

# Florida Historical Quarterly

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Volume 34  
Number 4 *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol 34,  
Issue 4

Article 1

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1955

## Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 34, Issue 4

Florida Historical Society  
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### Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1955) "Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 34, Issue 4," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 34: No. 4, Article 1.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol34/iss4/1>

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FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**

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November 21, 1947, at the post office at Tallahassee, Florida, under the Act of  
August 24, 1912.)

Office of publication, Tallahassee, Florida

Published quarterly by

**THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

Gainesville, Florida



## THE FIRST FORT OF SAN MARCOS DE APALACHE

by LUCY L. WENHOLD

On the Gulf coast of southcentral Florida, where the St. Marks River flowing from further upstate meets the longer, shallower, eastward flowing Wakulla, the union of their waters forms a wide, deep, river-mouth harbor for any sea-going vessels that can pass the bar six miles further down at the entrance to the bay of Apalache. Where the two rivers come together there is a narrow headland that rises above the height of the tide and thrusts as it were a pointing finger toward the open sea. Today it is only a part of the harbor's shoreline, grown up with tall trees and thick bushes that hide the almost obliterated outlines of earthworks. On this headland, in the year 1680, Spaniards built the first Fort of San Marcos de Apalache.

At the time of its building that fort was already years overdue. Not so many years earlier only Indian pirogues and occasional small trading vessels from Havana or Vera Cruz moved on the river-mouth harbor, but before the middle of the seventeenth century pirate raiders were beginning to make the place a port of call. Taking the word in its most restricted sense they could scarcely be called raiders there, for the reason that in Apalache there was little to raid, but the harbor was good for careening their ships, and meanwhile they traded with the Indians who had no scruples about such business, and went out well provisioned for their next foray. These things were known in St. Augustine with ever-increasing uneasiness. Apalache was the granary of Spanish Florida and without what its fertility produced the perennial near-starvation of the presidio would have been starvation indeed. Before the middle of the century the colonial government had begun to keep a lieutenant and a few enlisted men in the province, partly to see that legitimate trading was done on a basis fair to the

Indians, partly for the protection of the Franciscan missionaries whose lives were threatened from time to time by unconverted Indians or by treacherous natives in their own mission stations. The missionaries were not grateful for that protection. On the contrary they protested constantly against the presence of soldiers in Apalache where (they said) the example of such ungodly lives corrupted the weak moral sense of the Indians. In the twenty-five or more years during which the fortifying of Apalache repeatedly came before the Council for the Indies the opposition of the Franciscan friars added considerably to the difficulties the Council - a body of sincere and hard-working men if ever there was one - met in its efforts to solve the problem. In the year 1660 it collected all the information it had on the matter and presented to the Crown a long and full *consulta* which arrived at the following conclusion:

The information the Council has is, it believes, reliable. But it has observed that the governors of Florida, past and present, encourage military occupation for their own advantage. . . as is evidenced by the offer of this governor to construct the fortification without cost to the royal treasury. For that reason, as well as because none of the members of the Council has seen the harbor and it appears that they cannot vote decisively nor propose to Your Majesty that the fortifying be done, it seems advisable for the present that information be asked of the Viceroy of New Spain and the Governor of Havana as to the advantages or disadvantages which may attend the constructing or failure to construct this fortification; that there be made a plan of the harbor and of the proposed fortification, with the cost and the measures to be taken for meeting it, the expenditure to be regulated with the economy demanded by the present condition of things and the state of stringency in which the national treasury

now is; that there be sent from Mexico or from Havana a practical person experienced in such matters to investigate and inform himself individually concerning the whole affair in order that he may report to Your Majesty through this Council what may appear to him most advisable.<sup>1</sup>

These suggestions were carried out through a period of five or more years with results that represented some very neat shifting of responsibility. The Viceroy of Mexico - at that time the Marquis of Mancera - received the royal command with respect but regretted that he had in the city of Mexico no one at all who was qualified to undertake the investigation of the proposed fortification of Apalache. Undoubtedly the uppermost consideration in the viceregal mind was: Who would pay for all this? The viceroys of New Spain were great lords and peers of the Spanish realm and for the most part far above petty pilfering, but their tenure of office was usually short, and if they must return to Spain, where the national *olla* was chronically empty, with nothing to show for their years in the opulent Indies, why, it would be just too bad. Florida, whose very existence depended on regular remittances from Mexico, was the chief thorn in the viceregal flesh. Doubtless the home government, when it made Florida a dependent of New Spain, did not foresee that this the youngest of its colonies would never be self-supporting, but must the vicerealty be eternally responsible for that mistake? As a rule the Florida subsidy was paid when the viceroy could not get out of paying it.

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1. The passage quoted is taken from ms. 59-1-26 num. 10 Archives of the Indies. The translation is mine. "This governor" referred to was Alonso Aranguez y Cotes (some commentators spell the name *Cortes* but he himself spelled it without the r) who died shortly afterward in office, apparently of malnutrition. The offer to build the fort without expense to the royal treasury seems to have been misunderstood by the Council. In view of the circumstances it is safe to conclude that it was motivated not by any advantage which would accrue to the governor, but rather by a sincere realization of danger to the province and the certainty that if building of the fort must await funds from Spain it would never be built at all.

Otherwise it was paid on the principle of leaving it for the next viceroy to pay. Meanwhile St. Augustine starved. Now the viceroy gathered up this new problem and dropped it into the lap of the governor of Havana <sup>2</sup> with the comment that as Havana was nearer to Apalache than was the city of Mexico its governor doubtless had all the answers including a qualified investigator. Promptly the governor wrote back that he had no investigator either. There had been a well qualified man in Havana some years previously, but he had now removed to Vera Cruz. Vera Cruz! That put the whole matter back into the Viceroy's hands precisely where the governor wanted it to be. However (he wrote to the Crown) the proper person to conduct this investigation was the governor of Florida, as the harbor of Apalache was distant from St. Augustine only eighty leagues by land, and there were in the province a captain and some soldiers and missionary priests who maintained the Indians in the Holy Faith.

Here the matter rested. These were the years when Florida was increasingly threatened by the ambitions of the English, on the north by the Carolinians, on the south by Jamaica where the English, only recently in possession, were turning covetous eyes upon the fertility of Apalache. <sup>3</sup> In 1668 English pirates raided and sacked St. Augustine. Successive governors had long warned Council and Crown of precisely that danger, but fruitlessly. Now however, shocked by the evident ease with which the presidio had been taken, the home government took action and the long task of building St. Augustine's castillo of stone was begun. The exchequer of Mexico bore the financial burden of that construction, commands from home being too positive to be disregarded, and thus, while every nerve was strained to close to invasion Florida's vulnerable front door,

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2. Francisco de Avila Orejon Gaston.

3. So, at least, the rumor ran among the Spanish refugees from Jamaica.

Apalache, its equally vulnerable back door, was left open year after year.

In the year 1677 Governor don Pablo Hita Salazar took a day from the strenuous duty of building the castillo to check through the papers turned over to him by his gubernatorial predecessor. Among these he found a *cedula* addressed to his predecessor's predecessor,<sup>4</sup> and dated in Madrid eleven years before. Examination showed this to be the Crown's action on the Governor of Havana's suggestion that an investigation into the matter of fortifying Apalache be referred to the Governor of Florida within whose jurisdiction Apalache lay. The referring had been done; the investigation had never been made. Hita Salazar read the *cedula* with interest, and having read it he wrote to the Crown urging the immediate fortification of Apalache, explaining that he is sending a description of the harbor and a plan<sup>5</sup> of the fortification which, he says, he is even then beginning to construct, using native labor for the time being until the Crown may provide funds for its proper completion.

Governor Hita Salazar was an old man and far from well, and the experiences he had already had in Florida would have discouraged the most optimistic, but he lacked neither initiative nor energy. While he awaited a final answer from the Crown he had timbers cut and Indian labor recruited. He wrote out in detail building instructions and even prepared a manual giving instructions as to how the fort was to be gar-

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4. Francisco de la Guerra y de la Vega.

5. This plan shows a square fort with salient bastions and thick wall and without any details, interior or exterior. Its measurements are given in *varas* and it must have been roughly 67 by 67 feet in area with a maximum height of eighteen feet. The location of the fort is given with relation to the two rivers whose names are given as they then were: The Toscache and the Guacara. The distance from fort to harbor mouth is given as six miles and the river depth at high tide as at least nine feet. The plan is captioned: *The fort it is possible to build in the harbor of San Marcos*, but it was not sent to the Crown until 1680, after the fort was built.

risoned and how it was to be defended in case of attack, all very enthusiastic if a trifle incoherent here and there. Still the Council hesitated, asked for more information: What would be the result of opening the road to Mexico? What draught of vessels could enter the harbor? Were the Christianized natives of Apalache sufficient in number to form a settlement there? But the Council as a whole, and consequently the Crown, approved the proposed fortification and Hita Salazar began to build it. There is a note of disillusionment in the brief letter with which he sends the plan of the fort and other papers concerning it to the Council. He writes that it is completed, but not in a form that can be called permanent as he has lacked the necessary funds. He writes frankly of the weakness of its structure and explains that it is intended only to offer some opposition to the enemy if they should try another raid such as they made in 1677. Whether it conformed to the plan and the specifications laid down for its construction except in the single detail that its final exterior coat was of lime so that from a little distance it should appear a building of stone, is not now to be known. Hita Salazar characterized it as not permanent; how impermanent it was to be he probably never dreamed. As for his careful instructions for its defense, he might as well have spared himself the effort of writing them.

#### *The Capture of the Fort*

On the morning of the twentieth of March in the year 1682, shortly after midnight, a pirate ship ran into the harbor of San Marcos de Apalache and anchored near the harbor's mouth. The night was clear, and by the light of the moon the ship's lookout saw the white walls of what appeared to be a stone fort and the black mouths of its gunports. From there the fortification looked formidable and the pirate captain was about to put back to sea when someone noticed the mast of a vessel which was anchored further up the river. The pirate ship

was out after prizes; this might be one. She put down three pirogues, each with twenty-five armed men, and they rowed against the current up the river. When they came near to their object they saw that she was a small merchantman, a bilander out of Havana, probably still loaded with the supplies she had brought. She was anchored not more than a stone's throw from the fort and under the protection of its guns. If they were to take her they would have to engage the fort also. One boatload grappled to board her; the two others disembarked, waded through marshgrass and water and attacked the fort.

What happened then can be known only as one can combine into a coherent whole the conflicting depositions taken afterward by the governor from all and sundry. Juan Marques Cabrera was a new man in the governor's chair, having been sent to fill it <sup>6</sup> contrary to political usage before Hita Salazar was removed, a proceeding inexplicable unless made because of the latter's bad health. Cabrera was a forthright man and above all a soldier, and he was shocked and indignant when two enlisted men from Apalache brought to St. Augustine the news that the fort had been taken by pirates without any attempt having been made to defend it. Here was an outrage to the royal cause, a shameful disservice for which the guilty must be identified and punished.

The commandant of the fort at that time was one, Lieutenant Pedro de los Arcos, *reformado*, one of those retired officers without command but still eligible for service, of whom Spanish Florida seems to have had rather more than its share. He was a creole, born in Pensacola, and he gave his age at the time as "about sixty." He may not even have known his age with any certainty, and being a *reformado* have given what may have been the usual retirement age among Spanish

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6. Marques Cabrera came to Florida by way of Mexico from service in Honduras.

colonial troops. He was a professional soldier, and his name appears in documents of the period. He had seen service in Guale and had recently been transferred to Apalache where he was charged with taking the census of mission villages and their inhabitants. As commandant of the fort he was Hita Salazar's appointee and may possibly have owed his position to a certain piety which recommended him to the mission fathers of Apalache with whom Hita Salazar was on good terms - the last governor during many years thereafter to be so. On the nineteenth of March 1682 he was in command in the fort of San Marcos with - he says - four soldiers and an ensign under him. The number appears incredibly small and the depositions taken afterward neither prove nor disprove the statement, but plainly the fort's complement was extremely reduced. On that day the ensign, Juan de Herrera, had been in charge of the fort, the commandant having gone to San Luis <sup>7</sup> and returned late to resume his command and close the fort. Lodging in the fort that night in addition to the commandant and his five men were the captain of the bilander and three Franciscan friars. Two of the friars were from one of the Apalachian missions and had come there to meet the third <sup>8</sup> who had just arrived from Havana in the bilander. These four had elected to spend the night in the fort in order to escape the mosquitoes, though there was a *bujio* or lodging house of sorts and some straw thatched huts outside of the walls. After nightfall Lieutenant Andres Perez, the officer in charge of the Province of Apalache, accompanied by several enlisted men and an un-

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7. San Luis (near the present Tallahassee,) was headquarters for the Province of Apalache and an officer and a few soldiers were regularly stationed there. It was, however, a mission station as well as a military one, and the purpose for which Lieutenant de los Arcos had gone there that day is mentioned in one of the depositions as *para cumplir*, which is to say, to attend religious services.

8. This third friar was the somewhat notorious Father Juan Angel who in the next decade motivated if he did not actually initiate one of the hottest quarrels between governor and Franciscans that ever came on the Florida records.

numbered band of Indians arrived, apparently with the intention likewise of spending the night within the shelter of the fortification. The deponent who relates this says merely that the fort being closed it was not opened to the officer and that he lodged in the *bujio* or one of the huts.<sup>9</sup>

About four o'clock in the morning the pre-dawn chill drove the sentry on duty on the guard platform to go down and warm himself at the kitchen fire. He left a substitute sentry in his place, and this latter, scanning the river, saw dimly the three pirogues, barely distinguishable in the breaking daylight. Perplexed he went to call the sentry, and by the time the fort's occupants were awake and armed two boatloads of pirates had come ashore and were attacking the fort. Questions shouted to them in Spanish received no answers, but by this time the thatched roofs of the huts were afire and the pirate captain had realized that what he was attacking was not a stone fort but a whitewashed log structure that could burn. He called for grenades, in a language unintelligible to the Spanish creoles but not to the captain of the bilander nor to the friars. The captain shouted across the water to his crew that the French were upon them, while the friars, quite beyond any discipline, began to utter loud cries for quarter.

"Senor," cried Father John Angel, stretching out his arms to Ensign Herrera whom he apparently mistook for the commandant, "I want them to take me away and not kill me." Another friar was on the parapet imploring quarter until the pirate leader shouted: "Go away, padre, let your captain speak for all of you." But the commandant was in the hands of Father Leon who was telling him that he must open the gates, that he no longer had any choice.

9. The fact that the fort was not opened to admit the lieutenant of the province, nowhere explained, hints at strained relations between the two men and was almost certainly taken as an insult by Perez who, within hours, took an effective and ignoble revenge.

"But padres," protested de los Arcos, "Take heed what you do. We must die rather than surrender!"

