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THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

On the Cover: Early Episcopal services were held in the Presbyterian tent that was located east of Avenue D (Miami Ave.) south of 14th Street (SE 2nd) in Miami. (HASF 1980-158-5)
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Storm Winds That Fulfill His Word: Tempests, the Jesuits, and the Evangelization of Florida, 1566-1572
by Frank Mariotti

Praise the LORD from the earth, you sea monsters and all depths; Fire and hail, snow and mist, storm winds that fulfill his word; (Psalm 148:7-8 NAB)

To enter Florida is to enter the realm of storms. For hundreds of years, Florida has lured migrants to its shores, inviting them to pursue their dreams. But then there are the storms. Pánfilo de Nárvaez, Tristán de Luna y Arellano and Angel de Villafane, all sixteenth-century would-be conquistadors, saw their visions of glory dashed in howling winds and heaving seas. In our own century, hurricanes in 1926 and 1928 killed thousands, administering a coup de grace to Florida's fabulous land boom of the Roaring Twenties. Several years later, in 1935, another hurricane sent four hundred people to their graves, while obliterating the so-called "Eighth Wonder of the World," the Key West Extension of Henry M. Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway. Most recently, in 1992, a rampaging Hurricane Andrew made a major contribution to Florida's "State of Rage."

The Jesuits laboring in Florida between 1566 and 1572, the first of their religious order to evangelize in Spanish America, also saw their share of storms. They devoted pages of their letters to descriptions of the perils that they endured on sea and land because of rain, shoals, wind, waves, and tempests. These storm narratives give us keen insights into the interior world of the missionaries. Through them, we glimpse their faith, love, suffering, and dreams. Moreover, the lengthy, detailed reports of the deprivations that they suffered as

Frank Mariotti, Jr. is the first prize winner of the 1993/94 Jay I. Kislak Foundation Prize for Student Research Paper in History or Anthropology made possible by the foundation and coordinated by the Historical Association of Southern Florida. He is a doctoral student at the University of Hawaii at Manoa and an assistant professor in the Social Science Department at Cheyney University of Pennsylvania.
victims of Florida’s weather helped to eventually persuade their European superiors to abandon the Society of Jesus’ apostolate along the Atlantic.

When Spain’s King Philip II charged Pedro Menéndez de Avilés with evangelizing, fortifying, and colonizing La Florida (eastern North America) in 1565, the Asturian adventurer accepted his daunting task partly because of storms. Less than two years earlier, Don Pedro’s only son Juan foolishly ignored his father’s warning not to sail from Cuba during hurricane season. A September tempest counted Juan Menéndez as one of its victims. Still, there was a chance that he would be found amongst an estimated 250 Spanish castaways held in bondage by Florida’s Calusa Indians and their allies. These shipwrecked Spaniards would have to be rescued and the Florida coast secured for future storm-ravaged mariners. Pedro Menéndez, now the adelantado of La Florida, enlisted the Society of Jesus to preach the gospel in his territories. Its mission would end in 1572, after warriors in the Chesapeake Bay region killed eight missionaries.²

In his book, Contact with God, the modern Jesuit retreat master Anthony de Mello wrote:

If in our lives we never or hardly ever experience God’s miraculous interventions, it is either because we are not living dangerously enough or because our faith has grown dim and we hardly expect any miracles to occur. How important it is that there be miracles in our lives if we are to preserve a keen consciousness of God’s presence and power. . . . For a miracle to occur in my life it is enough for me to have the deep conviction that it was a direct intervention of God on my behalf.³

The Florida missionaries, living in a century imbued with a “fervent religious spirit,” expressed piety in their letters with “unabashed freedom.”⁴ They described miracles everywhere, for they lived dangerously, possessed strong faith, and believed that God directly intervened in their lives.
In the Old Testament, Yahweh had used the sea to rescue the Israelites from Pharaoh’s chariots. He spoke to Job from a whirlwind, revealing his providence by asking, “Who decreed the boundaries of the seas when they gushed from the depths?” Psalm 107 tells of seafarers who:

Observe the power of God in action. He calls to the storm winds, the waves rise high. Their ships are tossed to the heavens and sink to the depths; the sailors cringe in terror. They reel and stagger like drunks and are at their wit’s end. Then they cry to the Lord in their trouble, and He saves them. He calms the storm and stills the waves. What a blessing is that stillness, as he brings them safely into harbor.

The Book of Jonah also dramatically illustrates the Creator’s control over the oceans when He sends a storm and a whale to chastise a reluctant missionary. Jesus revealed his divinity to the apostles by calming a turbulent Sea of Galilee. St. Paul washed ashore on the island of Malta, later declaring: “Three times I was shipwrecked. Once I was in the ocean all night and the whole next day.” As in the Old Testament, God used the terror of churning waters to display his power and mercy. After passing through the frightening ordeal of ocean gales, the Almighty’s servants emerged holier, wiser, and closer to Him.

Irving A. Leonard, in Books of the Brave, traces the influence of romances of chivalry upon the early Spanish conquistadors. The Jesuits, spiritual conquistadors by their own definition and self described as “raised in studies,” valued books highly. In fact, Pedro Menéndez purchased nearly one hundred ducats’ worth for their use in Florida. Their “Books of the Brave” were the Scriptures, as well as the letters of their confrere, Francis Xavier, who had sailed to the Far East to convert the heathen in 1541. Members of the order were weaned on the carefully-edited writings of Xavier. The Florida missionaries referred often to the Bible and sometimes to Xavier when describing their own experiences. Like the worldly conquerors of the Indies, they found themselves acting out dreams that for years had fired their imaginations. While waves crashed about them, and winds pierced them like arrows, the Jesuits thought of Job, Jonah, St. Peter, St. Paul, Xavier, and Jesus. They felt God’s intervention in their lives. They saw miracles in the midst of storms.
Sixteenth-century voyagers braving the wide Atlantic were acutely aware of their mortality. One Florida missionary, Father Gonzalo de Alamo, commented upon the spirituality displayed by passengers sailing with the Indies fleets. Those arriving from Spain rejoiced to have safely reached Havana, Cuba. Outbound travelers anxiously sought Jesuit confessors, knowing the perils that awaited them. Monotony, thirst, unvaried meals, nausea, heat, cramped quarters, cockroaches in swarms, rats, pirates, agonizing calms, and storms tormented those risking ocean crossings. The fleets were placing themselves in God’s hands, trusting that his love would lead them to their destinations.

As Father Pedro Martínez, Father Juan Rogel, and Brother Francisco de Villareal awaited the departure of the New Spain fleet at the port of Sanlucar de Barrameda in the summer of 1566, they enjoyed numerous opportunities for exercising their respective ministries. Contrary weather was detaining the Spanish ships, so anxious sailors repaired to the sacraments with great fervor. The demand for confession and communion was so pressing that all could not be accommodated. Consequently, Rogel recommended that Jesuits visit Sanlucar each time that the fleets gathered there so that they might spend fifteen to twenty days carrying out spiritual works of mercy. In his inscrutable way, God had used the winds to reap a rich harvest of souls.

The fleet’s lengthy delay also allowed the Jesuits to devote themselves to some key programs of the Catholic Reformation. In Spain of the 1500s, church authorities conducted a vigorous campaign against a widespread ignorance of the tenets of Catholicism. The Jesuits were particularly active in religious education. They were highly-trained clergy reputed to be learned preachers and innovative teachers. Thus, it is not surprising to find Father Martínez enthusiastically offering instruction in Christian doctrine to rapt audiences of mariners who were facing the open Atlantic. In the afternoon, on all of the ships, the crews sang the doctrina, a practice instituted by Martínez.

The Spanish church also targeted blasphemy as an abuse that merited serious attention. Most offenders, upset at God for not granting their petitions, would utter oaths in “anger or haste.” For example, when a gambler’s cards started turning bad, he might challenge the Lord’s might by exclaiming, “God doesn’t have power if . . . (he does not turn things around).” Martínez and his companions convinced the
fleet's captains to assist them in their war against oaths. Offenders were punished by forfeiting food or drinking rations, as well as by paying fines. The Jesuit-led battle turned out to be so successful that one high official commented that in comparison to other fleets, all acts on this one were holy.  

Most fittingly, on Friday, June 28, 1566, the eve of the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, the Lord, in the words of Rogel, freed the fleet from its twin afflictions of poor weather and enemy raiders. Suddenly, God sent an east wind that gradually grew stronger so that the ships at last could depart. Then he sent a breeze so strong and seas so rough that the vessels were quickly driven far away from the Iberian coast, out of range of Turkish galleys. Prayers of thanksgiving were offered and a Te Deum sung. God's first miracle, on the first Jesuit expedition to Spanish America, was a storm.

After stopping in the Canary Islands and navigating to the Caribbean isle of Montserrat, the vessel carrying the Jesuits separated from the fleet, and sailed between Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands bound for Florida. Its specific destination was Santa Elena, modern Parris Island, South Carolina. Rather ominously, the weather began to turn "not so fair." The missionaries' troubles multiplied when, on August 28, they reached the peninsula's coast. Neither the pilot nor the crew had ever been along these shores. Moreover, the Jesuits were traveling on an urca, a large, slow, flat-bottomed storeship upon which winds and shoals could wreak havoc. To make matters worse, it was hurricane season.

Now God, according to Rogel, "began to visit us with afflictions and signs, giving us a small part of his cross." On September 3, a hurricane hammered the Jesuits, who proceeded to hear the confessions of all who could understand Castilian. Many of the sailors spoke only Flemish. Powerful surges crashed onto the ship as it rocked for twelve hours in a "storm from which few escape." The sails broke, and one of the urca's two launches filled with water and had to be thrown overboard, lest it damage the rudder. At noon on September 4, the weather cleared.

It took two days for the urca to regain the sight of land. The pilot thought that a large bay that he spotted was near Santa Elena, so he moved closer to shore. That night, another storm struck, which carried the ship so far out to sea that it required four days to return to the coast. At this point, the crew was thirsty and hungry. They had requested water when they left the main fleet, but had received
none. With great difficulty, the clumsy vessel slowly drew near enough to land so that its remaining launch could be despatched to look for drinking water.\(^{15}\)

Father Martínez led the shore party that consisted of two Spaniards and six Flemings. As dusk approached, Martínez and company were nowhere in sight. The urca fired a cannon to signal that it was getting late. When this salvo received no response, the pilot, sensing yet another storm, moved away from the coast to avoid running aground. When the anticipated hurricane struck, it blew the ship far to the south. The sailors feared a wreck upon a notorious stretch of beach that was swarming with hostile Indians. Father Rogel busily heard confessions, although he lamented that with no other priest aboard, he could not comfort himself with the sacrament. Just when all seemed lost, however, the sea calmed and abundant rain quenched the mariners’ thirst. When the pilot stubbornly opted to continue his search for Santa Elena, the battered crew almost mutinied.\(^{16}\)

To Rogel’s relief, the skipper heeded his men, setting a course for Santo Domingo on September 28. Unfortunately, poor weather prevented them from reaching their destination. Instead, they made the port of Monte Christi, on Hispaniola’s north coast, arriving on October 24. After four months at sea, the crew disembarked. Rogel commented that the Lord twice freed them from “the sight of death” by calming a storm and by sending a strong wind that blew the urca out of the middle of some treacherous shoals.\(^{17}\)

Ironically, on September 14, Pedro Menéndez spotted the urca about two leagues off St. Augustine. Menéndez realized that the pilot did not recognize the port, so he attempted to send a launch to the lost ship. Unfortunately, a contrary wind, rough seas, and the incoming tide, combined with a storm, prevented contact with the helpless vessel. Twenty days later, a small boat was found anchored at the mouth of the St. Johns River near the fort of San Mateo. Six Flemings and a Spaniard recounted how the previous day, a league away,
Indians killed Father Martínez and three other men. A tempest had prevented the shore party from returning to the urca, so the stranded men wandered through the territories of friendly tribes for about two weeks, until meeting with catastrophe when they were within reach of the fort. In effect, an untimely storm had resulted in the death of the leader of the first Jesuit expedition to Florida.

The missionaries departed from Hispaniola on November 25, bound for Havana. Along the way, their urca was becalmed and cast into the shallow waters surrounding a group of keys. To avoid running aground, the pilot used three anchors in succession, all of which, even the best one, were torn to pieces by sharp coral. A storm raged for four or five days. To make it easier for the remaining anchor to hold, two of the urca’s masts were cut and thrown overboard. When the weather cleared, the crippled vessel attempted to enter deep water. As the anchor was lifted, the ship struck bottom, but no damage was done. Slowly, the urca moved toward Havana. Not far from the Cuban port, while coasting along after sunset, Rogel’s ship struck some rocks, which tore two gaping holes below the water line. The pilot’s only hope was to try to run the urca aground so that the crew could attempt to swim to safety. Rogel and Villareal, however, could not swim. Sailors succeeded in plugging the leaks, and everybody took turns manning the vessel’s three pumps. Many distress signals were fired, which brought a rescue ship from Havana with an
anchor and a large group of black slaves to work the pumps for the exhausted crewmen. Later, to the great distress of the weary mariners, a contrary wind would not let them approach Havana. Launches had to be sent to transfer the missionaries to shore shortly after midnight, on December 10. They had been at sea for sixteen long days.

In Cuba, Rogel saw scores of Spaniards and thousands of Africans who required serious spiritual succor. He and Villareal also met eighteen Indians from Carlos (modern Mound Key in Estero Bay, southwestern Florida) and Tequesta (present-day Miami). As at Sanlúcar, natural catastrophes revealed fertile fields for the Society of Jesus to plant the gospel. Visiting Florida soldiers lifted Rogel’s spirits even higher, for they reported that the Lord had miraculously manifested himself there through a rainstorm. It seems that Pedro Menéndez had visited a chief whose corn crop was on the verge of ruin because of a drought. The chief told him that since the Christian God was so powerful, Menéndez should ask him for rain. The Asturian subsequently knelt before a cross, prayed, and a half hour later, it poured, much to the chief’s edification.

Rogel’s long letter is important, for it is the first Jesuit account of the Florida mission. Storms and the perils of ocean travel are featured prominently. For much of their initial time in the New World, Rogel and Villareal were either suffering from the sea or from “fevers.” “Treacherous” natives had slain their leader, Pedro Martínez. Yet, Rogel concluded, God had been merciful, delivering them from death while leading them to discover a tremendous number of Africans, Europeans, and Indians in need of salvation. Father Rogel saw storms as God’s hand guiding the Society of Jesus to Florida.

The fledgling Jesuit undertaking had incurred a maiming blow when it lost its first superior, the “soul and support” of the Florida enterprise. The “crushing loss” of Pedro Martínez, a “born leader of men,” thrust Rogel, a devoted and saintly man who nevertheless did not possess natural leadership qualities, into an unforeseen role. The Adelantado deeply grieved the passing of Martínez, “in whom he was envisioning a Francis Xavier of the West.” Furthermore, his death ignited a storm of controversy in Jesuit Europe that turned several influential superiors against the mission. A combination of masterful public relations by Menéndez, Rogel’s optimistic conclusions, and cautious support by Father General Francis Borgia in Rome, managed to win back the support of the Spanish hierarchy. Conse-
quenty, on March 13, 1568, a second Jesuit expedition to Florida departed from Seville for Sanlucar. This “heavy reinforcement” of the Society’s previous trio consisted of three priests, three brothers, and eight young aspirants to membership in the order. The group’s superior and new mission leader was Father Juan Baptista de Segura.22

Meanwhile, back in Florida, storms and swarms made Rogel’s life at Carlos and Villareal’s at Tequesta miserable. A political controversy between rivals to the Calusa chieftainship embroiled the Spaniards in turmoil that eventually would end in the deaths of numerous Indians and the abandonment of the Jesuit mission on Mound Key. To make matters worse, rainstorms ruined the Spanish provisions. Despite Estero Bay’s plentiful seafood, a Castilian’s state of mind in the absence of bread, olive oil, and wine (the basic elements of a “civilized” diet) might cause him to consider himself “starving,” which would aggravate an already tense situation. Likewise, in Tequesta, where the mosquitoes were so bad that the soldiers could not sleep, constant fatigue sharpened the pain of isolation and culture shock. Rogel resorted to storm imagery to express his frustrations: “Great have been the whirlwinds that the devil has raised and raises every day in these Indians to push them away so that the law of God is not preached to them.”23 His optimism was quickly turning to pessimism. He now saw Satan in Florida’s storms.

Antonio Sedeno, a priest sailing on the second Jesuit expedition, left a description of his voyage to Florida that mirrors Rogel’s first letter. The missionaries were delayed at Sanlucar for a month, so they preached and taught Christian doctrine by singing it in processions through the town’s streets. On the Saturday before Palm Sunday, they were able to sail. The Jesuits made sure that everyone on their ship, and on the one accompanying it, confessed and received communion. A week later, they safely disembarked in the Canary Islands. Sedeno felt that the fair weather that they enjoyed en route was “a great mercy of the Lord,” for the seas were reputed to be dangerous off the African coast. Notwithstanding the smooth sailing, the Jesuit landlubbers arrived “badly treated by the sea.” Three days of island hospitality, however, refreshed them, and they were soon on their way to the New World. For twenty days the missionaries were becalmed, but they believed that this was only God saving them from French Protestant corsairs. On board their vessel, they preached and instructed the sailors. Each time a mariner swore, he immediately would make a cross on the deck and kiss it. As a result Sedeno
reported, “Our Lord gave us afterward such good weather that we succeeded in sighting land within fifteen days.”

