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## THE TRIBULATIONS OF DENYS ROLLE

by CHARLES L. MOWAT

In the brief and generally uneventful history of British East Florida greatest interest has, perhaps, attached to the two unusual experiments in colonization which were carried on in the province at New Smyrna and Rollestown. The history of both has been told by Carita Doggett Corse,<sup>1</sup> and to her work there is little to add. It is, however, possible to give some new light on the early difficulties which Denys Rolle met with in his attempts to establish his colony.

It will be recalled that Rolle, evidently a man of some wealth and of broad but visionary ideas, came to Florida from England in September, 1764 and eventually established plantations at Rollestown, a bluff on the St. Johns river above the present town of Palatka. The place was sometimes referred to as Mount Pleasant, or Charlottenburgh or Charlota. Rolle, who came from Bicton in Devonshire and was elected member of Parliament for Barnstaple in 1768<sup>2</sup>, seems to have wished to make a settlement which would be an asylum for unfortunates, a place where the underprivileged might be rehabilitated and started on useful, self-supporting lives. Later tradition has referred to Rollestown as a settlement

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1. Carita Doggett [Corse] "Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida." [Jacksonville] 1919.

Carita Doggett Corse, "Denys Rolle and Rollestown, a Pioneer for Utopia," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, VII, 115-134 (October, 1928). This article includes a reproduction of a contemporaneous plan of Rollestown.

2. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. John Rolle, Baron Rolle (1750-1842); *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXVIII, 273, XLV, 377 (June, 1768; August, 1775); Wilbur H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida 1774 to 1785* (Publications of State Historical Society of Florida, No. 9; DeLand, Florida, 1929), II, 367-371.

for prostitutes,<sup>3</sup> but there is no contemporaneous evidence for this, and the worst that was said of the settlers at the time was that they were vagrants, beggars and debtors gathered from the London streets.<sup>4</sup> Rolle, whose original desire was for a palatinate of large extent in the interior of East Florida, where he would have "some proper inferior jurisdiction and judicature, county, hundred and manor courts with Court Leet and Courts Baron,"<sup>5</sup> had been forced to be content with an Order of the Privy Council of the normal type, granting him a tract of 20,000 acres of land within the province. It was to locate such a tract and begin the settlement of it that he came to St. Augustine a few weeks after the arrival of Governor Grant.

Rolle spent almost a year in the infant colony, but met with nothing but misfortune in his attempts to establish his settlement, and was obstructed at every turn, according to his own account, by Grant and some of the other officials. He accordingly returned to England in the fall of 1765 to solicit the help of the government, and in pursuit of this drew up a lengthy petition to the Privy Council, accompanied by copies of letters passing between himself, Grant and others, in an appendix. This petition was unpublished, but a few copies of it were printed. One of them, in the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island,<sup>6</sup>

3. Charles Vignoles, *Observations upon the Floridas* (New York, 1823), 73 ; John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837), 188.

4. Corse, *loc. cit.* 118, 120 and *passim*.

5. Corse, *loc. cit.*, 115-116; *Acts of the Privy Council of England : Colonial Series*, VI (London, 1912), 438-439.

6. [Denys Rolle], *To the Right HONOURABLE the LORDS of His MAJESTY'S Most Honourable Privy Council. The Humble Petition of Denys Rolle, Esq.; setting forth the Hardships, Inconveniences, and Grievances, which have attended him in his Attempts to make a Settlement in East Florida . . .* (n.p., [1766]). The petition has 85 pages of text, and the ap-

has already been cited by the present author in this *Quarterly*<sup>7</sup> for the vivid details which it gives of the early life of the struggling colony. Its account of Rolle's tribulations, though rambling, repetitious, and necessarily one-sided, gives a valuable picture of the beginnings of Rollestown.

Rolle's difficulties began as soon as he left England, according to this petition. He embarked on 10 June 1764 with fourteen persons, "with some Imputation of Kidnaping People for his Settlement," and suffered on board from a shortage of water and provisions which he thought was more common on Atlantic passages than the public was aware of. At Charleston a family of five, whose father he had released from prison, was persuaded to desert him, though he was paid for their passage; another servant was lured away by a Justice of the Peace, but he gained two substitutes because the Lieutenant Governor "married one of his People."<sup>8</sup> On his arrival at St. Augustine he was well received and entertained by Governor Grant. However, when he decided to abandon his original destination, St. Marks, Apalache, and to settle instead on the St. Johns, he was severely reprimanded by the Governor one day before dinner, for "*altering his Intention.*" He replied that his Order gave him permission to settle in any part of the province, and was then allowed to continue with his plans. Shortly afterwards, on 27 September, he left the capital for Picolata, where he decided to make his settle-

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pendix, which is separately paged, 47. It is hereafter cited as Rolle, Petition. Cf. Lawrence C. Wroth, "Source Materials of Florida History in the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XX, 3-46 (July, 1941) at 43.

7. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XX, 139, 144-45 (October, 1941).

8. Rolle, Petition, 2-5.

ment on a bluff twenty-five miles further up the river.<sup>9</sup>

Here, in the course of about a year, he established a small community of hunters and backwoodsmen, numbering with their wives and families some twenty souls. John Bartram, the botanist, who, visited "squire Roll's" place in January 1766 during Rolle's absence in England, described the town as half a mile long, with two streets intersecting, one sixty feet wide and the other one hundred feet wide ; all the land behind was covered with pines and scrub oaks. There were half a score of scattered houses, built of round logs,<sup>10</sup> These, according to Grant, were simply put up to furnish Rolle's itinerant woodsmen with a claim to receive on family right grants of land which he would subsequently buy from them to increase his old holdings.<sup>11</sup>

His difficulties, in fact, were in no small degree due to a conflict between his desires for an extensive and advantageous tract of land and the Governor's instructions regarding land grants. It was the rule that a tract must be continuous, one-third as broad as it was long, and that it must run back from a waterway and not have its sides communicating with water. As a result, it was difficult to lay out any tract without having a disproportionately large amount of poor soil or swamp. Rolle therefore delayed taking out his grant while he endeavored to obtain permission to have his 20,000 acres laid out on both sides of the river, treating the river as part of the acreage, on which he would pay quit

9. *Ibid.*, 5-6.

10. [William Stork], *A Description of East-Florida, with a Journal Kept by John Bartram of Philadelphia, Botanist to His Majesty for the Floridas; upon A Journey from St. Augustine up the River St. John's as far as the Lakes . . .* (Third edition ; London, 1769), John Bartram's Journal, 27.

11. Corse, *loc. cit.*, 117, 124.

rent. If this was denied, he asked that he might be permitted to purchase a tract to be additional to his 20,000 acres laid out in a continuous body, or alternatively that his settlers be permitted to acquire land on family right to supplement his tract. This proposal was of doubtful legality, even if his woodsmen were *bona fide* settlers. It was, in fact, rumored that their petitions for land had been thrown under the table at the Council meeting, Grant remarking that none of Rolle's people should ever obtain any land. Rolle taxed the Governor with this; the latter told him not to listen to such tales, but did not deny them. It was an additional grievance to Rolle that Grant had insisted that the petitions ought to be filed by the persons concerned, and not in a batch, and that the petitioners should attend in person the Council meeting at which their petitions were to be considered. Even when Rolle had decided upon his tract there was further delay because he objected, for reasons which will appear, to having Fairchild as the deputy surveyor to lay it out. Eventually it was surveyed by John Funk, but in Rolle's absence, which led to further objections that his specifications had not been met.<sup>12</sup>

All the while Grant had been urging Rolle to decide on his tract as soon as possible, before it was preempted by others, and even said that he ought to have prosecuted him and his settlers as squatters upon the King's lands, since no grant had been obtained.<sup>13</sup> Rolle's reply was always that discrimination was shown against him. Other persons, he declared, had tracts with waterways both at front and side, and with a higher proportion of good land than his proposed tract would have. Though he was

12. Corse, *loc. cit.*, 117-18, 123-26, 129-30; Rolle, Petition, 12, 18-19, 21-22, 33-35, 37-41, 53, 61-73, 79-82.

13. Rolle, Petition, 28.



urged to hurry, and to apply for a grant in person, others were allowed to delay. The agent of one, Colonel Middleton, presenting a grant for land on the St. Johns made by Governor Boone of South Carolina, was given three months in which to apply for a confirmatory grant from the East Florida Council. This grant, which conflicted with the one which Rolle hoped to obtain, had been made a year or so earlier at the time when South Carolina was claiming jurisdiction over the 'neutral ground' south of the Altamaha, then the boundary of Georgia.<sup>14</sup> It was in this disputed area, on Cumberland island at the mouth of St. Marys river, that Edmund Gray had established his squatter community of crackers from the Carolinas and Georgia in 1757 under the name of New Hanover—a settlement to which Rolle was to make bitter reference later on.<sup>15</sup> Another grievance concerned a visit of two prominent planters from South Carolina, Francis Kinloch and John Moultrie, who were prospecting for good sites for plantations. After being entertained at Rollestown they left with the apparent intention of going further up the river to locate their tracts. Instead, they chose locations close at hand, which interfered with those for which Rolle, as he had already told them, had intended to apply. The fact that this was tolerated by Grant only made the seeming breach of hospitality more galling.<sup>16</sup>

In the midst of these difficulties a fresh batch of

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14. *Ibid.*, 37-43. On these South Carolina grants see (besides the lengthy discussion in these pages of Rolle's Petition) *American State Papers : Class VIII : Public Lands*, I (Gales and Seaton; Washington, 1832), 51-56 ; Lawrence H. Gipson, *Zones of International Friction: North America, South of the Great Lakes Region, 1748-1754 (The British Empire before the American Revolution*, IV ; New York, 1939), 25-47.
15. For New Hanover, see *Am. State Papers, Public Lands*, I, and Gipson, as cited above.
16. Rolle, Petition, 43-47; Corse, *loc. cit.*, 125.

settlers arrived in July 1765 to embarrass the empire-builder still further. Not having heard of Rolle's change of plans, they had gone to St. Marks, Apalache, and Rolle, hearing of their arrival, set off in hot pursuit on the hazardous journey across the peninsula. It proved a wild-goose chase, for the party had already left for Rollestown by water, traveling by way of Pensacola and Savannah. On his return, Rolle asked that the ship's captain might be permitted to take oath at St. Augustine of the arrival of the party, in order that he might prove his fulfillment of the terms of his Order regarding settlement of the land, before any of the people died or were enticed away from the plantation. This Grant refused, declaring that Rolle or his agent must make oath of their arrival before a Justice of the Peace.<sup>17</sup>