Die? No, not they, nor perhaps anyone else in the fort, though the few soldiers there were, seem to have done their best. One gun broke, fell upon and injured the gunner. The only other in position to be used, the one on the water-front bastion, was fired, aimed at the bilander by order of its captain, but missed or fell short, and then there was a shout for ammunition. The commandant went down to the magazine to get it, and when he returned the gate was open and the pirates were inside. Outside the walls Lieutenant Perez and his men had departed, beating a retreat strategic perhaps but most inglorious.<sup>10</sup>

The pirates made everyone prisoner and stripped the fort of everything moveable from bronze guns down, arms, ammunition, supplies of all sorts including three hundred *arrobas* of grain which had been stored in a granary outside the fort's walls. What they could not carry away they destroyed or damaged so as to make it useless to the Spaniards. They put ashore some of the prisoners they had made with orders to go to San Luis and bring back ransom for the others, one of the friars being sent to get it for his fellow religious. When after several days no ransom for anyone came, the pirates sent a letter which they had one of the friars write in which they

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10. In spite of the unheroic conduct of the friars and the slightly rhetorical reproof given them by the commandant, there would have been ample justification for capitulation to the pirates. For those in the fort the situation was hopeless and an honest surrender would have been no disgrace. Unfortunately the matter was taken out of the commandant's hands before he could do anything, whatever he might have done. The question of who opened the gate was never answered. In the taking of depositions after the event the three Franciscans were not questioned, doubtless because the religious were exempt from civil and military interrogation except when permission was obtained from their immediate superiors, and that permission Governor Cabrera would have been the last man to ask or to obtain. A single soldier in his deposition said that one of the friars opened the gate, but apparently his testimony carried no weight.

threatened somewhat naively to come to San Luis in full force and cut off everybody's head unless the ransom was received at once. In addition they demanded supplies which they claimed they had always before been given. From the comparative safety of San Luis Lieutenant Perez replied that he could not furnish anything without the permission of his governor. As for the friar who had been charged with getting ransom for his fellow friars, he, like Noah's last dove, returned no more.

The pirate ship hung around off the bar a matter of a fortnight, running into the river mouth from time to time at intervals which none of the deponents makes specific. Once the raiders set fire to the ruined fort to destroy it more completely. However, when it still appeared that no ransom for anyone was or would be forthcoming, they released all their prisoners, with the exception of Lieutenant de los Arcos and an unimportant young soldier by the name of Hernandez, and departed. These two they carried about the high seas with them for two months. Then, on an occasion when they raided a couple of estates on the Cuban coast, they released them there, apparently to make room for three women captives they had just acquired and whose lot in a buccaneer ship can be imagined. The released prisoners made their way overland to Havana, and there, on a hot June afternoon in that same year 1682, they appeared before Governor Joseph de Cordoba y Ponce de Leon and declared themselves refugees from the raided and burned fort of San Marcos de Apalache. The Governor listened to their story and then called a scrivener to take their declarations. Not that he was greatly interested in what had happened in Apalache. He had almost certainly heard about that before. But this matter of pirates - well, he had his own troubles with that lawless brotherhood. If this soldier who called himself Pedro de los Arcos had spent two months of captivity in a buccaneer vessel, surely he must have learned something about pirate

doings and intentions in the Caribbean. But what Pedro de los Arcos could tell was not much; only that the ship was one of a fleet of ten or twelve raiders that lurked among the Florida Keys and preyed on the shipping that rounded the Point and went up the Florida coast or through the Bahama Channel; only some confused gossip about buccaneer names and nick-names, and the rumor that the fleet was supposed shortly to attack St. Augustine.<sup>11</sup> And when Hernandez's deposition was taken he gave almost word for word the same testimony the older man had given.

*The Treatment of Pedro de los Arcos*

Governor de Cordoba sent the two back to Florida in the next ship that cleared for St. Augustine since both had declared themselves soldiers of that presidio. And Pedro de los Arcos had scarcely set foot on Florida soil before he was arrested by Governor Cabrera's orders and lodged as a prisoner in the still unfinished fortress. All that long, hot summer he languished there while the building of the *castillo* went on around him, questioned and accused again and again, until his answers were reduced to three weary statements which nothing could make him change:

He had not opened the gate of San Marcos de Apalache to the pirates.

He did not know who had opened the gate.

Lieutenant Perez was on the ground with troops and could have given him aid and did not.

To Governor Cabrera the worn prisoner in the fortress was always *el confesante* though he had confessed nothing, the man of proven guilt though the confused and controvertible evidence

11. The rumor was true. Less than a year later corsairs (the record calls them English but they may as well have been part of the Caribbean pirate fleet of the French Huguenot leader du Casse, Henry Morgan's successor, since Caribbean buccaneers were too mixed a breed for categorical classification) on March 30, 1683 invaded Florida and marched on St. Augustine but were routed. See Manucy; *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*. (Washington, 1942.)

given in San Luis did not prove it at all. Doubtless the governor realized his own injustice, doubtless he knew that no just proof or estimate of guilt could be arrived at without the sworn witness of the friars, and that sworn witness was out of his reach. To his military mind the commandant of the fort was *ex officio* the guilty man and must bear the blame and the punishment.<sup>12</sup>

In the autos of the case<sup>13</sup> which went back to the Council and the Crown we read as follows:

"In St. Augustine, on September 21, 1682, the Governor, Juan Marques Cabrera, in view of the confession of Lieutenant Pedro de los Arcos, commandant of infantry and of the Fort of San Marcos [de Apalache] and his guilt as proved by all the testimony as given in San Luis, condemns the said Pedro de los Arcos to be banished, deprived of his rank and dishonored for his punishment and as an example to all others."

And four days later the following: "On the 25th of September, 1682, the [government] scrivener with the two paid companies of the Presidio drawn up in squad formation with their sergeant major and their captain, read the *auto* to Lieutenant Pedro de los Arcos in person, who, having understood its tenor, obeyed, going away across the fields."

We see the bowed figure growing ever smaller in the distance until it is lost in an obscurity out of which it was never to emerge. For Pedro de los Arcos it was the end. What would it have profited him had he known that the Council of the Indies through its attorney-general, sternly rebuked Governor Cabrera - its choice for carrying on the building of the castillo and an executive of whom in the main it thought well - for having dealt unjustly with a soldier of the Crown whose guilt

12. The case was in a manner a showdown between religious and civic authorities, one in which the religious won the field by the simple expedient of saying nothing where something needed to be said. It was the beginning of actively strained relations between clergy and governors which lasted more or less until the end of the First Spanish Occupation.

13. Archives of the Indies 58-1-26 document 71<sup>1</sup>. Translation mine.

was neither confessed nor proved? His life lay in ruins, like the charred and fallen timbers of the fort he had not been able to defend.

## OSCEOLA'S COATS?

by WILLIAM C. STURTEVANT

A surprising number of Osceola's personal possessions have survived to the present, a circumstance no doubt attributable to his fame during life and to the fact that he died in captivity. Goggin (1955; see *Bibliography* following) has located and carefully described four items of Osceola's clothing and jewelry, and has compared them with their pictorial representation in Osceola portraits. The four pieces are not only the oldest documented Seminole examples of their types, but are among the oldest dated Seminole ethnographic specimens of any kind. Hence they are important for the study of the history of Seminole material culture, as well as having historical interest due to their association with Osceola.

The well-documented objects so far located are all decorative costume accessories. As Goggin suggests (1955: 181, 185), it is likely that Osceola was buried at least partly clothed, and it seems improbable that such items as his shirt, coat, and leggings would have been removed from his body as souvenirs - as his turban, sashes, garters, and silver ornaments apparently were (Goggin, 1955:180,183). Yet there are in existence three coats purporting to have belonged to Osceola. It is my purpose here to describe and evaluate these specimens, two of which were unknown to Goggin (and to me) at the time he wrote his article for the Osceola number of this *Quarterly* (Goggin, 1955).

The first of the three (mentioned in Goggin, 1955: 182) is easily dispensed with. This is a coat now in the museum of the Moravian Historical Society in Nazareth, Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> The

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1. I am indebted to Mr. Walter L. Peters, of the Society, for permitting me to examine and photograph this specimen in April, 1955. John Witthoft first noticed the piece in the museum.

coat bears an old label, partly obliterated, reading "ap[praised?] \$---- [illegible] Worn by Osceola ----- [illegible] War." It is a fine, full-length coat of white-tanned buckskin, open down the front, and decorated with buckskin fringes and with floral designs embroidered with silk thread. It has cuffs and a collar of dark brown velvet, and a separate, large, fringed, trianguloid yoke or cape attached at the seam between the collar and the body of the coat. The cut might conceivably be a deviant Seminole form. But the well-executed floral designs rule out this possibility, for they are in a style and a technique completely unlike any known Seminole work. Judging by the style of these embroidered designs, the garment probably was made in the region surrounding the Great Lakes; it is certainly not Southeastern Indian. Furthermore, the label already referred to is the sole documentation for the specimen, which apparently reached the Moravian Historical Society within the last thirty years, as part of a private collection from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

The other two coats attributed to Osceola are of quite a different nature. They are certainly Seminole and must have been collected before 1845; the only doubt involves their attribution to Osceola. These are among the eastern North American items now or formerly in the collections of the Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin, which are discussed in a recent monograph by Walter Krickeberg (1954). Dr. Krickeberg there briefly mentions "two of the cotton hunting shirts, which the famous chief Osceola wears in Catlin" (p. 84), but does not illustrate or describe them. Subsequent to the appearance of this work, these two specimens were located in the Kunstgutlager of Celle Castle, Celle, Lower Saxony (Krickeberg, 1955).

#### *Coat 1*

Dr. Horst Hartmann of Schloss Celle has kindly provided the photographs reproduced in plates 1 and 2, as well as some notes on the specimens. Coat 1 (plate 1; Museum für Volker-



Plate 1. Seminole coat, Museum fur Volkerkunde Berlin IV B 247, Front side above, back side below. (Photographs courtesy Verwaltung des Kunstgutlagers, Schloss Celle.)

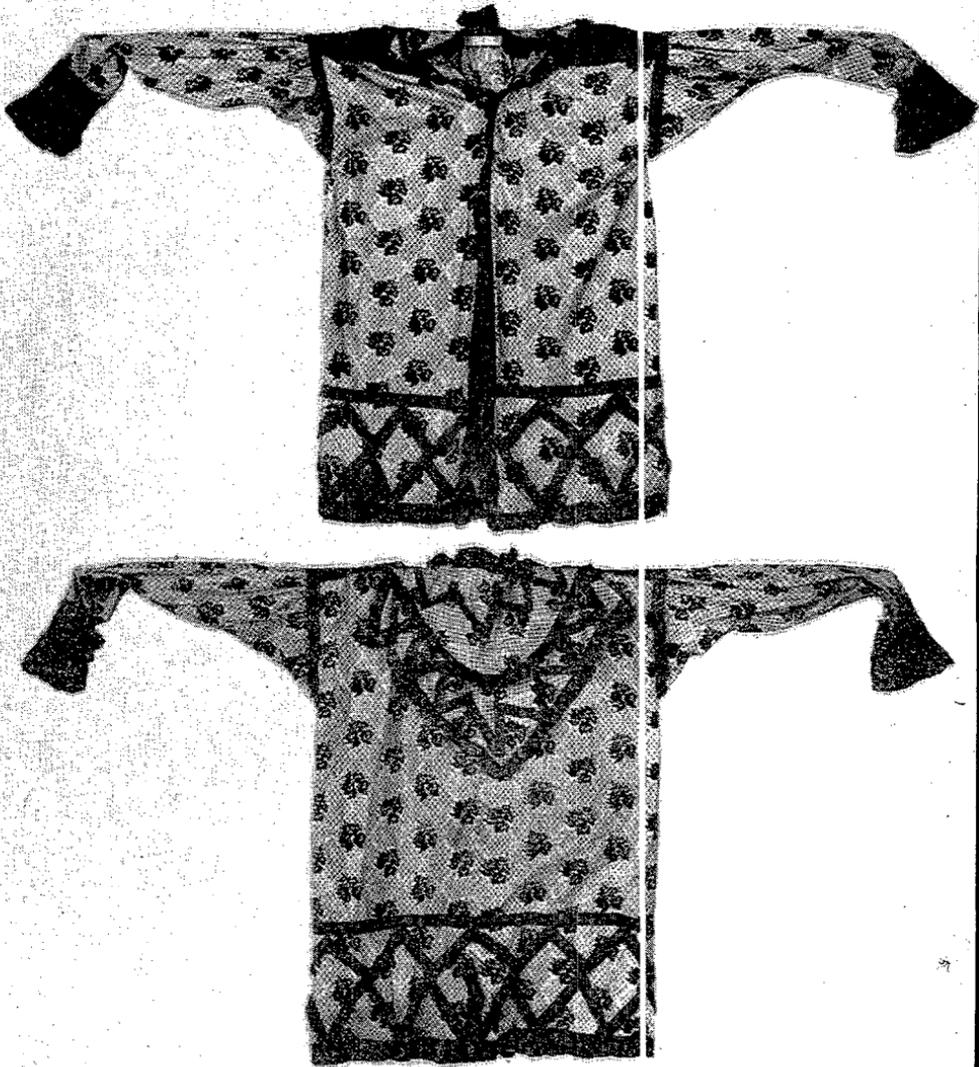


Plate 2. Seminole coat, Museum fur Volkerkunde Berlin IV B 248. Front side above, back side below. (Photographs courtesy Verwaltung des Kunstgutlagers, Schloss Celle.)

kunde number IV B 247) is about 110 cm. (44 inches) long, of cotton print, open down the front. The floral design is in gold-yellow, brown, reddish-brown, green, and blue, on a light colored (German "hell") background. The appliqued cloth strips are blue, red, and a light color ("heller Tonung") (Hartmann, 1955).

The photographs show that the sleeves are separate from the body, with gatherings at the attached cuffs and at the shoulder seams. The body is apparently of two pieces, sewn together up the back but with a short slit in the bottom of the skirt in back. There are ruffles around the bottom of the skirt, up the sides of the front opening, and in two appliqued horizontal bands and as part of two diagonal bands in the back. One horizontal band and the two diagonal bands in front have fringed lower borders, while the diagonal bands both in front and in back have fringed upper borders. The large cape-like collar attachment has two bands of ruffles, and it is sewn to the body only at the neck opening. There are extra strips sewn on the shoulders (toward the front on the left side, toward the rear on the right side), and triangular under-arm sections formed from the same piece of material as the sleeves (turned toward the back on the right sleeve, and toward the front on the left sleeve). A detail photograph of a section of the inside of the garment (not reproduced) shows that the decorative bands are appliqued onto the outside, with a simple running stitch (apparently of thread, rather than sinew).

A detailed comparison of this specimen with other Seminole coats in illustrations and museum collections would lead into a study of style changes and persistences, for which this is not the place. However, some of the more obvious resemblances and differences may be mentioned. In the first place, there can be no doubt that this specimen is Seminole. Many details

are identical with later Seminole coats. Among these are the general outline of the garment as a whole, the form and position of the ruffles and horizontal appliqued bands, the shape and size of the cape-like collar attachment, the front opening and tail slit, the small rectangular collar above the cape, the form of the cuffs, and the triangular under-arm pieces. The use of a cotton print fabric was common during the nineteenth century, judging from pictures, but was gradually replaced by solid color cotton in later times, as the familiar Seminole patchwork bands developed from decorative applique work and were added to men's coats. This patchwork technique was not in existence at the time these two specimens were collected. Unusual or unique features of the coat include the diagonal bands on front and back, the fringed edges of some appliqued strips,<sup>2</sup> and the extra inner ruffle on the body of the cape.