Now they were entering the realm of storms. Because their pilot was unsure of the identity of a distant Caribbean island, and it being night, the Jesuits’ ship entered a shallow bay and almost foundered. At the last moment, the wind that was driving them to their destruction calmed and was replaced with a “land breeze by which we were departed at a distance.” Once the missionaries were safely in deep water, Sedeno wrote “the Lord then returned to us the wind that we first had.” All were amazed at their deliverance, especially since cannibals were thought to inhabit the isle. A Te Deum was sung in thanksgiving, with Father Segura using the occasion to admonish the passengers to cultivate a greater fear of the Lord.

During the next four days, the Jesuits traveled “among very beautiful islands” before reaching Puerto Rico, “an island of the King, very beautiful and rich, although very poor in what matters for going to heaven.” After a brief rest, the ship made for Florida. Upon leaving port, however, it almost wrecked because the wind died at the harbor’s narrow entrance. As the waves pushed them toward some rocks, the crew began to sing litanies and pray. They believed that “The Lord freed us, giving us a wind to depart from such affliction.” As well as from a storm that “all feared was a hurricane, which usually casts the ships to the bottom, almost regularly, no matter how strong they are.” Father Sedeno reflected on the fact that the Lord always chose to comfort them on Saturday, the day dedicated to “His Most Holy Mother”:

Because on Saturday we left Sanlucar, Saturday we reached the Canaries, Saturday we sighted land and we were freed from that danger, Saturday we stopped at Puerto Rico and Saturday we reached Florida, so that we might understand that all the graces and mercies are to come through Mary and we might be very dedicated to her.

By June 21 the second expedition found itself in St. Augustine. Sedeno felt fortunate. The men were seasick, but they had suffered relatively little: “everything was very slight from what they tell me usually occurs in these waters.” Bartholomew Menéndez, the Adelantado’s brother, though very hospitable, bluntly informed them of Florida’s hardships. Still, the Jesuits had cause for optimism. They soon met a friendly, well-disposed native leader. Father Rogel, who
had abandoned Mound Key, arrived from Guale (coastal Georgia) with a very positive opinion of the Indians living there. Segura decided that the priests should journey to Havana to establish a college for the education of chiefs’ sons and to discuss an evangelization strategy for Florida.  

On the way to Cuba, the Jesuits had to enter the Bahama Channel, “which are some strong sea currents that, if the wind calms, is dangerous.” Ships would often be wrecked upon hostile shores “where they might perish at the hands of those barbarous heathen.” Unfortunately, the winds died just as the missionaries were sailing through the channel. The frustrated pilot, fearing ruin, “engaged in the worst evil that he could take”:

In place of calling out to God, blaspheming God and saying words very much cursing His Divine Majesty and His Providence; among other words he said that the cause of God not giving us good weather, was because we were serving Him and we were Christians, that if we were heretics or Moors, that God would give us everything good.

To counter this scandalous talk, which ran square against the Jesuit campaign against oaths, the priests prayed for good weather, with the result that “His Majesty gave it to us instantly so good that with incredible speed and brevity we reached the port of Havana.” The other ship sailing with the Jesuits received no such favor. At a later date, when the blasphemous pilot was plying the very same route, accompanied by a ship carrying Father Segura, a storm struck. Segura’s vessel weathered the gale. The pilot’s went to the bottom of the sea. Storms had portended a very successful fate for the second expedition.

Incredibly, this same voyage from St. Augustine to Havana featured yet another seemingly miraculous event. A boy on board began to move toward the side of the Jesuits’ ship on a calm, clear night, as the vessel sailed along rapidly before the wind. It being midnight, most were asleep. One of the missionaries spotted the lad, and realizing that he was sleepwalking, quickly grabbed him. It turned out that the youngster had been dreaming that his shoes had fallen into the ocean and he was preparing to jump overboard to retrieve them. This boy eventually “came to be a very good religious of our Company, and he died and lived happily in it.”
The writers of the above accounts, Rogel, Sedeno, and Brother Juan de la Carrera, believed that God had worked miracles for them throughout their arduous journeys to Florida. The storms that he sent were to test their faith, and increase their need for him in their lives. By suffering at sea, their spiritual strength would reach the level that was necessary to bring the heathen to the light of the gospel. Their prayers and devotions always had delivered them from danger. Even Pedro Martínez’s death could be seen as a sign of God’s favor, because the Church’s great foundations traditionally arose upon lands irrigated with the blood of martyrs. Rogel and Villareal, whose spirits had been sapped by failure at Mound Key and Tequesta, now took heart. Their confreres were reinforcing them, and the storms were once again bringing heavenly grace instead of demons.

As the evangelization of Florida continued, so did the storms. Rogel’s attempt at a roundabout voyage to Mound Key via Tequesta and the Florida Keys from Havana on September 22, 1568, was foiled by inclement weather. When he opted to proceed directly to Estero Bay, the usual two-day trip turned into a nineteen-day nightmare.

At the entrance to the bay, one ship almost met its end on the bar. A skillful Pedro Menéndez Marques, the Adelantado’s nephew, saved the vessel.30

On December 4, a party of missionaries left Matanzas, Cuba, reaching Tequesta in three days. When they attempted to proceed to St. Augustine:

A north wind so strong hit us, that we got lost from each other, and we do not know if Pedro de la Sierra has been wrecked; because we had a stormy night that, although our frigate was large, the sea was entering us from stem to stern.

This weather lasted three days for us.
Sedeno saw God’s wisdom in this setback, for the gale forced the Jesuits to return to Tequesta, where a peace treaty was concluded with the Indians. The missionaries, therefore, left a brother and two young catechists to carry on the evangelization process. A storm had led to a wonderful reopening of doors among a people who had previously closed their hearts to the gospel.

Brother Juan de la Carrera, writing in his old age, recalled yet another example of God’s mercy in a storm. While the missionaries were sailing on a ship with no deck among many islands, a fierce hurricane struck them. Thunder, lightning, rain, and furious winds rocked their exposed vessel. Carrera saw “a large rod ... carried from one place to another, that with human industry it appeared it could not be moved.” In addition, “trees of incredible size” were uprooted. The Jesuits’ ship ran aground on an uninhabited island. After a few days, the ship that previously seemed so useless became more seaworthy than before, so that the missionaries were able to safely reach port. The hurricane was the most violent in anyone’s memory. It deforested islands so that they looked as if fire from heaven had scorched them. The buildings of one town disappeared beneath the sea. Brother Carrera related this tale as an example of the many dangers from which the “powerful hand of God freed us ... so that one may see the care that He has for attending to those who occupy themselves in His service, so that by it His creatures may bless Him.”

In the ensuing months, the Florida mission began to disintegrate. Internal dissension hampered the Jesuit evangelization effort. Segura wrote Father General Borgia to have him advise the Spanish provincials to send only healthy and emotionally mature men, because Florida was a harsh land. Later, to his horror, Borgia, a future saint, would discover that one superior actually forced a troublesome brother to
“volunteer” to go to Florida. The Father General ordered that a suitably heavy penance be assigned to those responsible for this outrage. To make matters worse, the missionaries quarreled with Menéndez. Soldiers set bad examples for the Indians, taking their women and food when it suited them. Supplies ran low. Illnesses struck. The natives grew weary of the Spaniards and their priests. Some told the Jesuits to go away. Others scattered into the wilderness. Brother Diego Agustin Baez, a master linguist, unexpectedly died of fever. By mid-June of 1569, South Florida had been abandoned. Afterward, things went so poorly in Guale and Santa Elena that between May and July of 1570, these two posts were also deserted.33

Segura, unlike Sedeno and Rogel, who came to the conclusion that cultural clashes were the major reasons for their scant success, attributed his woes to the poor example of the Spanish military. He consequently decided to follow his idol, Francis Xavier, who, seeking a mission field free from European, Jewish, and Moslem influences, had made his way from Portuguese Goa to Japan. Afterward, Xavier saw China as the key to the conversion of the whole East. There he hoped to find an uncorrupted land in which he could preach the gospel in peace. The head of the Florida Jesuits planned to sail to Ajacan, on modern Chesapeake Bay, which was rumored to be located near China. He would take as his guide a converted native of that region, Don Luis. No escort of troops would accompany him. Also, he handpicked his companions, who were either newcomers to Florida on a third expedition that had left Spain in February 1570, or young catechists. On August 5, 1570, Segura sailed from Santa Elena, reaching Chesapeake Bay on September 10.34

By February 1571, the entire party, except for a young boy, had been slain by the Indians. Don Luis had apostasized. The Jesuits remaining behind suspected potential trouble when they received
Segura’s farewell letter from Ajacan. They instantly organized a relief expedition that witnessed the ghastly sight of natives clad in cassocks parading along a beach. When the Spaniards drew nearer to investigate, canoes attacked their ship. They luckily managed to capture some warriors from whom they surmised that only young Alonso de Olmos remained alive.\textsuperscript{35}

Now that all seemed lost, the Jesuit sea narratives reflected a different perspective. On one occasion, Menéndez brought a disease with him when his fleet docked in Havana. Sedeno complained that the “whole burden fell on us for since the sickness was contagious, few were willing to hear their confessions.” Ten days later, the fleet returned to Florida, with Father Sedeno and Brother Villareal aboard. At Santa Elena the epidemic spread, striking down the Jesuits. The brother soon recovered, but the priest remained ill for two months with fever. Still, he found himself forced to hear confessions “at all hours.” Then, the fort’s storehouse caught fire, “destroying many casks of wine which was the only gratification the poor people had, and all our food, gunpowder, etc., were burned as we stood helplessly by.”\textsuperscript{36}

Sedeno’s illness was worsening, so he opted to accompany Menéndez to Havana “in a very small open boat.” Along the way, the passengers “suffered extremely from the cold and rain as well as from hunger for our rations were reduced to a bit of roasted corn-meal, only two spoonfuls meal.” At St. Augustine, they had the good fortune of running into Brother Carrera and a ship loaded with supplies to be used in the unlikely event that Segura was still alive at Ajacan. A few days earlier, St. Augustine had witnessed its own catastrophe: “the sea had risen because of the wind, flooding the store houses and dwellings,” forcing the inhabitants to sustain themselves “on herbs and roots.” Carrera’s provisions, in the words of Sedeno, “helped us all, for we could not make the journey to Jacan, it being mid-winter, and had we gone would have perished due to the terrible north winds that sweep that coast and prevent dwelling or landing there.”\textsuperscript{37}

On December 12, 1571, Sedeno and Menéndez continued on to Havana. The \textit{adelantado} and the pilot decided to save time by passing “through the very narrow channel between the mainland and the shoals off Cape Canaveral, a place where many ships had been wrecked.” The passengers were a bit concerned when the wind began to blow harder, but since Menéndez and the pilot were familiar
with those waters, they remained calm. Then the unexpected hap-
penned:

It seems that Our Lord in His hidden judgments permitted that
the pilot should be so blind that intending to avoid the shoals,
though under the direction of the Governor and with a fair stern
wind, he piled the ship upon the shore where it went to pieces.
With great difficulty we saved the provisions, the food, the stock
and all the passengers. Drenched and cold we spent that night
on guard for the Indians on that coast are fierce and a short
while ago killed twenty-six Christians and captured three women
and two children from a ship which was wrecked there.38

The castaways were in especially bad shape because they had
few weapons and even fewer people who knew how to operate
them. Menéndez had placed all of the soldiers in another ship as a
“convoy,” but it was nowhere to be seen. The Adelantado, even
though he was “a brave captain,” found himself “irresolute, and with
reason.” Sedeno’s quick thinking rallied the dejected Spaniards, how-
ever, when he suggested that they build a fort in order to stave off
an Indian attack. His strategy worked. When the natives saw the
Spanish defenses, they decided to devote themselves to looting rather
than killing. The party immediately began to walk to St. Augustine.
Along the way, they had to entrust themselves to the hospitality of
several different groups of Indians whose underlying motives for
assisting them were always suspect. At one point, native guides
offered to transport the Spaniards in canoes across a “very wide
deep bay.” Once in the middle of the bay, their guides “did their best
to drown us,”

They broached the canoe to the waves so as to drown us, or at
least to wet all our supplies and weapons, so that we would be
forced to leave them behind. One after another the waves
washed into the canoe almost swamping them and all the time
we could not move, seated in water and thinking only of pre-
paring for death as we despaired of life.39

As had happened again and again, however. Sedeno reported
that, “it seems the sea was calmed by a relic and an Agnus Dei which
Brother Carrera trailed through the water.” The Indians then paddled
the Jesuits ashore. All of the Spaniards then continued their journey.
While resting at a grove of palms, Sedeno wrote that “God visited us
with two or three heavy showers as a crown to our other trials, all
praise to His Divine Majesty." Weak, wet, hungry, cold, and barefoot, the party trudged onward. Believing that the Lord was giving them "many an opportunity to meditate on Christ's Passion and the sufferings He endured for our sins." Near St. Augustine, a friendly Indian swam across a sandbar to give assistance to the exhausted castaways, who waited three days for succor, "subsisting on herbs and shell-fish during which a wind and rain storm arose renewing our hardships unsheltered as we were in an open field." The long-awaited rescue ship disappointingly brought only some "rotting corn" and a "small boat" upon which the party embarked. En route, another storm arose and the Jesuits became lost. Finally, at dawn, they reached St. Augustine.40

A ship full of grain soon arrived from New Spain, so Father Sedeno and Brother Carrera decided to sail with Menéndez on a relief mission to Santa Elena. When the small settlement was spotted, the Adelantado wished to make quick contact with the town by dispatching a shore party. Feeling that the valiant Sedeno's presence would provide moral support, Menéndez asked him to disembark with the pilot in a small boat. Since the sea was calm and the moon shone, both Sedeno and Carrera agreed to go. No sooner had they left the ship "than the wind rose and the waves increased so that the pilot regretted having gone." The wind and the current started driving the Jesuits out to sea. The launch cast its "light anchor" and the "wind increased and lifted up mountainous waves which time and again broke over our boat drenching us all." As the sea raged, the missionaries bailed water. Sedeno called it "the most fearful night I ever spent." He passed it "imploring God to have mercy on us all and forgive our sins." At the break of day, "the gale and enormous waves" still prevented their rescue. When the mother ship's "cable broke," it was "forced to come to us and so rescued us drenched and frozen." They stopped at Santa Elena for a month, suffering from the cold weather. On the eve of their departure for Havana, Sedeno nervously wrote that: "We think our trials are not over for we are going in another small open boat." Then he added:
Rather we hope God will grant us even greater sufferings for I assure Your Reverence . . . that those who bear them for Him patiently and joyously learn that truly His yoke is sweet and His burden light, that He is with them in their tribulation and will save those hoping in him.  

Sedeno’s harrowing adventure, in addition to the other discouraging accounts from Florida, certainly moved the Jesuit hierarchy to abandon the mission in favor of New Spain in 1572. Before his death trip to Ajacan, Segura, while admitting that Florida offered numerous occasions for sharing in Christ’s passion, still maintained that the Jesuit presence there violated the order’s Institutes. They were making a pitifully low number of converts, only a few adults and children baptized at the point of death. To comply with their organizational mission, they were supposed to labor for the greater glory of God. This suggested a post like China, where a bountiful harvest of souls could be gathered.  

The Jesuit hierarchy soon came around to Segura’s point of view. The Florida enterprise was bearing little fruit. The missionaries lived hard lives scattered among barbarous natives. They existed on poor rations and had suffered death, stomach ailments and fevers. The fact that the men were rather bookish by inclination made the conditions in Florida seem even more dangerous and deplorable. According to Christ’s command, they believed that when a people refused to listen to the gospel message, missionaries were justified in shaking the dust of their villages from their feet. Moreover, the Institutes of the Society of Jesus did state that the order was to minister for the greater glory of God and the greatest good of their neighbor. They hardly could achieve these ends in Florida.