In this matter of settlement, as in other regards, Rolle claimed that the terms of his Order from the Privy Council put him at a considerable disadvantage compared with the planter who obtained grants of land from the East Florida Council. Rolle was granted a single continuous tract, which he must settle with white people. The other could obtain several small tracts chosen for their good soil and avoiding the poorer land which a 20,000-acre tract was sure to include, and could then clear them with negro labor and so gain title to them after three years' settlement. As likely as not these tracts were thereafter abandoned, and were soon covered with undergrowth far worse than that on areas which had never been cleared. Yet presumably the settlement of whites rather than this temporary

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17. Rolle, Petition, 45, 48-53, 57-58.

occupation of land by negroes was what the British government desired.<sup>18</sup>

Nor was this the whole story. White settlers, Rolle's particularly, proved to be rather slippery customers. St. Augustine was a raw little garrison town, but it had many attractions compared with the desolation of Rollestown. The high wages prevailing there were alone an inducement to settlers to desert the plantation, and against this their indentures proved to be flimsy constraints. When Rolle complained to the Governor that his people were lured away to the capital, the latter protested that this was a legal matter in which he had no power. Rolle observed, however, that Grant's influence was such that a word at his dinner table would have effectually discouraged such practices.<sup>19</sup>

A few instances will suffice. A smith and his wife (the pair married at Charleston) were carried off from Rollestown by soldiers from Fort Picolata and kept on Anastasia island to tend victims of small pox. Rolle complained to Major Ogilvie, who offered to punish the men, but at Rolle's request, let them off with a reprimand. For applying to the Major rather than to the Governor, Rolle again found himself in the latter's bad graces.<sup>20</sup> Henry Fairchild, whom Rolle had brought to the province and employed at 20 a year, was persuaded to leave him for a deputy surveyorship though Grant declared, when Rolle raised the question with him, that his public and private employments were not incompatible. Fairchild's relations with Rolle were broken off, he fell into a career of profligacy and debt, which ended only by his flight to West Florida.<sup>21</sup> Similar

18. *Ibid.*, 34-35.

19. *Ibid.*; 8<sup>9</sup>, 29.

21. *Ibid.*, 24-25 Cf. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XX, 145.

was the case of Bullemore, Rolle's prospective agent in St. Augustine, whom Grant rejected as an exceptional person; disappointed of the public employment he had been led to expect, he came to a sad end soon afterwards.<sup>22</sup>

Sometimes, however, attempts to entice away his settlers came to nothing. Greening, while his guest at Rollestown, vainly tried to persuade a boat builder, who had sought refuge from the life of extravagance and drinking at St. Augustine, to return with him to the capital. This same visitor seemed anxious to take off a young woman, but Rolle persuaded her to stay, and afterwards arranged a successful marriage for her. Conversely, Greening tried to add to the community at Rollestown by urging one of the families to undertake the care of their daughter's son. The girl was a prostitute in St. Augustine, and the child's transfer to Rollestown would simply give her greater leisure while adding a burden to a family to whose support Rolle was already contributing.<sup>23</sup>

Another time Rolle was involved in difficulties with his former hunter, Upton, whom he had dismissed for secretly supplying persons in St. Augustine with venison at his expense. Upton had stayed around Rollestown afterward, and had procured a stock of rum with which a couple had been enabled to set up a public house, to the detriment of the good order of the settlement. Again Grant refused to intervene, since the law of England was open and covered all such matters. Then one evening, with what Rolle called the "Coupe D'Etat of the *New Hanover Law*," Upton, who was drunk at the time, shot one of Rolle's cows, and swore in the presence

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22. Rolle, Petition, 8, 27; Cf. *F. H. Q.*, XX, 145.

23. Rolle, Petition, 19-21.

of two negroes that he would kill all the rest. Rolle thereupon got his agent, Henry Lloyd, who had been made a Justice of the Peace, to commission four people to arrest Upton. This was done and he was taken to St. Augustine. No jailer was to be found there, however, and the Sheriff "one of the Governors menial Servants," seemed at loss how to act. All wanted to free the prisoner; nevertheless he was eventually put in jail. Subsequently Davis, a deputy surveyor whom Rolle had entertained, wrote him a threatening letter on Upton's behalf, demanding payment for the use of his horses, which had been roaming round the plantation, breaking fences and being a great nuisance. When Rolle protested about this, Grant made the quibbling reply that Davis was not a deputy surveyor, though employed by De Brahm on the general survey. To all protests, in fact, the Governor had an unvarying reply: that he could not interfere; the law of England was open. Rolle's answer when his affidavit regarding his purchase from Bunkley was rejected was that the law was indeed open, "but he found it open only on one Side of a Question." Now he added that the law was too expensive for the infant settler, and seemed designed not to protect the inexperienced colonist but to scourge him for his unintentional mistakes.<sup>24</sup>

To this catalogue of woes others were added. Rolle was shot at twice one evening by some unknown person while traveling in a canoe up the St. Johns.<sup>25</sup> Another time a boat freighted with his supplies was detained at St. Augustine by Lieutenant Swettenham, then in command at the Fort and high in Grant's favor, though another boat of

24. *Ibid.*, 15-17, 69-70, 73, 76-78; Rolle to Grant, 26 July 1765, in Appendix, 40.

25. Rolle, Petition, 55-56.

similar status had just been allowed to leave. Both were open boats bound on provincial voyages, and so not subject to delay; the other one was carrying goods for a store. The delay caused Rolle's boat to strike on the bar and overturn; its master was drowned, and its cargo became an almost total loss.<sup>26</sup>

Then there was the matter of Rolle's dealings with the Indians. Grant charged him with keeping an Indian store without license.<sup>27</sup> Rolle claimed that he merely supplied the Indians with a few things for their convenience and to keep their friendship, and declared that the good personal relations which he had established with them were constantly jeopardized by the work of the Governor's rum.<sup>28</sup>

These are only a few of the several troubles which Rolle experienced during a stay of barely a year. While some of his grievances were doubtless valid enough, he was clearly an eccentric and headstrong person who was the author of many of his own misfortunes. He came to regard the Governor as his personal enemy, and seems to have suffered from a persecution complex. Grant was an autocrat, intolerant of potential rivals and impatient with irregularities except when committed by or for his friends, but his criticisms of Rolle as quarrelsome, litigious and petty have much point. Moreover Rolle's ingenious schemes for obtaining unusual tracts of land and increasing his holdings were certainly of dubious legality; though Grant did not prevent other English grantees from obtaining huge estates whose settlement was never even begun.<sup>29</sup>

On his return to England in 1765, Rolle renewed his plea to the Privy Council for a special grant of

26. *Ibid.*, 17-18.

27. Corse, *loc. cit.*, 131.

28. Rolle, *Petition*, 11-14, 27, 55-57, 60-61.

29. Corse, *loc. cit.*, 120, 122-134.

a huge area in which he would have undivided authority. "Thoroughly convinced of the inexpediency of the existing mode of settlement," he petitioned for a palatinate on the tenure of finding about a thousand men, ready to be called out on military service whenever the King in Council should direct.<sup>30</sup> To this modest plea the Privy Council again turned a deaf ear, though, the government, concerned lest his reports should discourage the settlement of East Florida, advised Grant to give every encouragement to "so bold and useful a Colonist."<sup>31</sup>

While his petition was pending, Rolle devoted himself to the task of obtaining some publicity for East Florida's attractions for settlers, particularly the advantages of Rollestown. He published a digest of Dr. Stork's *Account of East Florida*, to which he added some observations of his own, two letters, Grant's proclamation inviting settlers, and his own Order in Council. One of the letters was from "An eminent Planter in South Carolina to a noble Lord in England," and was written from Charleston on 27 August 1765; it described the land up the St. Johns in the most glowing terms, and declared that the tract of land from Rollestown to Lake George, a distance of fifty miles, was "I may say the best in the King's dominions" and capable alone of producing more rice than the whole of South Carolina had ever produced in a year. The second letter was from the Surveyor General, and described the variety of soil-rich and clayey on the high ground, more sandy at the lower levels-and the great natural growth of valuable trees and plants,

30. *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series*, VI, 438-439.

31. Shelburne to Grant, 11 December 1766, in Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office papers, class 5, vol. 548, p. 243 (Library of Congress transcripts).

including sweet and sour oranges, lemons, papaw trees, cabbage-trees, arboreous grapevines, together with cypress, tupelo and mangrove trees on the low lands and swamps. Rolle's own observations began with the sweeping statement: "Every thing in nature seems to correspond towards the cultivation of the productions of the whole world, in some part or other of this happy province, the most precious jewel of his majesty's American dominions." He described his own plantation, countered objections to the heat (often made more unbearable, he alleged, from drinking much strong liquor or rum unmixed), and rebutted arguments concerning noxious beasts, insects and reptiles, and the hostility of the Indians. He sketched the opportunities for settlers with a little capital, either twelve or fifty guineas. Those without property were invited to indent themselves to him for four years and share in his plantation, and were told that they would hear of frequent opportunities for going thither at London, Bristol, Liverpool and the other great seaports, where ships would be freighted to the St. Johns river, or to St. Augustine. This manifesto was subscribed Denys Rolle, and dated at Tuderly, September 1, 1766.<sup>32</sup>

At about the same time, by a strange coincidence, the *Scots Magazine* published a glowing account of Rollestown, telling of its plentiful crops of rice, corn, pulse and cotton, and its garden produce, live-stock, and its groves of oranges and grapes. One

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32. [Denys Rolle], *An Extract from the Account of East Florida, Published by Dr. Stork, who resided a considerable Time in Augustine, the Metropolis of that Province, With the Observations of Denys Rolle, who formed a Settlement on St. John's river, in the same Province. With his Proposals to Such Persons as may be inclined to settle thereon* (London, 1766), *passim*, especially 13, 19. Cf. Wroth, *loc. cit.*, 43.



naturally suspects Rolle as the author of this piece also.<sup>33</sup>

With renewed determination, Rolle returned to the St. Johns in January 1767 with a motley collection of forty-nine vagrants and debtors. His pioneering then, and on his later brief visits in 1769 and 1778, was no more successful than on his first sojourn in East Florida. By grants and purchases he increased his acreage to over 80,000; but his various contingents of shiftless settlers all melted away, dishonest agents sold his cattle for their own profit, and finally the cession of East Florida back to Spain robbed him of an estate which had never flourished save in his exuberant imagination.<sup>34</sup> He claimed 19,886 as compensation from the British government, but was probably lucky to get the 6,597 which the East Florida Claims Commission awarded him.<sup>35</sup> By 1823 not a vestige of Rollestown remained, except for a few pits which had been the foundations of large buildings, and a long avenue still traceable in the forest, the beginning of a grand highway to St. Augustine.<sup>36</sup> Like a more trodden and less innocent road, this had been paved only with good intentions.