Thus the coat is Seminole; but how well does it agree with the coats shown in portraits of Osceola? As we shall see, the documentary evidence for the attribution of the specimen is not especially convincing, so a comparison with illustrations is reasonable. Of the known depictions of Osceola (described in Goggin, 1955), only three definitely show him wearing a coat. These three are the two portraits by Catlin, and one by Curtis, all painted during Osceola's captivity at Fort Moultrie. Only one of these is full-length, and this one is unfortunately probably the least accurate of the three.<sup>3</sup>

2. I know of no photographs showing fringes on Seminole clothing, nor of any museum specimens other than this one which exhibit this feature. However, it was apparently not uncommon in the 1820's and 1830's, for four of the Seminole portraits and four of the Creek ones in McKenney and Hall (1933-34) show men with fringed cloth clothing. The bottom of Osceola's coat is fringed in the full-length Catlin portrait.
3. Two other full-length portraits show Osceola wearing a coat. The print in Brownell (1855: facing p. 129; reproduced from an 1857 edition in McCarthy, 1949: facing p. 39) is derived without useful modifications from Catlin's engraving of his full-length portrait (reproduced in McCarthy, 1949: frontispiece; and in Goggin, 1955: cover). Compare now Goggin's (1955: 174) comments on the Brownell portrait. The other portrait, in oils, is by W. M. Laning

What can be seen of the print of the cloth in these three paintings in no case resembles the design shown on the photographs of the Berlin specimen (plate 1). Both the Curtis (Goggin, 1955: pl. 4) and the full-length Catlin painting (in the American Museum of Natural History, N. Y.; for a reproduction, see Stovall, 1954) show a brownish background - perhaps due to fading of the paint - with a print of white, green, and red flowers in the case of the Curtis portrait, and small dabs of red and blue with no pattern shown, in the Catlin painting. The binding or applique on the collar corners in the Curtis portrait is red. These colors can be interpreted as agreeing (taking into account fading and artistic license) with those reported by Hartmann for the Berlin specimen (see above). However, not only do the designs differ, but what few deductions can be drawn as to the cut of the portrait coats, show differences from the specimen. Ruffles on the edges are not shown, nor does Catlin show any applique stripes. The collar stripes shown by Curtis might be interpreted as representing the appliqued edges of the corners of the cape, which would appear in about this position - but the ruffle on the edge of the cape is not shown. The garment worn by Osceola in the full-length portrait in McKenney and Hall (1933-34: II, facing p. 360), is unlike our coat 1 in cut, color, design, and decorative additions. We may conclude that if this coat ever belonged to Osceola, he did not wear it when any of the known portraits of him were painted.

#### *Coat 2*

The other German specimen (plate 2; Museum fur Volkerkunde number IV B 248) is described by Dr. Hartmann (1955) as about 80 cm. (32 inches) long, of cotton, with red and brownish-violet flowers and green leaves printed against a very light

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and is in the collection of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch. A small black and white reproduction was published in *Look* (August 24, 1954), XVIII, no. 17, 87. This also is apparently derived from the Catlin portrait, with modifications which add nothing to our knowledge.

colored background design of squares filled with crossing rows of smaller squares. A ruffle with a dark gold floral print on a red background, is sewn onto the bottom edge of the coat, up both sides of the opening in front, and around the edge of the cape attached to the collar. The applied design around the skirt is of red cloth, whereas the cape ("Kragen") bears a strip of blue cloth; since the outer applied zigzag on the cape seems to be of the same material as the applique on the skirt, this "blue cloth" may refer to the inner ruffle and inner applied zigzag on the cuffs and the small rectangular collar. Each shoulder has a patch of solid colored cloth, and there are bands of what may be the same material above the cuffs and at the seams joining the sleeves to the body. A detail photograph (not reproduced) shows a neatly made seam up the center of the back, with both edges turned in so that the stitching is invisible from the outside. Like coat 1, this specimen has triangular under-arm pieces; the directions in which these are folded are not evident from the photographs.

Most of the features which identified coat 1 as Seminole (see above) are present also on coat 2. Notable differences, besides the strikingly different print design, include the lack of the unusual diagonal applique bands and the fringes of coat 1, the lack of horizontal ruffles on the body of the coat, and the presence in coat 2 of zigzag and diamond applique designs on the tail and the cape. The lack of ruffles can be matched in later Seminole coats. The simple applied designs are an important feature of the coat. Their presence on a Seminole cape is not otherwise known to me, with the single exception of a portrait of Micanopy (McKenney and Hall, 1933-34: II, facing p. 336), which shows a simple zigzag line, probably applique, around the border of a very large cape. However, applique designs are common on the tails of later examples, growing progressively more complex and smaller, and changing eventually to patchwork bands. Designs in this po-

sition, probably appliqued, also occur on other early Seminole coats: cf. the fine portrait of Tuko-see Mathla in McKenney and Hall (1933-34: III, facing p. 82); an engraving of Nokush-adjo, a member of Billy Bowlegs' party in New Orleans in 1858 (New Orleans Correspondent, 1858: 377); and an 1852 photograph of Billy Bowlegs recently acquired by the Bureau of American Ethnology (negative number 42,913 - or perhaps 43,913).

The patterns and colors of the designs of coat 2 are more similar to the coats shown in portraits of Osceola than are those of coat 1. The design in the two Catlin portraits is very indistinct, but it appears to be a small figure print comparable to that in the present specimen. The Curtis portrait coat, with small green, red, and white flowers on a brownish ground, is comparable to the specimen's green, red, and brownish floral design on a light background. The red binding on the tips of the collar or cape, shown in this portrait, is also similar to the bindings on the cape of the specimen, which may be red or blue (see above). However, the design and the cut of the coat in the Curtis and Catlin portraits are too indistinct to permit useful comparison with any specimen. The full-length portrait in McKenney and Hall (1933-34: II, facing p. 360) shows Osceola wearing what may be a coat (although the front opening is not shown) of green cloth with a red, blue, and black small-figured print, and with red collar binding.<sup>4</sup> How-

4. These are the colors shown on the first published version of this engraving, dated 1842 (*sic*), in volume 2 of the first edition of McKenney and Hall. In the 1933-34 edition, the print is red and green, on a green background. McCarthy (1949: 32, 36) distinguishes between the 1842 portrait and a slightly different one in the 1854 and some later quarto editions of McKenney and Hall, reproducing both, and attributing the first to Charles Bird King and the second to Robert Matthew Sully. I believe that there is no evidence for either attribution, and that the differences shown by the second version are due simply to a re-engraving of the same portrait (the first version, but not the second, is initialed "T.C.D."-artist or engraver?) (cf. Goggin, 1955: 173-174). Thus it seems reasonable to utilize only the portrait in the first edition of McKenney and Hall, as the nearest approximation to the lost original.

ever, there are no background squares such as specimen IV B 248 shows, nor does the portrait coat have the large diamond applique around the tail - the latter feature being also lacking in the full-length Catlin painting.

We are forced to the same conclusion reached with coat 1: this is a Seminole specimen, but if it ever belonged to Osceola, he apparently did not wear it while posing for any known portrait.

#### *Documentation*

The importance of these two coats, both as to their possible association with Osceola and also as ethnological specimens, depends largely on the nature of the documentary evidence accompanying them - as is almost always the case with museum specimens.

The two items were purchased from Friedrich Kohler by the Prussian State in 1845, as part of a collection of 41 pieces from eastern North America - ranging from the Dakota and Upper Missouri tribes, to the Naskapi of Labrador, and the Cherokee and Seminole in the Southeast - and from Hawaii (Krickeberg, 1954: 10, 95, *et passim*). It is presumed that the collection, which includes a number of excellent and important specimens, was gathered by Kohler himself. Little is known of him, except that he was *valet de chambre* for Adolphe Fourier de Bacourt, a French ambassador to Washington (Krickeberg, 1954: 10). Bacourt was minister to Karlsruhe in 1835-1840, and then ambassador to Washington, from which he passed to the embassy in Turin in 1842 (Dreyfus et al., 1887: 1097). He was in the United States from June 19, 1840, to August 11, 1842, during which time he made trips to Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York City, Boston, Syracuse, and Niagara Falls (as well as Washington, D. C.), but apparently not further west or

south (Bacourt, 1882). His letters from America do not mention Kohler by name; there are a few passing references to his valet, only one of which gives us any clues - on one occasion, he wanted to listen to some German singers in New York (Bacourt, 1882: 120). Krickeberg (1954: 11fn) is inclined to doubt Kohler's claim to German nationality, despite his residence in Copenbrugge, near Hameln (Hamelin), at the time of the purchase of his collection - both because his written German is exceedingly poor (as is demonstrated by his handwritten catalog in the Berlin museum), and because of his service with a French ambassador (Krickeberg, 1954: 11fn; 1955). The latter circumstance can be understood in view of Bacourt's long and pleasant stay in Germany just before coming to the United States.

Krickeberg (1954: 11fn) even ingeniously suggests that there may be some connection between Kohler and the famous French Canadian Toussaint Charbonneau (German *Kohler* and French *charbonnier* both meaning "charcoal-burner, collier"), who was a long-time resident among the Mandan and Hidatsa and served as guide and interpreter for Lewis and Clark, Prince Maximilian of Wied, and others - there are some Mandan and Hidatsa specimens in the Kohler collection. The wide geographic range of the specimens he collected suggests rather that Kohler purchased all or most of them from others, rather than getting them himself from the Indians. The fact that one specimen in the collection is labelled "War club of Kakoa," in *English* (Krickeberg, 1954: 179), would seem to contribute to this hypothesis.

Dr. Krickeberg informs me that Kohler's original list of specimens, titled "Curiosities from the Red Indians of North America," is still in the Berlin museum, and that under num-

ber nine on this list the following description appears:

Two hunting coats of the famous

Oceola, to go with his portrait.<sup>5</sup>

Krickeberg (1955) comments, "These are the two coats (really shirts) of our collection, IV B 247/8. The portrait is no longer present. . . . The question as to whether Kohler identified the shirts only by the portrait, or really collected them from the Seminole [or, one might add, got them with accompanying data from another collector], also remains open. Nevertheless, it is possible that he was in contact with the Southeastern Indians, since the interesting Cherokee pipe IV B 93 ("Altere Ethnographica" [Krickeberg, 1954] pl. 45e) belongs to his collection" (my translation). As to Kohler's phrase "to go with his portrait" ("nebst sein Portrait"), it may be noted that the specification of Catlin's painting (Krickeberg, 1954: 84; quoted above) is an addition by Krickeberg.

If we assume that Kohler was in the U.S. only during his service under Bacourt, and that he made no trips on his own during this time - both assumptions being unproven - and add to this the wide geographical provenience of the specimens and the English label on one of them, then he must have purchased them from other collectors. A possible source for the Seminole coats is indicated by Bacourt's letters: in September, 1840, Bacourt was visited in Washington by Achille Murat, who was then living in Florida, and who told him about Seminole War conditions (Bacourt, 1882: 192-194). May Kohler have gotten the coats from Murat or from a member of his entourage?

#### *Conclusion*

Coats of the type of the two German specimens are still in use among the Florida Seminole (Sturtevant, 1950-53). The

5. "Curiositet von den rhoten Indianer aus Nord-Amerika. . . . Zwey Jagd Roke von den beruhmten Oceola, nebst sein Portrait" in Kohler's spelling.

Mikasuki Seminole name for them translates as "long shirt," and local whites call them "medicine man's coats" or "chief's coats." Both these English names are misleading; there are no Seminole chiefs, and the use of the coats is not restricted to medicine men. However, today the "long shirt" is purely a ceremonial garment, in the sense that it is worn only by the more influential men on special occasions such as formal meetings and occasionally during curing rites. But the use of the coat is not prescribed for anyone for any specific occasions, nor does the garment or its use have any specific ritual or religious connotations. Old photographs show that it was more commonly worn forty or fifty years ago.

I have referred to the "long shirt" as a "coat," for two reasons: the manner in which it is worn, and its distinctive form. Present usage and old depictions agree that the garment is worn as a coat, over a shirt, and I know of no specimen with tie-strings, buttons, or other means for closing the front slit.

There are three types of Seminole shirt, distinct from each other and from the coat. The modern shirt worn tucked inside trousers, with several brightly colored decorative bands of patchwork, is called simply "shirt" in Mikasuki, and is an innovation of the last twenty-five or thirty years. The "big shirt," reaching to the knees or below, with a separate waistband to which the top and the skirt are sewn, today is also decorated with patchwork bands, although it originally was not. This pattern seemingly dates from about the turn of the century. The third form, now restricted to older men of the Cow Creek band, is called "short shirt" or "straight shirt" in Mikasuki. This has long sleeves (like all men's garments), reaches to about the level of the knees, is not decorated with patchwork bands, and lacks a waist band, hanging straight from the shoulders. It is now worn either alone or tucked into trousers. The "straight shirt" appears to be the old form of male basic garment, the

normal and perhaps the only form, except for the coat, during the nineteenth century. The modem "shirt" worn inside trousers is usually slit all the way down the front (the slit always reaches at least the waist), and is shorter than the others, reaching at most to a few inches below the hips. The "big shirt" and "straight shirt" are not open all the way down the front, but only to about waist level or a few inches above. All three shirts, in distinction to the coat ("long shirt"), lack the trianguloid cape sewn to the neck, and also lack the ruffles sewn to the edges of the garment and sometimes sewn to horizontal appliqued bands. Thus the four man's garments are uniquely defined by combinations of a few features: the coat or "long shirt" has a full front opening, cape, and ruffles, and is long; the modem "shirt" is uniquely short, always has several bands of patchwork designs, is always worn with trousers, and usually has a full front opening; the "big shirt" is long, has a chest opening only, may have patchwork designs (almost always does now), and is unique in its constricted waist with skirt below; the "straight shirt" hangs straight without waist band, has a chest opening only, and never has patchwork designs. Therefore, the two German specimens are coats, not shirts, exhibiting the distinctive characteristics of "long shirts."

We have seen that it is unfortunately impossible to be sure of the attribution of the German coats to Osceola. If they did belong to him, they date from before 1838 (the year of his death); if Kohler was only in the United States as a servant of ambassador Bacourt, they date from 1842 or before; in any case, the end date is 1845, when the Prussian government purchased them from Kohler. The next oldest Seminole coat known to me is one collected in 1876, which is in the University Museum, Philadelphia (catalog number 45-15-273). There are a few specimens collected in the 1890's, and all the rest are more recent. Apparently the oldest dated shirt, one of the

"straight shirt" type, was collected in 1894 (Chicago Natural History Museum no. 167921). I know of no woman's clothing collected before the 1890's. So the two German coats, although they cannot be definitely associated with Osceola, are by far the oldest dated Seminole clothing, and their ethnological importance is not lessened by the uncertainty of the Osceola attribution.

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SURVEYORS' FIELD NOTES AS A SOURCE OF  
HISTORICAL INFORMATION

by WILFRED T. NEILL, \*

No doubt many historians are aware of the information to be gleaned from surveyors' field notes. However, it seems desirable to call further attention to these documents; they should be of special interest to the student of local history, and to the archeologist who wishes to find sites of the Seminole period in Florida.

During the 1830's and 1840's, government surveyors were mapping parts of the state, establishing corner marks for the section-township-range grid which is still in use. Their progress was frequently interrupted by Seminole hostilities; nevertheless surveyors prepared many accurate maps showing portions of Florida in minute detail. Each map was accompanied by a set of field notes, describing natural features and man-made objects encountered while section lines were being run. A few excerpts from these notes will give an idea of their potential value.

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, there were Seminole villages near present-day Ocala, Marion County, Florida; but the precise nature and extent of Seminole occupation in this area cannot be learned from historical accounts. Surveyors' maps and notes reveal that Indian settlement was mostly in T 15 S, R 22 E, and T 16 S, R 21 E. In the former township and range, there was an Indian (Seminole) field on the western edge of S 19, and two more along the boundary between S 29 and S 30. A path or road, called "Osceola's Trail," cut through the northwestern corner of S 36. In the latter township and range, there was an Indian field on the north-eastern corner of S 13; another on the western boundary of

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\* The author is indebted to William E. Franklin, Jr., of Marion Engineering Company, Ocala, Florida, for permission to examine photostats of various maps and field notes relating to the subject of this paper.

