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## Colonial Pensacola: The British Period. Part I

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## COLONIAL PENSACOLA : THE BRITISH PERIOD

BY CLINTON N. HOWARD

### Part I \*

Pensacola came to Great Britain as a part of the cessions of Spain at the close of the Seven Years war.<sup>1</sup> The treaty of Paris which closed that war and incorporated the cession of Pensacola and all of Florida in its provisions was a turning point in the history of the British empire and of North America. The counterpart of the cession of Florida to Britain and the return of Havana to Spain was the cession of eastern Louisiana by France to Britain; and the relative value of the interior of the North American continent as compared with the Caribbean, "the American Mediterranean," is seen in the offer of France to cede western as well as eastern Louisiana to Britain if the latter power would return Havana to Spain.<sup>2</sup>

The fact, however, that West Florida, when it was set up as a colony lay west of the Apalachian Mountains proved more important in the next hundred years than that Pensacola and Mobile were British and later American ports of entry and exit into the gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean. While the gulf and Caribbean declined in importance for various

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\*This series of three papers is in continuation of Professor Howard's *The Military Occupation of British West Florida, 1763*, and his *Governor Johnstone in West Florida*, published in this *Quarterly*, the issues of January and April 1939. Part II will cover the administrations of Lieut. Gov. Brown, Gov. Eliot, and Lieut. Gov. Durnford, 1767-1770. Part III will be on Gov. Chester's administration, 1770-1781.

1. ". . . and deliver up the Province of Florida . . . and the exile place of St. Miguel de Pensacola." Copy of translation of an order from the Court of Spain to the Governor of Pensacola, *P.R.O., C.O.* 117 : 1, p. 273.
2. William R. Shepherd, "The Cession of Louisiana to Spain, 1763," *Political Science Quarterly*, XIX, No. 4 (1904), 448-449.

reasons between 1763 and 1833 the trans-Appalachian frontier and the trans-Mississippi west developed in importance and increasingly attracted British and European capital. The American westward movement was one of the problems of the imperial government on the eve of the revolution and has been rightly counted as one of the factors in the beginning of that revolution.<sup>3</sup> Its influence has caused the United States largely to ignore the Latin American countries until recently when the United States became a creditor nation seeking investments abroad. Since the World War there has been a revival of interest in the United States in the countries to the south, an interest which may conceivably hold for Pensacola something of the naval and mercantile importance which was anticipated for it in 1763.

In that year Pensacola was an old town. Its site, however, was only nine years old.<sup>4</sup> During the year 1763 Pensacola became British.<sup>5</sup> Elias Durnford, surveyor general for the province of West Florida, was directed by the governor and council to lay out the plan. Peter Joseph Hamilton reproduces a plan of the town which is dated 1765, which he assigns to Durnford.<sup>6</sup> Another plan, unsigned, dated 1766, is in the Library of Congress.<sup>7</sup> It was probably drawn by Durnford or one of his subordinates. Doubtless there are other early plans and drafts in existence.

3. Clarence W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 2 vols., Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1917.
4. Richard L. Campbell, "Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida." Cleveland, Ohio. 1892, 53.
5. Clinton N. Howard, "The Military Occupation of British West Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII, No. 3, 184-185.
6. *Colonial Mobile*, second edition, New York, 1910, facing p. 258. This edition is meant hereafter.
7. Woodbury Lowery, *The Lowery Collection. A Description of Maps of the Spanish possessions within the present limits of the United States, 1502-1820*. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912.

The first British reports on Pensacola and the surrounding country were sent to England by the officers in charge of the military occupation.<sup>8</sup> The town was a poor excuse for a settlement. It had been little more than a border post to guard against French encroachments from New Orleans and Mobile and, more recently, British incursions from Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia. Aside from this it had largely been used by the Spanish as a penal station for exiles from New Spain. The actual penal settlement was on Santa Rosa island.<sup>9</sup> There was apparently no mission at Pensacola and, possibly because of this, not much was accomplished in the Europeanization of the Indians.<sup>10</sup> The only Indians who had been effectively Christianized as a group were the smaller tribe of the Yamasee.<sup>11</sup> They sold their lands to an English speculator and retired with the Spanish troops to New Spain when the British troops occupied Pensacola.<sup>12</sup> The greater tribes were reserved, if not unfriendly, in their attitude.<sup>13</sup>

