

Traffic Control in Early Miami

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Traffic congestion has been an intractable problem in urban American history. The narrow, garbage-strewn roads which hosted as many animals and pedestrians as vehicles during the early years of the republic became the site of epic traffic snarls in the bustling period following the Civil War. The advent of the automobile at the beginning of the twentieth century exacerbated traffic congestion while creating more difficult problems.

Miami's emergence as a city paralleled this revolution in urban transportation.¹ From the outset the fledgling city experienced acute traffic problems caused in part by the automobile. The response of the police and other municipal officials to these problems during Miami's first generation of corporate existence provides an interesting commentary on a function of municipal government which grew increasingly important in Florida and the nation as this century unfolded.

Miami's downtown sector, the city's business and traffic hub in its early years, is surrounded on three sides by the bluish-green waters of the Miami River and Biscayne Bay. Until the 1920's, persons entering this quarter from the east, west, and south, had to cross one of three narrow bridges. Additional obstacles to smooth vehicular access to downtown arose from the city's narrow, unpaved thoroughfares and slow moving trains which stopped on Twelfth Street, the chief east-west artery, causing tremendous congestion daily.²

Once a motorist entered downtown, he found his mobility further restricted by trolley cars on Twelfth Street, improperly parked vehicles, ubiquitous jaywalkers, and drivers who ignored the city's traffic ordinances.

These conditions, along with a spiraling population, caused Miami to become by the 1920's one of the nation's most congested cities. This problem reached its climax in 1925-1926 when, with the great South

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Florida land and construction boom at its peak, Miami contained upwards of 175,000 persons and 25,000 automobiles.³ In many areas of the city traffic came to a standstill for long periods. "Everything was immovable," complained one visitor, who insisted that Miami's traffic jams "made the worse congestion of London or New York child's play by comparison."⁴

Although Miami's police possessed the authority to enforce traffic laws, they failed to manage this responsibility effectively. But the possibility of a complete breakdown in the city's transportation network in 1925 forced the Miami Police Department (MPD) to shift a major portion of its emphasis and resources to the problem of traffic control. For the remainder of the decade, therefore, a large percentage of the police force was engaged in traffic activities.⁵

The spectre of thousands of automobiles using Miami's streets would have startled the city fathers. A generation earlier, the first city council inserted articles governing traffic in the original city ordinances, but failed to mention the nascent automobile. These ordinances, instead, provided small fines or brief imprisonment for persons "racing any horse or horses upon the streets of Miami," "driving a (horse-drawn) vehicle in a disorderly or dangerous manner," and traveling "with a bicycle on the streets of Miami without having thereon a bell, gong, or whistle with which to warn pedestrians and drivers of vehicles at the street crossings."⁶

In 1896 and in ensuing years, Miami's dirt roads contained underbrush and even tree stumps in some places. Livery stables, water troughs, and "no hitching" signs hanging from kerosene lampposts lined the sides of many roads. Operators of bicycles, horses, mules, and horse-drawn carts used any part of these crude streets to reach their destination.

Traffic control was correspondingly primitive. City Marshal Young F. Gray and his immediate successors virtually ignored the traffic portion of the city ordinances, concentrating instead on violations of the criminal code.⁷ Accordingly, routine violations of traffic laws and a rash of accidents plagued early Miami, prompting the *Miami Metropolis*, the city's lone newspaper, to decry "scorching" (reckless bicycle riding), and horse racing.⁸ At the same time, the *Metropolis* warned parents to keep their children off of the streets.⁹

After 1900, automobiles, trolley-cars, and motorcycles appeared in growing numbers. Not surprisingly, Miami's primitive roads were a poor medium for these faster and more dangerous vehicles; accidents became more prevalent, and congestion developed. At several downtown loca-



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The thoroughfares of early Miami were used by both vehicles and pedestrians. In this photograph of 1897, many Miamians were proceeding along Twelfth Street toward Biscayne Bay.



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The primitiveness of early Miami's streets is apparent in this photograph of Avenue D and Northwest First Street in 1898. Note the underbrush and tree stump in the road.

tions, particularly the busy intersection of Avenue D and Twelfth Street, traffic became prohibitively dense.¹⁰

Despite increasing traffic problems, police enforcement of the antiquated traffic code was sporadic because the tiny force continued to concentrate primarily on criminal activity. The city council, moreover, failed to update the traffic ordinances. Some officials, however, including Mayor John Sewell, the city's executive officer from 1903-1907, expressed increasing concern for the problems caused by automobiles. After receiving numerous complaints of reckless driving and reports of serious accidents, Sewell, in 1904, pressed the council for an ordinance regulating the speed of automobiles.¹¹ In the ensuing months, the council created Miami's first automobile ordinance, a comprehensive law establishing a speed limit of eight miles per hour, while requiring all automobiles to possess licenses, horns, and lights.¹²

Other automobile ordinances followed in the years immediately after the passage of this pioneer legislation. They provided for an increase in the speed limit to ten miles per hour, the relief of traffic congestion by prohibiting vehicles from stopping on main streets for more than a few minutes, and a reduction in the din created by noisy gasoline engines. But traffic problems continued, because traffic control remained near the bottom of police priorities.¹³

Speeding, reckless driving, a heavy reliance on horns in lieu of hand signals, U-turns at intersections and right turns across a portion of the sidewalk were additional practices characteristic of Miami's 300 automobile operators in 1911.¹⁴ The situation clearly called for radical measures before a complete breakdown occurred.