S 11, a little more than a half-mile north of the southwestern corner of that section; and yet another on the northern boundary of S 11, a half-mile east of the section's northwestern corner. There was also an Indian field on the northern boundary of S 1, a little more than a half-mile west of the section's northeastern corner. As S 1 was of irregular shape, owing to the encroachment of the Catalina de Jesus Hijuelos Grant, this field must have been on what is now the John W. Edwards property. As I have pointed out previously,<sup>1</sup> this was the location of a Seminole village, probably Osceola's Town. Unfortunately, when the survey was made (in 1843, by L. M. Prevost), the Indian settlements had been abandoned, although Seminole fields, gardens, and even dwellings were still to be seen at various localities in Marion County. The southern boundary of S 1 crossed "the road to Charley Emathla's town," according to the aforesaid field notes.

One of the surveyors mapped a tract which he described as being "near Tuskanahaw Town on the west side of Big Swamp Hammock, eight or ten miles southwest of Camt. [Cantonment] King." This piece of land (the SW 1/4 and Lot No. 2, S 12, T 16 S, R 21 E) is the one which for a time belonged to David, Marcus W., and John Q. A. Reinhardt; it is the "Reinhardt tract" which I had previously mentioned in connection with the search for Osceola's Town.<sup>2</sup> "Tuskanahaw" is a variant spelling of "Taska Heniha," the name of a Seminole leader. Taska Heniha was, apparently, a Mikasuki; he is usually associated with the Seminole band on the St. Johns River.<sup>3</sup> So far as I know, there is no other indication of this Indian's residence near Ocala. The surveyor set the northeastern corner post of this tract in an

1. Neill, W. T., "The Site of Osceola's Village in Marion County, Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly* (April-July, 1955), XXIII, nos. 3-4, 240-246.

2. *Ibid.*, 242.

3. Porter, K. W., "Origins of the St. John's River Seminole: Were They Mikasuki?" *The Florida Anthropologist* (1951), nos. 3-4, 39-45.

Indian field, and one may suppose that Taska Heniha's Town was nearby.

Some interesting notes pertain to the "Big Scrub" country, now the Ocala National Forest in eastern Marion County. Much of this area was surveyed by R. B. Ker in 1835. Ker's field notes contain more explanatory remarks than usual. They reveal, for example, how various natural features received their names.

In the Big Scrub Ker encountered a "fine sheet of water. There are no water marks on the timber at any point on this lake. It is a spring covered with ducks and filled with fish of the finest kind. I have named it after the present governor of Florida, Eaton. The Indians have no name for it - excepting their general appellation - wewa - which is the Seminolese for water." Thus Lake Eaton was named. Of the creek flowing therefrom, Ker remarked, "This creek is the outlet of a lake by the same name. This creek and said lake had no name - The Indians say so. I have named them after our present governor." Of Scrub Lake Ker observed, "No name, as usual, among the Indians for this lake. In consequence of its being surrounded with scrub I have named it as above, Scrub Lake." On his birthday Ker encountered a large, unnamed lake and could not resist calling it after himself. This explains the spelling, "Lake Ker," seen on early and some modern maps; the usual present-day spelling, "Lake Kerr," is erroneous.

There are a few references to Seminoles in the Big Scrub. On one occasion Ker was surveying S 19, T 14 S, R 24 E. At "72. chains west of the SE comer" of this section, he passed an "Indian's house," and when searching for a previously erected range line marker, he found only "the hole where the post had been. It was destroyed, I suppose by the Indians, and the numbers erased from the trees." Another surveyor, Paul McCormick, mapping T 14 S, R 24 E, in the year 1834, stated in his field notes, "Sections 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 34, 35, and 36 not run

. . . because supposed to be in the Indian Territory.”

In S 24, T 14 S, R 23 E, McCormick indicated a tract of land belong to “Caldwell,” and the house of “Dr. Moore.” Apparently there were settlers in the Big Scrub at this early date.

Also of value were certain field notes pertaining to T 12 S, R 19 E, an area including portions of Marion and Levy counties. One of the surveyors was called upon to locate the Domingo Acosta Grant. In his field notes he remarked: “Ascertained the location of this grant from position of Bowlegs’ Old Plantation, well known as Wacahoota, and called for in the original Spanish plat.” (This was Old Wacahoota, not the present-day one in Alachua County.) Apparently Bowlegs’ settlement, one of the largest Seminole towns, was within the Spanish land grant. Guided by the field notes, I was able to locate an extensive Seminole archeological site in the vicinity of the grant, and to recover a good bit of material therefrom. A report on the site is in preparation.

Judging from the field notes, the surveyors often built mounds of earth to serve as corner markers when no sizable bearing trees were available. Some of the mounds were quite large, four or five feet high and as much as 15 feet in diameter. At present these structures might be erroneously attributed to the Indians who preceded the Seminoles in Florida. The so-called “domiciliary mounds,” devoid of cultural remains, in some cases may actually be surveyors’ corner markers.

The surveyors’ maps and notes portray and describe natural features, even very minor ones such as ponds, thickets, bayheads, fields, and the like. (L. M. Prevost, in his notes, provided subjective description also, referring to “damnable live oak scrub,” “miserable scrub,” “third rate pine,” etc.) The ecologist should find these documents of interest in connection with studies on plant succession. It would be worthwhile to compare the vegetation of the 1830’s with that of today, especially in an

undisturbed area such as the Big Scrub. Other minor changes in local ecology might also come to light.

The above comments give some idea of the information contained in surveyors' field notes and maps. Fortunately, these documents <sup>4</sup> are readily available. Photostats of them may be purchased from the State Department of Agriculture in Tallahassee, and often are on file in the offices of surveying and engineering companies.

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4. *Surveyors' Field Notes and Maps*. Archives of Field Note Division. Department of Agriculture, Tallahassee.

THE LEGENDARY VISIT OF EMERSON  
TO TALLAHASSEE  
by ALAN J. DOWNES

Among the pioneers in the perennial migration of winter visitors to Florida was Ralph Waldo Emerson, the beloved philosopher of American ideals. In 1827, ten years before the flowering of the stirring essays on "The American Scholar" and "Self-Reliance," the unknown tubercular youth sailed into castle-shadowed St. Augustine harbor seeking the healing climate of the newly-acquired Florida Territory.

During his ten-week stay the future scholar as a matter of habit recorded his random thoughts and his impressions of life around him in a series of journal entries, notebook jottings, and letters. These writings, now published in relative completeness, constitute an important historical source, first because of their record of Emerson's momentous meeting with the atheistic Napoleonic prince-in-exile, Achille Murat; and second because of the light they throw upon social life in the old Spanish town just following American occupation.<sup>1</sup>

Among these several dozen items stands a very picturesque description of Tallahassee, the newly-founded territorial capital, which has the misleading appearance of an eye-witness account. This striking bit has become the basis of a popular notion, understandable but erroneous, that Emerson made a side-trip to visit Prince Murat's plantation near Tallahassee. The document is here quoted in full:

Tallahassee, a grotesque place, selected three years since as a suitable spot for the Capital of the territory, and since that day rapidly settled by public officers, land

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1. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, eds., *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson 1820-1872, with Annotations*, 10 vols. (Houghton Mifflin, 1909-1914), II, 149-190; and Ralph L. Rusk, ed., *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 6 vols. (Columbia University Press, 1939), I, 186-195.

speculators and desperadoes. Much club law and little other. What are called the ladies of the place are, in number, eight. "Gov. Duval is the button on which all things are hung." Prince Murat has married a Mrs. Gray and has sat down in the new settlement. Tallahassee is 200 miles west of St. Augustine, and in the journey thither you sleep three nights under the pine trees. The land in its neighborhood is rich. Here is the township of Lafayette.

I saw here a marble copy of Canova's bust of Queen Caroline of Naples, Murat's wife. It did not strike me as at all wonderful, though Canova's busts of the Buonapartes are said to be his finest works.<sup>2</sup>

Out of thirteen writers who touch on Emerson's Florida sojourn, six assert, primarily on the basis of this passage, that the poet did visit Tallahassee;<sup>3</sup> while six others avoid or omit any mention of such a trip.<sup>4</sup> The only published negation is a two-line footnote in the six-volume edition of Emerson's letters, which asserts cautiously that it seems "very improbable that Emerson visited Murat at Tallahassee, as some have believed."<sup>5</sup> It seems worthwhile to resolve the conflict and to show definitely

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2. *Journals*, II, 161. Queen Caroline was the wife of Joachim Murat, king of Naples - that is, Achille Murat's mother.
  3. The originator of the idea was apparently James E. Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 3 vols. (Houghton Mifflin, 1887), I, 126. Most important propagators were the editors of the *Journals*: see II, 161, footnote. The most recent and probably the most influential in Florida was Mrs. H. L. Richmond, "Ralph Waldo Emerson in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (October, 1939), XVIII, 81. See in addition the biographies by Garnett, by Russell, and by George E. Woodberry.
  4. Most significant of the silent six is Alfred J. Hanna, *A Prince in Their Midst: The Adventurous Life of Achille Murat on the American Frontier* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1946), where, in a whole chapter devoted to the Frenchman's relations with Emerson, Hanna scrupulously avoids the question of the legendary visit. Unfortunately Ralph L. Rusk in his new biography, *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), takes no positive steps to discredit the legend. See also the biographies by Gay, by Firkins, and by Michaud, as well as the recent history of Florida by J. E. Dovell.
  5. *Letters*, I, 194, note 3.

that Emerson did not visit Tallahassee.

Beyond the equivocal description quoted above there is no evidence to support the legend. Emerson mentions the town in only one other place - a passing reference to it as the home of Murat, in the course of his later description of the Prince; and nowhere does he speak of having been there.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the style of the description is peculiar. Would a young man who had just enjoyed plantation hospitality have written afterwards of his hostess as "a Mrs. Gray"? Why does he put the characterization of Governor Duval in quotation marks, as if he had heard it from someone else? So suspicious are these elements that even the original proponent of the legend remarked that "it is not quite clear that he is speaking of himself."<sup>7</sup>

There is very good reason for doubting that Emerson spoke of himself. He had come to St. Augustine as an invalid, physically incapable (according to his own belief at least) of enduring the exhausting two-hundred mile ride over a wheel-rut trail, sleeping in the open in the middle of winter - even a Florida winter.<sup>8</sup> A poem he had written upon arrival at St. Augustine ended with the words

... I feel

In spite of hope, these wishful eyes no more

Shall see New England's wood-crowned hills again.<sup>9</sup>

And even on the eve of departure two months later his optimism could rise only to "I fancy myself better lately. . . ." <sup>10</sup> These are not the feelings of a pioneer sightseer.

The really conclusive evidence is given by Emerson him-

6. *Ibid.*, I, 194; also *Journals*, II, 161, footnote.

7. Cabot, *op. cit.*, I, 126.

8. Calendaring of his writings shows only two gaps long enough to allow for the trip - one immediately after his arrival in January, the other in mid-February.

9. *Journals*, II, 151.

10. Letter to Mary Moody Emerson, St. Augustine, [March 25?], 1827 in *Journals*, II, 179.

self when, in a letter written after his return to Charleston, he describes rhapsodically his intimate conversations with Prince Murat. The Frenchman and his wife, married the previous summer, left St. Augustine for their belated honeymoon on the same ship with the Yankee poet, only to find themselves becalmed for several days at sea.<sup>11</sup> Emerson records, “. . . My kind genius had sent me for my shipmate, Achilles Murat, the eldest son of the old king Joachim, who is now a planter at Tallahassee and is at this time on his way to visit his uncle at Bordentown. *We boarded together in St. Augustine but I did not become much acquainted with him till we went to sea.*”<sup>12</sup> The sentence here italicized provides in Emerson’s own words the two vital facts necessary to explain away the ostensible eye-witness description of Tallahassee upon which rests the notion of Emerson’s visit. The youth could not have been a guest in the Murat home near Tallahassee, viewing there the treasured sculpture of Murat’s mother, yet at the same time not “become much acquainted” with the Prince until they went to sea six weeks later. On the other hand, the fact that the two men boarded together - eating at the same table, relaxing in the same parlor - helps to explain the puzzling local color in the “description” of Tallahassee. It now becomes clear that these notes, like so many of Emerson’s entries, were made from hearsay, perhaps from remarks of Murat himself. Their boarding together also accounts for Emerson’s statement that he “saw here a marble copy of Canova’s bust of Queen Caroline of Naples. . . .” Obviously he saw it - could only have seen it - exhibited by Murat at their hotel.

In the face of such facts, how could the legend have arisen? The truth is that the facts were not available until 1939. For some reason not yet explained the single crucial sentence

11. Hanna, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 128.

12. (Italics mine.) *Letters*, I, 193-4. “Achilles” is Emerson’s spelling.

concerning Emerson's becoming acquainted with Murat was omitted from the versions published by Cabot in 1887 and in the *Journals* published 1909-1914, and did not appear until Rusk included it in the 1939 edition of the letters.<sup>13</sup> Hence it may be said that the legend of Emerson's visit to Tallahassee was an honest effort to explain a mutilated text. With a true text and a new explanation in hand, the time has come to abandon the legend.

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13. Cabot, *op. cit.*, I, 126-7; *Journals*, II, 182; *Letters*, I, 193-4. Rusk does not explain the previous omission of the sentence.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH IN QUINCY, FLORIDA  
DURING THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD

*by* EDWARD B. GEARHART

The development and the growth of the Episcopal Church in Quincy, Florida, and in all Florida, has been best related through the stories of the church leaders whether they were the parish rectors or, in all too few cases, able laymen. For a clear understanding of the life of St. Paul's Church in Quincy during territorial Florida, three periods must be kept in mind. First, there was the long period of development into a congregation; second, there was the founding of the church and its growth under a rector in residence; last, and most important, were the situations that affected, and were responsible for, the declines when no minister was available for constant leadership.

What was true in St. Paul's was true in varying degrees in other churches of the Anglican Communion in the state, in their establishment, growth, scope of influence, composition of congregations, influence upon the community or state politics and community welfare. Those churches that wanted for ecclesiastical leadership existed only in spirit until a minister was found, or the congregation was lost to the denominations able to provide ministers having qualifications high enough to meet the popular demand. Those of the Anglican Communion loved its heritage and service, but the requirements placed upon the clergy made it impossible to supply the demand in as unhealthy an area as territorial Florida. Then too, the prospects of this frontier were not bright to the members of the Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church whose obligation it was to provide ministers for the churches or missions and other aids deemed necessary and possible.

The interchanging of flags over the Floridas created a unique situation for the Anglican Church and was significant in the development of the Episcopal Church in Florida. Before the return of the two Floridas to Spain in 1783 the Church of England had established a missionary diocese in the peninsula. There were only three parishes of size, St. Augustine, Pensacola and Mobile, and two of lesser importance, St. Marks and Key West, which were classified as mission parishes. The returning Spanish crown and the Roman Catholic Church invoked a non-tolerance policy toward other religious worship as anticipated by the British churchmen, who left for more tolerable climates. An interesting fact concerning the Spanish return to St. Augustine, was that the building used by the English for a church was formerly the uncompleted governor's mansion, and was in turn torn down for its bricks to build a church of a Spanish design.<sup>1</sup>

The creation of Tallahassee in 1824 as the territorial capital in the middle of a wilderness, in need of all the institutions and facilities for what was then every day living, helped to focus attention inward from the developed fringes, instead of encouraging it to concentrate upon the existing population centers. Among the new developments of Tallahassee was St. John's Church which was declared as being on missionary status in November of 1826. The following May Reverend Ralph Williston of Delaware was appointed rector of the church. The route necessary for his coming took him through Pensacola where he was advised not to continue because of the high waters in the lowlands. While there he organized a congregation and began collecting funds for promoting the parish. The delay in beginning official duties was furthered by his return to

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1. Dr. Edgar Legare Pennington, "The Episcopal Church in Florida 1763-1892" in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, (March, 1938), 4-17. Hereinafter cited, *Pennington*.

Philadelphia until the following November. He later brought his family and was thus the first clergyman of the Episcopal Church to locate in the middle district of territorial Florida.