8. Prevost's report, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 1763-66, *English Dominion*, Ed. Dunbar Rowland, Volume I, Nashville, Tenn., Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1911, pp. 136-137; "Journal of an Officer's [Lord Adam Gordon's] Travels in America and the West Indies, 1764-65," in *Travels in the American Colonies*, Ed. Newton D. Mereness, New York, 1916; *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775*, Ed. Clarence Edwin Carter, 2 volumes, Yale Univ. Press, 1931-34; *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 582, 632; and Colonel James Robertson's report of March 8, 1763. Unfortunately this is available in full only in the Public Record Office. Captain Philip Pittman, "The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi." London, 1770. (reprinted) Cleveland, Ohio, 1906. 24-26.
9. Wilbur H. Siebert, "How the Spaniards Evacuated Pensacola in 1763," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XI, No. 2, 48-57.
10. *Ibid.*; *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 632.
11. Siebert, *op. cit.*
12. *Ibid.*; *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 632
13. Prevost's report, September 7, 1763, and Forbes's report, January 29, 1764, *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 582; *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 136-7.

The French in Louisiana had made much better progress.<sup>14</sup>

The land was almost completely undeveloped.<sup>15</sup> The British records show some score of Spanish plantations in the back country around Pensacola, but practically nothing is known of their owners or their state of development. Colonel Prevost, who was commandant at Pensacola, was not enthusiastic in his views of the land as a possible colony, but in his reports he concealed his reservations for the present in an optimism for the future. The buildings of Pensacola, he wrote, were in a state of ruin and decay (they were only nine years old at most !) and the forests came up to the edge of the town. The soil near the town was sandy but capable of producing good gardens. The Spaniards, he thought, had been too lazy to develop the country. Farther inland, he noted, the soil was rich. There tropical West Indian products could be grown and naval stores, pitch, tar, resin and pine wood were to be had in quantities. The bay was full of good fish, the land was good and capable of any improvement, thought Prevost, "but years and a number of industrious Settlers can only make a Change upon the face of the Colony."<sup>16</sup>

Almost exactly a year later, an English officer on a tour of the colonies wrote of Pensacola:

"The Governour's is the only tolerable House in the place.-It is covered with Shingles, and has a Balcony both ways up one pair of Stairs. - All the other Houses are on the ground, and covered with Palmeto Leaves.-It is a very poor place, the Soil a deep white Sand for many Miles round."

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14. See under Dabbadie and Indians in *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, X.

15. See note 8.

16. *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 136; *P.R.O., C.O.* 5: 582.

"The Pitch Pine grows all round in great quantities, but not very near each other, at every here and there one finds a Cedar Swamp, and under the large trees is much Brush of Candleberry, Myrtle, and Shrub Oak."

"The Harbour of Pensacola, or rather the Bay is magnificent, and might contain any Fleet, was it not for want of Water at the Bar, at present nothing beyond a Fifty Gun Ship would get over, but was a Squadron for North America ever to be built, flatter and more after the Dutch Model, it might obviate this difficulty.-At present there appears scarce a probability of improving such desert Sands, yet it is difficult to Say how the Spanish Trade may operate, since it will be more commodiously carried on here, than at any Port belonging to Great Britain, particularly after that the Crown of Spain shall be in possession of all the East of Mississippi and New Orleans."

"The heat here is much less intense than at Jamaica or the Leeward Islands, for there comes almost a daily breeze from the Sea, and the Nights (even in the Dog-day season) are very pleasant.-The Officers complain much of Cold in the Winter Months, and Easterly Winds which are very cutting. The Houses too are all framed of Wood, and covered with Palmeto leaves, the Sides either plaster or bark of trees, and Scarce a Chimney to be seen, so it is no wonder they are cold."<sup>17</sup>

Apparently conditions were not improved immediately. A little over two years later, in November, 1766, Captain Harry Gordon, chief engineer of the western department of North America visited Pensacola. He wrote :

"Pensacola Bay is a very good Roadsted, yet 2 Brigs, and 4 Schooners and Sloops, were drove from

17. Lord Adam Gordon, *loc. cit.*, 382, 384.

their Anchors and Wrecked, [in] the Storm of 22d last Month, altho' the Height of the Gale [was] off the Nighest Shore.