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33. *Scots Magazine*, XXVIII, 50 (January, 1766).

34. Corse, *loc. cit.*, 118-122, 134.

35. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, II, 307.

36. Vignoles, *Observations upon the Floridas*, 73.

## THE TALLAHASSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S "APALACHEE"

The Tallahassee Historical Society has long been one of the most active local historical associations in Florida. Program meetings are held during each winter at which carefully prepared papers are read, many of them having been written after extensive research. Several of these papers have been published in this *Quarterly*, and a much larger number were selected and published at intervals as *The Annual of the Tallahassee Historical Society* in 1934, 1935, 1937 and 1939. These are mimeographed volumes of sixty to one hundred twenty pages.

Now, instead, the Society will issue a printed volume biennially under the title *Apalachee*, the first number of which has recently appeared. The publication committee for this issue was: Guyte P. McCord, Sr., Venila L. Shores, Dorothy Dodd, Rosalind Parker, and Mary Croom Whitfield.

The significance of the title chosen is strikingly shown by a map on the front cover of the region between the Ochlockonee and the Aucilla rivers, with Tallahassee near the center. From the earliest Spanish period this territory was called Apalachee.

Eight papers are included in the ninety-seven pages of this number:

"The Senatorial Deadlock of 1897" by Albert Hubbard Roberts

"Newport as a Business Center" by W. T. Cash  
"Physicians of Early Tallahassee and Vicinity"  
by Henry E. Palmer M. D.

"Tallahassee Through Territorial Days" by  
Mary Lamar Davis

"Father Hugon and the Early Catholic Church  
in Tallahassee" by Dorothy Van Brunt

"Tallahassee Rejoins the Union" by Albert Hubbard Roberts

"George Pettus Raney, 1845-1911" by Benjamin A. Meginniss

"Thomas Brown" by Mary D. Lewis.

It will be seen that many of these papers are of statewide interest, reflecting the fact that Tallahassee, founded as the capital, was in addition the center of much more than the state government until near the end of the past century.

The first paper in *Apalachee* is:

*The Senatorial Deadlock of 1897*

This contest, known as the "Call-Chipley fight", was perhaps the most famous and bitterest of the numerous struggles for one of Florida's seats in the United States Senate.

Mr. Roberts, the author of this paper, in a biographical sketch of Wilkinson Call in this *Quarterly* (xii, 95, 179) gave us an account of Call's career prior to this contest, as well as his relations with William D. Chipley up to that time. Call, whom Mr. Roberts dubs "a demagogue extraordinary" had served three terms in the senate, "a service more notable for its length than for its accomplishments." Chipley had had a large part in the building of the Pensacola and Atlantic railroad and in the beginnings of the development of West Florida west of Jackson county, and was a "typical corporation politician."

"The feud between Chipley and Call had existed for ten years or more, and had almost caused Call's defeat in the memorable contest of 1891, when Chipley himself was not a candidate. This gentleman, now member of the State Senate from the second district (Escambia county) had gathered enough visible support to defy not only Call, but the tradi-

tion which gave one senator from Florida to that part of the state east of the Suwannee river, and one to that part west; the junior senator at that time being Samuel Pasco of Monticello. . . . Except for a long cherished desire to serve in the United States Senate, Chipley was the antithesis of Call."

As the session and the election of a senator approached there were a number of "favorite sons" brought forward and "dark horse candidates" groomed ; but Call and Chipley were the principals, and candidates for the legislature were "known generally to be for or against one or the other."

Most of the Florida press lined up, with Chipley on the larger side. Few pulled any punches at least after the contest grew hot, and that was true of the principals also. For instance they met at a public speaking in Santa Rosa county "in the course of which" writes Mr. Roberts, "the usually placid Chipley invited the audience to 'gaze upon this shameless creature' (Call), - a fair indication of the personal and factional bitterness that was to prevail throughout the contest."

Headquarters of the Call and the Chipley forces were respectively in the old St. James and Leon hotels ; and a member of the legislature "was quoted as saying that the principal difference was that at the Chipley headquarters liquors were dispensed in bottles and at the Call headquarters in jugs. If tradition is correct, about every known method of influencing votes was resorted to during this long contest . . . an unhappy situation which reflected little credit upon the political morality of that day, even allowing for exaggeration in traditions unsupported by documentary proof.

"Before balloting began a call for a Democratic caucus, signed by twenty-three legislators, mostly

supporters of Chipley, had failed of results, and on April 20 separate ballots were taken in the House and Senate."

Besides Call and Chipley, George P. Raney, William A. Hocker, R. A. Burford, and two or three others were nominated, and the result of the first ballot was Call 33, Chipley 24, Raney 14, Hocker 12, Burford 7, and four others one and two each. Balloting was carried on for several days with little change, although a lone vote which soon disappeared was cast for Stephen R. Mallory. Not until the third week of balloting did Chipley go into the lead with one vote over Call. The next day Call's name was withdrawn and John N. C. Stockton was nominated and received the Call vote.

"Senator Call's withdrawal was in accordance with an agreement previously made with some of his supporters, which he carried out most reluctantly and probably with the conviction that circumstances would bring him back after a few more days of deadlock. Next day the joint ballot gave Chipley 37 votes to Stockton's 33, both candidates 'passing' when their names were called on this and the succeeding ballots, but the following day they were on even terms.

"Stockton, the only native of Florida of the three, a former newspaper man, was then a banker of Jacksonville, though a leader of the anti-corporation faction of the Democratic party in Florida. The antagonism between him and Chipley was worse, if possible, than that between Chipley and Call. Though a Call leader in the early balloting, he more than likely realized from the beginning that the old senator could not make the grade, and kept himself in a key position as his most available successor.

"Only one ballot was taken on May 11; Stockton

led 38 votes to 37 for Chipley, with the remainder scattering. . . . A resolution providing for withdrawing all candidates and substituting new ones if a choice was not made after five more ballots, failed of adoption, and on the following day Chipley resumed the lead [40 to 38]."

Judge Raney's vote had fallen from its peak of 23 to 10, and his name was now withdrawn. It is interesting to note that now a resolution was adopted requesting the State Democratic Executive committee to provide for nominations of candidates for United States senator by side-box primary elections thereafter.

Now for the first time, Chipley voted for himself -at the wish of his constituents, he explained. Stockton did also. "One member was brought to the hall on a mattress" writes Mr. Roberts, "but was too weak from illness and intoxication to answer to his name. . . . When the joint session, lasting an hour and a quarter, adjourned, Chipley lacked but four votes of a majority of all members, and it was evident that Stockton could not be elected. A caucus of anti-Chipley members was held that night, which lasted beyond midnight, when Stephen R. Mallory was chosen as its candidate. He had not been considered seriously by many legislators up to this time.

"Mallory had served, at sixteen years, in the Confederate army, and in the navy, of which his father was secretary in the cabinet of President Davis. . . . The younger Mallory, long a resident of Pensacola, had served four years in the national House of Representatives, from which he had been retired two years earlier, much against his will, and largely through the skilful opposition of Chipley. He had come to Tallahassee in an unsuccessful effort to swing several West Florida legislators from Chip-

ley to Stockton, and it dawned upon the opposition leaders that Mallory himself was the one man for whom these members could be induced to vote instead of for Chipley.

### *The Last Joint Session*

From the journal, from contemporaneous newspaper accounts, and from the narrative of a participant, Mr. Roberts skilfully pictures the scene and describes the proceedings of the final joint session and the dramatic end of the long fight.

"The Legislature met the following day (May 14) in a tragic setting, a member, who has been referred to already, having died that morning. The tragedy was deepened by the fact that its victim 'had once been an earnest and eloquent minister of the gospel.' This death reduced the anti-Chipley forces, for the deceased legislator had voted consistently for Call and later for Stockton, until the previous day, when he had been brought into the hall on a mattress, too weak to respond to his name. A resolution was introduced in the final joint session to inquire into the circumstances surrounding his death, but was withdrawn without being acted upon.

"Each side was straining every nerve for the next joint ballot, which must needs be the final test, if narrowed to two men. At last Chipley and Call had something in common. Either would have preferred the other to Mallory, and the latter cordially reciprocated their dislike."

The Senate, as for more than three weeks past, proceeded in a body to the representatives' hall and the balloting began. "There were no new nominations, no announcements of withdrawals, the anti-Chipley men simply voting for Mallory as their names were called. There were ninety-eight members present, the single absentee being Senator W. J.

Daniels of Jackson. Representative Junius Rawles of the same county 'announced that he was paired with Senator Daniels, which he was allowed to break under certain conditions.'

"On the original roll call Representative Morgan, 'passing' and Representative Rawles being paired, Chipley voted for himself. Possibly he recalled that in the same chamber twenty-two years before, a representative from his own Escambia County, Charles W. Jones, had given himself the vote needed to elect him a United States senator. . . . but more likely his thoughts were entirely in the present, as with unconcealed agitation he followed the long roll call upon the result of which rested the fulfilment of his great ambition.

"The roll call showed Chipley 49, Mallory 47, and the hall became the scene of the wildest demonstrations, supporters of Chipley crowding about him with congratulations, while the supporters of Mallory cried that no one had been elected. At length President Perrenot restored quiet sufficiently to order the roll call verified. While this was in progress, Representative Morgan and Rawles voted for Mallory, making it 49 to 49. A particularly violent demonstration accompanied the vote by Rawles, the Chipley supporters charging bad faith and the Mallory supporters declaring him within his rights. Neither the official records nor the newspapers of the day show the 'conditions' of the pair between Senator Daniels and Representative Rawles, and I [Mr. Roberts] cannot express an intelligent opinion as to the latter's justification (or lack of it) in breaking the pair which, having no legal validity, rested entirely on the honor of the parties.

"The vote was now a tie, when Senator Barber changed his vote from Chipley to Mallory, making the total Chipley 48 Mallory 50. This destroyed



Chipley's last hope. Representatives Sheppard, Rice, and Dees, in the order named, changed from Chipley to Mallory. The vote finally stood: Mallory 53, Chipley 44, Call 1.

"Throughout the hour and thirty minutes of this final joint session and especially during the verification of the roll call, the disorder was so wild that President Perrenot, a sick man, was entirely unable to control it. Speaker Mays, a much stronger man physically, at length restored order, after strident appeals to the members to remember the honor of their State."

Mr. Roberts adds, "From time to time I have heard President Perrenot criticized for not declaring Chipley elected without ordering a verification of the roll call, but I think the presiding officer was simply carrying out the rules and that whatever may have been the motives of any of the men who changed their votes during this verification, they were clearly within the prevailing rules in doing so."