The report of Williston to the Missionary Society noted the absence of church buildings, which, at that time, would have denoted permanence as nothing else would, as well as giving the owners a justified pride of accomplishment and gaining the respect of the community for the congregation and its members.

I passed three Sundays in Pensacola. . . . On the first I performed divine service, and preached in the old theatre, in which Mr. Hardy, the Methodist preacher usually officiates; on the other two Sundays, I officiated at the courthouse . . . <sup>2</sup>

The church in Tallahassee was reported as having a good congregation of from "thirty to forty families of respectability and intelligence" yet it had only two communicants. Williston reported that one of the first works of the new church was to foster a mission, St. Phillips, at Wacissa, about 18 miles east of Tallahassee. Two miles more distant in the opposite direction was Quincy. The reason settlement moved eastward instead of westward may be attributed to the geographic and climatic factors of the region. To the east there were fewer marshes or streams that became swollen with the seasonal rains to interfere with the extending fingers of the plantation system. In the Quincy direction there were in addition to the marshes, poorer roads, few people except on the coast, and climatic conditions that infested the area with fever.

#### *The Settlement at Quincy*

Another consideration that influenced settling in the Quincy area was that the Forbes Company owned huge tracts of land available only at terms beyond the reach of the common land

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2. "Proceedings of the Missionary Society, May 13, 1828" as cited by *Pennington*, 21.

speculators just coming in numbers into Florida. There appears to have been good will between the directors and the first settlers of the Forbes Purchase, and likewise both had similar backgrounds as to heritage and economic status. As it developed, these first settlers became the community leaders. For example, Major Robinson acquired almost one quarter of the Forbes lands in the lower part of what was to become Gadsden County; and he became the county's first judge. Edward, his brother, was made county clerk, and Robert Forbes became high sheriff, whose responsibility it was to collect the taxes in the district.<sup>3</sup> The creation of Quincy at the county seat of Gadsden County was agreed upon in 1825, but the charter and deed for the townsite was not issued until February 15, 1828.<sup>4</sup> A census of these years has been made from the tax reports of Robert Forbes which reported that 815 white residents and 516 Negro slaves lived in Gadsden County as compared with 996 whites in Leon County, and a total of 2236 in Jackson County. These figures revealed the comparative strengths of the communities and the relatively small economic abilities of the three areas.<sup>5</sup> To the settlers, the knowledge of their strength was essential to their peace of mind because of the ever present fear of the Indians. Quincy itself was fortunate because the Creeks who had been tamed by "Old Hickory" were the dominant Indians of the area.

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3. J. Randall Stanley, *History of Gadsden County*, (written under the auspices of the Gadsden County Historical Commission, 1950). Unpublished, 24, hereinafter cited as *Stanley*. This "book" is incomplete, but a few copies were run off for evaluation. An unbound copy was graciously loaned to this writer by Col. William Robinson of Quincy who is at present the Senior Warden of St. Paul's Church. He also made available the church records, and contributed much from his excellent knowledge of the church's history.

4. A copy of the "Deed for the townsite (sic) of Quincy - U.S. Certificate no. 2002 on February 15, 1828" was printed by the Herald Office by W. W. Keys in 1892 and two copies were presented to the city. One went to the late A. L. Wilson and H. W. Scott received the other. They are family possessions.

5. *Stanley*, 54.

The Quincy area was noted by many as a peaceful or even healthful oasis. Indeed, John Lee Williams, one of the two men who helped to choose the location for the territorial capital, wrote in a book in 1839 that since 1824 Quincy had "improved into a pleasant village."<sup>6</sup> A contemporary of Williams, Ellen Call Long, described a visit to Quincy about 1838 to attend a bird and vension supper. She called the village the "younger sister of Tallahassee" but with not so many people or as many good times.<sup>7</sup>

Among the people Ellen Call visited were the Randolphs who were related to the Randolphs of Tallahassee. Her remarks about the culinary arts of the girls, "Miss Lou and Miss Jessie," were most complimentary. "Miss Lou" was Louisa Maria Randolph who was baptized in St. Paul's in April of 1839, while "Miss Jessie" was evidently the nickname for Jacintha who was named in the records of the church as a communicant and later "removed." Another family of the Quincy flock Ellen Call remembered was that of William Tennant and Sally W. Stockton because she said, "Stockton seems to be synonymous with beautiful, for there are several charming ladies of the name to make them so." Their "boy", William was the one baptized on Christmas Day in 1844. The high point in her stay in Quincy was the sugar boiling at the Carnachan place, described as being on the Forbes Purchase. Mr. Carnachan was the agent for the Forbes Company, but his wife, Harriet, seemed to have assumed the church obligations because her name was among the first entries in the records of the church while his remained absent at least from the same

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6. John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida: or Sketches of the topography, civil and national history, of the country, climate, and Indian tribes, from the first discovery to the present time* (New York, A. T. Goodrich, 1839), 125. Hereinafter cited, *Williams*.

7. Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes* (Jacksonville, 1882), 235. Hereinafter cited, *Florida Breezes*.

church.<sup>8</sup>

In 1838 Quincy was in a fairly healthy condition, but, like Tallahassee in the 1831-32 seasonal fever period, it also had been ravaged.<sup>9</sup> The healthy conditions and the Indian settlements of the Jackson administrations promoted an age for the people of this area in which they prospered and multiplied. John Carnachan was credited with having introduced long staple cotton into the middle district in 1820, and later, having erected the first sugar mill in Gadsden County. About 1828 tobacco of the Virginia type was introduced and rounded out the major crops which were to dominate for many years the economy of Florida. The Masons had their lodge building by 1827 and in 1830 with the Jockey Club functioning, an aristocracy of the landed gentry type similar to that of the old Piedmont areas of the east coast, was much in evidence.

The new crops and farming methods were thought by John Lee Williams to be impractical for slave labor and in particular the growing of tobacco. He was in favor of raising sugar cane because it required less hoeing and less care than did corn. He remarked that the market for cane was seven dollars a hundredweight and that one man received \$4200 for fifty acres. As for tobacco of the Cuban type, bright leaf, it was possible to get \$700 an acre with an output of only \$13, or a profit of \$677 an acre. In his opinion the gamble was too great regardless of the possible gains and the raising of the crop would have to be on a small scale. The money crops in 1839 were cotton, cane, tobacco, silk, corn, sweet potatoes, and, for delicacy, English peas (which would grow only in the winter season).<sup>10</sup>

A larger land holding class emerged in the parish area of

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8. *Minister's Record, St. Paul's Church, Quincy*, I. Hereinafter cited as *Minister's Record*.

9. *Williams*, 16.

10. *Williams*, 16.

St. Paul's Church so that people with money or security stayed. Others, not established by the late 30's moved on to the newer lands farther west. The territory, instead of expanding, was filling up from the fringes, but regardless of how, the increased population and growth of small communities also developed the natural desire for institutions best suited to promote greater peace, security, and individual happiness. The word of the individual and the concept of self-sufficiency was acknowledged as the ideal, but there was no feeling of antagonism or resentment toward religion. This was evident in that the oldest continuous congregation, the Presbyterian, had the greatest number of the founding fathers. Their leadership as churchmen as well as in civil affairs was apparent in the first board of elders of the Old Philadelphia (Quincy) church with Archibald Buie, Sr., William Forbes, Daniel Love, John C. Love, Dr. John Davidson, and later Daniel L. Kenan.<sup>11</sup>

#### *Organization of the Church*

St. Paul's Church was still not organized, but the presence of a possible congregation was known because James Higgman Tyns, the newly appointed rector of the Tallahassee Church, told of holding services in Quincy in his report to the Missionary Society dated May 16, 1834. He also mentioned visiting a village called "The New Virginia Settlement" for which no explanation was given.<sup>12</sup> Eighteen-thirty-four was the same year that Thomas Kenan, a member of the group which later became St. Paul's, was elected as City Clerk of Quincy.<sup>13</sup> The existence of the group being known, it was only chance that had left it unorganized. If its strength had been as great as that of St. Joseph and Apalachicola, the Quincy church might

11. *Stanley*, 66.

12. *Pennington*, 14-30.

13. "Poll list for the Quincy Election, 1834, February 3." Florida State Library Archives.

have been chartered in 1837 also, but the founding of an Episcopal church in Gadsden County had to wait until after the formation of the Diocese of Florida the following year.

This organization of the parishes was a milestone in the growth of the church in Florida. Its conception fostered a hope that promoted expansion, furnished a new sense of security, and made possible the inter-parish cooperation so necessary for a unified effort to progress. It likewise made the scattered parishes feel less alone in the wilderness and part of a greater whole. The Primary Convention was held in Tallahassee on January 17, 1838 at St. John's Church with only seven churches represented. Of the seven only St. Joseph was without a resident rector. Because of the transportation and financial problems only three of the clergy attended, and the other churches were represented by laymen. Of interest, in their development, was the fact that only three of the congregations were self sustaining, and the families at both Quincy and Marianna were desirous of services.<sup>14</sup>

This desire was fulfilled in 1838 when Bishop Jackson Kemper made a circuit trip across West Florida to Tallahassee. He was the first bishop who had been in Florida for many years and, like most travelers with the territorial capital as his destination, he landed at Pensacola. He spent Ash Wednesday at that city and on March 7, 1838 organized the church in Marianna. The report of the Bishop to the Missionary Society stated the following concerning the Quincy assembly;

On Friday the 16th of March, Mr. Woart, [then rector of Tallahassee] and I arrived at Quincy where we remained until after Sunday the 18th: and although disappointed in not organizing a parish, we consider it an important Missionary Station, and efforts will be made immediately to secure a clergyman for it . . .

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14. *Journal of the Primary Convention*, cited by Pennington.

Quincy is a pretty, interesting, and very healthy village, and will doubtless become a favorite place for the establishment of schools. There are several families, particularly in the neighborhood, attached to the church. I know of six communicants - there are probably others. . . . I advise it to be made a Missionary Station.<sup>15</sup>

The recommendations of Bishop Kemper were accepted and the Reverend Jehu Jones arrived the following November, thus marking the beginning of the long struggle of St. Paul's to obtain and retain a resident clergyman. No record of his marriage or marital status upon arrival has been found in the church records, but an entry for the baptism of the son of Jehu and Ana Jones was made on page two of the Minister's Record Book. We reported to the Missionary Society that he arrived on November 19, 1838 and was invited by the Methodists to occupy their place of worship the first Sunday. "I accepted the invitation and have preached fourteen times up to this date," he continued.<sup>16</sup> The congregations were said to have been large and attentive, and that a Sunday school had been organized which showed promise.

The personality and character of this man has remained a mystery, but his concern for the numbers in the congregation and the economic details were quite different in tone from reports of other ministers in new churches. For example, the words of the Key West rector expressed the hardships he encountered, but placed faith in the work and in God before numbers of the congregation and fine church locations. "I am sowing seed," he said, "and though it be upon a land where there is no depth of earth, I am encouraged that there is a

16. *Jones Reports* quoted by Stanley, 68.

15. Reports of Jehu Jones, from notes of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church with headquarters in New York, taken by C. Rankin Barnes (secretary) at the request of Ronald S. Marissey, rector of St. Paul's Church, in behalf of J. Randal Stanley. *Stanley*, 67. Hereinafter cited, *Jones Reports*.

power which can soften that rock.“<sup>17</sup> These traits are mentioned because Jehu Jones later became inadequate in his service. Evidently he was ambitious and had illusions as to what he would find in Quincy. His first report to the Missionary Society was written just prior to the annual meeting of the infant diocese, so he could make no mention of the convention. His concern for the building of the church edifice was in keeping with the practices of the day, and from his report it was found that “one individual came forward and generously subscribed \$600 and a lot (A. J. Forman); and in a short time it was ascertained that between three and four thousand dollars could be attained.“<sup>18</sup>

The availability of such a sum of money from so small a group denoted the class of people found in the responsible positions in the Quincy church. At this time a preacher’s ability to have a large congregation and build, or get financed, a new church building was the sign of that preacher’s power as well as the good within that church body. Jones even said, concerning his congregation and the more fortunate citizens, that they, “compared to a great extent, of [sic, with] the families of Virginia, the two Carolina’s, and Georgia.“<sup>19</sup> Indeed, a great many of them were from exactly those places, and the greater part of the congregation was made up of the conservatives of the day. This conservatism was even more evident in their church life and in the practices advocated by the Episcopal Church in the United States. Jones praised his flock in the “avoidance of the exciting topics of the day” and noted that he found this church tended to be attractive to others because of her “unity and peace.”

17. *Journal of the Second Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Florida, held in St. John’s Church Tallahassee, 1839.* Tallahassee, Knowles and Hutchens, Printers, 1839, 8. Hereinafter cited as *Journal of 1839*.

18. *Jones Reports* quoted by Stanley, 68.

19. *Jones Reports* quoted by Stanley, 68.

To what extent Jones was aware of the "exciting topics" involving his parishioners could be questioned, but in small communities it was quite acceptable, if not an obligation, to assume the public offices if one were selected as the best qualified. Such was the case when A. J. Forman was elected intendent of the city, which was then an office of more significance than today's counterpart, the mayor. The acceptance of responsibility in both church and civil affairs was exemplified in the fact that the two delegates from Quincy to the St. Joseph Constitutional Convention of 1838 were both from St. Paul's Church.<sup>20</sup> John W. Malone, the first delegate, later transferred to the Methodist Church, but Samuel B. Stevens and his family were charter members of St. Paul's.

Two of the most significant events in the life of St. Paul's Church occurred while Jehu Jones was rector. First, the church was accepted by the then one year old Diocese of Florida; and second, it received a charter of incorporation. This charter, given by the territorial legislature, granted it the legal status to sue and to be liable which was an unusual grant to Episcopal Churches at the time.<sup>21</sup> The convention at which Quincy was accepted met, as customary throughout the early period, at Tallahassee. There were many problems to be faced, but the first was obtaining the quorum of clergymen necessary to conduct the business. Once again only three were able to attend, two being from the Middle District, Reverend Lee, the host, and Jehu Jones, and Joseph Saunders from Pensacola. The number of laymen exceeded those present at the former meeting, but the reports revealed that of the nine churches in the

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20. *Minister's Record*, 71, 72 and lists of delegates to St. Joseph Convention from Quincy found in *Stanley*.

21. "An Act to Incorporate St. Paul's Church, Quincy, Florida, 28th February, 1829" was signed by "Gvr." Call, the speaker of the House and Senate. An enlarged photostat of this is found in the church office in Quincy.

diocese there were only six resident clergymen who might have attended. This distribution clearly revealed that the churches on the southern fringe of the cotton kingdom, around Tallahassee and Pensacola, would control the diocesan government.<sup>22</sup>

One of the chief problems of this second convention was to establish a sound financial basis upon which to build the church organization. The apportionment for this was based upon the ability to pay, and by these figures it was obvious which congregations could be expected to assume the leadership: Tallahassee gave \$300, Pensacola \$250 as did Apalachicola, St. Augustine \$200, and the others \$100 apiece.<sup>23</sup> Compared with later diocesan assessments, the figures show this was a time of prosperity. Later figures indicate that the ability to sustain themselves without central control or aid was because the churches were first, growing within themselves and not expanding where new grounds or expenses might be incurred, or second, that the individual church was remaining static as to its size and needs. The appointment of laymen from the places a long distance from Tallahassee to the committees of lesser importance was necessary and good for it built a stronger governing body within the church diocese. This movement toward centralizing the larger church government in a sense paralleled the movement of the temporal state government; and in the case of the church government it illustrated two things: the desire for greater unity, and that the landed wealth, rather than the merchant class or small land group, had become the leaders in the Episcopal Church in Florida.