Whereas the Jesuit leadership in Europe had previously counseled patience, it was now admitting that Florida was indeed a sterile vineyard. Recent scholarship attests to the wisdom of Francis Borgia’s command to shake the dust of Florida from the Society’s feet. Following work by James Axtell, John H. Hann in Missions to the Calusa reminds his readers that the Jesuit mission in Florida from 1566-1572 did not exactly “fail”:

A more balanced assessment, however, might note that from Calusa territory to Guale and Santa Elena the Jesuits dealt with natives whose confidence in their own value systems and Weltanschauung had not been sufficiently shaken to make
them susceptible to the European Christian message. Consequently a more just assessment of the Jesuit effort in Florida is that it was made before the time was right and in the case of the Calusa, to people for whom the time would never be right.\textsuperscript{44}

What then do the Jesuit storm narratives tell us about the Florida mission? They certainly help us to understand the motivations of the missionaries. They also demonstrate their attitude toward suffering and their deep faith in God’s mercy. Furthermore, the letters reveal subtle shifts in the Jesuits’ view of their surroundings; from an optimism that things would turn out well in Florida to a discouraged call for the abandonment of their apostolic undertaking in favor of more fertile fields. Reports of agonizing sea voyages supplied European superiors with important data for decision making and resource allocation. In addition, the storm letters help us to comprehend Alfred W. Crosby’s assertion that man is “a biological entity before he is a Roman Catholic or a capitalist or anything else.” William Cronon adds that “natural ecosystems . . . provide the context” for all human institutions. Storms are a fact of life in Florida. Therefore, no history of human endeavors there can legitimately ignore this aspect of Florida’s natural surroundings. Tempests tormented the missionaries at every turn, shaping their attitudes toward their new environment and its potential as a mission field. They used storms to help them to discern God’s will for the Society of Jesus in Spanish North America. At first he seemed to be guiding them to Florida. With the passage of time, it became clear to the Jesuits that he actually was telling them to move on to New Spain. Finally, the storm narratives help us to see the Jesuits as they saw themselves. At a time when Spanish colonizers are under fire from a variety of interest groups, these writings add a very human dimension to quincentenary-related debates concerning the conversion of native peoples in the wake of Christopher Columbus.\textsuperscript{45}

To those living in our present age, Sixteenth-Century Europeans, particularly Jesuit missionaries, represent the Other, as do the Florida natives who they were attempting to convert. The Twentieth-Century Jesuit spiritual director, Father Anthony de Mello, writing for an audience composed primarily of Catholic clergy, demonstrates how different we are:

Today we seem to be losing this sense of God’s direct intervention in our lives. The Jews in the Bible had a tremendous
sense for this.... All their attention was focused on the Primary Cause, on God. They seem to have just overlooked secondary causes.... With us it is just the opposite.... We have become so conscious of secondary causes that God no longer features in our life and our thinking.... God is as much a need in every event and action of our modern lives... as he was to the Jews in the desert. We have just lost the faith-sense that enables us to see him operating behind every secondary cause, to see his hand guiding events personally through the veil of human agencies.46

When attempting to enter the minds of Father Segura and his companions, it is important to bear in mind that they saw the world as a miraculous place. Their focus was on the “Primary Cause.”

Endnotes


9. Rogel to Avellaneda, Monte Christi and Havana, November 1566—January 30, 1567, MAF, 104-106.


11. Nalle, 62; Rogel to Avellaneda, MAF, 105-106.

12. Avellaneda to Borja, Cadiz, 4 July 1566, MAF, 85; Rogel to Avellaneda, MAF, 106-107.


14. Rogel to Avellaneda, MAF, 113-114.

15. Ibid., 114-115.

16. Almazan to Avellaneda, Monte Christi, December 1, 1566, MAF, 145; Rogel to Avellaneda, MAF, 115-117.

17. Rogel to Avellaneda, MAF, 117-118.

18. Menendez to Avellaneda, St. Augustine, October 15, 1566, MAF, 95-96; Riego to Philip II, Santo Domingo, 30 November 1566, MAF, 146-147.


20. Ibid., 130-132.


27. Carrera to Perez, Los Angeles (in Mexico), March 1, 1600, MAF, 545.

31. Carrera to Perez, MAF, 567.
32. Sedeno to Borja, Guale, March 6, 1570, MAF, 427S Sedeno to Borja, Guale, May 14, 1570, MAF, 431; Vazquez to Segura, Rome, December 29, 1568, MAF, 373-375; Segura to Portillo, Havana, June 19, 1569, MAF, 384-387; Segura to Borja, Havana, November 18, 1568, MAF, 368; Borja to Segura, Rome, June 29, 1569, MAF, 391; Segura to Borja, Santa Elena, July 5, 1569, MAF, 392-393; Borja to Segura aut Sedeno, Rome, November 14, 1570, MAF, 459; Borja to Canas, Rome, November 17, 1570, MAF, 466; Segura to Borja, Santa Elena, December 18, 1569, MAF, 407; Villarreal to Borja, Tupilqui, March 5, 1570, MAF, 416; Zubillaga, 345, 347, 350; Sedeno to Rogel, Tequesta, December 19, 1568, MAF, 372-373; Rogel to Hinistrosa, Santa Elena, December 11, 1569, MAF, 398-404; Sedeno to Borja, Guale, March 6, 1570, MAF, 422; Kenny, 209, 230; Segura to Borja, Guale, December 18, 1569, MAF, 405-411; Villarreal to Borja, Tupilqui, March 5, 1570, MAF, 413-421; Sedeno to Borja, Guale, March 6, 1570, MAF, 421-428; Sedeno to Borja, Guale, May 14, 1570, MAF, 429-431; Rogel to Menendez, Havana, December 9, 1570, MAF, 471-479.
34. Rogel to Borja, Chesapeake Bay, 28 August 1572, MAF, 527-528S Lewis and Loomie, 45, 47-50; Carrera to Perez, MAF, 556-559; “Relatio de Missione Floridae,” MAF, 612.
36. Ibid., 118-119.
37. Ibid., 119.
38. Ibid., 120-122.
39. Ibid., 123-124.
40. Ibid., 124-126.
41. Zubillaga, 421-4245 Segura to Borja, Guale, December 18, 1569, MAF, 406-409; Rogel to Menendez, Havana, December 9, 1570, MAF, 471-479.
42. Zubillaga, 421-424; Segura to Borja, MAF, 406-409; Rogel to Menendez, MAF, 471-479.
With the close of the Second Seminole War and the passage of the Armed Occupation Act of 1842, the settlement of southeast Florida became an object of interest to the United States Army. The main problem of settlement in this isolated region was how best to provide the necessary means of cheap and efficient transportation to those willing to make their homes in the territory. The road survey conducted by Colonel James Gadsden in 1825 had indicated that the yearly “freshets” on the rivers and streams emptying into the Atlantic Ocean would destroy most bridges. Additionally, ferries required ferrymen to operate them and there were too few settlers in the area to provide this means of transportation across these dangerous bodies of water. The only practicable solution was constructing a canal across the “Haulover,” which connected the Mosquito River with the Indian River, and thus provide a nearly continuous navigable waterway all the way to Cape Florida. To ascertain the feasibility of this project, General William Worth, then commanding in Florida, ordered Lieutenant Jacob Edmund Blake of the Topographical Engineers to conduct a survey of the proposed canal’s route.

On November 10, 1843, General Worth wrote to the head of the Topographical Bureau, Colonel John James Abert:

‘On examination of the accompanying Sketch you will perceive that by a cut thro’ the little strip of Land at the Haulover (Fort Ann) which Separates the Mosquito from Indian river lagoon, marked half a mile, but in fact Seven hundred & twenty yards, there will an uninterrupted batteaux navigation counting from Bulows Southwardly of 270 miles; thence from the Southern

Joe Knetsch is an historian with the Bureau of Survey and Mapping, Division of State Lands, Florida Department of Natural Resources. Knetsch has conducted extensive research in the history of state-owned lands and holds a doctorate in history from Florida State University and a master’s from Florida Atlantic University.
extremity of St. Lucia a slight detour by the Everglades entering the Miami sea reach, near Key Biscayne, the Inland passage around the cape to Key West. . . . this work which will afford, at small cost, immense facilities to the settlers now studying the Southern Atlantic coast of the Peninsula, tend to bring the public lands into market and it may be, in the future, greatly facilitate the transmission of military supplies in respect to time, expense and avoidance of hazardous navigation and the active energies of an enemy's cruisers."

If allowed to use the garrison in St. Augustine, he argued, the cost would only be about $5,500. For this survey, Lieutenant Blake, with approval of Abert, might also have assistance from the staff of Captain MacKay's party of surveyors. In the future, he speculated, the cut between Matanzas and the Mosquito Rivers would extend this proposed system of navigation all the way to St. Augustine.1 Worth, who had been encouraging settlement in Florida since 1841, thought the plan was well adapted to accomplishing the aim of the Armed Occupation Act, the settling of the frontier with sturdy pioneers willing to stay on the land and protect the more established settlements further north.

The man chosen to make the survey, which was then already in progress, was Lieutenant Blake, a Pennsylvania-born graduate of the Military Academy, class of 1833. Blake had already served in Florida during the Second Seminole War as an assistant topographical engineer during 1838 and 1839 and co-produced the well known "MacKay-Blake Map" of 1840. Prior to his appointment on General Worth's staff in 1842, he helped survey the boundary between the United States and Texas, the harbors on the eastern end of Lake Erie and on reconnaissance of the approaches to New Orleans. In early 1844, Worth appointed his trusted lieutenant to be in charge of surveys and improvements in the Florida territory. It was in this capacity that Blake began the 1845 survey which is a main focus of this article. He later served with distinction in the Mexican War at the Battle of Palo Alto. Unfortunately, on May 9, 1846, this promising young officer, at the time only 34 years old, was killed "by an accidental discharge of his own pistol."2

By December 12, 1843, the ill-fated young lieutenant had turned in his first survey report to his commander. Worth noted, in a letter to Colonel Abert, that this report was "preparatory" to asking for the
funding of his proposed project. He emphasized that the project would be for the public benefit, especially the settlers, “many already in occupation and others desirous of proceeding thither.” It would likewise be acceptable to the troops and “creditable to the army.” The only impediment, he stated, was the cost for the quantity of planking needed to build the revetment. Wright, it would appear, had little doubt that the project would be acceptable to Abert and others in Washington.

Blake’s first report was dated December 11, 1843, and began with the statement that the cutting of the canal would, “thus remove the great source of toil and difficulty experienced by all settlers and others passing from North to South by the inland route from Smyrna to the mouth of Indian River.” He properly noted that the force stationed at Fort Ann during the late Indian war varied from 800 to 1000 men whose primary task was to haul the materials of war over the haulover and reload the steamboats and other vessels for the trip down the Indian River to Fort Pierce and beyond. In justification of the projected canal, Blake wrote:

... from the large force so long employed there, the wagons, mules & necessary forage, together with the supplies for the troops, to say nothing of the necessity of the withdrawal of such a force from the fighting strength actually in the field, I hazard little in asserting that the expense of keeping up such a force to overcome the difficulty arising from the interposition of this narrow neck of land must have cost the Government in six months twenty times the expense of cutting a canal from one stream to the other...

He continued his justification by declaring: “Since the termination of the war this has been the general route for all settlers on Indian River, St Lucie, Key Biscayne & Lake Worth.” Together with the “dangerous nature” of the bar at Indian River, the heavy weather and the lack of pilots to guide settlers into the area, these all contributed to making “the inland communication preferable at all seasons.” Blake’s reasoning was fueled by the need to assist settlement and ease communications with southern Florida.

The size of the proposed canal was large enough to admit the passage of boats and scows drawing not more than three feet of water. Its overall length was to be 725 yards with an average depth of four feet, which would allow some of the normal siltration to take
place and still admit boats and scows drawing no more than three feet of water. Part of the canal's distance, approximately 300 yards, would be through soft sand, resembling quicksand, and would have to have a revetment to hold back the sand once it was excavated. This construction would require, "driving piles 8 inches square & 12 feet in length, at a distance of 12 feet apart, revetting the sides with two inch plank," and possibly even planking the bottom of the canal for this distance to prevent excessive build-up of sand on the bottom. Like Worth, he called for the use of the force available at St. Augustine to complete the canal and render the passage usable by potential settlers. He estimated the costs for the project at a little over $4,100, but warned that if the force at St. Francis Barracks could not be used the costs could run as high as $10,000.

Blake, a student of the Military Academy and subject to some of its virtues as well as faults, estimated that the appropriation offered for the completion of this canal was too small. His projection that the project could cost as much as $10,000 must have seemed excessive to many in Congress and his more politically aware superiors in Washington. Whatever the cause, the work on the canal was not allowed to continue in 1843. In the phrase of Captain William H. Swift, then in charge of the Topographical Bureau, "Your remarks upon the inadequacy of the appropriation for cutting a canal at the Haulover will also be submitted to the Chief Topogl. Engr. This work will also for the present be suspended." This was a rather terse dismissal of the young lieutenant's recommendations.

Blake was ordered to shift his attention to the railroad survey from Jacksonville or Palatka to Cedar Key, the route then being proposed by some Floridians. He was, however, allowed to examine alternatives to the cost figures he had given for the canal project. On September 20, 1844, Blake was notified by Swift to proceed, after having completed the railroad survey, "to make such examinations as will enable you to state the cost of constructing a Canal at the Haulover independently of any aid from the troops." The go-ahead to redo the cost estimates had been given and the justification for the resurvey had been approved, in principle. On March 3, 1845, Blake wrote to Abert that he had not radically changed the position of the proposed canal but had slightly increased the distance to be covered by about 150 yards to "guard against the formation of bars at either mouth." Most significantly, Blake found that the estimate of $5,000, in addition to the $1,500 already expended in his surveys, would be
adequate to construct this canal, in sharp contrast to the earlier estimate of $10,000.9

The contrasts that are noted in Blake’s estimates reflect a deeper contrast in the report filed in 1845, the transcription of which follows. What is significant about the new report is the number of changes in emphasis and attitude toward the area of southern Florida. Blake reported that the surveys of the Public Lands had recently been completed along part of the route to the south and that these had exposed numerous lakes and creeks. He further stated that although settlers from neighboring states had attempted to establish settlements thereon, these had, apparently, failed and there was “but little prospect of ever forming permanent and thriving settlements” in the area. He noted the numerous bars at the entrances of many rivers, Jupiter, New and Hillsborough, for example, “are all subject to sudden and frequent changes, sometimes entirely closed ... all unfit and unreliable for the purposes of navigation.” He declared, also, that the territory was threatened by the “agonies of killing thirst” and, at other times, so wet as to prevent the transportation of goods necessary for survival. The large proportion of swamp and saw grass marshes noted on the Public Land surveys, he believed, came from the fact that the surveyors were frequently interrupted in their work by heavy rainfall which covered the land with water, “where it was previously difficult to find sufficient for drinking purposes.” Drainage of the area was the only alternative and there were too few people to accomplish this needed task.

Blake’s 1845 report also brought to light the reason behind some of the Public Land surveys, the fact that many Spanish land grants existed in the territory and they had to be segregated from lands opened to public settlement. These grants, Blake maintained, took up the most desirable lands, leaving little of worth for public settlement. Some, he noted, had been sold to other interested parties, and he used the example of Miami pioneer William English as one of the more notable. Thus, with poor lands available to the public and much of the land covered with water, Blake was not optimistic about permanent settlement of South Florida.

The young lieutenant, however, had learned that the political winds had changed, and the report obviously reflected this. Settlement was no longer the main justification for the canal, but the possible military necessity of protecting communication with the newly established fortification at Key West became a major focus of con-
cern. He also hit heavily upon the age old argument for the intracoastal system, the protection of shipping from attack and heavy weather. The wrecking interests were the only ones who benefited from the lack of an intracoastal waterway, he noted, and the benefits from such a canal would be in the national interest. In the final arguments for the canal, he conceded that southern Florida had not been given a flattering picture and that there was a need to experiment with "tropical and European fruits" to encourage greater settlement. For a final benefit, he graciously stated that the "boundless grazing facilities, and inexhaustible fisheries, render its improvements and speedy settlement of vast importance to the general prosperity of the country." Blake's changed attitudes and opinions of southern Florida, as exhibited in his reports of 1843 and 1845, make for an interesting study in national policy as it related to internal improvements and the Army's role in their construction. He also gives us glimpses of the frontier state of the territory and relative uncertainty of pioneer life in a southern Florida that has long since disappeared.

A final word about the Haulover canal's history is in order. While preparing to carry out the policy of forcing the Indians of Florida to remove or fight, the Army assigned Lieutenant Horatio G. Wright to supervise the construction of a shallow canal through the Haulover to facilitate the movement of supplies to southern Florida, where the fighting, if it came to that, would most likely take place. The canal constructed by Wright's command was eight feet wide on the bottom and 12 feet at top with a usable depth of about two feet. As historian George Buker has noted: "It was no coincidence that the Haulover Canal was designed for the small boat operation used by the Army in its earlier Indian struggles along the Florida coast." During the Third Seminole war, the canal was used frequently for hauling men and materials to South Florida.

The Army did not maintain the canal after the conclusion of the war and there was little population along the shore to keep it in good repair during the Civil War or immediately thereafter. Reports from engineer J. Francis LaBaron showed that the canal, on his trip of 1869, had silted in heavily and it was with difficulty he used it for his small vessel. In his later trip of 1878, he found that local interests had deepened the canal and it admitted boats of 11 foot beam and drawing about one to two feet of water. After the founding of the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company, which constructed the remainder of the Intracoastal canal, the Haulover remained us-
able for most vessels plying the Indian River trade.11 By 1892, the settlements along the Indian River were such that a project was initiated for clearing a channel five feet deep and 75 feet wide throughout the Indian River for the improvement of steamboat traffic. The Haulover canal, however, was continually maintained by the private interests of the canal company.12 Since the Federal government obtained the Intracoastal Canal in 1930-31, the Haulover has been maintained by the Army Corps of Engineers in conjunction with the Florida Inland Navigation District.

