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Odet Philippe's gravestone in Safety Harbor's Philippe Park in Pinellas County.

Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives.

ODET PHILIPPE AT TAMPA BAY

by J. Allison DeFoor, II

Standing atop the Indian mound at Safety Harbor's Philippe Park in Pinellas County, one can feel the romance of this historic site. Due to the protection of the area as a park and the relatively light development around the fringes of Upper Tampa Bay, the site retains some of the flavor of the time of its settlement in the mid-nineteenth century, when it was dubbed Saint Helena by Odet Philippe, the plantation's founder.¹ Today residents of Florida's most densely populated county may pause after a day of recreation to stare at Philippe's grave, located on the park grounds. The gravestone yields the following inscription, at least half of which is wrong:

DR. ODET PHILLIPI

BORN LYONS FRANCE

1785 - 1869

Head Surgeon in Napoleon's Army.

With inaccuracies of date, status, and even in the last name which is misspelled, the gravestone reflects the myth of Odet Philippe as it developed in Tampa Bay in the first half of this century. Previous articles have examined the public records of Charleston, South Carolina, Key West and New River to document Philippe's life.² Evidence found has undermined portions of the historic myth, including Philippe's alleged royalty, training as a physician and claimed connections to Napoleon Bonaparte. However, the historical record strongly reinforces his status as a primary figure in the development not only of Tampa Bay but also of all of South Florida. Tantalizing suggestions of ties to pirates, slavetraders and Saint Dominigue (today's Haiti, the richest colony in the world in its day, then belonging to France) have been found but not proven. This article will again look beyond the romance and the myth to the facts of the historical record of Odet Philippe, this time in context of his final home at Tampa Bay.

Undisputed facts place Philippe as a primary figure in the development of South Florida. One early historian referred to him as "Mr. Phillippe" and noted his distinction as the first permanent, non-native settler on the Pinellas peninsula. This account placed him as a storekeeper in Tampa in the early 1830s and beginning improvements at "Phillippe's Hammock" without title in 1835. His settlement attracted others, one of whom, Richard Booth, married his daughter Melanie. Their son, Odet W. Booth (known as Keeter) was the first settler's child born in what is now Pinellas County. By 1842 Philippe was acquiring title to the hammock under the Armed Occupation Act of 1842, and he dubbed it Saint Helena. Surviving the great hurricane of 1848, it was prominent enough by the 1850s to be featured on coastal surveys of the area and the state. A prominent local tourist attraction in its day (a Cypress Gardens of its age), Saint Helena introduced the cultivation of grapefruit to Florida and featured the Duncan grapefruit.³

Prior to his arrival in the Tampa Bay area, Philippe had a well-documented presence in Key West in the period 1829-38. He engaged in a variety of commercial activities including a billiard hall and the second cigarmaking enterprise on that island. His introduction of cigar making to Tampa marked the first instance of what would later become an industry so pervasive as to make Tampa known as the Cigar City. He apparently continued familial and business ties to Key West from Tampa Bay through the 1840s and 1850s. His involvement at Key West overlapped Philippe's attempt to homestead at New River from 1830 to 1836. This effort was cut short by the outbreak of the Second Seminole War when Philippe and other local settlers sought safety in Key West.⁴

Prior to South Florida, Philippe had lived in Charleston, South Carolina, at least from 1819. There he also engaged in a mix of mercantile interests and attempted to establish an agricultural plantation at Christ Church Parish, outside of Charleston. His commercial activities included cigarmaking and an active trade in slaves. He left Charleston for Florida under a hail of lawsuits which resulted in the loss of his estate there. Prior to South Carolina his origins are unknown except for his signed declaration under oath that his place of birth was Lyons, France.⁵

As if this colorful and dynamic life were not enough, there arose the myth of Count Odet Philippe, and what a tale it was!⁶ According to legend, he was a French count, the nephew of King Louis XIV (or XVI) and a boyhood friend of Napoleon Bonaparte. Trained as a physician, he had been named head surgeon in the French navy by his old friend Napoleon, which led to his capture at the battle of Trafalgar in 1805. Imprisoned in the Bahamas for two years, he was

paroled upon a pledge not to return to his homeland, so he left for Charleston. Establishing a thriving medical practice in that city, his for tunes reversed when he co-signed the note of a friend who could not pay. Thereupon, he moved to homestead in Florida on New River, raising citrus and making salt. He treated the Indians with respect, providing them with medical treatment. Their love for him caused them to warn him to leave before the start of hostilities. Sailing away with his family, slaves and moveable possessions, he encountered and rescued his neighbor, whose wife and baby had been killed by the Seminoles. He transported all to Key West, where he introduced cigarmaking to the island.

The myth of his life included a foray with pirates. On one of his sailing trips on his vessel *Ney* (named for Napoleon's marshall) Philippe was allegedly captured by the fearsome pirate Gomez. Upon treating the pirate and his crew, Philippe was given a letter of safe conduct directed to other pirates, a chest of treasure and a map with directions to Tampa Bay, which the



An early drawing said to depict Odet Philippe.

Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives.

pirate described as the most beautiful body of water in the world, with only the Bay of Naples to compare to it. This brought Philippe to Tampa Bay in the 1820s. He immediately planted his groves, residing there until the great hurricane of 1848. Taking shelter with his family and slaves on an Indian mound (which still exists at the site), he watched as his home, groves and the treasure chest were washed away. He rebuilt and resided there (except during the Civil War when he went inland for safety) until his death at the age of 100.