The report of the Quincy Church at the Second Annual Convention of the Diocese of Florida revealed it had promise, although the new rector was not fully aware of all the church's problems because of his recent arrival. The lay delegates from

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22. *Journal of 1839*, 4.

23. *Ibid*, financial reports.

Quincy were William J. Armistead, William Croom, Jesse Coe and Thomas P. Randolph, and in number, Quincy was surpassed only by the host church and Pensacola. The other parishes were well represented considering the transportation problems and the fact that they could hope for little, if any, financial reimbursement. The Quincy delegation stated that there were six more communicants than the "about six" reported by Bishop Kemper the previous year; so obviously some new family or families had joined the congregation, as no bishop had visited to institute the sacrament of Holy Confirmation. Reverend Jones had baptized five children and recorded another confirmed member added to the church that year, but said he felt he could give "no particular details" beyond those recorded, and that a subscription for a church had netted between two and three thousand dollars.<sup>24</sup> Evidently his expectations of the greater sum reported to the Missionary Society had not been realized or there had been some expenses to make the above figure a "net" sum.

At the convention, Tallahassee reported the greatest growth with 19 baptisms, 14 members recorded as confirmed, and a total of 48 families. The Sunday school reported five teachers with thirty scholars, while Key West and Pensacola had libraries with 230 and 395 "books or catalogues," respectively. Key West reported an average of thirty to forty scholars assisted by six teachers, and the man giving the report remarked that it was "an interesting Sunday school."<sup>25</sup>

These signposts of a successful church in the territorial period, church school attendance and facilities, were never attained by the Quincy church, at least so far as the records indicate. An insight into the scarcity of the records was given in the report of the Pensacola Church in 1839. The convention

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24. *Journal of 1839*, 6.

25. *Journal of 1839*, 9.

asked to be furnished with a history of that church, but the rector had lost or misplaced the Minister's Record Book and was unable to provide the "sketch". No request was made of the Quincy Church as it had been organized so recently, but its records, other than the few directly related to the baptism of children and adults, seem to have been kept in the heads of the vestrymen or of Jones.

St. Paul's was not able to give a large stipend to its clergy, but considering the size and ability of the congregation it paid an average salary with the aid of the Mission Board. The 1839 request of Apalachicola for advice from the Diocese provides some indication as to the income problem of Jones and other rectors of the time. Quincy would have paid less than Apalachicola, but some equalizations were probably made. The Apalachicola church reported it had advanced Charles Jones \$500 of a promised \$1500 salary for the purpose of going north to get his family, and he had not returned. This was an unusual withdrawal, but only in the circumstances of keeping an Episcopal minister. This problem of maintaining clergymen grew more difficult not only in Florida but in the rural South as a whole. The church removals resulted from a number of causes, the first being the seeking of new opportunities in the "new western" lands between 1832 and 1836. A more subtle, but major reason for the removals of church leadership in the Episcopal Church resulted from people changing their denominational affiliations.

The fever epidemics and camp meetings had drawn away members from all congregations, and after them came the humanitarian fever led by such groups as the Unitarians. The rectors in the hinterlands did not seem aware of any threat to their churches as did the men in the tidewater region, for they were accustomed to "the new" and to "change" as an everyday occurrence. David Brown of Jacksonville was not

so complacent, for he reported to the Board of Foreign Missions that "The Church in Florida" seemed doomed to disaster: "Casting my eyes upon the Journal of the Diocese of 1838, I find death, disease, and removal have swept from his place and duties every clergyman then comprising the clergy of Florida, save myself."<sup>26</sup>

The first great surge of growth in Quincy occurred during the rectorate of Jehu Jones, and with it the growth of several churches in the community. The reason his duties were neglected has remained unknown, but his last entry in the church records was in June of 1841. In Tallahassee, Reverend Lee had been helping to form a congregation in Monticello as had his predecessors in Wacissa. He wrote in his reports for the diocesan committee on the state of the church, "by 1841 the Quincy Church [building] was almost finished." To this Jehu Jones added: "Our parish labors under inconveniences incidental to all growing towns in new countries but our faith is strong, our ground is well secured, and if nothing more is accomplished a nucleus is formed around which posterity may rally their energies. . . ."<sup>27</sup> This expression of faith was strange because Jones had been absent from Quincy with no explanation at the time of the visitation of the Bishop in February of 1841. The fact that there was no bishop for the Diocese of Florida gave great importance to a visitation, and the absence of the rector for no explainable reason was unpardonable. In a letter sent to the Fifth Convention in 1842 Bishop Otey of Tennessee described his visit to Quincy and remarked: "Thursday the 18th [February 1841] I arrived in Quincy, a quiet and beautiful village in the interior. I was welcomed and hospitably entertained by Wm. Croom, a member of the vestry. . . . The

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26. *Spirit of Missions Reports*, 1841, VI, 10 as cited by Pennington.

27. Pennington, 35.

Rev. Mr. Jehu Jones, the minister of the parish, was absent.“<sup>28</sup>

No mention of traveling companions was noted, but on February 19 the Bishop read prayers in the church and stated that he preached to a large congregation. His letter said that the next day, Saturday, he met a considerable number of people of the congregation in the forenoon and delivered an address upon the subject of confirmation. That evening Reverend Lee came over from Tallahassee and arrangements were made for the consecration of the church. The next morning a large congregation gathered at an early hour, and the letter of request for the church was presented by a Mr. Forman, called by the Bishop, “a member of the vestry.”<sup>29</sup> Since the honor of presenting the letter of request for the consecration of a church building is given to the senior warden when the rector is absent, this writer believes that due to his prominence and the custom of giving honors to those proven worthy, Forman was the leading layman of the congregation.<sup>30</sup> In much older communities Forman probably would have been ineligible as a “member of the vestry” as the rules of the Episcopal church required confirmed members, and the church records indicate that on the same day Forman was confirmed by the Bishop.

The following day the Bishop went to Tallahassee where he stayed the greater part of a month. On Monday, March 15, Bishop Otey began his return circuit and left Tallahassee for Quincy. High waters kept him with the people of St. Paul's another week. He stated that Sunday, March 21, was the conclusion of his stay in Florida.<sup>31</sup> These days that the Bishop

28. Bishop Otey, “A letter read to the Fifth Convention of the Diocese of Florida,” in *Journal of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Florida, held in St. John's Church Tallahassee, 1842*, (The Star Office) p. 6. Hereinafter cited as *Bishop Otey's Letter* if pertinent, or *Journal of 1842*.

29. *Bishop Otey's Letter*.

30. In the chart of the “Members of St. Paul's Church in Community and Civic Activities.”

31. *Bishop Otey's Letter*, 8.

from Tennessee was in Quincy were the breaking point in the fall of Jehu Jones because the Diocese received word that at the request of Bishop Otey, Jones had been displaced as rector by the Missionary Society from the headquarters in New York. Thus the Quincy church was included in the 1842 report to the General Convention as one of the churches called "destitute of clergymen where much good might be accomplished by the residence of faithful pastors."<sup>32</sup>

*Problems of the Quincy Church*

The Convention of the Episcopal Church in Florida in 1842 was attended by Thomas P. Randolph, William J. Armistead, Arthur J. Forman, and a Mr. Stevens. The first two had attended conventions before, but the latter two had replaced William Croom and Jesse Coe as delegates. The absence of clergymen was not exclusively a Quincy problem, for in 1842 Bishop Elliott of Georgia made a circuit swing through West Florida and mentioned that Marianna had "never been able to procure even the services of a missionary." His reports said that Quincy had been without a shepherd for three years and that the Tallahassee parish had been vacant for fifteen months.<sup>33</sup>

Some confusion as to dates and elapsed time arise because the letter of Bishop Otey and the church records do not agree as to when Jehu Jones was last serving the congregation in Quincy. The last entry of Jones was on June 15, 1841 and the letter of the Bishop stated that Jehu Jones was relieved from all clerical responsibilities in the early part of the summer. The only explanation is the slowness of communications of the period and that the letter of Bishop Elliott referred to the fact that there had been no effective ministry for "fifteen months."

During this time there were some visits by clergymen either on their way to or from Tallahassee or by those who came as

32. *Journal of 1842*, 14. (Pensacola and Marianna were also specifically named.)

33. *Spirit of Missions*, "Centennial History of St. John's Parish Jacksonville, 1934," 14. As cited by Pennington, 37.

missionaries and had to return whence they came. An example of this was the entry in *The Minister's Record* that Ellen Forman was baptized by a "Lea".<sup>34</sup> The writing was in pencil by some layman because at the time there was in Tallahassee a "Reverend Lee" who made trips to Quincy as well as to Monticello. Scratched out on the church records was the name Reverend R. E. Parkham and the month, July, ascribed to the entry. These entries were all between the last ones for Jones and those signed as by Josiah Perry, the second rector in residence at St. Paul's Quincy.

The trials of the parish without authority was in many ways like the proverbial wandering in the wilderness. The old problems of removal, and the seeping in of changes and of less formalism used by the lay readers in the services happened as it had in the thirties, except now there were more things to attract one's attention than the spiritual. That the members of the congregation had many interests was evidenced in 1842 when Samuel B. Stevens and John W. Malone were elected the county representatives to the territorial legislature. When Bishop Elliott had made his visit, A. J. Forman had become one of the members in the territorial assembly. In 1844, the year that the new rector, Josiah Perry, came to Quincy, Forman was elected intendent for the second time.

These men of social prominence were also the strength of Quincy's Episcopal flock while it floundered. Other influential men in the church were Thomas Kenan, William J. Armistead, Byran Brown, and William Croom, as evidenced by their selection to attend the conventions of the diocese. There was no convention in 1843, but the one in 1844 was called the Sixth, and it was during this interim that Josiah Perry assumed charge of the Quincy Missionary parish. His first recorded

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34. "Baptism of Children" in *Minister's Record*, 1.

function as rector was the baptizing of a son and daughter of Mrs. Jennette Gibson on January 21, 1844.<sup>35</sup>

At the convention of 1844 Quincy once again had a rector who had been in residence but a couple of months. He reported that he had brought the records up to date and that since the last entries submitted to the convention there had been:<sup>36</sup>

Baptised [sic] by Rev. Francis P. Lee .....	1	
Henry Elwell Montecello .....	7	8
Confirmation by Right Rev. J. H. Otey .....	7	
Marriages by Rev. Elwell .....	1	
Burials (parishioners) by me .....	5	
Baptisms (children) .....	2	
Confirmations by Bishop Elliott .....	4	
Burials (parishioners) .....	1	

The condition of the church in Quincy at this time was very poor, he told the convention. He said that he was not discouraged, however, for he likened his recompense to that of the mustard seed that grows to such a size as to have "fowls of the air come and lodge in the branches." The cause of the poor condition he attributed to there having been no rector, so that a large proportion of the members had availed themselves of the services of a church, "by connecting themselves with the dissenting denominations."<sup>37</sup> He had been told that the situation would not be so bad as it then seemed now that the church again had a regular rector because many would again avail themselves of, and give support to, the "blessings of their own communion."

The extent and significance of the sectarian problem was made fully apparent from the Apalachicola Report. Excerpts

35. *Minister's Record*, 2.

36. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Florida, held in St. John's Church Tallahassee, 1844* (The Star Printing Office, Tallahassee), 8. Hereinafter cited as *Journal of 1844*.

37. *Journal of 1844*, 9.

indicate the two faults causing this problem were the neglecting to supply the needs of the people, and failure to recognize the changing concepts of the people as pertaining to the liturgy.

A vestryman applied to the rector of allowing a Presbyterian minister [to] preach the service because it would be good and popular.

. . . on a subsequent occasion, the Free Masons asked leave to celebrate their rites in the church.

. . . and more recently the rector was informed that if he would consent to allow it [the pulpit or the church?] sometimes to be occupied by a Unitarian or a Congregational minister, his salary would be increased.<sup>38</sup>

Quincy too was aware of the influences desirous of extending privileges of all types, even to the qualifications of their clergy, but the Episcopal Church retained its form, and the people served by their own clergy generally remained faithful. In St. Paul's removals came chiefly from the land expansion, crop failures, or normal causes faced by all Episcopal congregations. The praises of Reverend Perry, for keeping his church as good as it was, went to the "never tiring women." At the 1845 convention, St. Paul's was said to be reviving gradually under the pastoral care of the Rev. Perry, and a prayer was said for the restoration of his health.<sup>39</sup>

The potentiality of a greater growth once Perry regained his health was obvious from the work he had accomplished even while ill, as there had been two adults and fifteen children baptized, two marriages performed and the parish could boast of eighteen communicants. Considering that three people had definitely removed that year and only one member had been added from outside the territory, the record showed a substantial increase. The best indication of the influence of

38. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Florida, held at St. John's Church, Tallahassee, 1845.* The Star Printing Offices, Tallahassee, p. 8, 9. Hereinafter cited as *Journal of 1845*.

39. *Journal of 1845*, 17.

the church at this time was the Sunday school, and the provisions made for it. The one at St. Paul's was not part of any common school arrangement, but many of its students, if custom prevailed, did not attend reading classes elsewhere. It was small, but boasted of twelve regular students and four teachers.<sup>40</sup> Local tradition has it that Perry also taught the Negro children and held services for a congregation at Midway about seven miles east of Quincy.

In 1845 another issue confronted the people of Florida: statehood. The territory had, in the past, petitioned for statehood, but had been refused as not ready. As it developed, the old reasons, sparseness of population, and the inability to be financially solvent, were cast aside. There were many opposed to, as well as in favor of statehood, but the political struggle to get Iowa in as a free state, and the complex problem of balancing the national power predetermined any wishes in Florida against joining the Union. Those who saw this situation used it as another reason for obtaining the services of a full time bishop for the Diocese and requested Bishop Elliott of Georgia to absorb this area or to suggest a means of getting higher clerical aid in the problems of a diocese. In May of that year, the Bishop wrote, in a letter from Savannah dated the twenty ninth, that he regarded it a duty at whatever the personal sacrifice to give his services to Florida.<sup>41</sup>

To the joy and benefit of the Diocese of Florida, the Bishop was able to fulfill his intentions and presided over the convention in 1846, the year after statehood had been attained. It was the hope of the churchmen that, with his help, the clergy supplied by the Missionary Society might be less transient so that regular services could be maintained. However, the problems of the previous year remained, and removals plagued the

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40. *Ibid.*, 10.

41. *Journal of 1845*, 10.

churches. At St. Paul's, Perry had to leave for reasons of health, and the church was again without a rector. The condition of the Episcopal Church in all of Florida was dismal for there were only two rectors residing in the state and one of these, John Freeman Young, then at Jacksonville, was only a deacon.<sup>42</sup> The other was J. Jackson Scott, who had arrived in Quincy in March of 1845. The church in Quincy had gone the way of many, for it had only nine families and fourteen communicants: the educating of Negro children was undertaken three Sundays a month and the schooling of whites every Sunday by the Sunday school.<sup>43</sup>

The growth of the St. Paul's Church in Quincy was affected not only by all that went with the wilderness of a frontier, but also by fault of the church itself. This fault was summed up by Bishop Elliott when he explained that it behooved the Episcopal Church to be active in its efforts to place the church wherever circumstances might seem to open the door to its service, but: "Our fault as a church has been to enter the field too late, and to permit the population to be absorbed into other christian bodies to our entire exclusion."<sup>44</sup>

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42. *Pennington*, 38.

43. Notes taken by Col. William Robinson of Quincy at Gainesville from the *Journal of the Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Florida held in St. John's Church Tallahassee, 1846* (Tallahassee, The Star Printing Office.)

44. *Ibid.*, 38.