“On Entering the Fort I was Astonished to see the poor Huts that are in it; but much more so when viewing the Condition of them, and that of the Poor Soldiers who inhabit here. Their Barracks are covered with Bark on the Sides and Roof, which naturally Shrivels in a short time by the heat of the Sun, which was the case now. The Firmament appeared thro' the Top and on all sides, The Men were walking About like Ghosts on a damp Sandy Floor, that is near a Foot under the Level. They were repairing the Roofs, but this has been the Bane of Cost, and but a short Time serving as a Cover never to keep out the Rain from those large Buildings; Some of the Officers Huts were Similar, only the difference of a few Boards laid over the sand to tread on, others of the Officers were well enough Lodged, but this the fewest part; The Hospital has only the distinction of always, being first Covered, and the Provision Stores that of being the last. The Destruction of the best Regiments is thus accounted for, without the Climate, which yet I am apt to believe also does its Part.

“It is high Time to fix the Necessary Garrison for this place, and as soon as that is done, to Erect proper Barracks for them. The Rooms should be raised at least 5 feet above the Ground, there will be more and better Air, and I am Convinced be Healthier. In the furnishing of them, Attention Should be had in those Parts to prevent the Men from being Tormented in their Beds by the Muskitos, being open to them as they now are, Exposes them like the Beasts of the Field, to the Sting of these Venomous Insect or Fly, only there is not so many out of Doors, as Inside, nor do the Beasts Eat Salt

Meat, as the Soldiers are obliged to live on, and therefore not so much Inflamed by their Poison. The underparts of the Barracks, may serve for Stores of Different kinds. After this it ought to be considered in what manner the whole is to be inclosed; The Stockades round it at present, are and will be, totally rotten by next Year.

"While We remained here I viewed along with Brigadier Taylor, the Country adjoining the Town, in order to fix on proper Situations for 3 Block-houses demanded by the Governor, for the Protection of the Town from the Creek Indians; These were accordingly fixed, and as the Situation of 2 of them will probably be Healthy, if Executed, They will be Convenient for Hospitals, when the Creek Alarm passes." <sup>18</sup>

Taken altogether Pensacola did not present an attractive picture from the point of view of civilized comforts in this period of the military occupation or the early civil period. Even much later Bernard Romans, a government map-maker employed by the board of trade, wrote that vegetables were not common in Pensacola. Fish and meat were also rare, he added, but only because of the indolence of the inhabitants, who let one or two butchers and three or four industrious Spanish hunters fix their own prices. Romans thought the country rich and spoke of the valuable rice lands on the Chester, Middle, and Escambia rivers "such as have enriched the Planters in Carolina, and Georgia." The three rivers, he said, "are of the Utmost Consequence to the Town of Pensacola and will Undoubtedly prove One of the Sources of its future Wealth." <sup>19</sup>

18. "Journal of Captain Harry Gordon's Journey from Pittsburg down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola, 1766," in Mereness, *op. cit.*, 486-487.

19. Bernard Romans, "An Attempt Toward a Short Description of West Florida," in Philip Lee Phillips, *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans*, Deland, Florida, The Florida State Historical Society, 1924, pp. 120-121.



The modern town of Pensacola was really established in 1764.<sup>20</sup> That year saw the beginning of the rush for the lands surrounding Pensacola and Mobile bays.<sup>21</sup> Land speculators arrived as much as two months before the arrival of the first British troops of occupation.<sup>22</sup> The principal example which appeared in the minutes of the council of this sort of speculation was the case of James Nobles, who purported to act as agent for a new company of London merchants which included the Earl of Bute, Lord Mansfield, Augustus Keppel, Marriott Arbuthnot, John Lindsay, John Kinnion, and Samuel Touchet. The Dukes of York and Cumberland were rumored to be members.<sup>23</sup>

When Major Farmar took full possession of Mobile on October 20, 1763,<sup>24</sup> he issued a manifesto requiring the registration of all transfers of land and their approval by the commandant.<sup>25</sup> The manifesto was dated from Mobile, ". . . the present seat of the English government in Louisiana. . ."; there seems to be no record that Prevost issued a similar proclamation at Pensacola, nor, apparently, did either Hedges or Ogilvie issue one at St. Augustine. Farmar's manifesto, of course, simply publicised the terms of the treaty of Paris.

In the vicinity of the forts, instant steps were taken to prevent the sale of crown property by de-

20. See the reference to Hamilton and Lowery in notes 6 and 7; also *P.R.O., C.O. 5* : 574 and 632, *passim*.

21. *P.R.O., C.O. 5* : 632. The Minutes of the Council for this period are to be found in this volume. See the writer's forthcoming study of "Early Economic and Social Development in West Florida, 1763-1769."