Philippe was said to have had two or perhaps three wives. The first bore him four daughters. One was named Hortense de Medici, and the first was Charlotte Desheries (also known as des Moines). One wife died of a fit when on passage from Saint Helena back to Key West. He lived until his death with the old family retainer Nell.

The origin of the Philippe myth can be traced. First, it may well have its genesis with the old man himself. He clearly did call his estate after the final resting place of Napoleon, the otherwise bleak and barren island located in the South Atlantic. Its attraction for a namesake is otherwise hard to fathom. He may also have named his vessel *Ney*. In any event, he would not be the first immigrant who, freed from the restraints of the collective memory of neighbors, embellished his past. Transmission down through generations can magnify such tales.

The direct source of the legend in the above form was Mrs. George W. Booth, who was married to Philippe's grandson, George Booth. She prepared and published a sweeping narrative which appeared as the lead headline and covered most of the front page of the *Tampa Sunday*

Tribune on May 1,1921. Later other local papers, including the *St. Petersburg Times*, would advance the same story. The romantic version of the early settling of Tampa Bay came during the 1920s as the area's boom in real estate exploded. The legend doubtless had much appeal to emerging regional pride. The theme was picked up by Tampa's D.B. McKay, civic booster, former mayor and popular historian. McKay, grandson of Tampa's irrepressible Captain John McKay, authored a popular column, "Pioneer Florida," which ran in the *Tampa Tribune* for many years. The column evolved into a major book in three volumes on southwest Florida history. Thus, the Philippe myth made its way prominently into newspaper columns and popular history, becoming enshrined in local lore.⁷

As with many historical legends, this myth contains many points which are simply not supported in the record, but it also has elements of truth. Philippe's status as a trained physician has been questioned, based on contemporaneous accounts, though they do support the notion of his practicing frontier medicine.⁸ Any connection to Napoleon must be doubted due to differences of age found in Philippe's sworn oath of citizenship.⁹ His alleged nobility is not reflected in any contemporaneous documents or in any accounts prior to Booth's in 1921. Despite the embellishments, a vein of truth runs through the tale. In previous accounts the author tested the tale against records in Charleston, Key West and New River. In each place the overall parameters of the legend, absent the baggage of puffery, were found to be true. What follows is an analysis of the records of Tampa Bay to discover Philippe the man, as opposed to Philippe the myth.

Prior to his arrival in the Tampa Bay area, it must be remembered that at the outbreak of the Second Seminole War in 1836, Philippe had returned to Key West, abandoning his plantation at New River. Maloney in his definitive *Key West History*, published in 1876, stated that Philippe opened the second cigarmaking operation on that island city. He worked in partnership with Shubael Brown and with a labor force of six during the period of 1837-38. With the outbreak of hostilities, Tampa's Fort Brooke became one of the principal forts for the prosecution of the war against the Seminoles. It in turn attracted a large number of hangers-on, looking to conduct both legitimate and not so legitimate business with the army, the fort and its soldiers.¹⁰

The troops' perceptions of Tampa varied. One officer noted, "[W]e all suffer here in Florida, almost eaten up by fleas, ants, cockroaches and almost all manner of vermin. Even the sand is swarming with fleas, and little fleas that bite."¹¹ Bartholomew Lynch, a literate private, was impressed with the area: "Tampa Bay is too romantic and lovely a place for one to attempt to describe it. I wish some perfumed, cigar smoking, novel writing city man monkey was here. He could not describe it, he would die of a fit of reality. Tampa is a perfect arcadia. It is impossible to form any idea of the climate of Fla. It must be seen and felt. Florida could be made a heaven on earth ... the more I see of T. Bay the more I like it. It is a romantic and truly picturesque place ... Tampa, Tampa, what a beautiful heavenly and luscourious [sic] spot thou are." Lynch also described his work: "Nothing to do except to parade or retreat and take care to have our carbine bayonets as bright as a new born dollar, no matter about anything else. No scouting, except little parties now and again who accompany the capt. afishing and hunting, mount guard once in three weeks or so ... times are too good to last for long. Never were soldiers happier than we Florida warriers. Who would think it, books to read, newspapers, periodicals, fresh beef to eat, fish in abundance, whiskey at 50¢ a gill, plenty women in the market, absolutily [sic] at the disposal of

the highest bidder. Nor church or meetinghouse parson or any thoughts or Religion to mar the liberty so universally enjoyed here." The commercial opportunities offered by proximity to the fort were emphasized by Lynch: "Any man, unless an enlisted soldier, whether mechanic or laborer or loafer or dandy can make a fortune in Fla. Long live the Fla. war, so says the sutlers."¹²