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"It is said that Chipley was the calmest man present while the disorder reigned . . . and the great prize for which he labored so long and so hard was snatched from his grasp at the last moment, and almost without visible effort by an ancient enemy. He was big enough to express the opinion subsequently that Senator Mallory himself had done nothing for which he might justly be criticized.

"The election of 1897 was the last of the senatorial 'deadlocks' in Florida, and it had its effect in bringing the old method of selecting United States senators into disrepute throughout the nation, a feeling that culminated in the adoption of the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution, which provides for their election by popular vote."

*Newport as a Business Center*

While the Spanish colonial provinces of East and West Florida had but one town each for more than two centuries, St. Augustine and Pensacola, there was to be found on the maps more or less continuously a third location, San Marcos, midway between the two. St. Augustine and Pensacola were military posts, but they were capitals too (if of little more than themselves) and small towns grew up around them. But San Marcos was virtually only a fort. Yet from its central location and its perfect position as an outlet for the best lands in either province it was always assumed that a settlement would be made and a city later built there.

But it was not until after the final cession of the Floridas that these good lands, and especially those around the new capital, Tallahassee, began to be settled and the settlers looked for a tidewater outlet for their cotton. A series of small towns resulted in the old San Marcos neighborhood and there has been some confusion as to their sequence, size, and duration, most of which Mr. Cash resolves in his article. He says: "Newport, founded in October, 1843, was the fifth and last town started on the St. Marks river while Florida was a territory. The first was Rock Haven, situated just below the natural bridge where the river emerges. The second, Magnolia, located eight miles above the confluence of the St. Marks and Wakulla rivers, was settled in 1827. The third, St. Marks, situated less than half a mile above the fort of that name, probably had its beginning in 1828. The fourth, Port Leon, three miles down the river from Fort St. Marks, may have been founded late in 1839, but it was certainly as late as 1840 before it got off to a good start. From Rock Haven, the most extreme up-river town, to

Port Leon, the one nearest the mouth of the twenty-seven mile stream, was only twenty-one miles.

"Neither of the last two towns, Port Leon or Newport, could be considered so much a new settlement, as the reestablishment of a former one in a new location. The Tallahassee Railroad Company planned and promoted Port Leon, but it was settled largely from Magnolia, which went out of existence about the time the former place was founded.

"Rock Haven appears on numbers of Florida maps of the territorial period, but we know almost nothing about this early Florida village and post office of 1828," the total receipts of which were \$2.40 for the year.

Magnolia was incorporated in 1828, and the next year had ten stores, two hotels, a newspaper, *Magnolia Advertiser*, and a custom house. By 1833 there were four large warehouses, a cotton press and a bank, "with exports of 6,500 bales of cotton and some hides, deer skins, furs, tallow, etc. to New York and New Orleans."

Fort St. Marks was incorporated as a town in 1827, and reincorporated as St. Marks six years later. In 1834 the custom house was moved there from Magnolia, and along with it went the prospect for the expected city, for Magnolia began at once to go into a decline.

But the high hopes for St. Marks were also vain. The railroad which had been built from Tallahassee chose to make its terminus three miles down the river and there built its own Port Leon, and in 1839 offered town lots to the public. So for several years there was rivalry between St. Marks and Port Leon for the 30,000 bales of cotton exported from the district.

As county seat, with warehouses, wharfs, several stores and a hotel, Port Leon, by 1843, could boast

a newspaper, and seemed to be well on its way; but the end came suddenly when, in September of that year, it was destroyed by a hurricane with the loss of fourteen lives. Only three houses were left standing.

"But the citizens of Port Leon," writes Mr. Cash, "would not allow themselves to be discouraged by a gale which put an end to their town ; in less than a week they were making plans as to how they would carry on. . . . A committee was chosen to select a site for a new town, to acquire the necessary land and take subscriptions to the enterprise."

A site two miles below Magnolia was selected, and the building of Newport was soon under way. But in the first announcement of the promoters there is more than a hint of the continuation of rivalry with St. Marks farther down the river : for it was affirmed that the many advantages of the new site could be claimed by "none below."

The first vessel arrived in October of the same year (1843) and the contest for trade was on again. The *Newport Patriot* now succeeded the *Port Leon Commercial Gazette*. An effort was made to move the custom house from St. Marks to Newport but without success; and it is not known what part of the 30,000 to 40,000 bales of cotton exported annually through that custom house from the district was shipped from Newport. There were other exports : tobacco, tar, pitch, turpentine, resin, beeswax, lumber, hides and furs; but cotton was the bulk of the trade.

A United States Coast Survey report of 1852 says :

"The town of St. Marks used to be a flourishing little place of some thirty or forty houses with a railroad to Tallahassee, and a branch to Port Leon, both connected with a bridge over the St. Marks river. This last was destroyed in 1843, but the

main branch to Tallahassee is still in use, and, a train drawn by horses arrives daily. There are several large warehouses and a cotton press. Considerable business is transacted here. . . . About three miles above St. Marks (five by river) is Newport a flourishing town of some size, and some mercantile importance." But the census of 1850 gave Newport only 232 inhabitants.

Mr. Cash believes that Newport was at the height of its prosperity during the middle years of the 1850 decade, but "1860 found it in a rapid decline," and the census of that year gave it only 441 inhabitants.

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#### *Physicians of Early Tallahassee*

This is the kind of material best suited for a local publication, for it is local history rescued just before it is lost. Though it appeals only to the one locality, it is interesting to everyone there, for at one time or another a doctor comes close to the life of each one of us.

Tallahassee seems to have had more than its share of physicians noteworthy in the community for other reasons than their profession ; and Dr. Palmer begins his narrative with Dr. William H. Simmons, of St. Augustine, who, with John Lee Williams, selected the site of Tallahassee. But the first known resident physician was Dr. Byrd Willis, who came from Virginia with his daughter, the future Princess Murat, less than two years after the town was founded.

A score or more of antebellum Tallahassee practitioners are named, with some account of each, Dr. Palmer noting that in the early days "many of the physicians were active in politics, probably because they were the most prominent men in their localities and were looked to by the people to administer

not only to their physical needs, but to every other need as well." One was a Methodist preacher, several were planters, and a number were members of the legislature. Most of the Tallahassee physicians went into the Confederate army medical service, but one at least, Dr. G. W. Parkhill was a captain in the line. Then there was Dr. John L. Crawford, secretary of state, for several terms, and others prominent in numerous ways.

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### *Tallahassee Through Territorial Days*

The selection of the site for Tallahassee, the capital, is told of, together with the earliest descriptions of the region, and the choosing of the name and its meaning. There is the oft-quoted account of the beginning of the town from the contemporaneous *Pensacola Gazette*, with the arrival of Governor DuVal and Colonel Robert Butler, surveyor general of Florida, with his instructions from Washington to "proceed without delay to lay out the seat of government."

Miss Davis describes the plan from the original plat and from contemporaneous maps; and the naming of the streets for public men: Monroe and Adams, at the time president and vice president of the United States, Calhoun, Butler, Gadsden, DuVal, Bronough, president of the first legislative council, McCarty, secretary of the territory and acting governor, Jefferson, Lafayette.

The old roads leading out of Tallahassee are named and described, as are the first and later hotels. There is the long-drawn-out building of the capitol.

But doubtless it is the people of those days who will interest most readers. Miss Davis believes that "the 'first family' of Tallahassee was that of

John Bellamy, who with his family and seventy or more slaves had already laid out a plantation near Miccosukee Lake . . . in 1823. Another was that of Thomas Randall who in 1827 was appointed judge of the Superior Court of Middle Florida . . . Before leaving Washington Judge Randall was married to the daughter of William Wirt, attorney general of the United States. He brought his bride to Tallahassee, and here is an extract from a letter of Wirt to his daughter: 'You are going to a newly settled country-do you wish to make yourself and your husband popular? Dress as plainly as possible, and conform as closely as you can to the manners of the place . . . fine dressing and haut-ton manners will only excite envy, criticism, malignity, quarrels and contempt'."

Miss Davis considers "the most outstanding women of early Florida were Madam Murat, Octavia Walton LeVert, daughter of George Walton, and Florida Adair White, a Kentucky beauty and wife of Joseph M. White. These women became famous on two continents for their wit and beauty."

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### *Father Hugon and the Early Catholic Church*

Tallahassee's earliest Catholic record tells of a visit of Bishop Portier of Mobile who wrote: "It is but four years since Tallahassee was founded, it already numbers over a hundred neat, well ordered buildings. I rested there for three days, and found both people and governor to be polite and respectable. It was my good fortune to celebrate Mass there on Sunday June 23 [1827], and I had hardly begun when, to my great surprise, the room was filled up with Protestants. I had to extemporize a sermon, and while I spoke of the great value of salvation and pointed out how it was to be

secured, these people listened with reverence, and then remained until the end of the Holy Sacrifice. I felt I had satisfied their expectations."

Mrs. Van Brunt notes the building of the first and subsequent Catholic churches and the succession of priests until Father J. L. Hugon came in 1877; and during more than thirty years the frail little Frenchman made a unique place for himself in the life of Tallahassee. She writes: "He invariably wore dress boots, a frock coat, a derby hat, and was never without his cane . . . He was loved by Protestants and Catholics alike and freely mingled with both. One of his best friends was Judge J. T. Bernard a staunch Methodist. Both enjoyed smoking pipes, and many were the evenings they sat together and discussed affairs of state. Dr. W. H. Carter, who served as rector of the Episcopal church in Tallahassee for over thirty years, was another of Father Hugon's close friends."

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### *Tallahassee Rejoins the Union*

Mr. Roberts writes: "The surrender of General Joseph E. Johnston's Confederate forces. . . to General Sherman on April 26, 1865, seventeen days after General Lee's surrender at Appomatox, brought hostilities east of the Mississippi to a close as soon as the news could be transmitted through out the area affected. It found Major General Samuel Jones at Tallahassee in command of all Confederate troops in Florida; Brigadier Generals Israel Vogdes at Jacksonville, Alexander Asboth at Barrancas (Pensacola), and John Newton at Key West, in command of Federal forces, the last charged with the patrol of the gulf coast, and the first named covering the area which included Tallahassee . . . General Jones opened correspondence with General



Vogdes for the surrender of all Confederate forces in Florida . . . and had gone from his headquarters in Tallahassee for a personal conference on May 5 with the Federal commander at White House, ten miles west of Jacksonville. The latter wrote his Confederate adversary from Jacksonville : 'Rest assured I will do all in my power, should it be left to me, to make the arrangements such as are honorable to brave enemies and generous foes.' This brought from his own commanding officer Major General Gillmore: 'You will please confine your official correspondence with rebel officers to matters pertinent to the execution of the convention of surrender between Generals Sherman and Johnston, not forgetting that while we are to be humane toward surrendered enemies; these men are still rebels to whom forgiveness is an act of grace and not of justice.'