The threat of this approaching crisis moved city officials in 1911 to institute the most ambitious effort up to that time to meet the vexing traffic problem. They were assisted by the fledgling Miami Auto and Good Roads Association, a small group of automobile enthusiasts deeply concerned over the deteriorating traffic situation. By November, 1911, the automobile association had presented the city council with a bill aimed at clearing downtown of unnecessary congestion and providing safer streets for drivers and pedestrians. The bill required all vehicles to proceed only on the right hand side of the road, refrain from turning around at the busiest intersections, and limited the period allowed for the discharge of passengers. In addition, this proposal provided for a speed limit of twelve miles per hour in the daytime and ten miles per hour at night.¹⁵

While the new council considered this bill, Mayor S. Rodman Smith appointed, in December, 1911, a special policeman for Saturday

duty (and at other times when necessary) at the teeming intersection of Twelfth Street and Avenue D. This official, the first policeman concerned solely with traffic, employed hand signals in directing traffic from the center of the intersection.¹⁶

At the same time, the new police chief, Robert Ferguson, followed up his promise to take "immediate action against the speed law villains" with the arrest of numerous traffic violators, particularly speeders.¹⁷

By the end of 1911, the council had passed an ordinance containing the majority of the Miami Auto and Good Road Association's proposals. The law established a speed limit of twelve miles per hour in the daytime and ten at night, banned U-turns at the busiest intersections, and restricted all vehicular movement to the right hand side of the road.¹⁸

If Miamians viewed the new traffic ordinance and the initial efforts by police to enforce it as evidence that the traffic problem was under control, subsequent events and trends during the remainder of the decade proved otherwise. Despite numerous laws that increased the speed limit, prohibited left turns and U-turns at busy intersections, limited engine noise, and restricted parking in downtown Miami, traffic conditions worsened.¹⁹

Many factors, including the rapid proliferation of automobiles, the myopia of the city council, the torpor of the police, and an egregious disregard of traffic laws by motorists and pedestrians contributed to this problem. Even if municipal authorities had been more diligent, smooth vehicular movement would have been hindered by the presence of several thousand automobiles, numerous bicycles, and ponderous horse-drawn carts on the city's narrow streets. Furthermore, the council waited until 1920 before prohibiting parking on the city's busiest thoroughfares, thereby maximizing space for moving vehicles. Unlimited diagonal parking, therefore, was the rule up to 1920. Twelfth Street, the city's busiest thoroughfare, even provided parking along a center lane! With trolley car tracks also present on Twelfth Street, east-west traffic was confined to narrow corridors on each side of it.²⁰

The city council was guilty of faulty judgement in other ways too. By failing to abolish an old ordinance permitting trains to back up across Twelfth Street for up to five minutes at a time, the lawmakers contributed significantly to giant snarls.²¹

The police were equally irresponsible. After an initial display of enthusiasm for enforcing the new traffic code in 1912, the MPD quickly lapsed into its old ways. Accordingly, motorists began ignoring traffic regulations again. Periodic outcries against speeding and reckless driving from concerned citizens, the county grand jury, local newspapers,

and public officials, as well as the onset of new police leadership, led to a stringent police campaign to enforce the traffic laws. But this effort was quickly followed by a lengthy period of police lassitude which led to increasingly dangerous conditions for motorists and pedestrians.²²

To be sure, the police were severely handicapped in enforcing the municipal traffic code by a dearth of personnel. The MPD had less than five men assigned to this detail until a departmental reorganization in 1918 provided a traffic squad of eight officers. Several policemen were assigned to direct traffic at the main downtown intersections and bridges, and two motorcycle officers were instructed to pursue speeders and reckless drivers.²³

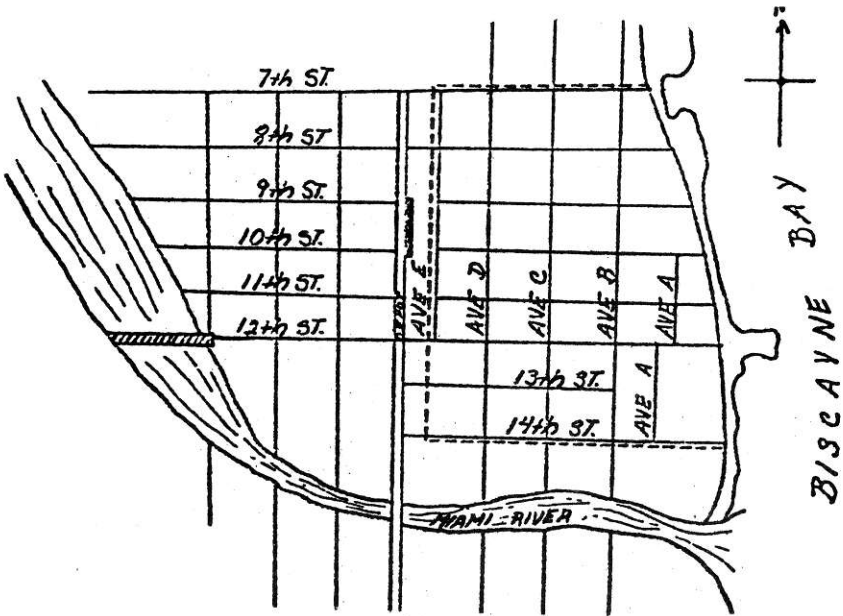
But new problems arose. Since the traffic squad was concentrated in the downtown sector, the police were unable to meet increasing demands for traffic supervision in other parts of the rapidly growing city. Furthermore, traffic policemen reduced their effectiveness by their tendency to engage in lengthy conversations with motorists over traffic laws.²⁴