Report on improving the communications between St. Augustine and Key Biscayne, J. Edmd. Blake, 1st. Lt. Topo. Engs., 1845

Report on cutting a Canal at the Haulover at Fort Ann, with remarks on the Inland communication between St. Augustine and Cape Florida.

In November 1843 a survey of the neck of land separating the waters of Indian River and Mosquito Lagoon, at a point generally known as the Haulover, was directed to be made by Brigr. Genl. W. J. Worth, commanding the 9th Military Dept., in order to determine the practicability of connecting those waters by a Canal, the survey was immediately made and a favorable report thereon presented in the following December, the estimated cost of the canal being $4,185, based on the supposition that the work could be performed by such a force as could be spared for the purpose taken from the troops in garrison at St. Augustine. Without such assistance it was estimated that the cost of construction would not be far from $10,000. Near the close of the Congress then in session $1500 was appropriated for this work, an amount considered altogether inadequate for the object proposed. Although asked, authority was not granted to make such disposition of the force then in garrison, and the numerical strength of companies in service having subsequently been reduced to the lowest practicable peace establishment, the proposed plan of construction failed in consequence. At a later period a detailed survey was ordered by the Topographical Bureau and an estimate required based on the necessity of completing the work without the aid of the
troops. In accordance with these latter instructions a resurvey was made in February last, the position of the proposed cut slightly changed with regard to the direction of the channels in Indian River and Mosquito Lagoon, and the nature of the ground and the relative height of the water in the two Rivers more carefully observed and studied. I have in consequence became by recent and continued observation that a mere cut is all that is necessary to connect the two rivers, the revetment of the sides and bottom of that portion passing thro the sand as proposed in my report of the 11th December 1843 can consequently be dispensed with.

The sections on the Map accompanying this report will show the nature of the ground thro’ which the cut is to be made, composed of rock (hard coquina) shell and sand; so much of the cut forming the water way of the canal passes thro’ a mixture of sand and water, the latter rendering its removal somewhat tedious and more costly. The width has been increased from 10 to 15 feet, the depth remaining the same. To provide for a navigation requiring a greater depth than 4 feet is not deemed desirable, indeed it may be considered doubtful if such a proposition would not prove to be impracticable, owing to the general shallowness, except at enormous if not incalculable expense.

I submit herewith an estimate for the construction of the canal;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Cost</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4400 C. Y. rock, 75 cts.</td>
<td></td>
<td>$3,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6000 C. Y. sand, 15 cts.</td>
<td></td>
<td>900</td>
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<tr>
<td>3900 C. Y. sand &amp; water, 25 cts.</td>
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<td>975</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clearing out the channel to deep water</td>
<td></td>
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<td>at the two termini</td>
<td></td>
<td>325</td>
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<td>Contingencies &amp;c. &amp;c.</td>
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</tr>
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<td>$6,500</td>
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of which $1500 already appropriated remains untouched, having a balance of $5000 required to complete the work, and thereby opening an uninterrupted batteau communication extending over a distance of 2 1/2 degrees Latitude, separated from the Atlantic Ocean by a distance seldom exceeding half a mile.

The necessity of opening a direct communication from St. Augustine to Cape Florida either by land or improving the Lakes and sounds forming nearly a continuous boat navigation between the two places has frequently been suggested and repeatedly commanded the
attention of the Territorial Legislature. Its importance, at all times
great, has been materially enhanced by the steps now taking by the
Genl. Government to fortify Key West, the advanced Post of the
United States. In 1825 a survey of a route for a Road from St.
Augustine to Cape Florida was made by Col. Gadsden and the sub-
ject ably discussed in his report thereon. Doubts were then expressed
whether the country over which the road should pass, particularly the
southern portion, would ever be sufficiently populated to render such
a road necessary, and even when constructed, the inducements to
individuals to keep up the necessary ferries would scarcely ever be
adequate. Experience has fully proved the correctness of these views,
and little doubt can longer exist of the superior advantages to be
anticipated in opening the water communication.

The surveys of the public lands have lately been extended as
far South as Cape Florida, residents of other neighboring States have
from time to time made efforts to locate themselves on the banks of
the several Lakes and creeks, yet notwithstanding material and, so
requisite in a country passing from a state of war to peace, has been
gratuitously advanced by the Military authorities as far as the means
at their disposal would warrant, there exists at present but little pros-
ppect of ever forming permanent and thriving settlements. The bars at
the several entrances from the Atlantic, at Indian River, Gilbergs,
Jupiter, Hillsborough and New Rivers &c. &c. are all subject to
sudden and frequent changes, sometimes entirely closed, at others
slightly deepening, but all unfit and unreliable for the purposes of
navigation. To reach these lands from St. Augustine or the more
Northern settlements, it is necessary to cross a country devoid of
roads, streams without bridges, no habitations or pioneer settlements,
at one time the country so dry that you are threatened with all the
agonies of killing thirst, at another, so wet that transportation of the
necessary supplies and immediate wants of a new settlement is al-
most impossible, and altogether beyond the means of the ordinary
emigrant. Two routes are still open for selection, the one to brave the
Atlantic in open boats at the imminent risk of destruction in crossing
the bars near the destined place of settlement, in attempting which
serious losses, enough to dishearten the enterprising settler, have
already frequently occurred, or to take the inland passage by the
lakes and creeks which may be navigable, and hauling canoes and
supplies by bodily strength alone over such places as may not pos-
sess the requisite depth of water. This is a hard alternative, but it is
the only safe and practicable one left. With a view to bring this subject in a proper manner to the consideration of the Government, I have prepared a map exhibiting the different communications on the proposed routes, making (in red ink) such places as it would be necessary to open or deepen to secure at all times a continuous inland bateau navigation.

The Map exhibits the surveys lately completed by the deputy surveyors; the large proportion of swamp and saw grass marshes depicted thereon may be attributed to the fact that the surveyors were interrupted in their labors by showers of rain which immediately covered with water ground where it was previously difficult to find sufficient for drinking purposes. The canals requisite to open these communications will have an important bearing upon the drainage of the country, it is impracticable with any hopes of future profit for a single individual to perfect a system of drainage which would render his lands available for agricultural purposes, these canals would constitute the main drains to which communications might be opened by individual settlers to secure their own lands, and in every instance each successive settler performing his proportion of the general system. Without improvement to these channels it is utterly hopeless to anticipate the settlement of the Southern portion of Florida, even were the lands to be given by the Government to those disposed to settle there, a proposition which at first sight may appear startling, but the more it is considered, I feel convinced, the more favorably will it be received.

The better portions of land in this section of country adapted to agricultural purposes are already covered by old Spanish grants and have become the property of the original grantee or others who have purchased their interest, such as English's settlement on the Miami, the grants of Gomez, Hanson, Fleming & others not marked on the Map. The holders of these extensive grants would willingly give small lots, or dispose of them at a mere nominal price to industrious and enterprising settlers, and by this means enhance the value of the remaining portion of their property. This course of proceeding necessarily depreciates the value of the public lands, immeasurably inferior in quality, if not entirely worthless, and less favorably located, rendering their sale and subsequent location hopeless while subjected to the two fold withering operation of inferiority in quality and situation. The mere loss of dollars and cents in giving away, either to individuals or to the State of Florida, this portion of the public
domain, or disposing of it at a mere nominal price, will be nothing when considered in connection with the National policy of occurring its speedy settlement, and connecting our important Military works at Key West and the entire Florida reef with the back and settled portions of the country. As it now stands, without improvement to its avenues of approach, I feel confident that for years to come, if ever, it will not refund to the Treasury the original cost of Survey.

This section of country is accurately described by Col. Gadsden in his report of 1825, more recent experience, personal observation and frequent conversations with others the best acquainted with the localities satisfy me of the general correctness of his views.

"The whole country South of the Mosquito offers but feeble allurements to an agricultural population, and this opinion is somewhat strengthened by the fact of there being no evidences within that distance of old Indian settlements, scattering hunting camps alone indicate the purposes to which that district had been hitherto appropriated. The only land fit for cultivation is on the immediate margins of the Rivers and Inlets, inconsiderable as to extent, and of a light sandy soil, barely sufficient to raise the ordinary subsistence in grain for small families, whose energies may be directed to other than agricultural objects. The resources of this southern district of Florida are limited to ranges for stock of cattle, to wrecking and the fisheries, objects in themselves opposed to a dense population and only inviting to that class of adventurous emigrants who attach little value to roads, and would prefer in their neighborhood communications making use of the water channels provided by nature. These channels are in the chain of inlets and Lakes which extend with but partial interruptions the whole length of the coast from St. Augustine to Cape Florida."

By inspecting the Map illustrative of and accompanying this Report, it will be seen that Matanzas and Halifax Rivers are separated by a distance not exceeding 12 miles, the intervening country being low and flat and but slightly elevated above the waters in the two rivers, and in wet weather being altogether under water. Mosquito River is again separated from Indian River at the Haulover by a narrow strip of about 1/2 a mile in extent, the communication is again uninterrupted until you reach the head of a small creek falling into Jupiter Inlet and separated only by a distance of 2 miles from Lake Worth, this latter obstacle being in fact passable at high water;
at the Southern termination of Lake Worth 22 miles in length there is another long obstruction of 11 miles, again consisting of low wet marshy land over which boats have passed in high stages of water; thence to New River Inlet the communication is open requiring at this latter point a cut of 2 miles in extent to connect with Snake Creek, and thence by Biscayne Bay to Cape Florida. At this point commences a wide and extensive navigations between the Islands bordering the Eastern Coast of Florida and the reef of rocks extending at a distance of from 3 to 5 miles from the main land from Cape Florida to the Tortugas, protected by this reef from the swell of the Atlantic and force of the Gulf Stream, passing several keys on which settlements have been made, all possessing an importance from their connection with the wrecking interest and the fisheries. It is on this reef that such a vast amount of property is annually lost to the United States, the entire distance from Cape Florida to Key West being in all seasons of the year and in all weathers studded with vessels connected with the wrecking interest.

Although by no means a flattering opinion is advanced of the peculiar formation and qualifications of the Southern section of Florida, I would not be understood as condemning every effort that may be made to multiply and increase settlements thereon. On the contrary, this section of country is entitled from many grave and weighty considerations to the fostering care of the Government, the necessity of an uninterrupted communication between the more Northern settlements and the extensive Military works in the course of construction at Key West, together with the reasonable claims of its inhabitants to the benefits anticipated from a frequent and regular transmission of the mail to and from the intervening settlements and Islands on the route must be apparent to every one. Moreover tho' the land is unsuited for the production of corn, grain and the immediate wants of the settler, the climate, in some degree, supplies the deficiencies of its peculiar soil and renders it valuable as a nursery, in time, for tropical and European fruits, and with the constantly progressive improvements in agricultural science, the probable discovery of its applicability for other staples, its boundless grazing facilities, and inexhaustible fisheries, render its improvements and speedy settlement of vast importance to the general prosperity of the country. It has yet to pass thro' the costly ordeal of experiment and the most serious obstacle that the bold and energetic operator will have to contend with is the almost impossible task of sending to market the precarious
fruit of his anxious labors. The peculiar character of its natural productions, such as oranges, lemons, limes, bananas, & tropical fruits in general will not admit of extensive land transportation. This fact together with the impracticability of keeping up the bridges on a road annually subjected to destruction by floods, and fire from the woods, and the sparse population rendering it difficult to support the requisite ferries over the larger streams, leave no doubt as to the superior advantages of opening a water communication throughout, rather than attempting the construction of a road, costly in the first outlay and requiring extensive annual repairs.

As these several obstructions in the general line have never been submitted to instrumental examination, I have no means of arriving at a safe estimate of the cost of construction; the cuts are longer than have generally been reported and other routes might possibly be found available on closer examination; the intervening land is in all cases represented as low and easy of removal and little more that the displacement of sufficient earth to form the body of the canal, say 15 feet wide and 4 feet deep, would be necessary.

It is believed that the total cost of opening the entire communication from St. Augustine to Cape Florida, a distance of 300 miles, would not exceed $50,000; an appropriation of $1500 would be sufficient to collect the necessary data on which to base a more accurate estimate.

All of which is respectfully submitted,
J. Edmd. Blake

Col. J. J. Abert
Chief Topl. Engrs.
Washington D. C.
St. Augustine, Florida
July 20th. 1845.

Endnotes


3. Territorial Papers. 802-03.
5. Territorial Papers. 805-07.

6. For a good discussion of the conflicts the officers of the Topographical Bureau often faced when estimating costs of projects and the reactions to these, see Todd Shallat’s discussion of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal project in his article, “Building Waterways, 1802-1861: Science and the United States Army in Early Public Works.” *Technology and Culture.* 31(January 1990): 28-38.


The Beginning of the Episcopal Church in the Miami Area

By Edgar Legare Pennington, S.T.D.


When the Missionary Jurisdiction of Southern Florida was constituted in 1892, there was no work conducted by the Episcopal Church between Lake Worth and Key West. That long Atlantic seaboard—a stretch of 225 miles—was thinly settled, difficult of access, and of little promise. The first official mention of a prospect of development along the part of the Florida east coast is found in the *Journal of the Second Annual Convocation of the Missionary Jurisdiction* (1894) where Coconut Grove, Miami, and Lemon City are listed among the mission stations, and the Reverend Gilbert Higgs, D.D., rector of St. Paul’s, Key West, is Archdeacon, with the counties of Monroe, Lee, and Dade “to Lake Worth” in his district.

Bishop William Crane Gray, the first Bishop of the new Missionary Jurisdiction, had been elected by the General Convention of the Church in October 1892, in the city of Baltimore, as Missionary Bishop. His consecration took place in the Church of the Advent, Nashville, Tennessee (where he was rector), on December 29th, the same year. On the 3rd of January, 1893, he took leave of his parish and the city of Nashville; and on the 5th he was present at Orlando for the meeting of “the Southern Convocation.” A week later, he was on his way to Key West, for a prolonged visitation of the district.

On the 29th of April 1892, Bishop Gray reached the Biscayne region, where, so far as he could ascertain, “no Bishop had ever been, and only once had a Clergyman of the Church made a brief sojourn there.” Bishop Gray became at once the guest of Mrs. Julia D. Tuttle at Miami;¹ and he expressed thanks in his convocation address to her “for the careful and painstaking way in which she had prepared for [his] visit, making it known far and wide, and arranging for the different services he was to hold, where to hold them, and
placing her private launch at [his] disposal.” On the 30th of April, in a school house at Lemon City, the Bishop had a Baptism and a Confirmation and celebrated Holy Communion. At night, he held service in the Union Church at Coconut Grove, 13 miles farther down the bay. He regarded the prospect as “certainly good for the Church in this whole region, provided the ground be occupied at once.” He spent an entire week visiting among the people, far and near, “by land and by water, visiting them in their homes, talking to them, instructing them, preparing some for Baptism and Confirmation, and in every way possible endeavoring to improve the opportunity before [him].”

He stated “I ascertained that in a large portion of this region the number of Church people, or those who have been more or less under the influence of the Church, is greater than that of any other religious body, and they are very anxious to see the Church established in their midst.”

On May 6, Bishop Gray visited an isolated church family living on Elliott’s Key; and was impressed by the 40 acres of pineapples, containing about 4,800,000 plants. On Sunday, May 7, he held morning service preaching at Coconut Grove and at night preached at Lemon City and confirmed three persons. The next day he left for Key West.

On November 28, 1893, Bishop Gray was again in the Biscayne Bay region, having arrived by stage from Lantana along the edge of the Everglades—the most trying and expensive journey I have to make in all my jurisdiction.” He stopped first at a small house within a few miles of Lemon City—a house which was both the post office and a dwelling. He stepped inside and saw a number of children; thereupon he asked, “Have these children been baptized?” The parents both answered, “No.” The Bishop found on inquiry that they were anxious to have it done and wanted him to do it; so he promised to prevail on the driver to start early enough on his return trip to attend to it.

Having had two good lots donated at Lemon City for a church, Bishop Gray, on November 29, appointed a committee to raise, subscriptions “towards the first Episcopal Church to be built on Biscayne Bay.” The next day (St. Andrew’s and Thanksgiving Day), he was taken in a private launch to Coconut Grove, where, in the evening, he held service and preached to a large congregation in the Union
Church. The first of December was partly spent in examining possible locations for the church at Coconut Grove. Lots were offered by different parties; but the Bishop was not quite satisfied. He held services again that evening at Coconut Grove; two days later he had a Baptism in the country, after which he held services in the Methodist Church, preached, confirmed four persons, and celebrated the Holy Eucharist. That evening (December 3rd), he held service and preached in the residence of Julia Tuttle, at the mouth of the Miami River, occupying the spot which used to be Fort Dallas. The Bishop foresaw the prospects of development through the anticipated extension of the Florida East Coast Railway and he felt that a clergyman should be provided for Biscaynye Bay as soon as means were forthcoming.