"With preparations practically completed for the surrender to General Vogdes of all Confederate troops in Florida, and their parole under the same terms granted to Lee and Johnston, Brigadier General Edward M. McCook, Federal cavalry officer, appeared somewhat unexpectedly in Tallahassee and received possession of the city and the surrender of General Jones and all of his command. . . . Leaving his men encamped about four miles north of the town, and accompanied only by his staff of five, he proceeded to the Florida capital during the afternoon of May 10. Our people were impressed, doubtless, both by his courage in coming into their midst practically unattended and by the silent evidence it bore that he trusted the good faith of his recent foes. . . . The leading citizens called to pay their respects and to assure him of the general desire of the people for peace and the restoration of Florida to its previous place in the Union of States.

"The national flag was raised above the state capitol during the afternoon, but without special ceremony." Mr. Roberts continues: "We have no record on the subject, but may assume that the last Confederate flag to float over the old brick state house had already been removed, reverently, by its defenders, and not left to be hauled down by those in whose eyes it was the emblem of treason. Two days later, Fort Ward, at St. Marks, was surrendered to one of McCook's officers, and the United States flag raised above it while a national salute was fired.

"On the day General McCook reached Tallahassee, he received from General Jones the surrender of all Confederate troops in Florida, approximately eight thousand in all, with military property, his own troops entering the city the following day. . . .

"Both General Vogdes and General Newton claimed the honor of receiving the surrender of Tallahassee and St. Marks. General Wilson, however, disregarded their claims, on the grounds the surrender had been accomplished before he received their protests, and exonerated General McCook, who had acted under his orders. . . .

"A serious problem was the negroes. Though peaceably disposed, the newly-enfranchised race showed an aversion to work and disclosed promptly an expectation that the government which had freed them from bondage would now maintain them in a style suitable to their new status. The harrassed officer requested instructions from headquarters in Macon, which advised him that they could not feed the negroes, and that all he could do was to send them away, letting them go back to their former masters or wherever they would; they were to be treated the same as white persons.

"On May 20 General McCook issued an order "for the information of those who did not seem to know

it," stating that the negroes were free by virtue of the President's proclamation, and that he had no authority to require them to go to work. The same day the national colors were raised over the capitol building to the thunder of one hundred guns. The white people of the city generally remained indoors while the fall of their late government was thus celebrated by the Federal soldiers and the newly-enfranchised blacks.

"These circumstances must have inspired Florida negroes, to the present time, to celebrate May 20 as 'Emancipation Day.' I can find no other reason," writes Mr. Roberts, "for observing this date in such a connection.

"Upon his return to Macon, three weeks after he took possession of Tallahassee, General McCook said, in part, in his report to headquarters: 'In my intercourse with the citizens and surrendered soldiers of this Florida Command I found only the most entire spirit of submission to my authority, and in the majority of instances an apparent cheerful acquiescence to the present order of things. The citizens expressed and apparently feel entire confidence in the magnanimity of the Government and its officers, and seemed to feel that our success had at last relieved them from the oppression they had so long suffered at the hands of the rebel authorities.' It is hardly necessary to comment that the general was using his own phraseology at this point.

"Continuing, he [Gen. McCook] says: 'Unless the present growing crops of this county are cultivated to maturity the people there, both black and white, will suffer for food. I had no collision with any of the authorities except the ecclesiastical. The pastor of the Episcopal church in his public service omitted the customary prayer for the President of

the United States. I thought it my duty to christianize him, if possible, and succeeded in convincing him of the error of his way by a communication, a copy of which I have the honor to enclose. He prayed for the President that afternoon. . . !”

Mr. Roberts considers that General McCook, both personally and officially, got along well with the authorities, both state and local “and to have helped them and accepted their cooperation as fully as permitted by higher authority. He was clearly sympathetic with Governor Allison’s appointment of commissioners to Washington, and with his call for a special session of the Legislature. It was higher authority that nullified the call for the legislative session and ordered the arrest of Governor Allison, ex-Senator Yulee, and other Confederate leaders, on charges of treason. In fact, it was not until after McCook had left the state that these arrests were made.

“General McCook spent less than three weeks in Tallahassee, and in the main he handled a difficult situation considerately, wisely and well. Whatever may have happened after his departure is no part of this narrative.”

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#### *George Pettus Raney 1845-1911*

The lives of few Floridians have been so closely connected—even intertwined—with the life of the state government for so long a period as has Judge Raney’s. He was the first native to become chief justice of the Supreme Court of Florida, having been born in Apalachicola on October 11, shortly after Florida’s admission to the Union in 1845.

Mr. Meginniss finds that at the age of eighteen he withdrew from the University of Virginia to enroll as a private in the Confederate army, in which

he served in Georgia and Florida. He says : "At the close of the war he returned to the University of Virginia where he was prepared for the practice of law. In 1867 he was admitted to the bar, commencing his practice at Apalachicola," from whence he was elected to the Legislature as representative in 1868, and there "assumed a leading role." He moved to Tallahassee where the remainder of his life was spent.

"In 1873 he was married to Elizabeth Lamar. . . . In 1876 he was a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee, and a nominee for presidential elector." In the noteworthy contest and election of that year "effectuating the release of Florida from carpetbag rule," Raney was chosen by candidate Drew as one of his three attorneys. The result was that the state Supreme Court, though Republican by two to one "unanimously rendered its decision in favor of the Democratic contention, and required the Canvassing Board to re-canvass the returns and declare the election of Governor George F. Drew."

A result was the appointment of Raney as attorney general in the Drew cabinet, and he was appointed again by Governor Bloxham.

Mr. Meginniss says: "Members of the bar and historians agree that no abler lawyer than Judge Raney has ever served the state."

In 1885 Raney was appointed an associate justice of the Supreme Court, and in 1888 he was elected one of the three justices. Thereupon he was chosen chief justice, and served as such until his resignation in 1894, when he was appointed attorney for the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund. "In 1898 he was elected representative to the Legislature from Leon County, and re-elected in 1900. In 1902 he was elected to the State

Senate, and served in the sessions of 1903 and 1905." He died in 1911.

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*Thomas Brown*

For near half a century after its final cession, none of Florida's most prominent men were natives, and almost without exception, all were well along in their careers before coming here. The most noteworthy case is that of Governor Branch, who, strange as it may seem, was an ex-governor of North Carolina.

Thomas Brown was one of these, for he had a versatile career before coming to Florida. He was then in his early forties, having been born October 24, 1785 in Virginia. Miss Lewis writes that after attending an academy at Charles Town and then one at Alexandria, he went to live with a Frenchman who carried on an extensive importing business where he not only learned the business but became fluent in the language. Fleeing from a yellow fever panic in Alexandria he returned to the Westmoreland county of his birth, where he "wrote in the clerk's office and read law." Then he became a post office clerk in Richmond and devised a crude arrangement for the delivery of mail there which became the present-day post office box. His health now called for an outdoor life, and he had just bought a place and began farming when war came. Volunteering forthwith he served around Washington and Alexandria in the War of 1812.

As a planter after the war he was elected to the General Assembly of Virginia for two terms. Later he made a trip to England, quite an experience in those days, and though he went for private reasons, he carried despatches from President Monroe to our ambassador at the Court of St. James's. Re-

turning he was nominated for Congress but lost the election.

Deciding to move to a new country, "in 1824" writes Miss Lewis "he started a party of sixty negroes and twenty young men who wished to adventure with him, to Florida. They arrived in Tallahassee about the close of the year, then just located in the wilderness. . . . There were but few plantations then, and the cotton on them of the preceding year was in January in blossom, sugar cane was green and growing luxuriantly, for there was no frost." He entered land on Lake Jackson and in March returned to Virginia.

Two years later he returned to Florida with his wife, six children, twenty-odd young men, 144 negroes, two carryalls, his family carriage and five saddle horses, commodious tents, marquees and camp fixtures, a quartermaster, paymaster, and a foraging party, who, with the quartermaster, went ahead every day to procure fresh supplies and select the camping ground, pitch the tents, make fires, and begin the cooking before the main party came up. They traveled slowly, from fifteen to twenty miles a day, and stopped at convenient places for two or three days to wash and rest, and never slept in a house during the whole journey of sixty days. Thomas Brown walked the whole distance at the head of his cavalcade, as an example to the young men who could not afford to have riding horses.

"They arrived at Lake Jackson January 8, 1828. This year he opened his plantation and planted corn. The next year he planted 130 acres in sugar cane, put up extensive sugar works, and had great expectations, when on the night of November 12 there was not only frost but a freeze that killed everything. In the next two years he learned that

Middle Florida, neither by climate nor soil, was a country for sugar as a staple crop.

"Finally he made up his mind to quit planting and leased the Planter's Hotel. On his Lake Jackson plantation some of his negro families cultivated corn, hay, etc., and raised stock and poultry. On another place he had a dairy. . . . He bought the square to the west of the capitol and erected the City Hotel."

Versatile in his activities as always, he established a brick yard as well as a race track, and was secretary and treasurer of the Tallahassee Jockey Club. Later he was teller of the Union bank for a time.

Going into politics again he held a number of local and state offices, among them auditor of the territory, president of the Legislative Council and was a member of the St. Joseph constitutional convention. After that he served several terms in the Council and the state Legislature.

From 1849 to 1853 he served as the state's second governor. Miss Lewis writes: "In his message he recommended with particular earnestness the establishment of a system of public education, and the revival of the spirit of enterprise, so long held in restraint by the prejudice against corporations. . . . He suggested the creation of a Board of Internal Improvement, and a Board of Agriculture," and proposed the draining of the Everglades.

He died in Tallahassee on August 24, 1867.

