olive jar, ginger beer bottles, ironware, faunal bone and several pieces of Indian pottery. Eyster succeeded in locating the area that contained the water wheel and the location of the gate which controlled the flow of water. Many charred timbers and charcoal were found, indicating that perhaps the mill was burned.\(^1\)

Arch Creek Memorial Park for Carl Mertes was officially dedicated on April 25, 1982. Much publicity preceded the ceremony announcing the long-awaited event and detailing the controversial history surrounding the new park. According to *The Miami Herald*, over 700 people gathered for the celebration, and nearby streets were closed to traffic.\(^2\) Community citizens and officials participated in an emotional program full of reminiscences,
speeches and proclamations. The Historical Association of Southern Florida presented the park with a handsome historic marker which was unveiled at the ceremony.

Arch Creek Park is a passive park, designed for nature-lovers, birdwatchers and students of history and archaeology. The park environment promotes quiet contemplation and leisurely hikes.

The facility at Arch Creek Park is an architectural conversation piece, designed as a replica of a late 1800s Florida “cracker” style house. The exterior walls are western red cedar, stained gray for a weathered appearance, and a tin roof covers the building. A wide porch wraps around the outside. Inside is a beautiful yellow cedar, oak and teakwood floor and solid douglas fir beams stretch across the high ceiling.

The building functions as a museum and nature center. The exhibit area features interpretive displays illustrating the natural and archaeological history of the Arch Creek area. As one of only two publicly accessible archaeological sites in Dade County, the park offers educational experiences that cannot be found anywhere else in the area. Students may participate in special programs where they assume the role of archaeologist, botanist or birdwatcher.

Today, a primary concern at Arch Creek Park is the preservation and protection of the native tree hammock and the archaeological sites. A comprehensive botanical plan, developed by naturalists and the park staff, is currently in use. The plan contains an inventory of existing plant species, and guidelines for preservation, re-vegetation, and maintenance of the tree hammock. As of 1983, over 150 native Florida species and 65 exotic plant species were growing in the park. Included in the list are several “threatened” or “endangered” plants such as coontie, coral bean and Hercules’ club.

Arch Creek Park was designated as a local historic site in 1985 and was listed on the National Register of Historic Places a year later. The archaeological sites are protected in two ways: by the Dade County Historic Preservation Ordinance and by standards set forth by the National Park Service. Also in 1986 a lifelong dream of many local residents came true. After years of fundraising, a replica of the natural bridge was finally constructed.

The history of the Arch Creek area “has always been a history of tears and triumphs, of trees and treasures and torment . . . It is in our battle to preserve this place that we have realized the very es-
sence of its history.” The challenge at hand is to protect this precious piece of Miami’s history so that future generations will be able to appreciate its beauty and cross the creek without getting their feet wet.

NOTES


13. M. Brannan, Department of Florida Letters Received - 1857, A-F, Record Group 393, Letters Received from M. Brannan, 1857. (On file at the National Archives, Washington, D.C.).


19. The author wishes to thank Dr. Thelma Peters for sharing the secrets of processing coontie and the delicious cupcakes which were prepared with coontie starch.


63. The plan is based on a series of botanical surveys conducted from 1972-1983, which are reviewed in Emily Perry, “Arch Creek Park and Conservation Archaeology: A Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places,” (Senior thesis, New College of the University of South Florida, 1984) p. 103.

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Sadymont, Mr. & Mrs. Walter A.
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Ezell, Mr. & Mrs.
William A., III
Fagg, Mr. & Mrs. Arthur
Fales, Gordon and Donna
Farina, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph P.
<table>
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<th>Name</th>
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<td>Farkas, Mr. &amp; Mrs. Marshall I</td>
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<td>Farrell, John S. &amp; Susana</td>
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<td>Fascell, Rep. &amp; Mrs. Dante B</td>
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<td>Feingold, Dr. &amp; Mrs. Alfred</td>
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<td>Fels, Mr. &amp; Mrs. Leonard R.</td>
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<td>Felser, Ms. Fran</td>
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<td>Fennell, Mr. &amp; Mrs.</td>
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<td>Thomas A., Jr.</td>
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<td>Fernandez, Mr. &amp; Mrs. Ben</td>
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<td>Ferrando, Dr. Rick</td>
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<td>Ferrer, Mr. &amp; Mrs. Jose E.</td>
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<td>Fields, Mrs. Ann H.</td>
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