Philippe was drawn to opportunity like a file to a magnet, with or without prompting from a pirate. It is possible that Philippe may actually have been alerted to Tampa Bay by an old friend, William Cooley. It is interesting to note the similarity between Cooley's name and the "Cooper" of the family legend. The family version bears a remarkable resemblance to the accounts of the Cooley massacre, down to the detail of the loss of his baby and wife with a single bullet, matching contemporary accounts of the Cooley massacre.¹³ Cooley had been a prominent settler at New River having arrived in 1823. He had developed a coontie plantation and a variety of other commercial activities including wrecking, and he enjoyed an active political affiliation with Richard Fitzpatrick. A lawyer in Key West, Fitzpatrick had acquired land at both New River and at the mouth of the Miami River, raising coontie at both sites. He led the effort, as president of the Florida Territorial Senate, to create a new county out of Monroe. The Dade massacre created final momentum, to honor the fallen soldier, leading to the creation of Dade County with its county seat at Indian Key. Cooley was off salvaging the vessel Gil Blas when this same sequence of events creating the new county doomed his family at the outset of the Second Seminole War. Philippe and Cooley were contemporaries at the small colony of New River. They were both appointed justices of the peace in 1833. Cooley performed the marriage of Philippe's daughter, Octavia, to Key Wester George P. Washington in that same year, at New River. Their names appear four names apart in the census of 1830, suggesting proximity of residence. After the massacre of his family, Cooley ultimately relocated to the west coast of Florida which he had visited in his capacity as appraiser of wrecks at New River. In the period 1836 through 1838, he served as a guide to the army, based upon his experiences in the Everglades. He thus began more extensive excursions up the west coast of Florida, and by 1837 he was at Tampa. He later settled at Homossasa, and by 1850 he was back in Hillsborough County. In 1852 he acquired land at Worth's Harbor, as Safety Harbor was then known, in very close proximity to old friend Philippe.¹⁴

Philippe may have also heard of the virtues of Tampa Bay from William R. Hackley. An attorney in Key West in the 1830s, Hackley acted as trustee of Philippe's property in at least one transaction. Hackley was the son of Richard S. Hackley, formerly the consul for the United States at Madrid. In 1818 Hackley had purchased a part of the land grant of the Duke of Aragon. The so-called "Hackley grant" became the site of the first settlement of Tampa by Americans when it was seized for use as a fort by Colonel George M. Brooke in 1824. This was the subject of considerable litigation between the federal government and the heirs of Hackley into the 1900s.¹⁵

Whether drawn by opportunity, the advice of Cooley, Hackley, pirate Gomez, or all three, Philippe appeared in Tampa early in 1839. On February 5, 1839, he purchased from Augustus Steele for \$100 a lot described as "Number Four (4) and bounded westerly by Tampa Street" in the town of Tampa.¹⁶ On April 25, 1839; Philippe bought a lot on the other side of the Hillsborough River from Coosan E. Cooper for the price of \$50. The lot was located in a plat



The officers' quarters of Fort Brooke in the 1890s, still beautified by huge oak trees.

Photograph courtesy of USF Special Collections.

"near the mouth of the river" and having a "slue or small stream passing through and emptying into said River," bounded to the west by Lindsey Street and to the north by Julia Street. Earlier that same April Philippe had co-endorsed a substantial bond attendant to Manuel Olivella, an old friend from Key West, upon his becoming a notary public.¹⁷ The bond for \$500 was sworn before Judge Steele and among the witnesses was Captain John C. Casey of the U. S. Army at Fort Brooke. Casey would later certify on May 1, 1839, that "three red Cows branded O.P. are the private property of Mr. Odette Phillipe....One of these Cattle is marked U.S., but is nonetheless private property – having been branded by me and subsequently exchanged with Mr. Phillipe."¹⁸

Philippe remained low-key in his recorded activities for the next few years. The 1840 census listed him as a resident near Fort Brooke, one of only nineteen heads of households in the county at the time. Living in his busy household were five males, five females, and three female slaves.¹⁹

The year 1842, with the end of the Second Seminole War in May, brought a flurry of activity by Philippe. First, he purchased a twenty-four-year-old slave named John for \$550 from M. M. Hammond in January. Next he bought from Henry H. Steiner, a doctor, doubtless posted at Fort Brooke, a slave named Anthony, thirty years of age, for \$500. The deed to Anthony listed

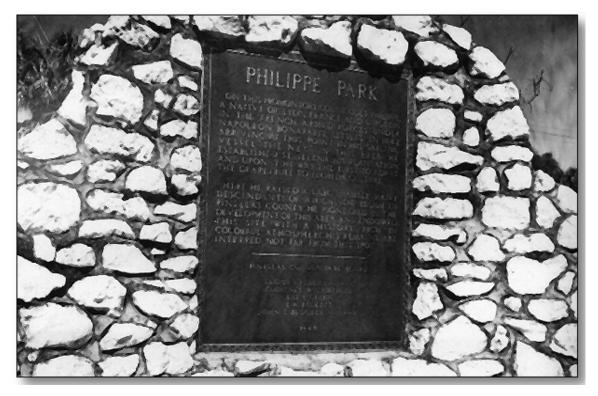
Philippe as "of Ft. Brooke."²⁰ (Philippe had engaged in extensive slave dealings while in Charleston.²¹)

Philippe next turned his attention to land acquisition. On April 29, 1842, Philippe purchased for \$250 "Cantonment Brook" which was at the "Mouth of the Hillsborough River." Phillipe bought the lot from two men who were sutlers at Fort Brooke. Philippe was undoubtedly taking advantage of an opportune time to buy as soldiers and related parties abandoned their interests in Florida at the end of the war. It is also interesting to note that he had a high level of interest in the strategic mouth of the Hillsborough River. In 1842, Philippe also purchased the property, known as Welch's store at "the Village of Tampa," from a soldier for \$150.²²