On his return (December 4th), the Bishop found the children and parents awaiting him and their promised baptisms in the Biscayne post office. He secured two men to act with the parents as sponsors. “I put on my robes in the one room” he said, “and had a brief service and baptized six children. Parents and sponsors solemnly promised to do their duty faithfully as it regards those children.”

These entries are very significant. They show the promptness with which Bishop Gray undertook the planting of the Church in remote and neglected areas; and specifically they furnish the dates of the initial services in Lemon City, Coconut Grove, and Miami.

The Reverend Doctor Gilbert Higgs, in his capacity as Archdeacon of “Monroe, Lee, and Dade to Lake Worth,” followed up the Bishop’s visit by a trip to the Miami area in the early part of 1894. Thus he reports it:

On the 25th January, 1894, I took passage in a sailing vessel from Key West to Coconut Grove, in Dade County, and arrived there on the evening of the 27th. Met with a cordial reception and was entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Kirk Monroe. Made three visits that evening.

“On Sunday January 38th, I read Morning and Evening Prayer and preached twice in a Union Meeting House, made four visits, attended the Sunday School and addressed the scholars.

January 29. In company with Miss McFarlane, a most energetic and faithful Communicant, made four visits in the morn-
ing. In the afternoon I made eleven visits. Was called out twice that night to read prayers with a sick woman.

January 30. Made two visits. Mr. Kirk Munroe kindly took me in his yacht to Miami, where I met with every attention from Mrs. J. D. Tuttle and her family and was most hospitably entertained by them.

January 31. Accompanied by Miss Tuttle, made fourteen visits, and arrived at Lemon City late in the evening.

February 1. Accompanied by Mr. Niles, an earnest member of the Church, made ten visits. Visited the public school and addressed the children.

February 2. Returned to Miami to Mrs. Tuttle’s who very kindly took me in her naphtha launch the next day to the head waters of the Miami River. I baptized in the evening two adults.


February 5. Left Miami at 9 A.M. for Key West. Detained all day; our sloop on the rocks; got off at 9 P.M.

February 6. Landed at Elliott’s Key and made one visit.

Arrived at Key West February 7 in time for Litany.

The next year, Doctor Higgs made only an oral report to the Convocation; and there is no record of his activities in or around Miami. Bishop Gray appeared in that region in March, 1895. On the 6th day of that month, he “took sailing vessel for Biscayne Bay at 9 A.M. The wind was ‘dead ahead,’ and the sea very rough. At night we had by taking gone 60 miles of distance, to make 20 miles towards our destination.”

“Friday, (March) 8th. Entered Bay Biscayne at 10 A.M., and reached Miami at about noon Sunday 10th. Morning service and sermon at Coconut Grove. Took a launch to Lemon City, where I read service and preached. I baptized two children, and confirmed one person.
"Monday, 11th. Visited all day, and found several persons who should have been confirmed. I must have a clergyman here.

"Tuesday, 12th. Preached and administered Holy Communion at 10:30 A.M. Nine persons received. They have had no opportunity since I was here a year ago.

"Wednesday, 13th. Left Lemon City on hack at 10 A.M. for a two days’ trip through the desert region. Reached Camp LaFayette a little after dark. On the way was called on to stop and baptize a child.

"Thursday, 14th. Left Camp LaFayette at 7 A.M., and it was after 8 P.M. when we arrived at Lantana. Then went ten miles in a row-boat to W. Palm Beach, where I spent the night."

The late John Sewell, who was sent by Henry Morrison Flagler to represent his interests in laying out and developing Miami, has left us, in his Memoirs and History of Miami (published in Miami by the Franklin Press) a very interesting narrative and description of early Dade County life and conditions. In the summer of 1895, Mr. Flagler let the contract to extend the Florida East Coast Railway from West Palm Beach to Miami. Mrs. Julia D. Tuttle owned the land north of the Miami River; and at the time, said Mr. Sewell, "the Tuttle house, Fort Dallas, and the Brickell home, on the point south of the Miami River, and F. S. Morse’s house, just south of the Brickell home, were the only settlements of Miami proper. There was very little clearing around the homes."

When John Sewell, Everest G. Sewell (his brother), and their party arrived for the purpose of laying out the city, March 3rd, 1896, they “found Miami all woods. Mrs. Tuttle had opened up Avenue D—Miami Avenue—from the Miami River north to 14th Street,” and there were “several little shacks and tents started on this street.” Mrs. Tuttle had started to build the Miami Hotel, located east of Avenue D and south of the spur railroad track which was the lead down to the Royal Palm Hotel.

Bishop Gray saw Miami in its pioneer days. He made a visit to the Bay Biscayne vicinity in February 1896—his second visit. He arrived after a very rough and arduous journey from Key West, on the Dellie (or the Della—the Cana Company’s boat). On board there was
“a motley crowd,” including a party whom the major of Key West had surprised in a gambling den.

“Thursday, February 13. Running slowly among the keys. Still very rough. At 3 P.M. only eight-five miles from Key West.

“Friday, February 14th. 9 A.M.—Off Coconut Grove. At 2 P.M. last night ran aground. ‘Dead’ low tide and no wind. The sun pouring down upon us makes it very warm and close. At dark the Captain came in to say that we must remain all night, and in the meantime everything has been drenched by a pouring rain. Truly, a trying day.

“Saturday, February 15th. Lemon City. More rain, and again low tide, so we could not reach the dock, but were sent ashore in a boat. Got baggage just in time to perform a marriage ceremony at Hotel Connolly, for Eugene Lee and Mrs. Marion Macdonald. Drove to Miami in the afternoon to arrange for services, and returned to Lemon City.”

This is the first recorded marriage performed by an Episcopal clergyman in the Miami area. The next day was Sunday, Quinquagesima; and Bishop Gray started at eight, by way of Miami, for Coconut Grove, for morning service. There he preached to a good congregation, after which he drove back to Miami, and “at 3 P.M. walked over to the hotel in the rain. Service and sermon in dining room, which was leading in every direction, but in spite of it all had good congregation, mostly men.” After service, the Bishop drove to Lemon City. It was still raining. In the evening,

“went over to the Methodist church, where service was appointed. Found it all dark. I went in and lighted up and some one came and rang the bell. Had service and preached to a good congregation, mostly men. After service two gentlemen came to speak to me and I found, to my great relief, that they could take me the next day to Lake Worth, in their steamer, in time for my appointment there on Ash Wednesday.

“Monday, February 17th. Took steamer at 9:30, thankful to get aboard, and so escape the tedious two days staging through the sand—in risk, too, of being late for my next appointment.”

1
Mr. John Sewell has given a delightful account of one of Bishop Gray's early visits to Miami, and of the way in which a congregation was collected. Soon after his arrival, Mr. Sewell received a note from Miss Fannie Tuttle, daughter of Mrs. Julia D. Tuttle.

"She wanted me to go with her in her launch to Lemon City to hear some Episcopal bishop preach and she was going to bring the bishop back with her and he would preach in the Congregational tent that afternoon. She stated in the note that, if I could not go, she would like to borrow my light rowboat, called the May, as she feared the water was so low in the bay that her launch could not get to the dock at Lemon City. I wrote her in reply I was sorry that I could not go, but she was welcome to the May, and I would hear the bishop that afternoon in the tent. About 3:30 that afternoon I strolled over to the tent. I found the bishop sitting on the preacher's stand, also Mrs. Plass was at the organ, and Miss Tuttle and the bishop's secretary were sitting in the choir seats—only the four in the tent. The bishop rose and said that 'we have a preacher, an organist and a choir, and one for a congregation and that we had better begin the service.' I rose and asked him if he was going to preach and he answered in the affirmative. I told him just to wait a few minutes and I would get him a congregation, for there was no use of his wasting a sermon on me. He said that he was afraid to let me go for fear I would not come back. Miss Tuttle assured him that I would come back and he agreed to wait.

"First thing that I did was to go over on Avenue D where there was a pool room with a crowd of men playing pool. (I will state that there were pool rooms and cold drink stands along Avenue D near the Miami River within a week after my arrival here.) I told the men that ran this pool room to close up the pool room right then and for the whole bunch to go across the street to the gospel tent, as there was a preacher over there who wanted to preach and had no congregation and that I was not going to have a preacher come to Miami and go away and say that he could not get a congregation to preach to. So they closed the pool room and the men began to file out and go over to the tent. I went to the cold drink stands and gave them the same spiel. So they closed up shop and went to church. Then I went to our quarters in the Miami Hotel, where a great many of us
were kind of camping then, and went up and down the halls giving them the same spiel that there was a preacher here who wanted to preach and nobody to preach to. Some of the men were asleep in their rooms on their cots, as we didn’t have beds then. Some of the men that were asleep on their cots didn’t take to the idea of getting up and going to church. Those of that class I turned their cots over and spilled them out on the floor and the shock waked them enough to know and went to Church, a regular stream leaving the hotel for the tent. Among those in the bunch were J. E. Lummus, E. G. Sewell, C. T. McCrimmon, T. L. Townley and L. C. Oliver, that I remember. Altogether I sent between twenty-five and forty out of the hotel. Then I went around to the tents and shacks looking for a congregation, and sent all that I found to the tent. I finally ran across a couple of ladies walking up the railroad grade, as the railroad track had not reached Miami then. I asked them if they would mind going to the gospel tent to hear this bishop preach as he wanted to preach and I was trying to muster him up a congregation. They said they would be glad to go. I think one of these ladies was Mrs. A. B. Weaver and the other is a Mrs. Campbell. At this time this was a city of men—very few ladies. After sending these two ladies on to church, all the woods around seemed deserted, and I decided that I had gotten everybody over to the tent and went back to the tent myself.

"There I found the tent full and all singing, and it sounded good, and I finally found space on a bench for a seat, and the bishop started to preach. About the time that I got to my seat and had heard about a dozen words of his sermon, I heard the steamboat whistle blow for a landing at the foot of Avenue D. I had to leave the tent and go down and put my men to work unloading the boat, as we were bringing lumber and material for the Royal Palm Hotel on boats from Ft. Lauderdale, which was the terminal of the railroad at that time, and I had to unload boats as quickly as possible to keep them going. But I got the bishop a fine congregation by thrashing out the highways and by ways, even if I did not get to hear his sermon myself. Of course, at that time there was no law in Miami. I had no trouble closing pool rooms and cold drink stands, as the proprietors were willing to do anything I asked."
Bishop Gray had been increasingly impressed with the need of a resident clergyman in the Miami area; and at last the opportunity presented itself in the Reverent Henry Dunlop. That clergyman had been ordered Deacon in 1867, and ordained to the Priesthood in St. Matthew’s Church (later St. Paul’s), Savannah, on the 31st of May, 1874. His ministry in the Diocese of George was first in connection with the Ogreechee Missions, and then with the Camden Missions. He had worked in a hard and difficult field, especially among the Negroes on the Ogeechee River; and his experiences had “tested the metal of the man, as did also his brave ministrations in Savannah during the yellow fever epidemic in 1876.” The citizens, as a token of their appreciation of his services, gave him a purse of five hundred dollars. He declined, however, saying that there were others who needed it more; and he distributed the entire sum among the worthy poor. In May 1896, Bishop Gray made arrangements to take Mr. Dunlop with him to Biscayne Bay. On the 10th of June, Mr. Dunlop joined the Bishop at Jacksonville; and the following day—the feast of St. Barnabas—the Bishop held an early celebration at Mrs. Julia Tuttle’s house in Miami.

After breakfast, Bishop Gray went with Mr. William Mark Brown, who had become a resident of Miami, over most of the town; and he decided to ratify Mrs. Tuttle’s choice of a lot for the Miami church. Officers were appointed, as well as a committee, to raise funds for building the church edifice. On the 12th of June, the Bishop went with Mr. Brown and measured the church-lot, locating a place for a temporary church in the middle, leaving space to be beautified. He marked the spot with a cross, and took possession in the name of the Blessed Trinity, calling the new church by that name.

“The building is to commence at once; our church to be the first one in Miami, a notable fact. I held first public religious service in Miami three years ago.”

On Saturday (June 13th), Mr. Brown took the party in a launch up to the falls of Miami River in the Everglades, and then down to Coconut Grove. “We had a most delightful day.” On Sunday, June 14th, “rain, rain, rain, rain all day, and yet it has been a blessed day.”

“Assisted by Mr. Dunlop, I held service in Presbyterian tent, which was kindly offered by Rev. Mr. Kegwin, preached and celebrated Holy Communion. Service again at night—in the rain—but had a good congregation. All here has gone beyond my most sanguine expectations.”
Trinity Episcopal Church, built in 1897, on the corner of what is now NE Second Avenue and Second Street. In the beginning the church building had no glass windows, so cheesecloth was used to cover the openings to keep out the mosquitoes. Parishioners called themselves the “Church of the Holy Cheesecloth.” (Photos courtesy of Arva Moore Parks)
At five o'clock the following morning, the Bishop boarded the train for Jacksonville, leaving Mr. Dunlop in charge of the Miami work. Railroad connections had been established at last; and transportation had become much easier. But Mr. Dunlop’s Miami ministry was of short duration. On the 5th of December, 1896, he died at his post of duty. In the resolutions passed at the next Convocation, one of the committee attested that “he had already made a deep impression for good upon the resident population. Had his valuable life been longer spared, he would have doubtless achieved a most blessed work for the Church.”

Bishop Gray arrived in Miami on the 16th of December. He appointed C. Milburn of Miami as Lay Reader.

Reaching the town late in the evening, the Bishop “went to see the church by moonlight,” and found the frame up. It was expected to hold services in the new building Christmas. The Bishop paid a touching tribute to Miami’s first resident clergyman.

“The Rev. Henry Dunlop was stationed at one of our outposts, almost on the very frontier of our civilization. He was at Miami [sic], with charge of the work on the whole Bay Biscayne region. He was living in a small cottage alone, and ‘endured hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.’

“On the 5th day of December, 1896, his soul went into the place of departed spirits. His body, after a brief service at Miami, was taken, by direction of his friend, Major Anderson, to Savannah for interment...’He being dead, yet speaketh.’”

On the 5th of May, 1897, Doctor Higgs visited Miami. He “drafted plans for a Mission Church under direction of Mr. Brown, architect.” The following Sunday, he read Morning Prayer, preached, and administered the Holy Communion; he held a mission service in the afternoon, and addressed the congregation on the subject of organizing a Sunday-school. During this visitation, he baptized two infants and administered the Holy Communion in private once; he held two private services and made twenty-eight visits.

June 11th, Doctor Higgs was again in Miami. On Trinity Sunday (June 13th), he read Morning Prayer, preached, and administered the Holy Communion. He also opened a Sunday-school. On the 13th, he organized a Ladies’ Aid Society; delivered one address; administered the Lord’s Supper once in private; and baptized three adults
and one infant. He likewise made arrangements for a house-boat for Father Huntington, who had been at work in the Missionary Jurisdiction, and had promised to labor in the Miami area from October, 1897, to January 30th, 1898. Doctor Higgs visited Coconut Grove, and met some of the communicants there. He made fifteen visits at Miami.

Doctor Higgs returned August 18th, his main object being an endeavor to secure a building for the church at Coconut Grove, known as the “Union Church.” He made four visits and spent one night at Coconut Grove. On August 22nd, he read Morning Prayer and preached at Trinity Mission at 11 A.M. Afterwards he took a steam launch, with twenty-six people, to Coconut Grove. On August 22nd, he read Morning Prayer and preached at Trinity Mission at 11 A.M. Afterwards he took a steam launch, with twenty-six people, to Coconut Grove. There he read Evening Prayer and preached. On that day, he went to Buena Vista (north of Miami), and made one visit. Thence he drove to Lemon City and made a couple of visits. In all, thirty-two visits were made by him. A choir was organized at this trip at the Trinity Mission. Progress was quite evident in the Bay Biscayne region.18

In the Journal of the Convocation of 1899, we find Trinity, Miami, listed for the first time as an “organized mission.” Little River appears as a mission station, along with Coconut Grove; but Lemon City is not mentioned.

In 1897, the Order of the Holy Cross was beginning missionary labors in the Miami area. The headquarters of the Order were then located at Westminster, Maryland; and the members were doing effective service in some of the out-of-the-way places of the country. The planting which was effected in the region around Miami is now a cherished tradition.