1839

April 20. Baptized by me as Pastor  
John Jones

Louisa Maria Randolph	} Children of Thos. P. & Jacob Randolph
Edmund Robert Randolph	
<del>Jacob Maria</del> Dorothea Randolph	
Thomas Peter Randolph	
Richard Henry Randolph	
Isabella Martha Randolph	

Elizabeth Jean \_\_\_\_\_ daughter of Mr. J. & Mary Ann \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wm Booth Malone } sons & daughter of John  
 Florida Malone } W. & Louisa W. Malone  
 Mary Sester Kenan daughter of Thos. & Sen

1840  
 April 17 Richmond Jones son of John & Susan Jones  
 May 3 Martha Ulston Baker daughter of William & Elizabeth  
 Baker

Aug 9th Elizabeth Jane daughter of Mr. John Brown  
 " Wm. Stephens son " " " "  
 " Julia Stephens daughter of J. & Susan Brown  
 " 16 William Booth son of Wm. & Mary Ann Brown

1841  
 May 15th Myranda son of Edmund & Mrs. Bethany

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

Oct 1842 Ellen Forman by \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX

*Parish Record Book*

The Parish Record Book of St. Paul's Quincy is a hard paper back volume, a little larger than a legal size typing page. It is only a half inch thick and is in wonderful physical condition. It has been woefully neglected so far as entries are concerned and perhaps that is one reason there have been no more than a half a dozen pages removed. The writing is fairly legible in spite of the very poor grade of paper in the book. Pertaining directly to the records, there have been at least four distinct attempts to alter or bring the records up to date. The two most complex, yet most authentic lists are those of the "Baptism of Children" and "The List of Communicants."

The first dated entry was April 20, 1839 and the last on May 28, 1876. The only other records have been recent ones. This first book of records has also a "list of families attached to the church," but undoubtedly it was made sometime in the 1920's. The following selections from the Parish Record Book illustrate the information therein.

BAPTISMS

1839

April 20

Baptized by me as Rector

Jehu Jones

Louisa Maria Randolph  
 Edmund Robert Randolph  
 Jacintha Dorthea Randolph  
 Thomas Peter Randolph  
 Richard Henry Randolph  
 Isabella Martha Randolph



children of  
 Thomas P. &  
 Jacintha Randolph

Elizabeth Jean Armistead daughter of

Mr. J. & Mary Armistead

Wm. Booth Malone

son and daughter of John Wm. &

Florida Malone

} Louisa W. Malone

Mary Lester Kenan daughter of Thos. &

[illegible] Louisa Kenan

- April 17 Richmond Jones son of Jehu &  
Anna Jones
- May 3 Martha Alston Baker daughter of  
Simmons J. and Elizabeth Baker.
- 1840 August 9th. Elizabeth Jane daughter of Wm. & Julia Brown  
" Cicero Stephens son " " " " "  
" Julia Stephens daughter of T. J. & Louisa Kenar  
" 16 William Booth son of A. J. & Mary Ann Forman
- 1841  
June 15 Alexander son of Edmund & Ann Belamy  
Oct. ?  
1842 Ellen Forman by Lea
- 1844 By Rev. J. Perry  
January 21  
Eugene Tilman Gibson, &  
Josaphine Smallwood Gibson, a  
son and daughter of Mrs. Jennette Gibson
- April 14th. Ann Elizabeth Forman  
daughter of A. J. and Mary Anne Forman  
—dv— Thomas Louisa Kenan, and orphan daughter  
of Col. Thomas & under the care of her  
aunt Miss Sarah Stephens  
—dv— Fanny, daughter of Samuel B. & Caroline  
Stephens
- Dec. 8th. Second Sunday in Advent  
Emily Baker daughter of William J. &  
Mary Armistead
- Dec. 25 Christmas Day William Tenner t  
Son of William & Sally Stockton  
—do— Julia Anna } children of Phillip &  
Sally— & } Rebecca Stockton  
Julian }
- Jan. 1st 1845  
Maria Bolling  
Ann Ward  
Mary L. children of Wayles &  
German Mary F. Baker  
Benjamin Jones
- do— Frances Wagles & children Bohling &  
Mary Guy Elizabeth Baker
- 1845  
May 5th —  
John Kinson  
son of John & Ann Wyatt

1845

May 6th. John Williamson Monroe son  
& Alice Munroe daughter  
of Samuel and Elizabeth Ann Board Iman  
by J. Perry—Rector

1846

April 10 Mary Ann, infant daughter of Lamare  
B and Carolin Stephens

## COMMUNICANTS

Susan S. Snell	dead	
Ann Ella	dead	
Mary Ann Stephens	dead	
Elizabeth Austin		
Mary Armistead	removed	
Ann Hawks	removed	
Harriet Carnachan	dead	
Jacintha Randolph	removed	
Mary Ann Forman		
Evelina S. Croom	removed	
Jean Caroline Ward		
Mary Ann Hibberd	removed	
Thurs. P. Randolph	dead	
Wm. J. Armistead	removed	
Jesse Coe	dead	
Arthur J. Forman	dead	
John Hibberd	removed	
J. W. Mitchell	removed	
Elizabeth R. Grubb	dead	
Anna Jones	removed	
John D. Bryant	removed	
Elizabeth J. Fisler	removed	
Thos. P. Randolph	dead	
Julia Donaldson	removed	
Miss Sarah Stephens	(Mrs. Zeigler)	
Wm. J. Armistead	removed	
Mrs. Jeannette Gibson		
Mrs. Elizabeth Longwood	dead	
Miss Eugnia Armistead (Mrs. Lynn)		removed
Mrs. Armistead	dead	
Mrs. Rebecca Smallwood	dead	
Dr. Verdier, admitted March 23	Easter Sunday, 1845	
A. J. Simms	New Orleans	removed
Scol Simms	do	

-do-

CONFIRMATIONS

(1838)

Mrs. Mary Armistead  
 Wife of W. J. Armistead was confirmed  
 in the Methodist church in Quincy  
 by Bishop Kemper

1839 St. Paul's Church Quincy by the Rt. Rev Otey Bishop of Tenn.  
 Arthur Forman  
 Mary A. Forman } Jehu Jones Rector  
 J. P. Randolph  
 Jacquinth Randolph

1844 by the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott Bp. of Georgia  
 Dec. 27

Wm. J. Armistead  
 Dr. Verdier  
 Miss Mary Carnahan  
 Miss Julia Donaldson } Rev. J. Perry  
 Rector

1847 Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott D.D. Bp. of Georgia

Dec. 26 Dr. William Robinson  
 Mrs. Mary Robinson } Rev. S. S. Scott  
 Miss Emily Gibson

1864

Miss Josephine Gibson  
 Mrs. Rd. Henry Confirmed in Tallahassee

FAMILIES

Jesse Coe  
 Thos. P. Randolph  
 Wm. J. Armistead removed 1847  
 Arthur J. Forman  
 John Hibberd Snr. removed  
 Bryan Brown removed  
 Wm. W. Croom  
 Marcius C. Stephens dead  
 John W. Malone.....Methodist  
 D. W. Holloman.....Presbyterian  
 David Wilsor  
 Gill Smith .....Presby.  
 ..... Austin  
 Isaac Snathland  
 S. Grubb  
 John Hibbern Jr.  
 Thos. Kenan dead  
 J. W. Mitchell removed

1848

Arthur L. Forman

Mrs. Jacintha Randolph  
Mrs. Marcus Armistead  
Bolling Baker  
Wm. W. Croom  
Samuel B. Stephens  
Joseph Austin  
Mrs. Carnachan  
Dr. Wm. Robertson  
Mrs. Elizabeth F. Longworth  
Mrs. Wm. Gibson

BOOK REVIEWS

*The Story of the University of Tampa: A Quarter Century of Progress from 1930-1955.* By James W. Covington and C. Herbert Laub. (The University of Tampa Press, Tampa, 1955. Pp. 137. Illustrations index. \$5.00).

As the authors of this short history of the University of Tampa point out, colleges, like babies, are "often brought into the world on occasions that would appear untimely." The country in 1931 was in the throes of the worst depression in its history. Floridians had been experiencing hard times ever since the collapse of the real estate boom in 1926, and in 1929 the state's citrus industry was dealt a multi-million dollar blow by the Mediterranean fruit fly. Higher education did not escape the disastrous economic decline: university operating budgets declined as much as eighty-six percent between 1930 and 1934, research expenditures almost vanished, faculty salaries were slashed, and many college teachers found themselves unemployed. It was hardly a propitious time to begin a new college in Florida. Yet the need for an institution of higher learning on the Gulf coast was recognized, particularly at a time when declining income prohibited educational training away from home.

In 1930 a group of interested citizens secured a charter for a school to be known as the University of Tampa, won the backing of the local Chamber of Commerce and a group of business men, and made plans to operate a junior college until a four-year institution would be possible. Classes began October 5, 1931 in the Hillsborough High School building. Funds were completely lacking. The faculty, recruited largely from the High School, volunteered their services the first year. A mimeographed catalogue had been distributed, but the printing bill could not be paid at the time since the college did not have a single cent to its name. Students were

as poor as the school and often paid their tuition by installments with notes, insurance policies, and deeds on homes. There were many times when it seemed certain that the University would have to cease operations.

In January, 1933 the curriculum was enlarged and a four-year program of instruction was instituted. A critical problem at this time was that of finding a permanent site. The Tampa Bay Hotel, once one of the country's luxury hotels, was finally leased from the city for a rental of a dollar a year. Students provided the necessary janitorial services, and money was secured from Tampa business men to repair the leaky roof and to purchase basic laboratory equipment. Cornell University donated 650 books to start a library, and local civic and religious groups sponsored work scholarships and set up a student loan fund. The University was operating on a narrow margin; at one time the total financial resources of the institution were less than ten dollars. Despite this poverty, the University managed to stay alive.

Tampa and the surrounding Bay area have provided over the years the institution's major financial support, other than that received from student tuition. This support has not always been as generous as the University's administration might have desired, but it has been steady and dependable. During the administration of four presidents and two acting presidents the University has conferred almost 1,500 degrees. It offers work in the liberal arts, business administration and education. It operates an aviation technical school near Pinar del Rio, Cuba, and Radio Station WTUN in Tampa. Its graduates have gone out to occupy positions of importance in government, business, and the professions. The University of Tampa occupies an important position in collegiate education in Florida. In a time when there is much talk of "community colleges" in this state to meet the ever increasing demands

being made upon our institutions of higher learning, the University of Tampa represents a community college which is making a significant contribution to the state.

As Professors Laub and Covington have pointed out the achievements and merits of the University, so have they stated its great needs: classroom buildings, dormitories, added library and laboratory facilities, greater financial security, and particularly "faith, courage, vision, and the will to win," on the part of those who support the University of Tampa. The authors have obviously used the important sources in gathering the material for this history. Official and student records, presidential reports, yearbooks, and contemporary newspapers were all checked. In writing the history of any institution invaluable wellsprings of information are the remembrances and recollections of those who were "in at the beginning." The authors of this volume (Dr. Covington completed the study after Dr. Laub's death in 1952) were fortunate in having this source of information so readily available.

The value of the study is marred somewhat by its lack of interpretation. Facts are abundantly supplied on almost every phase of the University's growth, but all too often the "hows" and "whys" are missing, and the reader is left wondering what really did happen. For instance, the conflict between the board of trustees and the president and faculty during the war years was mentioned, but no adequate explanation of its cause is given. If the matter was serious enough to threaten the operation of the University it was important enough to be more fully explained. The chief shortcoming of this book is its brevity, a matter, I imagine, over which the authors probably had very little say-so. To ask for more is not to criticize. The information that has been made available adds significantly to our knowledge and appreciation of the history of

higher education in Florida.

University of Florida

SAMUEL PROCTOR

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*Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier, the Edmond Atkin Report and Plan of 1755.* Edited by Wilbur R. Jacobs. (University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 1954. xxxviii, 108 pp., 7 illus. \$5.00.)

This is the first publication of the Edmond Atkin Report and Plan for the control of the Indians of the eastern part of North America. On it, very largely, rested Atkin's reputation as an Indian expert during the middle years of the 18th century. Jacobs' very adequate introduction outlines the inter-colonial position which the British colonies faced in respect to an aggressive attempt to expand the French sphere of influence southward to the Gulf of Mexico. To those whose knowledge of the French and Indian War consists of the part played by Braddock and Washington at Fort Necessity, the concern by the southern colonies for the safety of their borders will come as something of a surprise. Atkin saw this danger very clearly and his plan attempts, in great detail, to forestall it.

Edmond Atkin was a merchant and Indian trader of Charleston who had served on the South Carolina Council. He seems quite adequately informed on the character and disposition of the southern Indian tribes. He carried on a feud with James Adair so that the reading of the Atkin Report jointly with Adair's *History of the American Indians* gives an excellent picture of the southern Indians. It is especially concerned with the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw with greatest emphasis on the Cherokee. The Carolinians had most experience with these mountain dwellers and naturally saw them as the key to control of the southern territory. In the Report

Atkin was especially concerned with the control of the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola Rivers. He saw French possession or control of this river system as the key to their successful influence over the southern Indians. In French trade penetration of the Old South, and especially in their mending of guns for the Indians, Atkin saw the entering wedge of French control. In discussing the southern tribes he generally shares Adair's admiration for the Chickasaw, Creek and Cherokee and his disdain for the Choctaw. He does not treat of that part of the Creek nation resident in Spanish Florida who were becoming the Seminoles. In fact, even when advocating British settlement of the mouth of the Apalachicola, he ignores the Spanish and Florida. It would seem that in 1755 the British Colonials were almost solely concerned with the French threat to their territory and trade.

Part 2, *The Plan*, is elaborate and detailed. It is based on control of the Chattahoochee and Tennessee Rivers with forts in each nation, along with standardization of trade prices, weights, and measures. Again he returns to the value to be gained by free repair of Indian guns. Apparently he had a low opinion of the serviceability of colonial muskets. His plan advocates the division of authority over the tribes between northern and southern commissioners. Sir William Johnson became the northern commissioner; Edmond Atkin, the southern one. Of special interest is his advocacy of a pan-Indian union of all the southern Indians. He little foresaw the terror that the threat of such a union, under Indian leadership, a few decades later would arouse among Americans.

Jacobs' introduction indicates adequately Atkin's role in achieving a somewhat unified approach to the Indian problem. That he has not been as well known previously as Johnson in the North is, Jacobs believes, due to his extreme attention to detail. This love of detail is amply shown in his plan which even explored avenues of taxation to raise the

necessary funds. The Atkin Plan, along with other similar ones, formed the basis for British control of the eastern tribes in the closing years of the colonies. The new American government followed a very similar policy with such men as Benjamin Hawkins in Atkin's old role of Commissioner of Southern Indian Affairs.

A highly useable index and a series of maps complete the book. The maps are edited versions of the Mitchell, Adair, and Mouzon maps dating from 1755 to 1776. The Adair map used as a frontispiece is too small for any convenient study. In all, the "Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier" is a workmanlike job of editing an important and interesting historical document.

Florida State University

CHARLES H. FAIRBANKS

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*Florida Under Five Flags.* (Revised edition.) By Rembert W. Patrick. (University of Florida Press, Gainesville, 1955. Pp. xii, 140. Illustrations, maps, index. \$3.00.)

Though many attempts have been made to record and interpret the history of Florida, most studies have resulted in multi-volume works too detailed to attract the average reader, or in briefer popular accounts which are often of little interest to the serious-minded. Furthermore, few of these have been brought up to date.

In 1945, Professor Rembert W. Patrick of the University of Florida published *Florida Under Five Flags*. This book was well received for there was now available an excellent brief account of the state's history from 1513 to 1945. The revised edition, recently off the press, has been redesigned, brought up to date and has an additional chapter entitled "Mid-Century Prosperity." Several chapters have been rewritten in part and new illustrations have been added. As Julien Yonge so aptly states in the foreword: "Here is a story of Florida's four hun-

dred years which can be read in a short evening." Obviously, only the barest thread of the narrative is possible in this undertaking, but the author is to be congratulated in his selection of materials and skillful interpretations.