In November 1842, Philippe realized his dream, lost before at Charleston and New River, of an agricultural plantation to complement his mercantile interests. On August 4, 1842, the U.S. Congress had passed an act entitled, "An Act to provide for the armed occupation settlement of the unsettled part of the Peninsula of Florida." The law, designed to forestall any future Indian uprisings, provided that 160 acres would be given to any head of household over eighteen who would "bear arms and live upon the land in a fit habitation" for five years and cultivate at least five acres. The land could not be within two miles of a military post or north of a line from Palatka to Newnansville. A total of 210,720 acres was ultimately available for occupation during a one-year period. Over 1,000 patents were issued under the provisions of this forbearer of the Homestead Act which followed it twenty years later.²³ On November 1,1842, Philippe filed a claim for 160 acres, using a printed form, for land "commencing at the Northeast corner of the hammock at the N. W. side of Tampa Bay...on the West side of the little bay called Worth's Harbour." The printed form stated that the intended settlement was not within two miles of a permanent military post nor was it previously claimed land. The handwritten portion solves a long standing mystery about Philippe's arrival in Florida, which had been variously estimated as early as 1823 and as late as 1842. It states, in what appears to be Philippe's own handwriting, that he became a resident of Florida in January of the year "one thousand eight hundred and twenty eight." A sketch of the site accompanied the application and shows the property, labelled "Hammock of St. Helena," adjacent to "Worth's Harbour" and includes the lagoon. It is thus unclear whether St. Helena was a name given by Philippe or whether it had been previously attached to the site. Finally, Philippe swore that he was a resident of Florida on August 4, 1842. By gaining ownership of these 160 acres of land, Philippe had finally found the surcease denied him in Charleston and New River, and it was here that he made his stand.²⁴

The year 1843 found Philippe still established at Tampa Bay. A July 12,1843, list of persons residing at Fort Brooke "Reserve who do not belong to the Army proper" included "Mr. Philippe and his family outside." The same source reflected that Philippe's friend Olivella had become postmaster. Correspondence in 1844 from William J. Worth to William G. Belknap at St. Augustine showed the success of Philippe's enterprise: "Mrs. Worth requests you to have put up for her by some of the Phillippi family four (4) jars of newly pickled oysters of the best quality to be carefully packed and come over with your wagon."²⁵

The extent of Philippe's holding is revealed in a 1844 document wherein Philippe again placed his property in trust, as he had at Charleston and New River. The document, describing Philippe as "late of Charleston," purported to have been executed on December 26, 1842, with no



Philippe Park in Safety Harbor, the site of "St. Helena," features this plaque from the 1940s, which repeats much of the misinformation about Odet Philippe.

Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives.

explanation for the delay or reason for filing, but it listed him as owning four houses (including one which was his actual dwelling at Fort Brooke), numerous slaves, cattle, hogs, and hunting dogs, as well as a wagon and his plantation at St. Helena. According to the document, he also operated a billiard hall, ten-pin alley and oyster shop. It is interesting to note that Philippe's commercial activities in Tampa comport with his maintenance of an oyster shop, billiard hall and ten-pin alley in Key West. Philippe was also engaged in cigar making in Tampa, as he had at Key West and Charleston.²⁶

The censuses of 1850 and 1860 continued to list Philippe as a resident of Hillsborough County, and in 1860 he declared himself as an "Orchardist."²⁷ The slave holding records of 1860 show him owning a total of five slaves.²⁸

A surviving second hand-reference to Philippe from a traveler in the 1850s hints at an entirely different background for Philippe than previously supposed. Clement Claiborne Clay (1816-1886) was the son of Governor Clement Comer Clay of Alabama. A lawyer, he was serving in 1850 as a county judge. He would later be elected to the United States Senate and the Senate of the Confederate States. Suffering from a bronchial condition, he toured Florida in 1851 to recover his health, and he kept an active correspondence concerning what he found. At one point he referred to an attempt to cross Tampa Bay which was prevented by bad weather. Clay then wrote: "So, I was disappointed in not seeing the head bluffs of Olde Tampa and the orange

groves of Mons Philippi, a Frenchman and native of St. Dominigo about the color of Alfred – who was anxious to extend to us his hospitality." Alfred was Clay's house slave in Alabama.²⁹

Philippe's astonishing burst of entrepreneurial activity subsided in the 1860s, and no other records exist of him until his death in 1869 and the filing of his will for probate. Doubtless Philippe's attention had turned to developing his plantation and to his family. The stories of his survival of the hurricane of 1848 and the Civil War by vertical and horizontal evacuation respectively were not found to have support anywhere in the records, though they have a ring of truth. Both events had major repercussions in Tampa Bay, however, and the stories at their essence are probably accurate. Ultimately, Philippe's family and descendants were his true legacy.

The records regarding Philippe's wives and children are clearer than the legend, but still a bit perplexing. Philippe's first known wife and mother of his children was Dorothee de Desmottes. She and Odet presented three daughters for baptism in January 1822 at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church in Charleston, according to baptismal records there. The daughters by name and date of baptism were: Louise Poleanne (August 7, 1814), Elizabeth Octavia (January 27, 1816) and Septima Marie (February 17, 1820). Interestingly, Jean Moisson is listed as godfather of Séptima. Moisson was trustee in a Charleston transaction wherein Philippe placed his assets in trust for his wife, and later Moisson's widow unsuccessfully sued Philippe, then in Florida, for an allegedly fraudulent and unpaid loan.³¹ More intriguing is the presence in the records of Septima's godmother, Marie Charlotte Florance Fontaine, who would become the next Mrs. Odet Philippe.