In the September issue of the Holy Cross Magazine of that year it is stated that the Father Superior expects, towards the end of that month, “to leave for three or four months’ work at Biscayne Bay in the Jurisdiction of Southern Florida. His address will be Miami, Fla.” The Father Superior was the Reverend James Otis Sargent Huntington, who was born at Boston, July 23rd, 1854, a Bachelor of Arts of Harvard, 1875; a student of St. Andrew’s Divinity School. He joined the Order of the Holy Cross in 1884, and became the Superior of the Order. He died June 29th, 1935.
On the 12th of October, 1897, Father Huntington wrote a letter regarding Miami, in which he said:—

"It is hard for us to realize that you are already having frosty nights and crisp mornings and even perhaps a flurry of snow. Frost never touches this sunny land; the lowest temperature in the last two years was 47 degrees F. The mornings are pretty warm but there is almost always a breeze from the sea by afternoon. Our house-boat is really the coolest place in town. We are anchored close to the shore, at the end of a little pier, about five minutes’ walk from the church. The boulevard runs all along the shore and makes the walk to town easy and pleasant. Looking seaward from the rear of our boat we have, first, the broad waters of the bay, its surface ruffled with little waves that roll up and break at our feet, then the sky-line, accentuated by the low-lying ‘keys,’ green in the sunshine or darkened by a passing shadow, and, lastly, above is the wide reach of sky, with clouds constantly changing and shifting and flushing with brilliant colors in the brief sunrise and sunset. To the southeast we can see the ‘inlet’ where the bay gives place to the ocean and the rippling of these lesser waves is lost in ‘the everlasting thunder of the long Atlantic swell.’

“That is the scene before us night and day, (the moonlight has been superb, I never appreciated the force of Macaulay’s ‘ivory moonlight’ before,) and, in face of it, under an awning that runs all round the boat, we say our Offices with no human presence to distract us save for an old colored man who rows patiently up and down all day, carrying barrels of water for the engine where they are building a dock some way north of us.

"Miami is a recent growth. Two years ago there were only two houses here; now there are about four thousand people and various smaller settlements up and down the coast. The town is well laid out, the main street, really a noble avenue. There is a great hotel, the Royal Palm, with accommodations for nearly a thousand guests.

"The church here is a plain little wooden structure and needs almost everything in the way of appointment and adornment. Even the windows are not in yet but that is a slight deficiency in this climate. We hope to leave the church more like a house
of God than we found it but that depends on what our friends enable us to do. I have had some generous gifts in answer to my letters. There is a splendid field for the church here, the people seem very ready to listen and learn. We have begun to visit them, and hope to build up many souls into the mystical Body of our Blessed Lord. There are a good many Negroes from the West Indies, brought up in the English Church there, and these, too, we hope to reach."

On arriving in Miami, Father Huntington was accompanied by Brother Bernard, a novice who never made his profession in the Order of the Holy Cross. He retired from his novitiate and took orders. His name was William Elmer Van Dyke. He was born at Kane, Pennsylvania, December 25th, 1870, and was the son of Abram Sterner Van Dyke and Marinda Jane Stark. He was ordered Deacon in 1903, and ordained Priest in 1906, by Bishop Cortlandt Whitehead. He has been since 1907 the rector of St. Luke's Church, Ismethport, Pennsylvania, where he has been a faithful and effective priest.

November 3rd, 1897, Father Huntington and Brother Bernard were joined by the Reverend Colin S. Bassett, also a novice, who did not go to profession in the Order. Regarding Brother Bassett, the following information has been supplied through the courtesy of the Honorable Alexander B. Andrews, of Raleigh, North Carolina. Colin Sharp Bassett was ordered Deacon, December 30th, 1894, by the Right Reverend Charles Todd Quintard, Bishop of Tennessee; he was organized Priest, December 28th, 1895, by the same Bishop. In the 1896 Living Church Annual, Colin S. Bassett is listed as residing at Sewanee, Tennessee, and doing work among the Negroes; in 1897 and 1898, he was at Westminster, Maryland (the headquarters of the Order of the Holy Cross). From 1899 to 1902, he was at Hoffman Hall, Nashville, Tennessee, serving the colored people. In 1903, he was in England; and from 1903 to 1908, the Living Church Annual continued to list his name as "in England," though canonically connected with the Diocese of Tennessee. After 1908, his name no longer appears. The Reverend Shirley C. Hughson, of the Order of the Holy Cross, informs the writer that Father Bassett was an Englishman, who, he believes, returned to England and died many years ago.

After he returned to England, he became curate of St. Andrew Croydon, in 1904; and remained in that position till 1906. He is listed
in Crockford’s Clerical Directory as Rector of Margaret Roding, in the Diocese of Chelmsford, from 1906 through 1938. His name does not appear in the Crockford Directory of 1940; so it may be presumed that he died by that time.

In a letter written from Miami, November 17th, 1897, Father Huntington says:—

“Since I wrote to you last month, the ‘hurricane weather,’—frequent, sudden down-pours of rain and heavy winds, interrupted by ominous calms—has given place to the clear, bright skies of the ‘dry season.’ This is the first cloudy day in over two weeks; it has settled into a steady, quiet rain, with no wind at all. I was mistaken, in my last letter, as to the lowest temperature in two years. I find it stated that the mercury has been as low as 34 degrees F., but we have had nothing like that yet.”

Father Huntington proceeds to describe Father Bassett’s arrival.

“Two weeks ago today, Fr. Bassett came sailing in at the back door of our houseboat. He arrived in Key West three weeks ago, but tarried over Sunday as the guest of Archdeacon Higgs, and came up here in the Magnolia, a sailing-ship which anchored out in the Bay. We went out on the ‘back piazza’ after service, and suddenly Brother Bernard pointed to a black-coated figure poling towards us in a small row-boat, and a few minutes later Fr. Bassett came aboard. He seems very well, and has taken hold of the work to the south at Coconut Grove, traveling to and fro, sometimes by sailboat, sometimes by gasoline launch, sometimes on land by a wheel kindly lent him by a gentleman here. Fr. Bassett goes to Buena Vista and Lemon City, north of here; he has several candidates preparing for Baptism and Confirmation.”

Father Huntington then tells of his work among the Negroes.

“I wrote you last month that there were some Negroes here who had been brought up in the English Church in the West Indies. We soon found access to them, and discovered that they are not from the West Indies, but from the Bahama Islands, most of them from Nassau. We have the names of over thirty who have been confirmed and there are sixteen or seventeen desir-
ing Confirmation. These Bahamians were rejoiced to have us come to the; they have had no opportunity of attending Church or making their Communions since they came. Most of them are young men and women; there are few families. They are intelligent and thoroughly at home in the Church. We found a rough 'hall' in the colored settlement and hired it for some months; then men took hold and white-washed it and put in benches, with room for over a hundred people, and now they have built out a neat sacristy, with convenient arrangements for hearing confessions. We ordered an altar from Deland—where we had one made last year—and the people are looking eagerly for its arrival and are preparing themselves to come with clean hearts to the Feast next Sunday morning. Sunday evenings we gather in a good many of the outsiders, and have had congregations of seventy and eight, two thirds of the number men."

In his letter of December 15th, 1897, Father Huntington tells of the arrival of the altar in time for an opening celebration of the Holy Communion on Advent Sunday. The Negro congregation has been placed under the patronage of St. Agnes. He and Father Bassett had gone by sail-boat to Cutler, and had held services under the trees. He had started going to Lemon City every Sunday evening and conducting services in an old school-house. An altar was being installed in St. Laurence's Mission Room at Coconut Grove.

"I wrote you about our colored congregation. There were a good many delays and disappointments as to the arrival of the Altar. The people bore them well and seemed to grow more earnest in their preparation. At length the Altar arrived and was ready for the first Mass of the new year on Advent Sunday. I hope to send you a picture of the Altar, and I am sure you will agree with us that it is most satisfactory. There is a green dossal, with wings and a bladachin above with deep red fringe. The altar is of cypress wood, with two gradines, tabernacle and throne, six heavy wooden candlesticks and two smaller ones for the Eucharistic lights. The whole cost less than fifty dollars, but it does not suggest cheapness, and quite transforms the little chapel. We have had some very joyous services there and the people—many of whom have good voices—are learning
A. H. Brown’s Missa Quinti Toni for Christmas. We have a class of nearly twenty, most of them young men, for Confirmation. Brother Bernard has been instructing them twice a week and they have come very faithfully and teach one another the catechism between wiles. Of course it is fair to remember that they have had good training before they came here... One of the older men has a license as layreader, given him by a priest in the island of Bimini, entitling him to minister in ‘the Catholic Church in the Bahamas.’

“The other day Fr. Bassett and I went down, by the sail-boat that carries the mail, to Cutler, about fifteen miles to the south, the most southerly post-office on the mainland of the U.S.A. The town is not laid out yet, owing to a difficulty about the legality of the grant, but that has just been removed and there are many applicants for lots. We had announced a service and address at the school-house three o’clock in the afternoon. When we arrived we found the school-house not nearly large enough for those who had assembled, so we took the benches out and found a shady spot under the trees. It seemed like being really ‘on the frontier’ to stand, crucifix in hand, quite beyond the land of Christian places of worship, in this direction at least. We had a fine walk back through the pine-woods in the moonlight.

“I am going to Lemon City every Sunday evening now. It is about five miles north. We have taken an old school house there. It is being white-washed this week. I had about fifty people (white) there last Sunday evening and they joined heartily in the service. The principal interest in that neighborhood is tomatoes for the north market... We are putting an Altar in St. Laurence’s Mission Room at Coconut Grove.”

On January 15th, 1898, Father Huntington gave a report of the Christmas services. Trinity Church, Miami, “was very effectively adorned with great waving branches and feathery masses of ‘palm and pine.”

“We had a nice Christmas-tree for the children of the Sunday school and Catechism at seven o’clock Christmas Eve. The old, familiar carols rang out as gaily as though snow-flakes and sleigh bells were keeping time outside.”
On Christmas Eve, Father Huntington went from Trinity Church to the colored mission of St. Agnes’ to hear some confessions; and at eleven o’clock, he had Evensong and the baptism of four men.

“This left a few minutes before the Midnight Mass. The church was almost full (it holds about one hundred and the Service was very bright and joyous. Certainly the colored people have a genius for religion. Only they cannot, as a race, be measured by the standards of our Anglo-Saxon nature, restrained, and undemonstrative at best, and now doubly so in an age shot through with morbid self conscience. I see more and more plainly that the African temperament demands the expression of Christian Faith in striking and stimulating forms. Those forms may be either forms of subjective emotion, or of outward symbolism and beauty. The first have been extensively tried and the result has been to darken the Faith into superstition and turn worship into a religious wallopy. It remains to try the effect of the forms of Christian symbolism and warm though dignified ceremonial. This, I am sure, is what we ought to do, to make the worship of our Afro-Americans rich with light and music, with incense and color. It is simply absurd to say that this much necessarily exclude clear teaching and moral training.”

Mrs. Edith Richmond of Miami had told the writer of the first service which Father Huntington held at Cutler, and of the way in which he moved his congregation to tears. Mrs. Turner Ashby Winfield has also recounted her recollections of the services which he conducted at Little River. He was the first Episcopal clergyman to officiate there, she states. He usually held services in a small shack which was used as a school-house near Lemon City; and he walked from Miami. Later a church was built at Little River. Mrs. Annie Westgaard Fickle speaks as follows of his connection with Buena Vista:—

“I was married in 1903, and came to Miami in June of that year. I attended services at Lemon City. Prior to my coming, the Reverend James Huntington of the Order of the Holy Cross had been holding services in Miami. He walked out as far as Lemon City, in order to officiate. He found no place for holding such, as the Lemon City Library was in use and could not be secured.
He was walking back to Miami exhausted, when Mrs. Charles Courly, a Roman Catholic lady who operated a boarding-house on what is now the corner of Northeast Second Avenue and 36th Street, Buena Vista (Miami), saw him, and invited him to hold services in his own house. Mr. Fickle lived at the foot of 36th Street, overlooking Biscayne Bay. Father Huntington accepted.”

Bishop Gray reached Miami on the evening of January 30th, 1898; he was eager to see the results of Father Huntington’s labors. The next morning, assisted by Father Huntington and the Reverend Mr. Bassett, he celebrated the Holy Eucharist in Trinity Church. After breakfast, Father Huntington took the Bishop as far as Lemon City, visiting candidates for confirmation on the way. At 3 P.M., that day, the Bishop confirmed nine persons, Mrs. Julia Tuttle, who had done so much for the Church in Miami, being one of the number. At 7:30 P.M. (January 31st), the Bishop held services in St. Agnes’s Church, “which was filled to overflowing with colored people, a large number being unable to get inside the door.” He preached, and confirmed twenty-four. Later, a sailor, who had not been able to reach the church in time, was brought to the Bishop’s room in the hotel, where he was confirmed.

“I must bear testimony to the faithful, self-denying, and difficult work done by Rev. Father Huntington and his co-laborers in this very important field.”

On the 15th of February, 1898, Doctor Higgs visited Miami, spending three days, celebrating the Holy Communion and making twenty-three visits. It was then that he secured the deed for the Trinity Church property, from Mrs. Julia Tuttle—“Lots eight (8), nine (9), and ten (10) of block one hundred and three N. (103N.) as shown on the map of the City of Miami, Dade County, Florida, which is now on record in the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court in and for Dade County, Florida; said lots comprise a tract of land one hundred and fifty feet square, in the northwest corner of said block, one hundred and three N. (103N.), said map is hereby referred to for the purposed of fully identifying the lots which are above mentioned and by the deed conveyed.”

The Bishop met Doctor Higgs at Miami, May 25th, for the purpose of settling in full the debt on the mission. Said the Bishop: “Dr. Higgs and I went at once to work in the matter of getting all
accounts here squared up, and all to be in black and white. Thursday, May 16. We were up till 2 o’clock in the morning. Solution of all in sight by my assuming additional responsibility, which I did.” Before leaving Miami, Doctor Higgs made twenty-two visits.

He was back in Miami August 3rd; and during that stay, he made twenty-one visits to members of the missions. He spent several hours in the hospital tents, visiting the sick; and effected a final settlement of all the indebtedness of Trinity Mission. He also visited St. Agnes’s Mission for the Negro population, and arranged a room and board for two or three weeks for the Reverend S. Kerr, of Key West, who had promised to give the colored people services during his stay. Mr. Kerr visited the mission at the request of the Bishop, who saw that, failing in health, he needed a change. On November 4th, Doctor Higgs visited Miami again, and made seven visits.

He was himself a busy man. Key West was the base of supplies and the nearest point to Cuba during the Spanish-American War; and many of the dead and wounded were brought there. Doctor Higgs held pre-burial services during 1898 over the remains of Ensign Worth Bagley; he buried the remains of some of the seamen killed on the Maine, and of all the seamen killed on the torpedo boat Winslow. He buried several other soldiers and sailors, and ministered to the vessels in port. He was active in hospital work.24

The Reverend Robert M. W. Black and his family spent at least part of the winter of 1898-1899 in Miami; but they were not able to stay. When Bishop Gray visited the town, February 3rd, 1899, he noticed that Mr. Black and his family gave him “a warm welcome to the new Rectory;” and he expressed pleasure at what he learned concerning the work there and in the surrounding places. On February 5th, the Bishop and Mr. Black held services at Trinity Church. That afternoon, they were at Coconut Grove where the Reverend Mr. Black baptized one person, and where Bishop Gray preached in the Methodist church and confirmed two. At 7:30 P.M. that day—Septuagesima—assisted by Mr. Black, the Bishop held services in the new church at Little River. There he preached.

It was found necessary to move St. Agnes’s Church for the colored people to a different part of Miami. On Tuesday, February 7th, the Bishop celebrated Holy Communion at St. Agnes’s; and afterwards he and Mr. Black went on bicycles to visit the Church people at Buena Vista. The next day, accompanied by Mr. Black and Mr. Morse,25 a real estate agent, the Bishop examined various sites,
and selected one for the new St. Agnes's Church and, possibly, the rectory. "Mr. (Henry Morrison) Flagler will give deed to the lots when the church is erected."\textsuperscript{26}

Mrs. Winfield has told the writer some of the circumstances connected with the building of the Little River Church. On Bishop Gray's visit to Miami, she says, a messenger was sent out to Mrs. Winfield, who stated that the Bishop was charmed to know that a church was in process of construction; and he wondered whether the building was in sufficient readiness for services. Mrs. Winfield replied with an invitation: "Come right along! We'll be ready." She promptly called her husband and he secured a carpenter. Mr. Winfield, Mr. Edward De Vere Burr, and a carpenter went to the church that afternoon and built seats with a little back to them. Under these conditions, the Bishop conducted his first Little River service. Lights were secured from private individuals.

In June or July, 1899, the Reverend Nathaniel Barnwell Fuller took charge of the Miami work. His ministrations were by no means confined to the Trinity Mission, but included the missions both north and south of Miami and St. Agnes's Mission for the colored population. Mr. Fuller was born in Beaufort, South Carolina, in 1823, and came to Miami from Monticello, Florida. During his stay in Miami there was a yellow fever epidemic, in which he was faithful to his duties. He was very much beloved; and doubtless much of the progress of the Church's work in the vicinity was due to his devoted and consecrated efforts and industry. He died January 10th, 1910, in Caldwell, Texas, whither he had gone for his health. He is buried in Dallas.