The MPD attempted periodically to modernize its approach to traffic problems. Pressure from Police Chiefs Robert Ferguson and Raymond Dillon led to council authorization in 1912 and 1918 of two motorcycles for the department.²⁵ In 1915, traffic policemen, now stationed under umbrellas in the center of an intersection, received white gloves to increase their visibility to oncoming motorists.²⁶ Two years later, the MPD equipped its traffic officers with semaphores which permitted them to direct traffic while seated by displaying a sign instructing traffic to "stop" or "go."²⁷ In 1919, the MPD began issuing booklets containing the municipal traffic ordinances to all motorists.²⁸

Jaywalkers, as well as motorists, flagrantly disregarded traffic laws during this period. Despite the passage of an anti-jaywalking law in 1918, the practice continued.²⁹

As mentioned earlier, Miami's traffic problems worsened as the 1920s unfolded. At the outset of the decade, the city contained nearly 10,000 automobiles, with almost 900 cars moving through its busiest intersection hourly.³⁰ With 25,000 automobiles in Miami in 1925 and traffic at an impasse, Police Chief H. Leslie Quigg lamented that "traffic is the most difficult problem for the police."³¹ If land was the triumphant symbol of the boom, the automobile, with its ubiquitous traffic snarls, was its Achilles heel.

In addition to a great increase in automobiles, the exacerbation of earlier traffic problems, along with the appearance of new ones, led to this quagmire. The narrow streets became even more difficult to



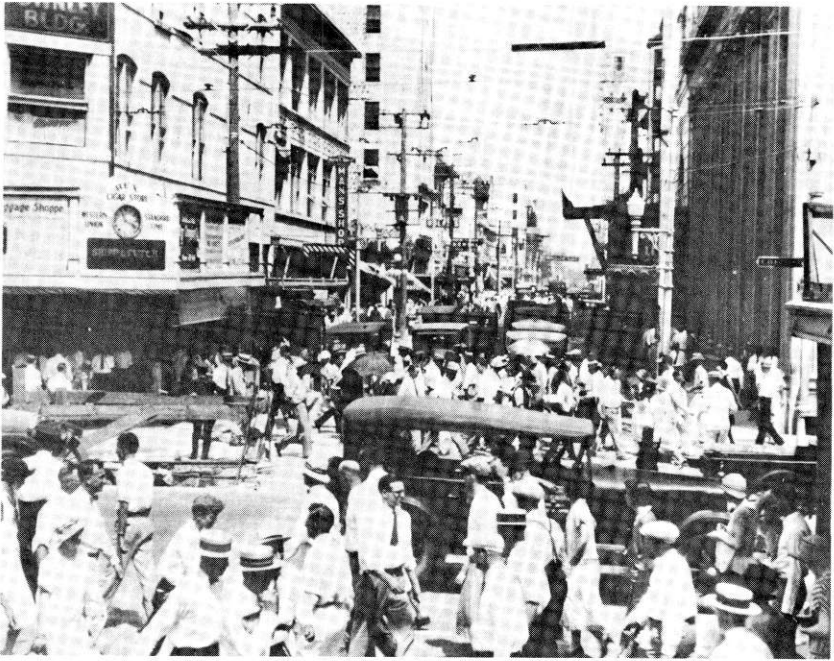
Downtown Miami c. 1920.

negotiate during the boom owing to an ambitious paving program and the construction of new trolley car tracks. The installation of gas and water lines caused the closing of many streets to traffic. A massive building program created additional traffic obstacles as trucks blocked traffic while unloading building materials. In many instances, these materials remained on the side of the street for lengthy periods, causing additional congestion.³²

Another factor contributing to the traffic snarl was the understaffed police department. Although the MPD continued to increase the size of its traffic detail, it was still too small to meet ever-increasing demands. The overwhelming majority of traffic policemen continued to operate downtown; other sections of Miami remained without traffic supervision. To bolster the traffic force, Quigg and City Manager Frank Wharton pleaded, throughout the early 1920s, for additional policemen. Their requests were only partially granted.³³

Trains of the Florida East Coast Railroad (FEC), frequently switching tracks, continued to block Flagler Street daily. In the boom years this practice created massive daily bottlenecks that hampered the flow of traffic for lengthy periods.³⁴