Family records, faithfully kept, tell the rest. The place of death and burial of Dorothee remain to be discovered, but the location of Charlotte's grave in Key West is known and consistent with the family legend of a death on a return from Havana.³² A fourth daughter, Melanie, was born on December 17, 1825 to Odet and probably Dorothee, and she is buried at Sylvan Abbey. Still later, a daughter named Henrietta Florance and born in 1841 in Georgia, was adopted. According to a 1847 deed found in Key West, Philippe purchased two acres from L. Windsor Smith at what is now the intersection of Windsor and Passover Lanes. Philippe took title and trust for "his adopted daughter Henrietta Florance Philippe."³³

Louise Poleanna married one Bicaire, which allegedly led to her exclusion from the will of Odet Philippe, and she does not appear in family records afterwards.³⁴ Octavia had three marriages. The first in 1833 was to George P. Washington of Key West and took place at New River. The second was to Charles Papy (an early settler on Weedon Island for whom Papy's Bayou is named) and the third in 1865 to John Alvarez.³⁵ Septima Marie was also marriage prone, taking the step four times. Her husbands were Ramon Moreno (1837), John Grillon (1843), Joseph (Jobe) Andrews (1856), and finally James H. Loughridge (1866). The marriage of Melanie to Richard Booth lasted. An Englishman, Booth married Melanie in 1847, and their son Odet W. (Keeter), born in 1853, was the first European settler's child born on the Pinellas peninsula. Henrietta also had only one husband, John Henry Duke, whom she married in 1858.³⁶

Philippe's sense of family and friendship drew others to him. Booth and John Grillon, as well as his old friend from New River, Cooley, and even Gomez, joined him on the Pinellas frontier.³⁷

in the mountain and lime from that belong by in particular it shall be the common p y three daughters, to say Octavia alvarez, Char ghridge and Musernie Broth nge Grove shall be divided into threads) parts my fore named three daughters there shall be a between the fort or base of the mounta the hours the lime grove to edge of the water; Bay and the said wad shall contine a now own the back part of the lots of mon Road of with a to the co and said Road shall be for the access of the to the mountain and Some forgethe produce of no Josie shall be Devided in equal th is Sters actain Charlotte and Mela les a Line de on the last deredting to the opp

The opening lines of Odet Philippe's will, dated May 1868, which is located in the Hillsborough County Deed Book.

His descendants married into many of the pioneer families of southwest Florida, such as McMullen, Youngblood, and Stephens, forming much of the familial foundation for early southwest Florida. Many descendants have become prominent in the history of the region and the state.

Two final ties to Philippe remain in the records. The first is Philippe's last will and testament. It is, in the words of D. B. McKay, an "interesting document," and he printed it in its entirety both in his column and in his book. The will reflects Philippe's estrangement from his first daughter, Louise, and also an attempt to provide for his grandchildren by her. His adopted daughter Henrietta was also not provided for, but this may be explained by two acres acquired in trust for her in 1847 which, by its terms, passed directly to her upon Philippe's death.³⁸ Otherwise, the documents reflect the disposition of a lifetime of achievement.

An intriguing document has been unearthed in the public records of Key West. Dated 1847, it is another, previously unknown, will and testament of Philippe. In this document he devoted particular concern and attention to his adopted daughter Henrietta. Philippe divided his estate of St. Helena, depicted by a map, into six parts. Two parcels totalling forty-two acres went to Henrietta, along with four slaves, his jewelry and that of his late wife. In addition, Philippe created a trust for Henrietta with proceeds of the sale of cattle and other assets of his estate. The will named Stephen C. Mallory, a Key West attorney who later served as U.S. Sentator and then Confederate Secretary of Navy, as its trustee. The document stated that Mallory's wife, Angela, was the godmother of Henrietta, something never before known. The document asked that Henrietta be educated Catholic and that the remainder of the property be given to Philippe's grandsons, John and Odette Grillon, and his granddaughter Marie Charlotte Grillon. To Melanie he gave his furniture, the "oyster shop at Ft. Brooke" and some land. To daughter Marie Elizabeth (with an unusual and previously unknown middle name), he left land and cattle. Son-in-law John Grillon was appointed as executor.³⁹

The core of the story of Odet Philippe remains constant, both in the myth of Odet Philippe and in the facts as found in the record. Even when stripped of its romanticism, the tale of Philippe's trials and tribulations in Charleston, New River, Key West and Tampa Bay contained in the two versions of his life are remarkably consistent. They tell a tale of an indominable entrepreneur who again and again stared total failure in the face, and again and again arose to try and create his dream of a commercial-mercantile base mixed with a pastoral plantation, all built on a solid foundation of family. Failing to establish such in Charleston and Christ Church Parish in the 1820s, and Key West and New River in the 1830s, he finally succeeded at Tampa Bay in the 1840s. In doing so, he laid the foundation for the Tampa Bay of today not only historically, but also as an archetype for others who would follow that same formula. He also displayed a consistency of vision and spirit.