#### *Other Papers*

A number of other papers read before the Tallahassee Historical Society which have not been published are listed as an appendix in *Apalachee*. These are:



Kathryn T. Abbey, *Blockade Running off the Florida Coast During the War Between the States*

Mrs. Jeffrey Allfriend, *The Lost Colony*

W. T. Cash, *An Account of Some Attempts to Move the State Capital*

Dorothy Van Brunt, *Excerpts from Early Copies of the Weekly True Democrat*

Lulu Dee Appleyard, *Plantation Life in Middle Florida, 1831-1845*

George Couper Gibbs, *Spanish Missions in Florida and California*

Mildred W. McCullough, *Florida Railroads from Territorial Days to 1897*

Mabel B. Hodgson, *The Old Plank Road*

Edward Conradi, *Memories of Florida State College for Women*

Daisy Parker, *The Apalachicola Land Company*

Dorothy Dodd, *The Cromartie Letters*

Henry E. Palmer, *Letters of Captain Bryan, C.S.A.*

W. T. Cash, *Dead Towns in the Vicinity of Tallahassee*

Albert Hubbard Roberts, *Francis Eppes Harris*

R. L. Goulding, *The Development of Teacher Training in Florida*

## PIONEER FLORIDA (IV)

by T. FREDERICK DAVIS

### THE BEGINNING OF TAMPA

General Andrew Jackson was responsible for the failure of the first purposed community settlement of whites in the Tampa region. It came about in this way:

General Gregor MacGregor, a Scotchman, who had been associated with Bolivar in the South American revolutions, conceived the idea of also liberating the Floridas from Spanish rule. In 1817, he collected a force recruited largely from adventurers hanging loose upon the society of the United States, made a descent upon the island of Amelia in northeast Florida and captured it in June, 1817. He held on for several months, when, his situation becoming precarious and foreseeing disaster, he abandoned the enterprise and decamped, to try again from another point.

MacGregor went to Nassau, Bahamas, where he hoped to collect a force recruited from British veterans of the War of 1812, to be reinforced by a body of Indians enlisted in Florida, and with this "army" he intended to make another attempt to liquidate Spain's interest in Florida. At Nassau, MacGregor met with considerable encouragement. His plan was to establish a settlement at Tampa Bay, march thence across the peninsula and attack St. Augustine, with the capture of which he would consider the conquest of East Florida complete, and rightly so.

Early in 1818, MacGregor sent an ex-British officer, Robert Chrystie Armbrister (spelled Ambrister in the American records) to select a site for the settlement at Tampa Bay and secure enlistments for the contemplated Indian contingent. Armbrister

landed at Tampa Bay, then proceeded to the region of St. Marks where many Indians friendly to the British in the War of 1812 resided.

Simultaneously, but coincidentally, General Andrew Jackson swept into Middle Florida with his American army, to punish the Indians for alleged depredations along the southern frontiers of the United States and other nuisances-inappropriately called in history the First Seminole War. Not knowing the whereabouts of Jackson's army, Armbrister stumbled into the American camp on the Suwanee river one night and was taken prisoner. He was sent to St. Marks, where he was later tried by a military court on charges of aiding and abetting the Indians against the *United States*, convicted, and shot by a firing squad. With the execution of Armbrister, MacGregor's plans against Spanish Florida were abandoned along with the purposed town at Tampa Bay.

The MacGregor and Jackson invasions" were the culmination of a long series of events through which Florida slipped from Spain into the possession of the United States. The treaty with Spain ceding East and West Florida was dated February 22, 1819, but it was not until July, 1821, that the United States took formal possession. During the interval many questions arose concerning Florida, among them a movement for the annexation of West Florida to Alabama, the western boundary of Florida to be the Apalachicola river instead of the Perdido as formerly. The sentiment for annexation became so strong in certain quarters that its accomplishment was deemed certain. Even the location of a capital

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\* For further details and references see: on MacGregor, T. Frederick Davis, "MacGregor's Invasion of Florida," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, VII, 3-7; on Jackson's invasion, *Niles' Weekly Register* of the period, and *American State Papers*.

for the new Florida began to be considered. In this particular a site on Tampa Bay was foreseen by the editor of the influential *Niles' Weekly Register*, in the issue of March 24, 1821:

"Florida, in every respect, is a valuable acquisition to us. It *may* cause a considerable revolution in things, domestic and foreign. It opens to us a large tract of country, capable of furnishing immense supplies of cotton, sugar, rice, and perhaps coffee and cocoa, and the olive, all which, it may be expected, will be fully tried on an extensive scale, by new adventurers in those, at present, rich commodities-the product of these will have a domestic effect, as well as that which may be caused by considerable disbursements by government at Pensacola and probably at Hillsborough bay, or Tampa bay, or Espiritu Santo bay, as a place on the west side of the peninsula is called, which will, mostly likely, become the seat of government; for we presume that what is now called West Florida will be added to the state of Alabama, to which it seems rightfully to appertain."

Again, June 30, 1821, the editor of the *Register* expressed himself upon the importance of Tampa Bay: "From what we hear of Tampa bay, though its shores are not now inhabited, it will probably contest with Pensacola the honor of being ultimately fixed upon as the southern naval depot of the United States. The bay is said to be easier of access and to have more water than that of Pensacola ; the neighboring country is fertile and abounds with live oak [valued for use in the construction of ships]-and a short canal will unite the bay with the great river St. Johns." Note this early reference to a cross-peninsular canal.

The division of Florida was not approved by Congress and the naval station did not materialize; but

Tampa Bay was soon to claim the establishment of an important military post known as Cantonment Brooke, later called Fort Brooke, named in honor of its first commanding officer, Colonel George M. Brooke, U.S.A.

No record has been found indicating the precise date on which the erection of Cantonment Brooke was commenced. Presumably orders were issued late in 1823 for its establishment, judging from a note in the *St. Augustine East Florida Herald* of January 10, 1824, quoting the *Pensacola Floridian* of recent date: "We understand that Col. Brooke, of the 4th Infantry, has received orders requiring four companies of that regiment to proceed to Tampa bay, where they are immediately to commence building quarters. The Companies of Captains Dade, -----, and Brady, it is said, are detailed for this purpose, and they will probably set out [from Pensacola] in a few weeks under the command of Col. Brooke."

In its issue of March 20, 1824, the *Herald* announced: "A military post (which in honor of its distinguished commander has been named Cantonment Brooke) has been established near the mouth of the North Hillsborough river. . . . The site was selected with a view to a vigilant eye over the Indians of the South; and for the protection of those emigrants who may be tempted to try their fortunes in those milder latitudes."

From these items it seems certain that Cantonment Brooke was begun and completed in its original setup within the period between the first of January and the middle of March, 1824.

At the time of the establishment of Cantonment Brooke, there was no bona fide Anglo-American settler in the vicinity. The region was inhabited by Indians who vividly remembered the drubbing given

them by General Andrew Jackson in Middle Florida in the spring of 1818 ; as a rule they were not friendly towards Americans, and such settlers of a permanent type were loath to brave the dangers without military protection. The publicity previously given the region may have induced some investigation by individuals, but they did not remain. In fact, it does not appear that any white person was ever a long-time resident at or in the immediate vicinity of the site on which Cantonment Brooke was located prior to the establishment of that post. With military protection provided, most likely the first private enterprise to appear was a sutler's store in the shadow of the post. There was no mass emigration of civilians to the vicinity at this time. They came one by one and took up abode. Slowly a civilian community grew up near the cantonment. This was the beginning of the present city of Tampa.

Contemporaneous accounts of the life at Cantonment Brooke in its early years are scant. It was a typical frontier post far removed from established centers of civil life and therefore dependent upon its own exertions to furnish pastime and recreation. Colonel Brooke (brevet brigadier-general in September, 1824) had his family with him ; likewise some of the other officers perhaps, but these were few. It is consequently safe to presume that in the absence of a considerable number of women such entertainment as broke the humdrum existence was of the nature known as "manly" sports. Good fishing was near at hand. No doubt sailing on the bay, with an occasional boat race, was a pastime. But we have an account of one event that bears the earmarks of great excitement. It was three days of horse racing at Cantonment Brooke, starting 15th of March, 1826. As described in the *Pensacola Gazette* of April 15, 1826:

“First day: Mr. Page’s horse *Bacchus*, Mr. McCall’s horse *Packingham*, and Captain Dade’s horse *Richard the Third*, were entered for the three mile heats-won by *Bacchus* in two heats, which were well contested.

“Second day: Captain Yancey’s horse *Uncle Sam*, Mr. Collin’s horse *Beppo*, and Mr. Morris’ horse *Bob Logic*, were entered for the two mile heats. First heat beaten by *Beppo*. The superior bottom of *Uncle Sam* gained him the second and third.

“Third day: Mr. Page’s colt *Keep Coming*, and Mr. Collin’s colt *Go It*, were entered for a single mile. This race was handsomely run on both sides, and was beaten by *Go It* a half neck only.”

As *Go It* and *Keep Coming* raced neck and neck down the final lap that day we can easily sense the excitement of the spectators-soldiers, a sprinkling of civilians, and perhaps a few Indians. This was probably the first “derby” held in Florida; that it was clean sport we have no reason to doubt.

"THE SOUTHERN BRIGADE . . . 1763-1775"

by **CHARLES L. MOWAT**

in *The Journal of Southern History*

The British colonies of East and West Florida differed from their thirteen cousins in so many ways, as evidenced especially in the outcome of the American Revolution, that their close relationship to the thirteen in the mind of the British government is seldom realized. For two decades they were an integral part and the important left flank of the British empire in America, without the possession and security of which, as any military man will hold, it were unwise to advance.

So Dr. Mowat's article, "The Southern Brigade : A Sidelight on the British Military Establishment in America, 1763-1775," in *The Journal of Southern History*, the issue of April last, is of both Florida and general interest.

For background Professor Mowat writes: "The decision taken at the end of the Seven Years' War to maintain in peace time a permanent military establishment of ten thousand regular troops in North America was one of the most important ever made by the British government affecting the American colonies. Its general effect, of course, was to arouse in the colonists a fear, at least in part justified, of military domination. . . . It was, in fact, part of a much larger program to establish imperial authority over the colonial governments by taking away from the latter control over Indian affairs and western lands . . . and to bring other functions under imperial control, exercised through officials appointed for two districts, the Northern and the Southern. This program at once brought into question, the constitutional relations of colonies and the mother country. . . ."



“The Southern district effectively comprised only the province of West Florida (which included the lower Mississippi country), though it was intended to include East Florida also. The troops in it were referred to as the Southern Brigade, and at least once as the Florida Brigade. The normal complement comprised two regiments in West Florida (at Pensacola, Mobile, and outposts), and one in East Florida.

Colonel Henry Bouquet was appointed military commander of the district as brigadier general, but died a few days after his arrival at headquarters in Pensacola; and the position of acting brigadier fell to Colonel William Tayler, then the commanding officer at St. Augustine. Tayler at once transferred his headquarters to Pensacola, and remained there until superseded in March 1767 by Colonel Frederick Haldimand, who had received his appointment in January 1766. He remained in command of the Southern district until 1773.”

Professor Mowat continues: “The entire imperial policy inaugurated in 1763 regarding western lands, Indian relations, and the military establishment, was reconsidered [in 1768]. The resultant changes in the Southern district included the removal of headquarters from Pensacola to St. Augustine, and the concentration of the main military strength in the South at the latter place, at the expense of West Florida’s military importance. . . . The detachments stationed at Bermuda and New Providence were to be withdrawn to St. Augustine, the West Florida posts of Natchez and Fort Bute abandoned, and Pensacola and Mobile garrisoned by three companies; the remainder of the troops in West Florida were to embark for St. Augustine. This meant that three regiments would be stationed

at St. Augustine, with three companies detached for West Florida.