Particularly well done are the chapters covering the period through the Civil War. Though brief by necessity, they give the reader an overview of three centuries of Florida history without wasting a word. The style is easy, the topics well chosen, and the illustrations attractive. As if through the lens of a camera, early settlement, wars of aggression, treaties of cession, power politics, frontier life, statehood and secession file by in orderly fashion. The focus is sharp and one has the feeling of being close to the events themselves.

The rapid development of Florida since 1900 has greatly complicated the task of writing the last four chapters. The magnitude of change, especially since 1940, brought about by the growth of population, agricultural and industrial developments, the greater influx of tourists and changes in the social and economic structure of the state poses the difficult problem of what to say or not to say. By comparison with the earlier period one has a sense of being hurried through the first half of the 20th Century, and is frequently overwhelmed by raw statistics.

The fact that there is no bibliographical information included in the volume is somewhat disappointing, but perhaps Professor Patrick can be persuaded to undertake a more detailed study of Florida with at least some brief documentation and a selected bibliography. However, his present work has filled a great need and exhibits real craftsmanship in popular writing. He has rendered a fine service to the people of this state and to his profession.

Florida State University

CHARLES S. DAVIS

NEWS AND NOTES

*The Fifteenth Number of Tequesta*

The annual publication of the Historical Association of Southern Florida for 1955 continues the tradition of interesting articles and able editing which has been established by its editor, Charlton W. Tebeau. Ruby Leach Carson tells the story of Miami Beach from its incorporation in 1915 with 33 registered voters to the city of 1955. "Vizcaya" by Adam G. Adams describes the buildings and gardens and the history of Vizcaya, the former home of James Deering which is now maintained by the Dade County Park Department and is open to the public. Charles W. Arnade analyzes the controversy between England and Spain on the ownership of the Florida Keys in 1763 in "Florida Keys: English or Spanish in 1763?" In "On Blockade Duty in Florida Waters," William J. Schellings gives excerpts from the diary of Doctor Walter Keeler Scofield who was on duty in Florida waters attached to the United States gunboat *Sagamore* during the Civil War. Included in the current issue of *Tequesta* is a five page table of contents for the fourteen volumes issued from 1941 through 1954. The annual report of the treasurer of the Association lists 562 members and assets of more than \$14,000.

*Activities of Historical Societies*

President Thomas W. Hagan reports that a new attendance record of approximately 1,400 was established at the January 31st meeting of the Historical Association of Southern Florida. Edwin A. Link told his audience of his search for the *Santa Maria*, flagship of Columbus, and showed a color film of his expedition.

William Sears of the Florida State Museum described the "excavations on the Upper St. Johns" at the February 8th meeting of the Jacksonville Historical. He reported the work done

in excavations near St. Johns Bluff overlooking Chicopit Bay on the property belonging to William H. Browne.

Occie Clubbs has written that the Pensacola Historical Society has had excellent speakers for its programs and interest in history in the Pensacola area is unusually high this year. Among the notable speakers were: Francis Taylor, a direct descendant of John Innerarity, the last surviving partner of Panton, Leslie and Company; Frederick Wicke, who read selections from the diary of his ancestor; Dixie Beggs, attorney for the Santa Rosa Island Authority, who told of the history of the Island; W. C. Payne recounted the history of Fort San Bernardo; Earl Hoffman gave reminiscences of service as a United States district attorney. In March a replica of the warehouse of Panton, Leslie and Company was dedicated by officials of the City of Pensacola and the Historical Society.

#### *Conference on Local History*

A one day conference on the writing of local history was held on February 15 at the Shelburne Hotel, Miami Beach, under the sponsorship of the University of Miami, the Historical Association of Southern Florida, and the American Jewish History Center. Charlton W. Tebeau of the University of Miami served as chairman of the morning session on the sources for regional history in the South. L. Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress, was the principal speaker with Rembert W. Patrick and Christopher Crittenden, director of the North Carolina Department of State Archives and History as discussants. Vice President H. Franklin Williams of the University of Miami presided at the luncheon and Provost Moshe Davis of the Jewish Theological Seminary described the projected history of South Florida. Samuel Proctor of the University of Florida and Rabbi Irving Lehrman of Temple Emmanu-El delivered papers on "Early Jewish Settlement in Florida, 1764-1900," and "The Jewish Community of Greater Miami, 1896-1955," in the afternoon

session. Kathryn Abbey Hanna of Winter Park and Walter B. Posey of Agnes Scott College and Emory University discussed the papers. Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky summarized the work of the conference as its moderator. Plans

*College News*

Weymouth T. Jordan became head of the department of history at the Florida State University on July 1, 1955, after serving as acting head during 1954-1955. George A. Lensen, Victor S. Mamatey, and Benjamin F. Rogers, Jr., were promoted to associate professors. Grants-in-aid from the University's Research Council enabled Earl R. Beck, Weymouth T. Jordan, Victor S. Mamatey, and Mary E. Thomas to do research work in the archives of Alabama and Georgia, the Hoover War Library at Stanford University, and in various libraries and depositories in London. Two books were released during 1955: *George Washington Campbell: Western Statesman* by Jordan and *Russia's Japan Expedition of 1852 to 1855* by George A. Lensen. Earl A. Beck's *Verdict on Schacht: A study in the Problem of Political "Guilt"* and Lensen's *Yalta Agreement* will appear in 1956. Jordan and Charles S. Davis are under contract with the Confederate Publishing Company to do books for the *Confederate Centennial Studies*, a new series which will begin to appear in 1956. The titles of Jordan's works will be "Planters' Conventions in the Ante Bellum South," and "Noah B. Cloud and the Promotion of Southern Agriculture." Davis will write on "Colin J. McRae, Financial Agent of the Confederacy."

At St. Petersburg Junior College a large number of courses are offered in history for juniors and seniors. Although the College does not have departments the following are teaching one or more classes in history: T. R. Parker, Jack Mauney, E. L. Noel, Jr., W. H. Bowers, and G. K. Young. T. R. Parker, who is a member of the Florida Historical Society, is planning to represent his College at the annual meeting in St. Augustine.

John E. Johns of Stetson University is on leave of absence

to complete the requirements for his Ph D. degree. He has been doing research in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida on the subject of "Florida During the Civil War."

After acting as head of the department of history last year, Donald E. Worcester has been named head of the department at the University of Florida. The following members of the staff received promotions: George Bentley, George Osborn, A. E. Hammond, Oscar Svarlien, and Donald E. Worcester, from associate to professor; L. N. McAlister and Arthur Thompson from assistant to associate; and Herbert J. Doherty from instructor to assistant. New members of the department are interim instructors David M. Chalmers and Clifton K. Yearley and assistant professor John K. Mahon. Rembert W. Patrick returned to the department after being at Yale University in 1954-1955 on a Ford Faculty Fellowship. David L. Dowd resumed his teaching duties in February on his return from France where he had been doing research on grants from the Social Science Research Council and the American Philosophical Society. After studying in France last year on a Guggenheim Fellowship, Arthur L. Funk returned to the University in September, but resigned in February to accept service with the United States Department of State and will be stationed in Damascus. John A. Harrison is on leave of absence as a Ford Faculty Fellow. *The Growth and Culture of Latin America* by Donald E. Worcester will be published this spring. Two book length manuscripts, "The Fuero Militar in New Spain, 1764-1800: A Study in Civil-Military Conflict," by L. N. McAlister and "Richard Keith Call: Southern Unionist," by Herbert J. Doherty have been accepted for publication. R. W. Patrick has signed an agreement to do a study of "The Day That Richmond Fell" for the *Confederate Centennial Studies*. This summer he will be visiting professor at Columbia University and will be teaching graduate courses in Civil War and Recon-

struction. William J. Schellings resigned as a graduate assistant in January to accept a teaching position at State Teachers College, Troy, Alabama.

James W. Covington of Tampa University is proceeding rapidly and well with his history of de West Coast of Florida. Charles W. Arnade's "The Emergence of the Republic of Bolivia" has been accepted for publication by the University of Florida Press.

#### *Needed Public School Material*

For many years members of the Society have urged the adoption of books relating to Florida for the elementary and high school grades. This concern for our history is shared by the State Department of Education, the State Courses of Study Committee, and the State Textbook Rating Committee. Last year Superintendent Thomas D. Bailey called for material on various grade levels for 1956, but only one manuscript was submitted, and it was not found suitable for adoption. The State Superintendent of Education has indicated that he will again recommend that adoptions be considered in 1957 for the following: social studies texts for the fourth grade which will include both historical and geographical material, social studies texts for the seventh and eighth grades, and texts on Florida government for the ninth grade. Individuals who plan to write texts should study Education Department bulletins number 30, *Social Studies in the Elementary School* and number 28 (revised edition), *Social Studies in the Secondary School*. Books on Florida are urgently needed. Writers who wish to work on texts or supplementary texts may receive additional information by writing to Sam H. Moorer, chairman, State Course of Study Committee, Department of Education, Tallahassee.

#### *The Annual Meeting of our Society*

As a result of over-crowding in the Ponce de Leon Hotel, the date of the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society

has been changed. The centennial meeting will be held in St. Augustine on April 13 and 14 with headquarters in the Ponce de Leon Hotel. John Griffin and his program committee have arranged an interesting meeting, and St. Augustine is always worth a visit in itself. If you have not already made plans, write to the Ponce de Leon for reservations and be present for this centennial celebration.

#### *Voice in the Wind*

Approximately 1,500 people attended the opening of the "Voice in the Wind" on February 4 at the Suncoast Theatre in Ruskin, Florida. This outdoor drama depicts incidents in the territorial history of Florida from the change of flags at Pensacola in 1821 to the activities at Fort Brooke nineteen years later. The story is mainly concerned with the events of the Seminole War, and is a combination of history and fiction. The cast of the drama numbers almost one hundred and action takes place on what is in effect three stages. The beautiful Suncoast Theatre has a capacity of 2,000 and admission prices range from \$1.50 to \$3.00. Special group rates may be obtained for parties of ten or more. The "Voice in the Wind" will continue every day except Monday until April 15 and will be given again during the 1957 season.

#### *Gifts*

The Society has received three important gifts. Gertrude N. L'Engle gave eight numbers of the *Quarterly* including the rare numbers in volumes three, four, and five. Her valuable gift enables the Society to complete a file of the *Quarterly*. Hester Fleming Williams (Mrs. Herbert E. Williams) contributed four volumes of the letter-books of Francis P. Fleming which cover the period May, 1901 to April, 1908. This material is in excellent condition and it is fitting that these letter-books be in the library of the Society with which former Gov-

ernor Fleming was so interested and to which he contributed so much. Mrs. Frank E. Jennings gave a packet of letters, many of which pertain to the activities of the Society and are important to a history of the organization. We are grateful for these gifts from Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Jennings and to Dena Snodgrass and Richard P. Daniel who were of service in delivering the gifts to the Society.

#### THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The eighth annual meeting of the Florida Anthropological Society was held at Rainbow Springs on Saturday, February 25, 1956. Officers elected were: Charles H. Fairbanks, president (Florida State University); John W. Griffin, first vice president (St. Augustine Historical Society); J. E. Dovell, second vice president (University of Florida); Marvin J. Brooks, secretary (Miami); Ripley P. Bullen, treasurer (Florida State Museum). Executive committeemen elected were: Charlton W. Tebeau (University of Miami), H. James Gut (Sanford), Wilfred T. Neill (Research Division, Ross Allen Reptile Institute). Adelaide K. Bullen (Florida State Museum) continues her term as editor.

Attendance at the annual meeting was the largest in the history of the society. During the past year more new members were added to the society than during any previous year. Retiring President Wilfred T. Neill reported the society's membership consists of approximately 60 per cent professionals and institutions and 40 per cent nonprofessionals.

Seventeen papers covered a wide and pertinent range of topics: Spanish armor found in Florida, Florida Seminole trade, Creek archaeology, color slides of famous European archaeological sites and specimens, recent excavations in Florida, radiocarbon dates from Florida, a demonstration of poleo-Indian artifacts, color slides of famous archaeological sites in Yucutan,

a paper on Timucua dialects, a research project in physical anthropology, and a discussion of inhabitants of southwestern Florida, 1820-1830.

AN AVAILABLE FILE OF THE QUARTERLY

A complete file of the Florida Historical *Quarterly* with the rare volume III, number 1 in a photostat copy is available at a fair price. Since such files are seldom offered, individuals and libraries have an unusual opportunity. Interested parties should write directly to the owner, R. L. Goulding, 930 West Jefferson Street, Tallahassee.

**NEW MEMBERS**

(Jan.-Feb.)

**LIFE MEMBERS**

Nominated by:

Clarence L. Criswell, Pass-a-Grille Beach .....	Alfred Newman
Grover C. Criswell, Jr., Pass-a-Grille Beach .....	Alfred Newman

**FELLOW MEMBERS**

Elam Y. Guernsey, Cocoa Beach .....	John W. Griffin
Richard J. Lietz, Emory University, Georgia .....	Elizabeth C. Baldwin
Mrs. E. L. Pearce, Clearwater .....	Alex C. Liggett
E. F. P. Brigham, Miami .....	Elizabeth C. Baldwin

**ANNUAL MEMBERS**

Frank P. deLuca, Pensacola .....	T. T. Wentworth
George S. Coulter, Jacksonville .....	C. H. Curry
T. R. Parker, St. Petersburg .....	R. W. Patrick
Larry Winebrenner, Islamorada .....	C. W. Tebeau
Virgil E. Strickland, Tallahassee .....	Julien C. Yonge
Woodie A. Liles, Plant City .....	Julien C. Yonge
Mrs. Adelaide Scharfschwerdt, Ft. Pierce .....	L. W. Halbe
Mrs. Eunice Brinson, Port St. Joe .....	Elizabeth C. Baldwin
Charles Javens, Chapel Hill, N. C. ....	James Simpson
Forrest F. Reed, Nashville, Tennessee .....	Merlin G. Cox
N. F. Johnston, New Orleans, Louisiana .....	Julien C. Yonge
Margaret G. Weed, Jacksonville .....	Mrs. M. A. Bowlin
E. O. Denison, Ft. Pierce .....	L. W. Halbe
Mrs. O. C. Peterson, Ft. Pierce .....	L. W. Halbe
Edmund S. Whitson, Clearwater .....	Julien C. Yonge
Mrs. Foster L. Barnes, White Springs .....	Elizabeth C. Baldwin
Kenneth Curtis, Lake Wales .....	Elizabeth C. Baldwin
Pauline Bryan, Gainesville .....	Julien C. Yonge
Vernon L. Anderson, Charleston, Illinois .....	Elizabeth C. Baldwin

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE QUARTERLY

*Lucy L. Wenhold* is Emeritus Professor and former Head of the Department of Modern Foreign Languages, Salem College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

*William C. Sturtevant* is Instructor in the Department of Anthropology and Assistant Curator of Anthropology in the Peabody Museum, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

*Wilfred T. Neill* directs a research project sponsored by the Ross Allen Reptile Institute at Silver Springs. He was President of the Florida Anthropological Society from 1954

until 1956, and is the author of several papers on Florida Indians.

*Alan J. Downes* is studying for his Ph.D. degree at the University of Washington. He received his A. B. and A. M. degrees at the Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

*Edward B. Gearhart* is a Graduate Assistant in History at the Florida State University. His article on the Church in Quincy is taken from a seminar paper which he did for Venila Lovina Shores, Professor of History at the Florida State University.

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