Such a pivotal figure in the establishment of Tampa Bay should not be remembered by a gravestone that is inaccurate in its history, mistaken in his date of birth, and wrong in the spelling of his name. To truly honor this pioneer the stone should be resurfaced or removed. In its place the author, who is also directly descended from Philippe, respectfully suggests the following inscription

Odet Philippe

Born Lyon, France, 1787, died at this site 1869: Introduced cigarmaking to Tampa and became first non-native settler of the Pinellas Peninsula. At his plantation of St. Helena, now this park, he introduced grapefruit cultivation to Florida. His descendants peopled this frontier. He was said to be a doctor and of noble birth.

¹ The author gratefully acknowledges the research assistance of Jonathin Estrin and Peter Horvath, students of history at the University of South Florida. All of the documents referred to as being in the possession of the author in this article are on file at the University of South Florida Library, Department of Special Collections.

² J. Allison DeFoor, II, "Odet Philippe: From Charleston to Tampa Bay," *Tampa Bay History* 12 (1990): 20-30; J. Allison DeFoor, II "Odet Philippe in South Florida," *Tampa Bay History* 8 (1986): 28-37.

³ W. L. Straub, *History of Pinellas County Florida* 33 (St. Augustine: The Record Co., 1929); U. S. Coast Survey, A.D. Bache Superintendent, Sketch F, showing the Progress of the Survey in Section VI with a General Reconnaissance of the Coast of Florida 1848-54(1854); Sketch F-6 U.S. Coast Survey, A. D. Bache Supdt., Reconnaissance of Tampa Bay Florida (1855); H.J. Webber and Leon D. Batchelor, editors, *The Citrus Industry* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1946), 27; T. Ralph Robinson "Count Odette Phillippi – A Correction to Florida's Citrus Past," *State Horticultural Society Journal* (1947) 90-92. Sidney Lanier's tour of Florida refers to "Philippi's Grove," a "noted orange grove" at St. Helena. Sidney Lanier, *Florida: Its Scenery Climate and History* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, facsimile ed. 1973, orig. ed. 1875), 100.

⁴ DeFoor, "South Florida," 31-34; Tony Pizzo, *Tampa Town: A Cracker Village with a Latin Accent* (Miami: Hurricane House Press, 1966) 7-8; D. B. McKay, *Pioneer Florida* (Tampa: Southern Publishing Co., 1959) II, 303; James F. Sunderman, ed., *Journey into Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field during the Creek and Seminole Wars 1836-38* by Jacob Rhett Motte (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963),#233, #309, Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and the New* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, facsimile ed. 1972, orig. ed. 1912), 85.

⁵ DeFoor, "Charleston," 22-27. According to records of the United States District Court in Charleston, South Carolina, "Odet Phillippe" declared his intention to become an American citizen on December 3, 1822, when he was thirty-four years old. The clerk of the court acted upon the request on January 7, 1829, presumably after a required waiting period. Philippe's 1829 declaration stated: "I Odet Phillippe [sic] a native of France born in Lyon now aged Forty one years Do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States and I do absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to every foheran [sic] Prince Potentate State or Sovereignty whatsoever and particularly Charles the tenth the King of France-so help me God-[signed]Odet Philippe." Given the controversy over the years regarding the spelling of his name, it is interesting to note that the body of the declaration appears to be in different writing than the signature and, indeed, spells the name differently. An original copy of this document was filed in the federal courts in Key West in 1829. It was surrendered, along with other such documents, by the courts to the Monroe County Library for safekeeping, and it remains there today. Packet 1829, Sheet #1, Document from United States Circuit Court (Charleston), Citizenship Oath of Odet Philippe.

⁶ The myth has been told and retold, but never quite so magically as in D. B. McKay, *Pioneer Florida* (Tampa: Southern Publishing Co., 1959), II, 299-307.

⁷ Mrs. George W. Booth, "Romantic Story of Dr. Philippe Safety Harbor's First Settler," *Tampa Sunday Tribune*, May 1, 1921, 1; Maxwell Hunter, "Dr. Odet Philippe Was Pinellas Peninsula's First White Settler," *St. Petersburg Times*, December 20, 1936, 29; D. B. McKay, "Pioneer Florida," *Tampa Tribune*, May 17, 1959, 6. McKay's spiritual successor, Leland Hawes, has also published articles on Philippe. Leland Hawes, "Philippe: Man of Mythical Proportions," *Tampa Tribune*, June 14, 1986, 1.

⁸ The recollections of a Charleston physician who was a resident of Key West from 1829 to 1833 include a dialogue between the physician and a "French quack" who was a "segar maker" by trade and who appears to have been Philippe. The recollection, published under the title "Florida Sketches" in the Charleston Mercury of July 12, 1833, also relates that the French doctor, in addition to practicing medicine, kept a coffee room and billiard table. C. A. Hammond, "Dr. Stroebel Reports on Southeast Florida, 1836," *Tequesta* 21(1961): 65. See also William M. Straight, "Odet Philippe: Friend of Napoleon, Naval Surgeon and Pinellas Pioneer," *Journal of Florida Medical Association*, 53 (1966): 705.