Like the FEC's trains, jaywalkers caused considerable problems for



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Heavy pedestrian and automobile traffic, along with segments of streets torn open for the installation of gas and water lines, exacerbated traffic congestion during the boom. This photograph of East Flagler Street and First Avenue in the summer of 1925 dramatizes each of these obstacles to easy vehicular flow.

motorists. Numerous accidents, near misses, and the constant din from automobile horns aimed at jaywalkers by exasperated motorists moved Wharton, in 1925, to characterize the former as “Miami’s greatest traffic problem.”³⁵ Joining jaywalkers in obstructing traffic were many real estate speculators who often operated in the streets.³⁶

To overcome these problems, the city commission, the city manager, and the MPD devoted an increasing amount of time and resources to traffic. At the outset of the 1920s, the lawmakers passed a comprehensive traffic ordinance containing “rules of the road,” speed limits (now twenty miles per hour in all parts of the city except downtown, where it remained fifteen miles per hour), and parking regulations; this law also set standards for automotive equipment and established stringent penalties for traffic violations.³⁷

During the first half of the 1920s, subsequent ordinances provided for information road signs, restricted downtown parking, while providing for parallel parking in some areas, and created additional space for

2,500 automobiles in Bayfront Park. The commission also limited the time that jitneys (a combination bus-taxicab) could stop to discharge and acquire passengers. As the problem of pedestrian traffic worsened, the commission prohibited street crossing anywhere except at an intersection. Initially, these measures were effective, but soon the appearance of thousands of additional automobiles mitigated their impact.³⁸

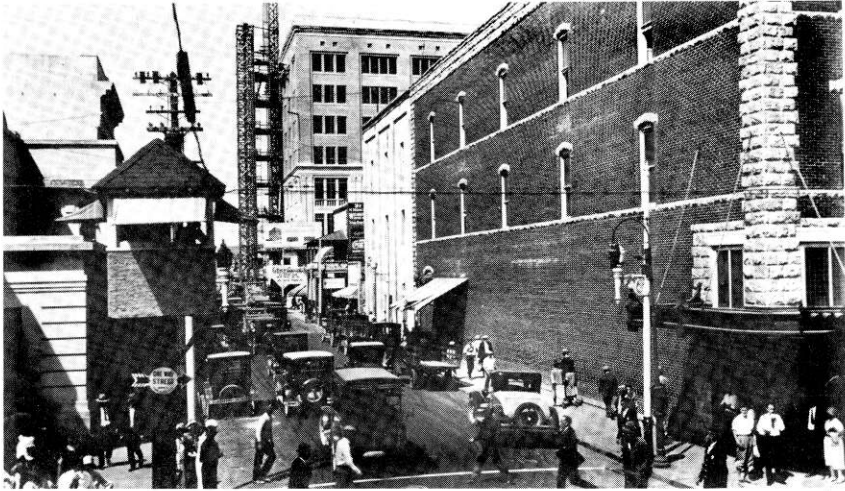
Officials also discussed but rejected proposals for a towing system to clear the streets of illegally parked vehicles, widening of the main thoroughfares, a system of one-way streets for downtown, construction of a viaduct at Flagler Street over the FEC tracks, and a significantly larger police traffic detail. Only radical innovations such as these, combined with the moderate steps that were actually taken, could have ameliorated significantly Miami's deteriorating traffic conditions.

In 1923, the commission authorized City Manager Wharton to take any actions he considered necessary for ameliorating traffic conditions. Wharton continued to work closely with Police Chief Quigg (who even undertook a lengthy examination in 1924 of traffic control systems in several other cities) and the MPD in this realm.³⁹

Actually, since Quigg's appointment as chief of police in 1921, the MPD's involvement in traffic control had increased significantly. In addition to ambitious roundups of traffic violators, the police also distributed to motorists booklets containing the municipal traffic ordinances, and extended protection to children crossing the street at each of the city's public schools.⁴⁰

Furthermore, the dramatic increase in automobiles led to the appearance of traffic officers at each of the major downtown intersections and bridges. Employing whistles as signal devices, traffic officers operated in alternate hourly shifts between 6:00 A.M. and 10:00 P.M. daily. During each hour away from his "station," a traffic policeman worked with the parking detail in enforcing parking regulations.⁴¹

Throughout this period, the MPD increased its traffic detail until, at the beginning of 1925, three-fourths of the eighty-man force was engaged in traffic operations.⁴² By this time the police were eagerly awaiting the installation of traffic lights at each of the busiest downtown intersections. But numerous problems delayed their implementation until spring. By then the monthly influx of thousands of speculators, many of whom arrived by automobile, had virtually negated the energetic police effort to keep traffic moving. With downtown traffic at a standstill for lengthy periods daily, this sector faced the alarming prospect of drowning in a sea of automobiles. From this crisis came the most ambitious scheme yet for traffic control.⁴³



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Electric traffic lights and one-way streets were operational by the latter half of 1925. Both of these features are evident in this photograph of the intersection of Miami Avenue and Flagler Street in 1925.