22. *P.R.O., C.O. 5* : 632.

23. Governor Johnstone's Complaint of Chief Justice Clifton in *P.R.O., C.O. 5* : 583; *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 468-477.

24. Military Papers of Major Robert Farmar, Farmar's Report to the Secretary at War, January 24, 1764, *P.R.O., W.O. 1* : 49; *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 7-17.

25. Military Papers of Major Robert Farmar, *P.R.O., W.O. 1* : 49; *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 66-61.

parting foreign officials.<sup>26</sup> During the military period and the early period of the civil government, plantations, small farms, and gardens which had been taken over from the French and Spanish were cultivated, and crops of fruit, vegetables, lucerne, and maize were planted and harvested.<sup>27</sup> The markets of the towns were filled at seasons with Indians, traders, and merchants, exchanging goods.<sup>28</sup> Although the population was largely military and trading in character, an English life had begun in the colony. At Pensacola the thirty-fifth regiment had been stationed and many of its members joined the growing population of the colony.<sup>29</sup> They petitioned for lands to be granted them in accordance with the king's proclamation of grants to all men who had served in the late war.<sup>30</sup> The establishment of former soldiers as settlers on the frontier was appreciated by the government as a means of providing an experienced militia to aid the regular troops in defense of the colony.

The first council met at Pensacola on November 24, 1764.<sup>31</sup> Probably it was held in the house of Governor Johnstone, which was within the fort. The governor at this time was disputing the control of the fort with the military commandant.<sup>32</sup> In accordance with his instructions Johnstone had appointed the members of his council.<sup>33</sup> Frequently

26. Farmar's Report, *P.R.O.*, *W.O.* 1: 49; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 253.

27. *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 5: 632.

28. Farmar's Report, *P.R.O.*, *W.O.* 1: 49 ; Minutes of the Council, *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 5 : 632 ; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, Chapters 16 and 17, *passim*; James Adair, *History of the American Indians*, London, 1775.

29. *Correspondence of General Gage*, I, 9, 14, 42.

30. The Proclamation is printed in this *Quarterly*, III, No. 4, 36-42.

31. *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 5: 632.

32. The story of this quarrel is given in Clinton N. Howard, "Governor Johnstone in West Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII, No. 4, 281-303.

33. *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 5: 574, 599, 632.

the councillors were appointed by the secretary of state for the southern department who controlled colonial patronage, but in this case most of the appointments appear to have been left to the governor. The following were members of the council: James Macpherson,<sup>34</sup> secretary of the province ; John Stuart, superintendent of Indian relations ; Robert Mackinnen,<sup>35</sup> captain commandant of the thirty-fifth regiment, stationed at Pensacola ; and James Bruce,<sup>36</sup> collector of customs at Pensacola; William Struthers, merchant in the Indian trade ; Elias Durnford,<sup>37</sup> surveyor-general of the province ; Francois Mozier,<sup>38</sup> an old French and Protestant inhabitant; likewise Francois Caminada; Jacob Blackwell,<sup>39</sup> collector of

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34. He was a poet and editor of the Ossian saga, the publication of which caused much controversy in eighteenth century literary circles. Shortly after this appointment he returned to England where he continued as an absentee office holder. His nephew Alexander Macpherson was his deputy. The elder Macpherson was a member of the Scottish bloc which was prominent in England and the colonies after the accession of George III.
  35. Mackinnen was commandant of the fort at Pensacola when Johnstone began his quarrel with the military authorities on November 3, 1764. The Minutes of the Council and the British army records give other information about him.
  36. Bruce, Struthers, and most of these and other men are mentioned in the correspondence and official records of the colony. See the writer's forthcoming publication on "Early Econ. and Soc. Devel. in B.W.F., 1763-1769."
  37. Durnford had connections in England. He was of a London mercantile family. He became surveyor general of the province and later was appointed lieutenant governor of West Florida after the death of Governor Eliot and the recall of Lieutenant Governor Browne in 1768.
  38. A study of the French Huguenot population of Louisiana would be a desirable work. There is considerable information concerning Mozier, Camindad and other older French Protestant settlers as well as the few French inhabitants of the new British town of Campbelltown available in the minutes of the council, the correspondence with the home government, and other of the West Florida records.
  39. Blackwell was an army contractor. He seems to have been a friend of Haldimand, who wrote that the arrival of Blackwell's wife made a very pleasant addition to their society.

customs at Mobile; Robert Crooke,<sup>40</sup> merchant in the Indian trade ; and William Clifton,<sup>41</sup> the chief justice of the province.