"Man and nature combined to defeat the plan. Haldimand had great difficulty in taking up transports . . . several of which came to grief . . . and the last detachment did not reach St. Augustine till March 1769. Moreover, the 21st Regiment did not stay long in St. Augustine, for its commanding officer, finding that his men would be obliged to encamp in damaged tents on the site of the new barracks, moved on to Charleston.

"Haldimand himself took his time in transferring the headquarters of the Southern brigade. Eventually he made the journey to St. Augustine by land arriving there before the end of April 1769. He stayed there for almost exactly a year before returning to Pensacola. He bought a farm near the town which he called *Mon Plaisir*, and evidently liked his new headquarters.

"Even during Haldimand's brief stay St. Augustine never had its intended three regiments . . . . By the end of November 1769 the garrison was the 21st Regiment and six companies of the 31st.

"Meanwhile, events had occurred which upset the new disposition and threatened the military ascendancy of St. Augustine . . . As a result of an insurrection by the French population of New Orleans against Spanish rule which occurred in 1768, the Spaniards had sent a new governor, Alexandro O'Reilly, to Louisiana with 3,500 regular troops, a force which seemed too large for the purpose merely of giving the province protection. As a result West Florida was strengthened by an additional regiment, sent direct from New York to Pensacola early in 1770. At the same time Haldimand was ordered to move his headquarters back to Pensacola, which he reached on May 15. The building of new

barracks at St. Augustine for the enlarged garrison was suspended, and the military importance of the town eclipsed.

"Forces were at work, however, to restore a part of St. Augustine's military prestige. Governor Grant wrote in vigorous terms to Gage and Hillsborough describing the growing prosperity of his province and asking for another regiment. The fact that by this time various powerful persons had obtained land grants in East Florida and had sent over agents to begin settlements probably increased the pressure on the government to reconsider the matter. . . . The result was that Gage informed Haldimand in August 1770 that it was the King's pleasure that two regiments of the 'Florida Brigade' should be stationed in St. Augustine, and the third in West Florida. Headquarters, however, remained at Pensacola. This brought the resumption of the building of barracks at St. Augustine, but the plan was not completely carried out. . . .

"When war invaded the South the forces in the two Floridas were strengthened and under Colonel Augustine Prevost the weakly-pressed American invasions of loyalist East Florida from Georgia were repulsed and a counter-invasion of Georgia, in support of the expedition sent from New York by sea was carried out. Meanwhile West Florida had fallen to Spanish forces operating from New Orleans in a campaign lasting from 1779 to 1781, when Pensacola capitulated. The command in these years was held by another brigadier general, Lieutenant Colonel John Campbell.

"Finally, in January 1783, when St. Augustine and the northeast corner of Florida were crowded with refugees from Savannah and Charleston, the officer left in command at St. Augustine, Lieutenant Colonel Archibald McArthur, was given the rank

of brigadier general in command of the Southern district. With his departure for the Bahamas in August 1784, at the time of the British evacuation of East Florida and the re-establishment of Spanish government, the last vestige of the Southern Brigade and the Southern district in the British military establishment disappeared. With the exception of the 'Western Posts' East Florida was the last piece of territory within the present limit of the continental United States to be evacuated by the British after the Revolutionary War; and with its evacuation, not only the Southern Brigade but the last relic, south of the Canadian border, of the military establishment so hopefully begun in 1763 passed into the limbo of forgotten things."

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE ANNUAL MEETING

*St. Augustine, April 27*

10:00 a.m. Business session in the Florida Historical Society library

12:30 p.m. Luncheon in the old Spanish Treasury building

Address by C. Ray Vinten, "Conservation and Preservation of Historic Sites"\*  
Mr. Vinten is coordinating superintendent, Southeastern National Monuments, National Park Service.

J. Tyler Van Campen, of the St. Augustine Historical Society : A comprehensive view of post-war plans of that organization.

2:30 p.m. Exhibit at the St. Augustine Historical Society library

3:15 p.m. Visit to Castillo de San Marcos

4 to 8 p.m. Boat ride up North river with dinner served aboard the boat.

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MINUTES OF THE FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

President Gaines R. Wilson called the meeting to order at 11:15 a. m. Since attending members were registered, roll call was dispensed with. There being a quorum present, the meeting continued.

Mr. Wilson expressed the appreciation of the Society to Mr. X. L. Pellicer of St. Augustine and his committee on arrangements, and to Mr. Lamar Harmon, City Manager of St. Augustine, for his courtesy in providing chairs for the membership at the meeting. Mr. Wilson also conveyed to the So-

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\* Mr. Vinten's address will appear in an early number of the *Quarterly*.

**ANNUAL MEETING**

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ciety the regrets of certain officers and members who were unable to be present: Dr. John J. Tigert, President of the University of Florida, Mr. J. T. Watson, Mrs. Millar Wilson, Mrs. Roger Babson, and Miss Daisy Parker.

Mr. Wilson made his report as President of the Society.

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**REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT**

Your officers and Board have been in office during the second year since our country's declaration of war. From an earlier policy of trying to conserve the Society's interest and attendant fear of loss of membership, we have been able to change to a more active policy of furthering the work of the Society, not only with an increase in membership, but also in formulating definite post-war plans. The coming year should see the acquiring here in St. Augustine of a permanent library, archives and museum building, and the renewal of a publications program in the field of moderately priced volumes and papers. Our opportunities and obligations are great, and we must anticipate a steady increase in the usefulness and growth of the Society.

I had not known until I looked over Mrs. Johnson's monthly reports of the large number of visitors and research students from many states who come to the library for information; while there is quite a correspondence, chiefly in letters of inquiry for historical data. This is one of our fields of greater usefulness.

I should like to express again my personal appreciation, as well as the Society's, of Mrs. Johnson's excellent work here at the library. I also wish to thank the officers and directors and members in assisting so definitely in securing new members for the Society, which has been largely responsible for

our increase in membership over last year. And for myself and the Society, I wish to thank particularly Mr. X. L. Pellicer as chairman of the Committee on Arrangements and Program, Mr. Albert C. Manucy and Mrs. Alberta Johnson for their efforts in making possible this meeting in St. Augustine.

GAINES R. WILSON, *President.*

April 27, 1944

Mr. Albert Manucy read the report of the Treasurer.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER  
(As of March 1, 1944)

<i>General Fund</i>			
Balance March 1, 1943 . . . . .		\$ 354.18	
Receipts :			
Dues . . . . .	\$1,352.74		
Quarterlies sold . . . . .	83.83		
Accommodations . . . . .	82.80		
Gifts . . . . .	6.00		
Typewriter sold . . . . .	36.17		
Cash on hand Mar. 1, 1943 (postage) . . . . .	12.68	1,574.22	1,928.40
Expenditures :			
Salary . . . . .	\$ 960.00		
Accommodations . . . . .	82.80		
Other expenses (inc. insurance) ..	392.25		
	\$ 1,435.05		
Balance, March 1, 1944 .....	493.35		\$1,928.40
<i>State of Florida Fund:</i>			
Balance March 1, 1943 .....		\$ 363.61	
Receipts . . . . .		1,800.00	\$2,163.61
Expenditures :			
Florida Historical Quarterly, 5 numbers . . . . .	\$1,103.95		
Rent . . . . .	300.00		
	\$1,403.95		
Balance, March 1, 1944 .....	759.66		\$2,163.61
<i>Other funds:</i>			
Robertson Memorial Fund			
Balance, March 1, 1943 .....		\$ 4.00	
Balance, March 1, 1944 .....			\$ 4.00
<i>Life Membership Fund:</i>			

## ANNUAL MEETING

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Balance, March 1, 1943 .....	\$ 200.00		
Receipts .....	100.00	300.00	
Balance, March 1, 1944 .....			\$ 300.00
Archeology Fund :			
Balance, March 1, 1943 .....	\$ 89.50		
Receipts .....	47.00	\$ 136.50	
Expenditures .....	110.72		
Balance, March 1, 1944 .....	25.78		136.50
Building Fund :			
Balance, March 1, 1943 .....	25.00		
Receipts :			
3 war bonds (value when converted) .....	75.00		
<i>Consolidated statement:</i>			
Balance, March 1, 1943 .....		\$1,036.29	
Total receipts .....		3,508.54	
Cash on hand (postage account March 1, 1943) .....		12.68	\$4557.51
Total expenditures .....		\$2,949.72	
Balance, March 1, 1944 .....		1,607.79	\$4,557.51
Balances :			
General Fund .....	\$ 493.35		
State of Florida Fund .....	759.66		
Archeology Fund .....	25.78		
Robertson Mem. Fund .....	4.60		
Life Membership Fund .....	300.00		
Building Fund .....	25.00		
		\$1,607.79	
Memo.			
3 war bonds val. \$75.00			
(To be entered as cash when converted)			

Mrs. Alberta Johnson, Acting Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, read her reports on membership and accessions.

## LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

For the year March 1943-March 1944

To the officers and members of the Florida Historical Society: This year has been a busy one. An increasing number of requests for historical data have been received, many of these entailing extensive research, and much time in compiling and typing notes. These inquiries cover a wide range of subjects relating to Florida history and come from



historians, writers, college and high school students in various sections of the country;

More than 500 letters have been written during the year.

Many valuable donations to the library have come in during the year, too many to enumerate here. Three valuable scrapbooks have been donated—one from the State D.A.R.; a portfolio of published letters of F. R. Stebbins, Adrian, Mich., who had spent eight winters between 1878 and 1888 cruising along the St. Johns river and as far south as Lake Worth. Another treasured scrapbook was started by Mrs. G. A. Pratt, in 1841, at Tallahassee. This was presented by Mr. W. A. Pratt, Lake Worth, who has also, among other items, contributed several old Palatka newspapers.

An autographed copy of the recently published "The Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider," by Dr. Charles T. Thrift, and "The St. Johns" and "The Letters of Don Juan McQueen" were also valued gifts.

The sale of back numbers of *Florida Historical Quarterly* has been the largest in some years; these include four files, as complete as we can supply, to out-of-state libraries.

The attention of the officers and members of the Society is called to the need of additional library equipment—a filing cabinet and a metal drawer file for our valuable map collection. Possibly, the Society can acquire these after the war, when, no doubt, the government will release many of such items not now available. It is something for us to keep in mind.