This program was the product of a desperate campaign by Wharton, Quigg, several civic organizations, and a blue-ribbon committee of one hundred prominent Miamians, during the early part of 1925, for a radically different approach to the deepening traffic crisis.⁴⁴ By April all parties involved in this project had agreed on a program featuring one-way streets in downtown Miami, zones for trucks discharging cargo, rigid enforcement of the anti-jaywalking ordinance, streetcar loading platforms, and a traffic bureau within the MPD to coordinate traffic operations.⁴⁵

Wharton selected H. H. (Honk-Honk) Arnold as director of the traffic bureau which began operations on June 1, 1925. The new traffic chief, a member of the MPD since 1923, had distinguished himself as a motorcycle policeman, detective, and desk sergeant. For the duration of the 1920s, Arnold remained the chief traffic officer. During this time, Arnold gave Miami an efficient system of traffic control.⁴⁶

The success of the traffic bureau, however, came only after a difficult inaugural period. The traffic bureau received authorization from the city commission to use any means at its disposal to overcome the traffic quagmire. The bureau, accordingly, quickly established traffic lights at eighteen intersections, converted twenty-nine thoroughfares into one-way streets and zealously enforced anti-jaywalking and parking ordinances through the arrest and impoundment of hundreds of persons

and automobiles. But traffic conditions worsened despite this effort, because the number of fortune seekers entering Miami increased significantly in the summer of 1925.⁴⁷

Faced with the necessity for more radical traffic measures, Arnold, in the latter part of 1925, called for the immediate construction of additional bridges into downtown, a railroad trestle over Flagler Street, licensing of all automobile operators to remove incompetent drivers from the city's streets, construction of multi-story parking garages ("automobile hotels"), inspection of all motor vehicles for safety defects, and a vast increase in the number of traffic policemen. The commission eventually provided for the majority of these proposals, but, initially, assented only to the final demand.⁴⁸

In spite of Arnold's failure to obtain the immediate enactment of all of these measures, the traffic situation had improved significantly by the beginning of 1927, owing primarily to a mass exodus of boomers following the abrupt collapse of the boom in 1926 and vigilant enforcement of the municipal traffic laws by a traffic bureau, whose rapid maturation gave Miami, by 1927, an integrated and highly functional traffic system. Now each policeman involved with traffic detail received rigorous training in all phases of traffic at the new police school; motorcycle policemen, as well as the foot patrol, kept the streets clear of illegally parked vehicles; the installation of automatic traffic signals in 1927 not only expedited the flow of traffic, but also freed many policemen for duty in sectors of the city which had not previously hosted a regular traffic officer. Signs informing motorists of everything from the speed limit (now twenty miles per hour throughout the city) to "no parking" zones graced the edges of every thoroughfare. Under Arnold's direction, the police also undertook periodic automobile inspections, and administered written and manual examinations to chauffeurs, as well as operators of buses and jitneys, before granting them operators' permits.⁴⁹

Despite this overall improvement, the traffic squad soon encountered new problems, as speeding and reckless and drunken driving increased appreciably during 1927, causing a sharp rise in the number of automobile accidents and fatalities. By 1928, Miami found itself ranked second nationally in the number of fatal automobile accidents. The mounting gravity of this problem caused the traffic bureau and its successor, the traffic division, to devote greater attention to these evils.⁵⁰

Accordingly, mass arrests of reckless and drunken drivers occurred frequently in 1928. But the number of automobile accidents remained high. After three persons died in separate automobile accidents during

one week in May, 1928, City Manager Welton Snow instructed Arnold to arrest all traffic violators. Soon the MPD, in conjunction with the Dade County Sheriff's Department, initiated a "drastic campaign" against traffic violators. These agencies received assistance from the area's judiciary after county and municipal authorities agreed in September, 1929, to try a traffic violator in both the municipal and county courts since the alleged violator, in almost every case, had broken a county as well as a city ordinance.⁵¹

This campaign was successful, leading to a sharp decrease in the number of traffic accidents by the end of 1928. But the indiscriminate arrest of all traffic violators, along with an overtaxing of police resources (the police were required to accompany each violator to headquarters, formally charge him with the offense and, subsequently, make bond), moved the city commission to authorize a new system in January, 1929. Hereafter, the police would issue a summons to a traffic violator to appear within forty-eight hours at the traffic division, where he could acknowledge his guilt through payment of a fine, or secure a hearing in Municipal Court and contest the charge.⁵²

At the end of the decade, a reorganization of the department of public safety led to the removal of the traffic bureau from the MPD and its elevation to division status, along with fire and police, within this department. The traffic division, like its predecessor, oversaw the entire program of traffic control. Arnold remained as its head and also served as director of public safety.⁵³

But Arnold's days as traffic chief were numbered, for his success brought with it a national reputation, and offers from other police departments to direct their traffic operations. After rejecting earlier offers from Akron, Ohio, Arnold agreed, in December, 1929, to become its director of public safety at an annual salary of \$10,000.⁵⁴

Arnold left Miami with an efficient and progressive system of traffic control which contrasted sharply with the absence of a program in the city's early years and the chaos of the boom era. By 1930 Miami's traffic program compared favorably with the most advanced systems in the country. Periodic improvements and innovations, including additional one-way streets, experienced and carefully trained traffic policemen, written and manual tests for all drivers, automobile inspection, improved road surfaces and additional roads and bridges enabled it to serve Miami efficiently in the ensuing decades until a new and heavier influx of migrants settled in the area.