⁹ In his affidavit of citizenship, Philippe declared that he was thirty-four years of age at the time of his declaration of intention to become an American citizen in 1822. This would fix the date of his birth as 1788, and if true, it would cast grave doubt on the legendary affiliation between Philippe and Napoleon. It is doubtful that he could have studied with Napoleon Bonaparte who had gone to France from Corsica in 1778 to attend military school and who was commissioned into the artillery in 1785, at the age of sixteen.

¹⁰ Walter C. Maloney, "A Sketch of the History of Key West Florida" (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, facsimile ed., 1968, 2nd ed. 1982, orig. ed. 1876), 25; Donald L. Chamberlain, "Fort Brooke, A History" (unpublished master's thesis, Florida State University, 1968), 63, 65, 80, 89-91.

¹¹ John K. Mahon, ed., "Letters from the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (April 1958): 336-37.

¹² Felix P. McGaughy, Jr., ed., "The Squaw Kissing War: Bartholomew M. Lynch's Journal of the Second Seminole War, 1836-1839" (unpublished master's thesis, Florida State University, 1965),129,138,192 (hereinafter cited as "Lynch's Journal").

¹³ Sunderman, *Journey into Wilderness*, 223-24; Hammond, "Dr. Stroebel Reports"; John K. Mahon, ed., *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War* by John Bemrose (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1960) 70-71;

"Horrible Intelligence From the Seat of War," *Key West Enquirer*, January 16, 1836. *The Tampa Tribune* article by Mrs. George W. Booth contains the detail of the single shot killing both Mrs. "Cooper" and her child. A similar account was also contained in a contemporaneous letter from the then 12-year old Edmund Kirby Smith (later general of the Confederate Army) to his mother. Smith was passing along the south Florida coast where he picked up and passed on this detail of the massacre. Edmund Kirby Smith to Francis K. Smith, January 31, 1836, copy on file in Broward Historical Society.

¹⁴ William Cooley to John Darling, August 11, 1851, in Joe Knetsch, ed., "William Cooley Explores the Everglades," *Broward Legacy* 12 (Winter/Spring 1989): 40-44; Cooper Kirk, "William Cooley: Broward's Legend," *Broward Legacy* 1(October 1976): 12-20; Cooper Kirk, "William Cooley: Broward's Legend Part II," *Broward Legacy* 2 (January 1977): 24-36; U.S. Territorial Papers, *Florida*, XXXIV, 817; Official Record Books of Monroe County, Book B, 11-12; U. S. Census, 1830, manuscript return for Monroe County, Southern District of Florida, p. 110; U.S. Census of 1850, vol. 1, Schedule 1 (population schedule) of the free inhabitants of the 19th District in Hillsborough County, at Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay; Hillsborough County Deed Book, March 13,1852, p. 15.

¹⁵ Official Records of Monroe County, Book B, 399; James W. Covington, "The Hackley Grant: The Fort Brook Military Reservation and Tampa," *Sunland Tribune* (Journal of the Tampa Historical Society) 6 (November, 1980):
4.

¹⁶ Official Records of Hillsborough County, Tampa Bay, East Florida, Territory of Florida 1837-46 (hereafter Day Book) I, 109-111 [Work Progress Administration (hereafter WPA) compilation I, 132-34]. The deed was witnessed by Philippe's old friend from Key West, Manuel Olivella, who had joined Philippe in moving to Tampa. Olivella had been a witness to the wedding of Philippe's daughter, Septima, to Ramon Moreno in 1837 in Key West. Official Records of Monroe County, Book B, 399. Olivella would later become postmaster and was elected clerk of court of Hillsborough County on February 17, 1842. Day Book II, 294; Day Book II, 293. He later served as Deputy U.S. Marshall for the Eastern District of Florida. Day Book II, 327-329. It should be noted that the Historical Records Survey of Hillsborough County Records prepared in 1938 contain, for unknown reasons, different pagination from the handwritten originals. Alternative citation to this volume is provided where possible on all Day Book cites. The original citation is to Record Book of Hillsborough County. While the latter is to Territory of Florida 1838-46, Jacksonville, FL: Historical Records Survey, WPA State Office, 1938.4 Vols. Augustus Steele was the acknowledged "founder" of Hillsborough County, due to his lobbying for its creation in 1839. A Connecticut Yankee who migrated to north Florida in 1825, he was appointed deputy collector of customs at Fort Brooke, and postmaster at Tampa Bay in 1842. He was the first county judge and also served the county in the legislature. He later moved on to similar activities at Cedar Key. Karl H. Grismer, Tampa: A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida, edited by D.B. McKay (St. Petersburg: The St. Petersburg Printing Co., 1950), 313.

¹⁷ Day Book, I, 124-125 [WPA I, 149-150] and 173 [WPA I, 156-57].

¹⁸ Day Book I, 179 [WPA, II, 209].

¹⁹ 1840 Census, Hillsborough County, p. 133.

²⁰ Day Book II, 290 [WPA, III, 337] and 292 [WPA, III, 340].

²¹ DeFoor, "Charleston," 22-24.

²² Day Book II, 301-302 [WPA, III, 349-51] and 310 [WPA, III, 361].

²³ John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War 1835-1842* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991),
 313-15; James C. Covington, *The Story of Southwest Florida* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1957),
 106 and Appendix B, 422.

²⁴ Pinellas County Official Records Deed Book 86, 27-28. A copy of the patent and deed are on display at the Safety Harbor Historical Society Museum, Safety Harbor Florida.