The council began its active business at its meeting of the next day when six members were present. At this meeting the governor proposed, and the council agreed, that a proclamation should be issued for the promoting of religion and the restraining of vice and immorality in the province.<sup>42</sup> It was also resolved that a general commission of the peace should forthwith be issued under the broad seal of the province.

At a meeting held on November 27, Elias Durnford, who had not been present at the previous meetings, was sworn in. The clerk read the proclamation for the promotion of religion and the restraint of vice in the province. He also read the terms of the commission of the peace for the province and both these were agreed to by the council, with the addition of one more member to the commission. The clerk then read certain proposed advertisements to the inhabitants of Pensacola. The first of these dealt with the regulation of the retail sale of spirituous liquors. The second forbade the dumping of dirt or ballast into the harbor. The third was a

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40. The colonial records contain ample material for a study of the Indian trade and traders. They constituted one of the most important groups in the province.

41. Clifton merits study as a colonial chief justice. The ideas attributed to him by Governor Johnstone must have been unusual for a man in his position. *P.R.O., C.O. 5* : 583 ; *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 465-468.

42. This was in accordance with the usual provision in the instructions to colonial governors which was included in Johnstone's instructions, *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 599. "From this point the sequence of topics [in the Governor's instructions] varies, but usually follows approximately this order: the administration of justice, inferior provincial officials, religion and morals . . ." Leonard W. Labaree, *Royal Government in America*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, p. 16; see also pp. 6-7, 115-120.

proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to produce before the council the titles to their lands before the first of the following January. The governor then caused to be read to the council an article of his instructions requiring the establishment of different fees to be taken at the several government offices and at the same time he laid before the council a list of the fees taken in the colony Georgia, in accordance with the recommendations of the lords of trade and plantations that the fees of West Florida be modelled upon those of Georgia.

At a meeting on the twelfth of December the council resolved that it would be of great advantage to open a road between Pensacola and Mobile. A committee was later appointed to consider and report on this matter. This is an interesting example of the way in which the government was concerned in public projects. This committee laid plans for a road and post service, and drew up a table of fees, but it is uncertain how far their plans were realized. The project was embodied in an act of the assembly on June 5, 1767. The road was surveyed by Durnford, and Hamilton refers to it as though it had been completed by 1770. The authorities, he says, maintained the bridges and the Perdido ferry, but the Mobile merchants maintained a post service to Pensacola to connect with the British packet service.<sup>43</sup>

The minutes of the council show that the fourth assembly of the province in March of 1770 accepted the proposal of a Captain McKensie to employ two companies which were en route to Mobile to open a new road. There is some evidence which points to an early use of this road by the British soon after their occupation of the province, but in all likelihood the road was little more than a track. The journals of the assembly likewise show that on the third of

43. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 270-271.

May, 1770, the assembly returned public thanks to McKensie and the troops for aiding "more speedy communication" between the two towns.<sup>44</sup>

The council, on the ground that the Spanish titles were invalid, disallowed practically all of the pretended Spanish sales around Pensacola to British land speculators. Nearly all of the speculators declined to sustain these claims, but availed themselves of the equitable adjustment of grace granted them by the council. In all such cases it was promised the petitioners that they would be granted such of their lands, as did not interfere with the laying out of the colony. This planned system is illustrated in the laying out of Pensacola.

During the early months of 1765 Governor Johnstone and the council were largely concerned with the clearing of title to lands purchased before their arrival. Then they turned to the program of laying out the colony's lands. A great number of grants were made both to speculators and to new petitioners. Most of these grants were in the vicinity of Pensacola, but as this was taken up the population spread, first to the peninsulas to the south and east, to the southeastern shore of the bay, and finally to the northwest and thence northeast across the head of the bay close to the mouths of the Escambia, Middle, and Chester rivers. These other shores of the bay were settled much more slowly, however, than the peninsulas near Pensacola had been. To the west of Pensacola a few settled themselves on the short coursed rivers close to the sea.<sup>45</sup> On one of these, for instance, Attorney General Wegg pos-

44. Minutes of the Council, March 11, 1770, *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 5 : 626, and Minutes of the Assembly, May 3, 1770, *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 5 : 627.