NOTES

1. *Transcript of the Proceedings of the Meeting Held July 28, 1896, for the Incorporation of the City of Miami, Florida*. The office of the Clerk of the City of Miami at City Hall has a copy of this document. *Miami Metropolis*, July 31, 1896; Nixon Smiley, *Yesterday's Miami* (Miami, 1973), p. 24. Miami grew from a village numbering but a few families in 1895 to a burgeoning settlement of 3,000 in the following year. Henry Flagler's decision to bring his Florida East Coast Railroad to Miami was the reason for the meteoric growth. The railroad's arrival in April, 1896, ushered in a period of heavy migration and frenetic development for Miami. In July, 1896, an overwhelming majority of Miami's 502 registered voters decided to incorporate it as a city. At the same time, the electorate selected the first officials for the new city's government. Not surprisingly, the new government was dominated by representatives of the Flagler enterprises who were now building a city around the railroad.

2. *Miami Herald*, April 15, 1918. A city ordinance allowed Florida East Coast Railroad cars to switch tracks for up to five minutes at a time at the intersection of Twelfth Street and the railroad tracks near the western boundary of downtown Miami. Miami's downtown sector consisted of five blocks in an east-west direction and seven blocks in a north-south direction. Although this area is small, it comprised a major segment of early Miami, whose original boundaries included fourteen blocks between the Miami River on the south and First Street on the north, and five blocks between Avenue A, bordering Biscayne Bay on the east, and Avenue E, adjacent to the Florida East Coast Railroad tracks on the west. The city built two additional bridges in the 1920s, linking downtown with other parts of Miami.

3. Works Projects Administration, American Guide Series, *Guide to Miami and its Environs* (Northport, New York, 1941), pp. 88-89; *Miami City Directory for 1926* (Jacksonville, 1926), p. 9; *Miamian*, VII (August 1926): 26; *Miami Daily News*, July 26, 1925; *Miami Herald*, June 26, 1925; January 25, 1970; *Miami News*, November 10, 1957; *New York Times*, August 10, 1924; Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday, An Informal History of the 1920's* (New York, 1939), p. 226.

4. Theyre Weigall, *Boom in Paradise* (New York, 1932), p. 50.

5. The MPD varied dramatically in size in the 1920s. At the beginning of the decade, the police force contained thirty-seven members. By 1926, it consisted of 350 policemen. At that time over two-thirds of the force was engaged in traffic control. The collapse of the boom in 1926 caused a sharp decline in the city's population and, along with a concomitant deterioration of economic conditions, resulted in a police force of just 160 members in 1929.

6. City Council of Miami, Florida, *Ordinances of the City of Miami, 1896*, Article XVI, Sections 18, 19, 20, and 32, pp. 58-61. During the latter part of 1896, the city council distributed pamphlets containing the original city ordinances to the citizenry. The Florida Room of the Miami Public Library has a copy of this pamphlet. The office of the Clerk of the City of Miami possesses a copy of every city ordinance.

7. Gray was Miami's lone policeman until the summer of 1898.

8. *Miami Metropolis*, May 31, 1897. On one occasion, a "pretty girl" on a bicycle ran over a pedestrian at Twelfth Street and Avenue D. After the startled victim "picked himself up," he was "run over" by another bicycle.

9. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1897; June 18, 1897; July 23, 1897; December 3, 1897. During this period, the *Metropolis* reported that "Miami has bicycle fever" with over "one hundred wheels here."

10. *Minutes of the City Council* (hereafter cited as *MCC*), Vol. I, September 1, 1904, p. 424; John Kofoed, *Moon Over Miami* (New York, 1955), p. 8. Minutes of the city council and its successor, the city commission, are located in the office of the Clerk of the City of Miami.