Miss Bessie Fuller, the daughter of the Reverend Mr. Fuller, has given the following description and account of Trinity Church at the time of her father's arrival, and of some of the circumstances which she recalls from personal experience and observation.

"When my father came to Miami in July, 1899, to take charge of Trinity Church, the church building, which was then situated on the corner of old Avenue B and 10th Street (now Northeast 2nd Avenue and 2nd Street), was very small.

"The altar was a wooden frame covered with red cheesecloth, as were the other hangings; and the windows were covered with the same material and of the same color. The young men would ask each other where they were going to church; and they
would reply, 'We are going to the Church of the Holy Cheesecloth.' The cheesecloth altar was soon replaced by a very pretty altar, given by Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Garthside; and the windows replaced by regular glass windows.

"The choir was in one corner of the chancels, and was entirely a volunteer choir. One Sunday we had services, and only two members of the choir appeared. So my father decided to have a vested choir. To do this, we had to enlarge the chancels, to make room for the choir-stalls. He started out to raise the money for it. He met Mr. Henry Wells, a pickle man, and told him his trouble; and Mr. Wells gave him a cheque for the work. After the stalls were put in, they took in so much of the body of the church that there was no room for the congregation. So out went my father again, to see what he could do to raise funds. With contributions and with the help of the women, he was able to extend the building towards the Avenue, to twice its size.

"About that time a Mrs. Emma B. Mallon, from Philadelphia, came down for the winter; and was very critical because we only had one set of hangings. My father told her that we were very glad to have even that one set. So, when she went home, she had a beautiful full set made and sent down. Then the question arose, 'Where are we to keep them?' My father's study was a tiny room on the right of the chancels, containing his desk, chair, table, and books. His solution, which we all thought was a bright one, was to buy a long steamer trunk, in which the hangings were carefully packed in tissue paper; and the trunk was placed under his desk. The next winter, when Mrs. Mallon arrived Lent, she attended services on Sunday. Concerned over the care of the hangings and feeling that the trunk was inadequate and inappropriate, she had a chest of drawers made for the same. This chest took up so much room in my father's study, that if more than one person came to see him at a time, he either had to see his visitors in the church or have them brought in one by one. At length, with the help of the women, the vestry, and outside contributors, my father was enabled once more to enlarge the church. This time he built the large room at the front and right of the church, to accommodate the chest of drawers. It was also used as a guild and choir room."
"This building remained until after my father's death (1910), and until the Reverend James Cope, his successor, built a new rectory on one side of the little church, facing the Avenue, and the big stone church on the other side on the corner. To get the original church out from between the two buildings, it was cut in half and carried over to the colored section of Miami, where it was put up as a rectory for St. Agnes's Church.

"Although, during my father's rectorship in Miami, he did not have the luxuries and conveniences of the present day—having to do his visiting from Little River to as far south as Cutler, on bicycle and with horse and buggy, over rocks and palmetto roots, still I like to think that when he passed over to the other side, he was received by the words, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'"

Bishop Gray visited the new priest-in-charge of Trinity Church, Miami, on Septuagesima, February 11th, 1900. After preaching and celebrating Holy Communion, he drove with Mr. Fuller to Coconut Grove, where they had afternoon service in the Congregational church. That evening they were at St. Agnes's Church, Miami. Next day, the 12th, they had "a hard trip to Ojus to look up some Church families there;" and at night, assisted by Mr. Fuller, the Bishop held services in the church at Little River. After the service, the mother and four of the children whom he had baptized in the wilderness years before presented themselves; they had come some miles to be present at the service, and would not leave the church till they had shaken hands with the Bishop.

On the 13th of February, the Bishop held his first service at Cutler, after a "trying trip...in a sailboat."

"Adverse winds hindered us and at last we ran around. Toiling, struggling and shouting for help quite used me up, and indeed for some days I was without any voice at all."

The Bishop laid the cornerstone of St. Agnes's Church on February 14th. This privilege had been reserved for him, even though the church had been built and, with that exception, completed. "Addresses by Mr. Hanna, a lay reader, Rev. Fuller and myself. A goodly number of black people were present.
Mrs. Colt, of Hartford, drove out from the Royal Palm to witness the ceremony.

May 19th Bishop Gray was back in Miami for the consecration of St. Agnes’s Church.

“Saturday, 19. Miami. Spent a restful day in the rectory, notwithstanding heat and mosquitoes. Received a large bundle of letters.

“Fifth Sunday after Easter, May 20. A red letter day for the church at Miami. Rev. Fuller accompanied me to the church of St. Agnes, where a large congregation of colored people, with a few white people, were assembled. Every seat was occupied, some having to stand or go away. I consecrated the church. Rev. Fuller baptized a colored man and I confirmed a class of nine—six males and three females. At night in Trinity church, Rev. Fuller took most of the service. I preached and confirmed a class of five men and four women. This church has been much improved as to the interior. Very hot today and mosquitoes almost unbearable.”

Chancellor Louis C. Massey reported to the 1902 Convocation the conveyance of the Church property at Little River Mission to the Missionary Jurisdiction of Southern Florida. The Committee on Finance and Assessments at that time recommended that the Coconut Grove Mission be assessed $2.40, Trinity, Miami, $12.00, and Little River $3.60.

On the 24th of February, the Bishop and Mr. Fuller, with a two-hose team, drove to Coconut Grove, and held service in the Congregational place of worship. Afterwards they called on the colored lay reader.

June 8th, the Bishop was back in Miami. The next day was a very busy one—“going over important matters with Rev. Fuller in regard to Church work in Miami, Cutler, Coconut Grove, etc.”

“Together, we have done three days’ work in one day. Dined and took tea at the rectory—a delightful oasis.”

Another visit was made by the Bishop September 24th. Then he had an interview with the Lay Reader in charge of St. Agnes’s Church, and held a night service at Coconut Grove. He found that the Ne-
The Episcopal Church in Miami

groes there had built a church for themselves. He was much pleased with the good, hearty service, in which Mr. Fuller assisted.

In 1903, the Reverend Dwight Frederick Cameron was placed in charge of the missions about Miami. He was born at Geneva, Switzerland, January 2nd, 1875, and received his education at Cornell University and at the University of the South. Bishop Gray ordered him to the Diaconate at DeLand December 13th, 1903.

On the 28th of February, 1904, Bishop Gray visited Miami. He was gratified at new improvements in Trinity Church. "It has been made half as large again as it was, with a large Guild room attached, which also answers the purpose of a choir room." That afternoon he and the Reverend Mr. Fuller had at St. Agnes's Church "a very hearty service, the Negroes responding well and singing with heart and soul in their voices."

"I confirmed six in the Church and then walked a few blocks to where one is dying with consumption and confirmed her in her cabin."

Next day the Bishop drove with Messers, Fuller, and Cameron to Cutler. After a service in the school-house there, they drove back as far as Coconut Grove, where a service was held for the colored congregation. On Tuesday night, March 1st, the three clergymen drove to Little River and held a service. "The church there has been destroyed by a recent hurricane, and we held the service in a hotel. I preached. Gave the offering towards the new church."

The Reverend Smith, a colored clergyman, was in charge of St. Agnes's Church in 1901; and when Bishop Gray visited Miami the latter part of March, he called on Mr. Smith, and was much pleased with his work among the people of his race. On the 24th of March, some twenty-five Negroes received at an early celebration at St. Agnes's. On the night of the 25th, the Bishop and Mr. Fuller held services at Little River. The Bishop preached and confirmed three persons. The "good congregation present' included the whole family which the Bishop had baptized years before in the wilderness. The next day there was an interview with a man from Little River, who felt that good work could be done there. The Bishop was driven by Mr. Fuller to Coconut Grove where he preached to a small congregation. On Wednesday, the 17th, the two were driven eighteen miles to Cutler, over rough roads. They held services in a schoolroom. Then the Bishop learned that Father Huntington had held the first Episcopal service in that place.
It was soon evident that the Negro population of Coconut Grove would need a church of their own. When Bishop Gray visited Miami December 20th, 1901, he rode with the Reverend Mr. Smith to inspect the lot which the colored people wished to secure. The following day—St. Thomas’—Mr. Smith, who had been in Deacon’s orders, was advanced to the Priesthood. December 22nd, the Fourth Sunday in Advent, the Bishop preached at Trinity, and celebrated the Holy Communion. That afternoon he confirmed six. Afterwards he and Mr. Fuller drove to Little River and ministered to a large congregation, “men being largely in the majority.”

On September 11th, 1902, the Bishop received the resignation of the Reverend Mr. Smith, of St. Agnes’s Church. Cutler was by 1902 listed among the mission stations of the Missionary Jurisdiction. When the Bishop visited Cutler (February 24th, 1903), Doctor Samuel Howard Richmond showed him the proposed lot for a church there. The lot was given by the Model Land Company; no church was ever built.

By this time, great improvement had been made under the Reverend Mr. Fuller. The Bishop found (February 22nd, 1903), a vested choir at Trinity, with a tent for the vestry room. That night, “not nearly all the congregation could get in Trinity... The church must be enlarged to keep up with the steady improvement going on here.”

On Trinity Sunday, May 29th, 1904, the Bishop ordained Mr. Cameron to the Priesthood at St. Luke’s Cathedral, Orlando, at the same service at which he ordained his own son, Campbell Gray, to the Deaconate. The day before he had received notification of the completion of the requirements necessary for the organization of Trinity Church, Miami, into a regular self-supporting parish.

The little handful of communicants at Little River determined not to give up. The frame structure had been destroyed by a storm, but the resolution to conquer was admirable. On the 15th of August, Bishop Gray arrived in the village, and was the guest of Misses Mamie and Cenie Douthit at the hotel. Visiting the site of the new church, he found the lumber already on the ground to rebuild the church. That afternoon he drove to Biscayne, where he baptized three more children in the family where he had baptized six years ago when passing through the country with a mule team, before the days of the railway.

“So many persons were present today I considered it a public service. The eldest daughter, now married, was one of the spon-
sors; and Mr. Peden, a sponsor at the first occasion, and now again is father of the youngest child, having upon the death of the first husband married the widow.”

The church at Little River was located north of 79th Street and Northeast Second Avenue, a few feet east of the Avenue and close to the present location of the Little River Bank and Trust Company. Its members were few but loyal and earnest; unfortunately, however, the village made slow progress in those days. Buena Vista, which lay about half-way between Little River and Miami, showed more promising signs of growth and was attracting several family of more substantial resources.

In 1905 the Reverend Mr. Cameron moved to West Palm Beach; and early in 1906, the Reverend George Bernard Clarke, formerly of Bethel, Vermont, was put in charge of the mission work close to Miami. Mr. Clarke was in bad health when he moved to Florida he was keenly interest in his labors and did a great deal towards building up the Church along the Florida East Coast extension. Having contacts with a number of people in the North he was successful in soliciting funds and obtaining gifts for his missions.

On the 13th of February, 1906, Bishop Gray met Mr. Clarke at Dania and the two clergymen went to inspect a lot which had been proposed for church. The Bishop accepted the same; and plans were made for the building of a church that year. The donor of the lot was a Lutheran; and most of the residents of the town were Lutherans, but they were favorably disposed towards the Episcopal Church. On that day, Bishop Gray preached and baptized a young lady, and confirmed three persons.

“A deep impression seems to have been made. Ours will be the first church in the town.”

On August 7th, Bishop Gray was again in Dania. He spent all the morning going over the lots, fixing the corners, and deciding the exact location of the new church, “which will be the first building for religious worship of any kind in Dania.” He had interviews with a resident carpenter and builder. “A trying strain on my powers of endurance.” On October 2nd, the Bishop noted in his diary that he was “disappointed as to church at Dania. High bids change plans for a stone made church.” November 10th, the Bishop made another visit to Dania. “It seems impossible to get workmen to go on with the building,” he said. During the next year the Bishop struggled inwardly
over the slow progress; but in 1908, St. John’s Church, Dania, became a realization.

The Reverend Mr. Clarke ministered to Coconut Grove, and in time extended his work to Naranja. He lived in Buena Vista. The name “St. Andrew’s” had been given to the church at Little River; and occurs in the 1907 Convocation Journal. Previously, the work there had been designated as the Little River mission. The congregation of St. Andrew’s had suffered serious backsets; but early in 1906, there seems to have been no thought on the part of the members that their mission would be abandoned or superseded. On March 6th, 1906, Bishop Gray and Mr. Clarke held an evening service in the church. The Bishop noted that Mr. Clarke was trying hard to raise money enough to build a house near the Church “so that he may have a roof over his head in connection with his missionary work.”

“I bade him ‘God speed,’ a devoted the offering toward that object.”

St. Andrew’s Episcopal Church. Children Margaret and Richard Burr, Mrs. B.C. DuPont, left. Mrs. C.D.V. Burr, Mrs. Amos B. Cutler, back row. Left to right, Mrs. T.A. Winfield, Mary Douthit, Mrs. Littlefield and the minister, Mr. Camoron. (HASF 1986-109-1)
On March 7th, the Bishop and Mrs. Clarke filled an appointment at Coconut Grove. They were guests at "The Camp." There were present "a goodly number" at the Congregational place of worship; and the Bishop preached to "a very attentive congregation." That evening, the Bishop walked over to Christ Church, and preached to the colored people, confirming four. The Reverend H. A. Parris was priest-in-charge of Christ Church, Coconut Grove.

On March 8th, the Bishop and Mr. Clarke took the train for Perrine. There they were met by a vehicle, and carried through the country to Cutler.

"Visited some sick in the afternoon. We are guests of Mrs. Fuzzard, a very beautiful spot, where there are thousands of coconut trees and several beautiful Royal Palms, beyond anything I have known in Florida."

That evening, services were held in the school-house; and the Bishop "preached to a fair congregation for this badly diminishing community."

The first record of a service of the Church at Homestead is March 9th, 1906. It was held by the Reverend Mr. Clarke; and is mentioned in the Bishop's diary.

"Friday, 9th. A long drive to reach the railway station (from Cutler); a fine, bright morning, however, with bracing air. Reached Perrine in ample time for south-bound train. Reached Homestead, the extreme limit of railway at present. Found the service arranged for night and five miles further on. Sent Rev. Clarke on by wagon to held the service, as it was quite impossible for me to go and get back in time to meet my other appointments. Took the return train for Miami where I spent the night."

On Bishop Gray's next visit to Miami, November 11th, 1906, he found a large congregation awaiting him in Trinity Church. In his sermon he alluded to a hurricane which had recently produced great consternation; and he urged the people to show their thankfulness for their narrow escape, by erecting a stone church as a thank-offering. That evening, in St. Agnes's Church, he was met by an overflowing congregation, "all standing room being occupied, and even outside the doors and windows." The Reverend Mr. Parris said the service; and the Bishop confirmed nine persons. "The apsidal chancels is a great improvement," he said; "and the windows are handsome."

In the recent storm the Little River Church had sustained damage. It had been blown off its foundations; a hole was dug into the
flooring and the roof had escaped injury. On November 12th, the Bishop drove with Mr. Clarke to Little River. There they called on several people, and went to the church. “I examined it carefully,” said the Bishop; “the more so, as many think that now is the time to move to another location.” The Bishop decided to put the building back on its foundations, “as means for securing another lot and moving the Church are not in sight.”

Mrs. Annie Westgaard Fickle and Mrs. Gertrude Westgaard Reid, original members of the Buena Vista congregation, have given the writer accounts of the beginning of the mission which was planted at Buena Vista and evolved into the Church of the Holy Cross, Miami. The writer has talked to several pioneer residents of Buena Vista, Lemon City, and Little River; and has found complete agreement regarding the circumstances. The Reverend Mr. Clarke was impressed with the need of a church in the growing community of Buena Vista; it had doubtless been suggested to him that such a project would prove feasible. Certainly the winter of 1906-1907 found him and the little group at Buena Vista busy with their plans. Mrs. Reid has furnished the following account:
"The founder of Holy Cross Church was the Reverend George Bernard Clarke, an elderly retired clergyman who came here in 1906 for his health. He saw the need of a church in the growing community, and set to work to supply that need. Mr. Clarke was the best solicitor for money I have ever known. He knew many wealthy people in various parishes where he had served; so he began writing them about the need of a church here. We lived just west of where the church now stands; and every morning we would look eagerly down the road, right after the morning train came through. If we saw Mr. Clarke almost running from the Post Office, brandishing aloft a letter, we knew he had received a cheque in answer to one of his letters. He always came straight to us, so that we might rejoice with him.

"The lot, which cost $250,000 was bought with the first money collected. He consulted with my father, Peter Hansen Westgaard (a native of Norway), who drew the plans, superintended the building, and did much of the work. If we had the names of all the donors to our building fund, the list would seem like a page from the Social Register. Miss Gladys Vanderbilt sent $75.00 which was used for the altar and alter rail. (The latter is still in use.) Among the contributors were the Cluetts, the
Phillips of Philadelphia, and various members of the Vanderbilt family.