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The President next called upon Professor A. J. Hanna of Rollins College for a report on the activities of the archeology committee. Mr. Hanna cited

## ANNUAL MEETING

the reprint of Frederick W. Sleight's article on Florida archeology, from *American Antiquities*, stating that the reprints were now available for distribution at the discretion of the board of directors. Professor Hanna further reported that work on the Florida archeology bibliography has been completed and is ready for post-war publication.

Dr. Kathryn Abbey Hanna of Winter Park made the report of the Library Committee, in the absence of Mrs. William C. Bowers, of Winter Park, Chairman, who was unable to be present.

Mr. Wilson reported upon efforts to increase membership in the Society, saying that considerable success developed from efforts of the directors to obtain new members in their respective districts.

Mr. X. L. Pellicer, of St. Augustine, asked to comment upon the work of the committee for cooperation with the St. Augustine Historical Program, said that no new developments had occurred. He said, however, that he would take the occasion to review the program of the Society for the day: At 12:30 p. m. the Society luncheon was to take place at the Spanish Treasury, with Judge David R. Dunham, President of the St. Augustine Historical Society, as toastmaster. Speakers were to be Mr. C. Ray Vinten, Coordinating Superintendent of the Southeastern National Monuments of the National Park Service, whose subject was "Conservation of the Historical Resources of Florida", and Mr. J. Tyler Van Campen, Librarian of the St. Augustine Historical Society, who was to read a paper on "Post-war Plans of the St. Augustine Historical Society." Following the luncheon there would be a trip to the Library of the St. Augustine Historical Society to view an exhibit of oil portraits of members of old St. Augustine families. These portraits were done by Philip A. Sawyer from old pictures and photo-

graphs of the now long deceased subjects. The project was conceived and directed by Mrs. E. W. Lawson, Acting Librarian of the St. Augustine Society. Following the visit to the Library, the group was to adjourn to Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, for an illustrated talk on the building of the Castillo, made by historical technician Albert Manucy. At 4 p. m. a boat ride up North River was scheduled, with supper aboard.

Mr. Hanna reported for Mrs. F. B. Crowninshield, of Boca Grande, chairman of the committee on preservation of landmarks.

Under the heading of unfinished business, President Wilson called for a discussion leading to plans for establishment of a permanent home for the Society. He stated that the consensus was that St. Augustine should be the home city, but that lease of the present building used for headquarters and library was soon to expire, and steps should be taken to provide permanent housing. Past discussion had developed the idea of purchasing a site and erecting a new building thereon, but the more recent idea appeared to be that some historic building in St. Augustine might be acquired and adapted for the purpose. Restoration of a historic building would be of considerable significance, fitting closely into the plans of the St. Augustine Historical Program for preservation and restoration of important landmarks. Further, said Mr. Wilson, remodelling might be much less expensive than new building, provided a suitable old structure could be found.

Miss Emily L. Wilson of St. Augustine suggested the Graham House in St. Augustine as an eminently suitable historic house, large enough to meet the needs of the Society, and in excellent condition.

Dr. Carita Doggett Corse of Jacksonville moved that the President appoint a committee to in-

investigate the possibilities of securing a historic house for the St. Augustine home of the Society. Mrs. Evelyn S. Vaill of St. Augustine seconded. The motion carried.

The President called upon Mr. Karl A. Bickel of Sarasota, who pointed out the urgent need for providing adequate protection for historical library possessions in perpetuity. This need calls for a solid, permanent structure. Possessing such a structure would also no doubt increase interest of the membership in the Society. Professor Hanna endorsed Mr. Bickel's remarks, and stressed such a headquarters as an aid in the extension of the work of the Society. Professor Hanna also mentioned the "War Bonds for Building" plan as a way in which members and friends can contribute now toward the realization of the permanent home.

After discussing the difficulties encountered by the President and officers in making arrangements for the current Annual Meeting of the Society due to wartime travel restrictions, Professor Hanna moved that during the war or until conditions change, Annual Meetings be held in St. Augustine. Dr. Corse seconded. The motion carried.

Professor Hanna made the report of the nominations committee:

Philip S. May, Jacksonville, president.

Major John B. Stetson, Jr., U.S.M.C., first vice-president.

Karl A. Bickel, Sarasota, second vice-president.

Albert C. Manucy, St. Augustine, recording secretary and treasurer.

Watt P. Marchman, U.S.A. (on leave), corresponding secretary and librarian.

Mrs. Alberta Johnson, St. Augustine, acting corresponding secretary and librarian.

Kenneth I. McKay, Tampa, director, 1st congressional district.

John R. Davis, Jr., Tallahassee, director, 3rd congressional district.

Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson, Miami, director, 4th congressional district.

Miss Dena Snodgrass, Orlando, director, 5th congressional district.

X. L. Pellicer, St. Augustine, director-at-large.

Nominations Committee for 1945 election:

Dena Snodgrass, Orlando, chairman.

Gaines R. Wilson, Miami.

Daisy Parker, Tallahassee.

William H. Jackson, Tampa.

Herbert Lamson, Jacksonville.

Mrs. Henry Kohl, Palm Beach.

Professor Hanna moved the acceptance of the report, the close of nominations, and that the secretary cast the ballot for the nominees. It was seconded. There was no discussion. The motion carried, and it was so done.

Mr. Gordon Reeves of Jacksonville suggested that the Society make an effort to collect color photographs of Florida historic sites and landmarks. After some discussion,

Mr. Pellicer moved that the matter be referred to the board of directors for action. Professor Hanna seconded. It was carried.

Mrs. Lawson spoke on the need for collecting any sort of historical pictorial material relating to Florida. She went on to say that pictorial material relating to St. Augustine was plentiful and securely preserved, but material for the remainder of the state was difficult to find. Professor Hanna suggested that possibly money for the purpose of making record photographs might be secured through cooperation with local chambers of commerce, such

record pictures to be taken under the supervision of the Society.

Mr. Pellicer moved approval of the minutes of the 41st Annual Meeting as published in the *Quarterly*. It was seconded and carried.

Miss Emily L. Wilson of St. Augustine made reference to the index of the St. Johns county court records, compiled by the Historical Records Survey, stating that the importance of the records to Florida history, and their widespread use by Florida historians indicated that the Society could perform a useful service by preparing additional mimeograph copies of the index. At present only three copies of the index are available. The President directed that a memorandum of this matter be placed on the agenda for the next board meeting.

Dr. Kathryn Abbey Hanna reminded the Society that 1945 is Florida's centennial as a state. She reported that some years ago the State Legislature had appropriated funds for the purpose of commemorating this centennial, and it is likely that some sort of centennial celebration may be held. She discussed the work of various agencies which may contribute to such an occasion, and suggested that the Florida Historical Society should take an active part in developing plans for any observances of the centennial. She further suggested that at least part of the Society's action should consist of close cooperation with the State Library Board, and that the 43rd Annual Meeting might take place on the day of Florida's admission to statehood, March 3. Mr. Pellicer recommended the appointment of a strong committee to plan for the commemoration.

Mr. Hanna moved that Mr. Karl Bickel be appointed chairman of a committee to work out plans leading toward commemoration of the

centennial of the State of Florida. It was seconded, and carried.

Dr. Corse moved adjournment. It was seconded and carried.

Respectfully submitted,

ALBERT C. MANUCY,  
Recording Secretary

Approved:

GAINES R. WILSON  
President  
\* \* \*

#### A MEETING OF THE DIRECTORS

A called meeting of the directors of the Society was held in the library on June 4, with six directors present. President Philip S. May and Mr. Richard P. Daniel came from Jacksonville, Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson from her home in Osceola county, Miss Snodgrass from Orlando, and Mr. Pellicer and Mr. Manucy live in St. Augustine. Mrs. Johnson attended in Mr. Marchman's place.

A number of matters were discussed and plans made, including the celebration of Florida's centennial next year. The other matters will be taken up with the members as the plans mature.

Approval was given of the appointment by the president of Mr. T. Ralph Robinson of Terra Ceia as director from the new sixth district.

The Panton, Leslie papers, the gift of Mrs. Heloise Cruzat, which have recently reached the library, were examined, and a letter of appreciation and thanks was sent to Miss Elizabeth Howard West for her skilful work in assorting and arranging these hundreds of documents. A brief description of them will be included in an early issue of the *Quarterly*.

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Alexander James Wall, director of the New York Historical Society, died on April 15. For a num-

ber of years he was a member of our Society and took a helpful interest in our activities. Four years ago he came from New York to read a paper on Buckingham Smith at one of our meetings.

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**NEW MEMBERS OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
SINCE THE LAST ISSUE OF THE QUARTERLY**

John H. Morice, Palm Beach  
H. G. Holland, Leesburg  
Maryse E. Dale, Plant City  
G. F. Scott, Lakeland  
E. J. Pendergrass, Tallahassee  
D. A. Harrell, Eau Gallie  
S. Allen Clark, Lakeland  
Charles M. Moon, Miami  
Mrs. Waldo E. Cummer, Jacksonville  
T. J. Geiger, Wellborn  
Lawrence M. Foster, Tuscaloosa, Ala.  
Mrs. Maxfield Parrish, Windsor, Vt.  
Mrs. A. S. Houghton, Coconut Grove (contributing)  
John H. Davis, Jr., Tallahassee  
Mrs. John Fifield, St. Augustine  
Mrs. Herbert M. Fillebrown, Daytona Beach  
Mrs. Edith M. James, Jacksonville  
Henry Brewer, Ishpeming, Mich.  
James R. Boyd, Jr., Jacksonville  
Florence Fritz, Fort Myers  
Lt. A. W. Diddle, Key West

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**BACK NUMBERS OF THE QUARTERLY**

Our library is in need of back numbers of the Quarterly; in some cases for our own use, and in others for certain public libraries wishing to complete their files. The Society would be glad to pay the full price for any of those listed below, and in some cases a premium.



Forty-eight public and institutional libraries in Florida are members of the Society, hence receive the *Quarterly* and are preserving files.

Twenty-seven other public and institutional libraries throughout the country subscribe to the *Quarterly* and preserve files.

In addition fifty-three libraries and historical publications (some of them aboard) exchange with our *Quarterly*.

Some libraries in each class wish to complete their files, so it is for them as well as for ourselves we are asking the cooperation of our members in sending in any back issues which they are willing to sell or donate.

It is impossible to determine the future needs for any issue before it goes to press, but for a number of years we have printed approximately one hundred copies of each issue beyond known needs. Yet some of these issues are exhausted, hence the present effort to secure certain ones.

For our own library we want copies of any issue from

1924 through July 1929  
also 1932 July  
1935 July  
1937 Jan.  
1941 Oct.

For other libraries we want all of the above, and also:

1930 Jan.  
1931 Jan., April  
1933 July, Oct.  
1936 July  
1940 July  
1942 April

In selling or donating any of these you would be helping the cause of our State's history.