11. *Miami Metropolis*, July 8, 1904; July 15, 1904.
12. *MCC*, Vol. I, September 1, 1904, p. 424; *Miami Metropolis*, September 9, 1904; January 6, 1905.
13. *MCC*, Vol. II, March 15, 1906, p. 259; April 5, 1906, p. 262; April 23, 1906, p. 283; Vol. IV, February 2, 1911, pp. 272-273; *Miami Herald*, March 4, 1912; *Miami Metropolis*, April 27, 1906; February 22, 1907; December 18, 1908; October 19, 1909; December 21, 1910. The city council passed several ordinances between 1911 and 1913, requiring engine mufflers for automobiles. The *Miami Herald* was very critical of the police for its failure to enforce the traffic code more effectively. In March, 1912, the *Herald* charged that the MPD had traditionally confined its "activities only to the running in and out of simple drunks, without attempting to enforce those very necessary regulations with regard to traffic on the street."
14. *Miami Herald*, April 11, 1911; June 30, 1911; July 17, 1911; August 26, 1911.
15. *MCC*, Vol. IV, December 11, 1911, p. 441; *Miami Herald*, October 8, 1911; January 27, 1912; *Miami Metropolis*, October 7, 1911; December 18, 1911.
16. *Miami Herald*, November 26, 1911; November 27, 1911; *Miami Metropolis*, November 24, 1911.
17. *Miami Herald*, November 24, 1911; *Miami Metropolis*, November 25, 1911.
18. *MCC*, Vol IV, December 11, 1911, p. 441.
19. *MCC*, Vol. V, September 18, 1913, p. 292; Vol. VII, October 15, 1914, p. 174; January 9, 1915, p. 304; Vol. VIII, March 23, 1916, p. 246; *Miami Herald*, April 17, 1912; June 10, 1912; December 14, 1912; July 29, 1913; July 28, 1914; April 14, 1915; May 21, 1916; January 14, 1917; October 31, 1917; August 6, 1918; December 21, 1918; May 8, 1919; *Miami Metropolis*, September 12, 1917; October 31, 1919.
20. *Miami Herald*, March 8, 1914; March 11, 1914; January 25, 1916. The proclivity of many tourists to ignore traffic laws exacerbated traffic problems.
21. *Ibid.*, December 22, 1916; April 5, 1918.
22. *Ibid.*, December 15, 1912; May 3, 1913; December 27, 1914; January 19, 1915; April 14, 1915; October 31, 1916; December 23, 1917; May 21, 1918; April 17, 1919. The periodic failure to enforce the traffic laws resulted in an epidemic of speeding. In 1915, some motorists reportedly were streaking north on Biscayne Drive (later Biscayne Boulevard) at speeds from eighty to one hundred miles per hour.
23. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1918. Traffic policemen were now stationed at the intersection of Twelfth Street and Avenue D and at the bridges which connected each of these arteries to other parts of Miami.
24. *MCC*, Vol. VII, April 15, 1915, p. 443; July 2, 1915, p. 539; *Miami Herald*, August 11, 1917; June 24, 1918.
25. *MCC*, Vol. V, August 15, 1912, p. 63; Vol. IX, September 26, 1918, p. 460; *Miami Herald*, September 12, 1912.
26. *Miami Herald*, August 11, 1915.
27. *Miami Metropolis*, August 11, 1917; September 12, 1917.
28. *Ibid.*, December 17, 1919.
29. *Miami Herald*, December 21, 1918; July 15, 1919.
30. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1921.
31. *Miami Herald*, August 20, 1925; *Miami Daily News*, July 26, 1925; American Guide Series, *Guide to Miami*, pp. 88-89; Weigall, *Boom*, p. 45.
32. Kenneth Ballinger, *Miami's Millions, The Dance of the Dollars in the Great Florida Land Boom of 1925* (Miami, 1936), p. 15; *Miami Herald*, October 29, 1924.
33. *Miami Herald*, July 23, 1920; December 20, 1922; November 21, 1924; February 13, 1925. By 1925, the MPD had sixty policemen on traffic detail.
34. *Ibid.*, January 29, 1925. Twelfth Street became Flagler Street in 1921, after the city adopted a new system for naming and numbering its streets.
35. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1925.

36. Allen, *Only Yesterday*, p. 226. Allen contended that Miami contained 25,000 real estate agents during the frenetic summer of 1925.

37. *MCC*, Vol. X, January 15, 1920, pp. 213-218; *Miami Metropolis*, June 12, 1920. A city commission replaced the city council as the legislative branch of government shortly after Miami adopted a commission-manager government in 1921.

38. *MCC*, Vol. I, May 28, 1920, pp. 306-307; Vol. XI, January 28, 1921, p. 174; Vol. XII, February 7, 1922, p. 243; City Council and the City Commission of Miami, *Ordinances of the City of Miami*, Book One, February 7, 1922, p. 54; *Miami Herald*, October 12, 1920; September 1, 1921; August 30, 1922; December 12, 1924; *Miami Metropolis*, May 29, 1920.

39. *Minutes of the City Commission* (hereafter cited as CCOM), Vol. XVII, November 24, 1927, p. 398, from the manuscript collection of H. Leslie Quigg (Miami, Florida); *Miami Herald*, November 8, 1923; July 30, 1924.

40. *Miami Herald*, November 25, 1924; January 1, 1925. The city charter of 1921 authorized the city manager, with the consent of the city commission, to appoint a chief of police. Quigg was the first police chief under the new charter. He served in this capacity until his indictment for first degree murder in the death of a prisoner forced his dismissal in 1928. Quigg was later acquitted of this charge.

41. *Ibid.*, March 5, 1922. Traffic policemen continued to direct traffic from the center of an intersection beneath an umbrella.

42. Charles Fowler, "Detroit's Struggle with the Traffic Problem," *The American City Magazine*, XXX (June 1924): 612-615. The percentage of policemen in Miami assigned to traffic duty compared favorably with other cities. For example, Detroit had only seven percent of its 1,975 policemen on its traffic detail in the mid-1920s.