"Mr. Clarke received missionary boxes and barrels; and, as he was a bachelor, a miniature rummage sale was held after the arrival of each of these. This, however, was not a particularly lucrative source of income, as the boxes were usually filled with heavy winter suits, winter underwear, and overcoats not particularly salable here. The little wing which served as the vestry was completed first; and Mr. Clarke moved in it to live, doing his cooking over an open fire outdoors. He had a standing invitation to eat with us in rainy weather. Finally the church was built, and presented to the community free of debt. The first service was held in April, 1907, on a Wednesday afternoon."

Mrs. Fickle adds that this service was held "in an unfinished building, there being no windows." She states that, while the church at Buena Vista was under construction, her husband, Robert Bradley Fickle, suggested to Mr. Clarke that it should be named "Holy Cross," since Father James Huntington, a member of the Order of the Holy Cross, had held the first Episcopal service ever conducted in Buena Vista. These services had been conducted, by the way, in Mr. Fickle's house, prior to her marriage. Mr. Clarke approved the suggestion and adopted it.

The writer, as rector of the Church of the Holy Cross, has in his custody the register which Mr. Clarke kept—a register which includes Dania, Arch Creek, Little River, Lemon City, Buena Vista, Redland, Naranja and Homestead. There are entries of ministerial functions performed by him at Hallandale and Fort Lauderdale. The first burial recorded by Mr. Clarke at Buena Vista was that of the patron and architect of the new church, Peter Hansen Westbaard (March 8th, 1907); the first marriage in the new church was that of Fred R. Owens and Catherine L. Carroll (September 23rd, 1907).

On March 20, 1907, Bishop Gray and Mrs. Clarke visited Little River. That evening they had what the Bishop described as "a fairly good congregation in St. Andrew's Church." One person was confirmed. The next day the Bishop, with a group, drove to Buena Vista. The following comment appears in his dairy:

"I am much delighted with the good work done by Rev. Mr. Clarke in this town. Thus Church of the Holy Cross, which has been
erected there as the result of tremendous correspondence and unusual interest even in this new settlement. Had a suitable opening service of this new church, which is not yet ready for consecration and delivered an address of congratulation and said also some words in regard to the good man (Mr. Westgaard) who constructed this chapel, but died before it was quite ready to be opened. Four of his daughters were present. A Guild has been organized an is actively at work. A forward movement seems assured."

The beginning of definite work at Buena Vista was not designed to supersede the mission at Little River, but simply to provide services for a progressive community. The Journal of the 1908 Convocation lists St. Andrew’s, Little River, as an organized mission, which the name of Buena Vista church does not even appear. Neither Bishop Gray nor Mr. Clarke had any intention of abandoning the work which had been started and carried on several years, under great difficulties, at the more northern point. Mrs. Winfield always an active spirit in the Little River Church, states that Mr. Clarke assured her that he would never consent to that church’s removal so long as she lived. After the erection of the church at Buena Vista, services were conducted for some time at Little River; but at last they were discontinued, and the building was demolished. It is deeply to be regretted that a beginning which involved much sacrifice and effort should have been abandoned; and all honor is due to the faithful handful of loyal men and women who kept the church alive for several years.

Bishop Gray visited Little River March 12th, 1910, and preached.\textsuperscript{34} It was not until March 23rd, 1912—five years after the opening of the church at Buena Vista—that he noted in his diary that the efforts to keep the mission going seemed inexpedient.

“Saturday, March 23, Went up to Little River. I fear we can do nothing more at this point, and may have to let the building go before it rots down.”\textsuperscript{35}

On the 15th of March, 1907, Bishop Gray visited the “Pine Knot Camp” at Coconut Grove—the Adirondac-Coconut Grove school for boys. He attended some of the recitations and became acquainted with that “fine lot of boys.” On Sunday, the 17th, he had services in the morning for the colored people at Christ Church; at four o’clock in the afternoon he and the Reverent Mr. Clarke had “a fairly good congregation” of whites in the Congregation place of worship. The next day he and Mr. Clarke took the early train for Homestead.
“It is marvelous how this new country is settling up among the widespread and prevailing coral rocks. At night, in the schoolhouse some three miles further on, fully 100 men, women and children had assembled. We had evening service. I preached and confirmed one person. A reception was held afterwards and the Bishop was enabled to meet all these people, who had come from miles around. It was nearly midnight when we got back.

“Tuesday, 19th. At 8:45 A.M. at Mr. Baur’s house I confirmed his wife, who was not well enough to come out the night before, and immediately after proceeded with the service of Holy Communion, quite a goodly number receiving.”

Two years later the Bishop again visited Homestead in company with Mr. Clarke. From there they went to the Redlands neighborhood and held a service in the school-house with a congregation of some hundred people. April 1st they went on to Knight’s Key. There an evening service had been arranged in the open air. Thus Bishop Gray describes it:

“With a barrel to hold lanterns for me to see by, I put on my vestments and took my place, some hundreds of the workmen on the new railroad sitting on the verandah and steps of the camp dining room before me. I raised the tunes, and we were singing ‘Holy, Holy, Holy,’ when a heavy shower drove us into one of the large rooms, where I continued the service and preached. I had profound attention from them all. At night an extra cot was put in the steward’s room for me, where I had a good night’s rest.”

The Reverend Mr. Fuller, the beloved rector of Trinity Church, Miami, passed away January 10th, 1910. The Committee on Memorials paid tribute to “his Christian character and fidelity to his mission as a Priest in the Church of Christ.” When Bishop Gray visited the Miami section, in March of that year, he was concerned over the problem of securing a new rector for the parish. For a short time, the Reverend Mr. Clarke was the only white clergyman at work in Miami and vicinity.

In September, 1910, the Bishop proposed that Doctor Jackson, who was doing missionary work in Jupiter and that neighborhood,
move to Coconut Grove and take charge of the field there. Charles Percival Jackson was born in Portville, New York, December 21st, 1854; and graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1879. He moved to Coconut Grove, as the Bishop had suggested; and assumed the work among both races. It was in October, 1910, that Doctor Jackson arrived in Coconut Grove. In the absence of a church building, he held services during his first year in the Housekeepers’ Club building on Biscayne Bay (its present site). There he continued to minister till the church was built. Bishop Gray had told the colored congregation of Coconut Grove that they should erect a new church of stone, and should respond to the best of their ability to his efforts.

Bishop Gray visited Coconut Grove on the 22nd of February, 1911; the following day he and Doctor Jackson began the quest of a suitable lot on which to building a church for the white congregation. At 3:30 P. M. that day the Bishop laid the cornerstone of the new Trinity Church in Miami. The Reverend Mr. Fuller had passed away after some eleven years of faithful service; and he was followed by the Reverend Janes Cope. Both the Bishop and Mr. Cope made addresses at the laying of the stone.
On the 6th of April, 1911, Bishop Gray and the Reverend Mr. Clarke took the train from Miami south to Princeton. After supper with Mr. and Mrs. Murray, they held a service at the school-house. After preaching to a very attentive congregation and confirming two persons, the Bishop went with Mr. Clarke to Naranja. There they were the guests of the Barcus family. At six o’clock the next morning, Holy Communion was celebrated in that household; and young Mr. and Miss Barcus, who had been confirmed the night before in Princeton, made their first communion with their mother.

After breakfast, the Bishop and Mr. Clarke “found some difficulty in getting across to Redland.”

“The first horse soon cast his shoe, and as he could not proceed over the rocky road, we had to return and try again. We searched around and at last found a man and team, who succeeded in getting us to the church before sundown. We had our supper with Mr. and Mrs. Bauer, and at 7:30 had a very fair congregation for this busy time, when all are working hard shipping vegetables.”

Next day, April 8th, the Bishop stopped at Coconut Grove, and further examined the proposed site for the church. He had an important interview with Mr. John Strong about a lot there, and felt that he had settled the matter to his great relief. The night was spent in “the new beautiful rectory” at Miami, where Mr. and Mrs. Cope gave the Bishop a warm welcome.

On the 22nd of March, 1912, the Bishop and Mr. Clarke went to Fort Lauderdale and “looked all around at possible church lots. Nothing definite was accomplished.” Two days later the Bishop held services at Trinity Church, Miami, at Christ Church, Coconut Grove, and at St. Agnes’s Church, Miami. The name of “St. Stephen’s” had been applied to the white congregation at Coconut Grove; and, under Doctor Jackson, there was a strong desire to go ahead. On the 25th of March, Doctor Jackson and the Bishop agreed to exchange the lot formerly selected for the church and located the building on a new one. Tuesday evening, March 26th, the Bishop held services at Buena Vista before a large congregation.

“Many came in to see me, among them a young man whom I had baptized in the country nineteen years ago and confirmed a few years ago. He came five miles to be present tonight.”

On March 28th the Bishop visited Homestead, arriving in time to hold evening service and meet the people. Next day he found a good congregation at Naranja, “at the little new church, the only one
of any kind there." He had a good service, preached, and confirmed one person. After returning to Homestead, and holding services in the school-house, the Bishop took his first trip over the completed Florida East Coast Railway—the overseas extension.

"As the train glided through the air and over the water, the long line of curving waves circling around the rock columns gave forth beautiful reflections of the sun setting in glory. I leaned out of the window, thoroughly enjoying our flight between the waters, Gulf and ocean below, and the arched skies above."

The cornerstone of St. Stephen's Church, Coconut Grove, was laid on St. Barnabas's day, June 11th, 1912, on the present site of the church. Indeed the building now in use is an enlargement of the original structure. The first services in St. Stephen's were held shortly after the church was in sufficient readiness.

The Reverend Mr. Clarke died July 30th, 1912. In his annual address to the Twenty-first Convocation, Bishop Gray commended his services.

"One of our missionary clergy, who did good work and, indeed, opened up a number of new stations on the Florida East Coast railroad extension, and saw to the building of several churches, living, and working on a very small income here, as he had done for many years in the Northwest, was called away in July, and taken to his old home in Massachusetts for burial. 'He rests from his labors, and his works do follow him.'"

Besides being the founder of the Church of the Holy Cross, Miami, the Reverend Mr. Clarke planted the Dania mission, which has survived and developed as St. John's Church, Hollywood. The church at Redland was built under his supervision.

On the 28th of August, 1912, Bishop Gray was in Coconut Grove, where he "walked a mile in the hot sun to see the stone church the Negroes have been building. Then he walked another mile to the new St., Stephen's Church, for white people, both in charge of Dr. Jackson." That evening, in Miami, he conferred with the Reverend Mr. Cope regarding the status of the missions formerly under the Reverend Mr. Clarke.

In the fall of 1912, the Reverend John Partridge took charge of Holy Cross, at Buena Vista and remained till May 12th, 1913. He was born in England, April 5th, 1854, and had spent his early ministry in Canada and Nova Scotia. For some time he was rector of St. John's Church, Petaluma, California.
At 10:30 A.M., January 26th, 1913 (Sexagesima), Bishop Gray consecrated the new St. Stephen’s Church, at Coconut Grove. At the front door he received the keys, which later he laid on the altar; he preached and celebrated the Holy Communion. 38

Less than a month later, the Bishop was back in the Miami area. At 7:30 P.M., February 20th, he preached and confirmed four in St. Stephen’s Church, Coconut Grove. Next day, he and Doctor Jackson went to Pine Knot Camp, where they were warmly welcomed by Miss Ransom. The clergymen, the principal, the teachers, and the students had dinner together; and the Bishop addressed the boys. On the 22nd, he confirmed privately some members of Doctor Jackson’s class who had been prevented by sickness from appearing at church.

“Third Sunday in Lent, February 23d. Received Holy Communion at Trinity Church, Miami, Rev. Mr. Partridge celebrant. At 10:30 A.M. the church was well filled. I said morning prayer, preached, confirmed a class and addressed them. After a hurried meal went by auto all the way to Fort Lauderdale. Rev. Mr. Partridge assisted me in evening prayer. I preached, confirmed a class and addressed them. Gave the offering to the ladies toward getting a lot for a church there. Came back to Dania, where the Hardee family gave us a good supper, and at 7:30 we had evening prayer. I preached and confirmed a class and addressed them. We then came back to Miami in auto to rectory, arriving at 11 P.M., a full, strenuous day.”
The next day the Bishop and the Reverend Mr. Partridge went to Hallandale, where they held services in the Union Chapel. There was one confirmation. "The work now begun at Hallandale seems very promising." On the 25th, the Bishop and the Reverend Messrs. Cope and Partridge drove by automobile to Naranja. The Bishop preached and confirmed a class. The following day the three clergymen started for Redland, where they had Evening Prayer with a small congregation, and spent the night. On the 27th they went to Homestead for service, sermon, confirmation, and address. "It proved a rather trying trip." On the night of the 28th, there was a splendid congregation at Buena Vista.

On the 24th of November, 1913, the Bishop visited the new Christ Church for Negroes in Coconut Grove. "It is of stone and Dr. Jackson has been most successful in having it built." The service was choral. The Bishop confirmed nine at the church; and "at the close of the service went vested to a private house and confirmed three more who had whooping cough, and could not come to the church."

"This has been a very satisfactory visit and I am especially thankful to have had one service in the new stone church."

Next day, the Bishop confirmed a young girl in St. Stephen's Church. After this he went with Doctor Jackson to St. Agnes's Church in Miami which he found "crowded to its utmost capacity." Twenty-two were confirmed. The Bishop spent the night as the guest of Mr. Cope and his wife at the Trinity rectory. He left the next morning for Orlando.39

This was Bishop Gray's last visitation. On the 14th of January, 1914, that venerable servant of God read his resignation to the Convocation. He had spent twenty-one years in the Episcopates and nearly fifty-five in the sacred ministry and he was in the seventy-ninth year of his life. When it is realized that the energy expended by him in the vicinity of Miami was typical of the expenditure of force which characterized his activities throughout the whole Missionary Jurisdiction, it is recognized that he was a man of most unusual resources and perseverance.

Prior to Bishop Gray's episcopates, there had been no ministries of the Episcopal Church in that long stretch of land now comprehended in Broward and Dade counties. When the good Bishop resigned, there were no fewer than one vigorous parish and five organized missions and three unorganized missions in Dade county.
alone. A little later, Homestead, under Doctor Jackson, formerly of Coconut Grove, was added to the list of active missions.

Doctor Jackson resigned his work at St. Stephen’s, Coconut Grove, in January, 1916, and moved to Homestead. There was no mission in that town on his arrival. The church which had been built at Redland under the Reverend Mr. Clarke was used for services; later it was sold to the Lutherans. Afterwards it was destroyed by a hurricane.

Doctor Jackson’s services at Homestead were held first in the school auditorium; then in the Wonderland Theater (since destroyed by fire). A church building was begun in the fall of 1916, and the first services conducted in the new building were on Christmas Eve, the same year. The new church was situated about one block west of the present location; when the highway was projected through the church property, the building was moved to the site which it now occupies. The County of Dade bought the right of way and moved the church building at its own expense. In addition to holding services at Homestead and Redland, Doctor Jackson also visited the village of Princeton a few miles north.

Here we may leave our narrative. We have watched the rapid development of a great work—a work which had the smallest of
beginnings. Many were the backsets; and many were the heartaches, the anxieties, and the hours of discouragement. Certainly, however, one may be sure that God has smiled upon His children’s efforts in the lower east coast of Florida.

**Endnotes**

1. Mrs. Julia D. Tuttle, of Cleveland, Ohio, moved to Miami with all her family and effects, at the beginning of the decade, to develop a large property which included all of the original site of Miami north of the Miami River and a great deal of property then a wilderness.
2. Identified as Fulford.
4. Kirk Munroe, a writer and early resident of the Miami area.
5. Flora McFarlane, winter resident of Coconut Grove; taught school because she realized the local needs; founder of the Housekeepers’ Club.
6. Garry Niles, a naval officer residing at Lemon City.
7. About where Musa Isle, near NW 27th Avenue once stood.
11. Ibid., pp. 10-11
12. *Journal of Fifth Annual Convocation.* 1897, pp. 59-60..
14. William Mark Brown, a graduate of Amherst, 1885; moved to Florida in early manhood; cashier of the Indian River State Bank at Titusville; opened Bank of Bay Biscayne, Miami, May 2, 1896.
15. Henry Kegwin, Presbyterian minister in Miami and Coconut Grove; highly respected.
16. C. Milburn, an elderly Englishman; carpenter by occupation.
18. *Journal of Sixth Annual Convocation,* 1898, p. 28.
20. *Journal of the General Convention. Protestant Episcopal*
Church. 1895, p. 566; Journal of the General Convention. Protestant Episcopal Church, 1898, p. 503.


25. Frederick S. Morse, agent for the railroad lands in the Miami section; a highly respected citizen, who lived to see Miami a prosperous city.

29. *Journal of the Tenth Annual Convocation*, 1901, pp. 27, 54, 78.

33. *Journal of Nineteenth Annual Convocation*, 1911, p. 47.
34. *Journal of Twenty-first Annual Convocation*, 1912, p. 49.
37. *Journal of Twenty-first Annual Convocation*, 1913, pp. 50, 73, 94.
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