45. These movements are evident from a study of the Minutes of the Council and the official correspondence.

essed himself of a fall, presumably for the purpose of using its power in a mill.<sup>46</sup>

The granting of lands in the province occupied a large proportion of the time of the council during the year 1765, nor was the let-up of business especially noticeable during the following two or three years, except as other business of a very imperative nature intervened. As early as December 19, 1764, grants were made to petitioners of lands in the country, but whether these lands had been surveyed is doubtful. Durnford had been at work and it would appear most likely that he was devoting a large measure of his labor at this time to the drafting of the town plan for Pensacola, a plan which had been one of the first considerations of the council. On December 21 the council had made twenty-one grants of town lots in Pensacola. On January 7, among other things, they heard the report of the committee of citizens relative to the establishment of an Anglican parish church, and granted to the committee the lot which had been petitioned. It happened that the committee had set upon the very lot which had likewise been petitioned by Major Farmar, but in this, as in the later conflict with the lieutenant governor, Farmar came out second best. On January 24 the council heard the defense of James Noble of the Spanish titles to the lands which he had purchased for the members of his "company." The council disallowed the claims and on February 5 notified Noble that they were prepared to receive his petition for lands in the provincial survey in compensation for disallowance of his Spanish claims. On February 3 the council had taken the care to set aside lots in Pensacola for purposes of naval use and for government buildings.

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46. *P.R.O., C.O.* 5: 632.

Throughout most of January and February, 1765, the council devoted itself to the dispensing of the town and garden lots in Pensacola in accordance with Durnford's survey. For general distribution the population was divided into three classes which were to a certain degree based upon wealth and, hence, ability to develop properties. These classes were designated for first class choice, second class choice, and, finally, the rest. In accordance with the governor's instructions land was granted in proportion to the number in the "family," and indentured servants were apparently often included in this group by petitioners. Indeed, a year or more later a citizen entered a petition with the council in complaint of a certain man who had accumulated a considerable amount of land. The petition declared that the said person was an indentured servant and had already been included in the "family" of his master. Therefore he had no right to lands of his own. The council took the matter under consideration and sent for witnesses in order to determine whether or not the statement was true.

The terms under which the grants were made by the governor and council were largely of the general sort of cultivation and development which had been laid down in the governor's instructions. The usual requirement in West Florida was that the grant should be taken out within seven months of its passing by the council, and bond had to be given for settlement of the land within two years.

The town surveys which were at this time laid out for Mobile, as well as Pensacola, and later for Campbelltown and Natchez, all followed the original pattern laid down by Durnford for Pensacola. In all cases lands around the forts were set aside for the use of the military, and lots were reserved,<sup>47</sup>

47. *P.R.O., C.O.* 5: 632.



where necessary, for public buildings, naval purposes, and location and glebe endowment for the established churches. The position of the established church is interesting in the colony, Hamilton has quite rightly remarked that, "we have to go far back into the history of Virginia and Carolina to find legislation as thorough in the participations of church officers in the civil government as that which prevailed in West Florida."<sup>48</sup> The establishment of the parish churches appears to have been one of the first considerations of the leading citizens. The clergy were somewhat late in arriving in the colony. One of the complaints later made against Johnstone was that he did not endeavor to provide sufficient support for the rectors. Another frequent cause of complaint was the lack or absence of army chaplains with the regiments which were stationed in the province. The parish system as it was established in the province was of the usual type with wardens and vestries. The leading citizens and members of the council were often members of these vestries, which served, as in Tudor England, especially, many public functions.<sup>49</sup> This is probably to what Hamilton referred. The ordinary services of the church were solemnized upon public occasions, such as Indian congresses.<sup>50</sup> By late spring the general allotment of property in the towns of Pensacola and Mobile was complete for the present and the council turned to the settlement of the rural parts of the province.<sup>51</sup>

The first assembly of the province was convoked on November 3, 1765 in Pensacola in a house hired for the purpose by the government. Six members

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48. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 543.