43. *Miami Herald*, January 1, 1925; March 23, 1925; Frederick S. Lawrie, "Mechanical Devices for Highway Traffic Regulation," *The American City Magazine*, XXIX (December 1923): 634; W. W. Brent, "Traffic Congestion and Accidents Greatly Reduced," *The American City Magazine*, XXXII (January 1925): 58; John Walrath, "Effective System of Traffic Control in Syracuse," *The American City Magazine*, XXXII (June 1925): 641-643; "Another Advantage of Traffic Signal Lights," *The American City Magazine*, XXXIII (August 1925): 149; D. H. Lilley, "A Gift of Control Devices," *The American City Magazine*, XXXIII (August 1925): 185-186; Fred Harper, "Signal Lights Handle Traffic Effectively," *The American City Magazine*, XXXIII (August 1925): 187. By the middle of the 1920s, several American cities possessed electric traffic lights. The majority of these systems were manually operated by a policeman in a tower at the side of an intersection or at street level. The style and location of traffic lights varied. Some were attached horizontally to poles, while others were attached vertically to a post. In a few cities, traffic lights hung from wires over the center of an intersection. All of them possessed red and green lights which then, as now, signaled the motorist to "stop" or "go."

44. Clarence Snethen, "Los Angeles Making Scientific Study to Relieve Traffic Congestion," *The American City Magazine*, XXXI (September 1924): 196-197. Los Angeles provided Miami with a precedent here. In 1922, Los Angeles civic and business leaders organized a traffic commission to study the city's rapidly deteriorating traffic situation, resulting from acute congestion in its downtown sector, and offer suggestions for its amelioration. In 1924, this commission completed its study and produced a comprehensive plan, calling for the construction of viaducts to carry automobiles over the downtown zone, opening of additional streets and the widening of many existing thoroughfares, synchronized traffic signals, and restrictions on downtown parking. The city adopted most of these proposals in January, 1925.

45. *Miami Herald*, January 1, 1925; March 4, 1925; April 8, 1925; May 22, 1925; *Miamian*, IX (April 1928): 7.

46. *Miami Herald*, December 12, 1929; "Traffic and Parking Regulation in the

Down-Town District of Cleveland," *The American City Magazine*, XXXIII (July 1925): 73; "Traffic Board Established in New York Police Department," *The American City Magazine*, XXXV (August 1926): 219; "Jaywalker Abolished; Traffic Facilitated; Pay as you Violate Traffic Bureau Established," *The American City Magazine*, XXXV (October 1926): 549. Other cities, including New York, Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio, had traffic bureaus by the middle of the 1920s.

Arnold visited several cities to study their traffic systems. Many of the patterns he observed were eventually incorporated into Miami's traffic system. Arnold's most ambitious tour occurred in July, 1926, when he visited twenty-eight municipalities and consulted with traffic officials in each of them.

47. Paul Wilcox (ed.), *City Manager's Report to the City Commission on Five Years of Commission-Manager Government for the City of Miami* (Miami, 1926), pp. 111-112. Policemen perched on observation towers at the edge of several intersections operated the traffic lights. Electric traffic lights, as well as one-way streets, yielded impressive results. Traffic officials attributed a sharp reduction in automobile accidents downtown to the operation of traffic lights. Prior to the establishment of one-way streets, 9,000 vehicles passed through Miami's busiest intersection in a ten hour period. Several months after their introduction, 22,000 vehicles passed through this intersection in the same ten hour period.

48. *CCOM*, Vol. XV, December 7, 1925, p. 139; *Miami Daily News*, July 26, 1925; *Miami Herald*, June 19, 1925; June 23, 1925; June 24, 1925; November 26, 1925; April 17, 1926; J. R. Bibbins, "The Function of One Way Streets," *The American City Magazine*, XXX (June 1924): 441; "Decreasing the Discontent of Traffic Officers," *The American City Magazine*, XXXII (May 1925): 494-496; Charles H. Spear, "Vehicular Tunnel Relieves Congestion at Ferry and Street Car Terminal," *The American City Magazine*, XXXIV (January 1926): 77-78; "Traffic Board Established in New York Police Department," *The American City Magazine*, XXXV (August 1926): 219; "Jaywalker Abolished; Traffic Facilitated; Pay as You Violate Traffic Bureau Established," *The American City Magazine*, XXXV (October 1926): 545. Ubiquitous traffic congestion led many American cities besides Miami to adopt innovative schemes for traffic control in the 1920s. Several municipalities adopted electric traffic lights, traffic schools for violators, one-way streets, loading zones for commercial vehicles, viaducts and tunnels, restrictions on left turns, parking prohibitions and traffic bureaus.

49. Wilcox, *City Manager's Report*, pp. 111-112; *Miami Herald*, April 17, 1926; September 2, 1926; October 6, 1927; *Miamian*, VIII (May 1927): 18; City Commission, *Ordinances*, Book One, June 21, 1926, pp. 425-458; July 23, 1927, pp. 448-489; Book Two, January 2, 1928, pp. 8-9.

50. *Miami Herald*, February 27, 1928; May 27, 1928; August 6, 1928; September 5, 1928.

51. *Ibid.*, May 30, 1928; September 8, 1928; December 25, 1928.

52. Department of Public Safety, *First Annual Report (Fiscal Year July 1, 1928-June 30, 1929)* (Miami, 1929), pp. 4-5; *CCOM*, Vol. XVIII, November 5, 1928, pp. 513-514; City Commission, *Ordinances*, Book Two, January 14, 1929, pp. 63-65.

53. Department of Public Safety, *First Annual Report*, pp. 6, 40; *Miami Herald*, July 3, 1928, p. 7.

54. *Miami Herald*, March 28, 1929; January 15, 1930.