49. Edward Potts Cheyney, *The European Background of American History*, New York and London, [1904], 290-315.

50. For instance, see *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 191, 216, and *P.R.O., C.O.* 5: 582.

51. See the reference in note 21.

were allotted to represent Pensacola, six Mobile, and two Campbelltown. The members of the lower house appeared before the council, which administered the necessary oaths. The fourteen representatives then formally organized with the election of a speaker in the person of Francois Pousset, who had long held court at Mobile. In accordance with the king's commission, the governor's council acted as an upper house of the assembly under the chairmanship of the president of the council, the lieutenant governor, Montford Browne. The governor remained in his position as the representative of the crown.<sup>52</sup>

As soon as business sessions had begun the assembly settled itself to a consideration of the needs of the province and the best means of supplying them. The result of their deliberations was embodied in the lengthy summary of the needs and opportunities of the colony which was drawn up in the form of a representation to the lords of trade and plantations and presented to the governor on November 22. The assembly desired that the representation might be laid before the king in council. The greatest problem of the colony as presented in the report was that of provision of necessary fortifications and protection against Indian raids and possible conquest by a European power. However, included in the estimate of fortifications were some other items of the nature of governmental equipment or public welfare, such as the sum of 10,000 pounds sterling to be expended by the crown for the erection of public offices, the governor's house, courts, council chambers assembly chambers, and a jail. The establishment of public hospitals and saw mills, and the establishment of naval arsenals and

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52. The information concerning the Assembly comes largely from the Minutes of the Council and the minutes of the Assembly in *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 575, 625, 626, 632.

yard was asked, at an estimated expense of 20,500 pounds sterling. The expenditure estimated in this first classification of the budget asked of the crown was 68,600 pounds sterling, or an annual expenditure of 17,400 pounds sterling for a period of four years. A second classification of the budget dealt with some miscellaneous needs of the colony. It was suggested that the crown should maintain in the colony four companies of rangers at an annual cost of 6000 pounds sterling for a period of four years, when it was felt that the colony would be able to carry the expense. There was allotted 4000 pounds sterling yearly as the cost of an annual cargo of negroes to be distributed among the inhabitants who were industrious, for the encouragement of agriculture and trade. A humanitarian object was expressed in the suggested allowance of 600 pounds sterling annually for the care of the poor and sick of the colony. Finally it was petitioned that the crown expend 1000 pounds sterling annually in opening up the interior waterways of the province. The total expenditure for these projects amounted to the sum of 11,600 pounds sterling each year. The expenditure was asked only for a four year period, as was the first estimate for forts and troops. Thus the total budget as proposed by the assembly amounted to an annual expenditure by the crown, if granted, of 29,000 pounds sterling for a four year period.<sup>53</sup>

The assembly lent force to its plans for aid from the crown by pointing out the absolute necessity of these projects. They asked them, they said, "so that the Inhabitants who built their Houses in Confidence of that Protection, (and) live at present with their lives and Property entirely at the Mercy of Savages, who are daily murdering His Majesty's

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53. *P.R.O., C.O.* 5: 575.

Subjects, without Check or Chastisement" <sup>54</sup> might rest more assuredly in the province. They pointed out that "to see the Fortifications, Churches, Hospitals and Public Buildings, which are every where erecting on the Spanish Dominions, since the arrival of Don Antonio de Ulloa, whilst nothing is undertaken on our part is extreamly mortifying to those who consider the changeful State of European Powers," <sup>55</sup> and pleaded that the defense of the colony might be placed upon a basis "worthy of the British Nation, and equal to the purposes of Defence at the Boundary of the Empire." <sup>56</sup>

The naivete of this representation of the assembly is almost confusing. The assembly pleaded the absolute financial dependence of the colony on the crown, but offered rich commercial rewards if the Spanish commerce were opened, and if the crown would expend money to open up and exploit the country. Many of the projects mentioned in the representation were the very ones which had been discussed by the governor and his council in the previous twenty-two months.

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54. *P.R.O., C.O. 5: 575*. Governor Johnstone was dismissed in 1767 for commencing hostilities against the Creek Indians. *P.R.O., C.O. 5: 618*.

55. *P.R.O., C.O. 5: 575*. There was considerable apprehension in West Florida over the cession of Louisiana and especially New Orleans to Spain. Many felt that the Falkland Islands incident might lead to an Anglo-Spanish war. See Julius Goebel, Jr., *The Struggle for the Falkland Islands*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1927, Chapter VI, and V. F. Boyson, *The Falkland Islands*, Oxford, 1924, Chapter III.

56. *P.R.O., C.O. 5: 575*.