²⁵ William J. Worth to William G. Belknap, 1844, William W. Belknap Papers, Princeton University, to a copy of which was provided by Canter Brown, Jr.

²⁶ DeFoor, "Charleston," 24; DeFoor, "South Florida," 33; Day Book, II, 352-354 [WPA, 405-407]; L. Glenn Westfall, *Key West: Cigar City U.S.A.* (Key West, FL: Key West Preservation Board, 1984) 21.

²⁷ The 1850 census reflects two Philippe households. House #233 consists of Philippe and his daughter:

Odet Philippe (sic) 63 M-Gentleman-\$1,000 (estate) France S.C. Octavia Pappa (sic) 2? F House #234 is listed with the same family number as the above, but contains the following:

Melanie Booth-22-F SC

Richard Booth-30-M Mariner NY George Washington-9-M-FL

Charles P. Washington-9-M-FL Patrocinia Papi-6-F-FL Octavia Booth-4-F-FL

Richard Booth-6/12-M-FL.

Melanie and husband, Richard Booth, were apparently keeping Octavia's children while she tended her father, then in advancing years. The dwellings were doubtless close-by. The census category is to "The River Settlement" which is probably Tampa. Whether this means he still lived in Tampa, or at St. Helena with the reference to the nearest town is unclear. The 1860 Census for Hillsborough County (p. 64) intriguingly has Philippe being "married within the year" (perhaps scrivenor's error) at line 22.

²⁸ Census 1860, Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants in Hillsborough County, Florida.
 ²⁹ Olin Norwood, "Letters from Florida in 1851," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 29 (April 1951): 273-74.

30 Rev. John A. Simonin, Pastor of St. Mary's, to author, November 17, 1989. A copy is on file with the author, together with a photocopy of the page of the parish's baptismal record. The record is in French, but signed by Father Zenwick.

³¹ Charleston District Deeds, vol. M-9, pp. 56-59; Louise Moisson, Executrix v. Odet Philippe, Charleston District Court of Common Pleas, Judgement Rolls, 1834, #218A; DeFoor, "Charleston," 26-27.

³² Dorthee's gravestone was relocated to the side of, after being discovered beneath, the Old Stone Church in Key West, which is Methodist. The stone's inscription in French reads in English: "Rest in Peace Marie Charlotte Florance Phillipe Born in Paris Dec. 25, 1801 Deceased in Key West, Dec. 20, 1846, at the age of 45 Friend of the unhappy Supporter of the orphans She spent her life relieving the pains of her peers She leaves behind her husband Ot. Phillipe and a great number of friends attracted to her by her generous heart and soul." The author gratefully acknowledges the above translation by Joan Schwartz of Montreal, Canada.

³³ Monroe County Deed Book D-544. Interestingly, the deed was witnessed by Justice of the Peace Walter C. Maloney, which underscores his reference to Philippe in his book, Maloney, *Key West* (see note 10).

³⁴ McKay, *Pioneer Florida*, II, 302.

³⁵ Official Records of Monroe County, Book B,11-12; McKay, *Pioneer Florida*, II, 305, III, 78-79; Straub, *Pinellas*, 35; Family records on file with the author. The date of the third marriage is reflected as April 12, 1865. Octavia died in 1885 and is buried at Hopewell Cemetery, located at Kennedy and Dale Mabry Boulevard in Tampa.

³⁶ Official Records of Monroe County, Book B, 299, and Book E, 697; Family records, on file with the author.

³⁷ Evelyn C. Bash, "Profiles of Early Settlers on the Pinellas Peninsula," *Tampa Bay History* (Spring 1983): 82-93.

³⁸ McKay, *Pioneer Florida*, II, 302. The original will, which is located in Hillsborough County Deed Book C-597, reads as follows:

"To begin the Mountain [the large ceremonial mound] and lime grove shall belong to nobody in particular [I]t shall be the common property of my three daughters, to say Octavia Alvarez, Charlotte Septima Laughridge and Melanie Booth. The orange grove shall be divided into three (3) parts between my fore#named three daughters [T]here shall be a road between the foot or base of the Mountain and Lot (No. 6) from the row of the lime grove to edge of the water fronting on the Bay and the said road shall continue from the Last row of the Lime grove over the back part of the orange Grove to the common Road of entrance in the Hammock and said Road shall be for the access of the family to the mountain and Lime Grove. the produce of the Mountain and Lime Grove shall be Divided in equal shares between my three daughters Octavia Charlotte and Melanie.

"There shall be a Line drawn from the last row of the gove in strait direction to the opposite line or last row of the Orange Grove which line shall form the squares of the orange grove[.] The Lot number one (no 1) shall belong to Melanie Booth containing seven (7) Rows of Orange trees and others.

"Lot number two shall belong to Octavia Alvarez containing nine (9) rows of orange trees and others.

"The lot number three shall belong to Charlotte.

"On the front of the Bay will be three lots from the foot of the mountain beginning from the point which divided the Bay and the harbor. Lot number one shall to Octavia running toward the road of the Orange Grove.

"Lot number two (2) to Charlotte and lot number three to Melanie. [A]ll these lots running in this direction. "[O]n the front of the there shall be also three lots beginning at the point number one (1) shall belong to Octavia running toward the head of the Harbor, Lot number shall belong to Clarlotte, Lot number to Melanie.

"The salt pan shall be divided into three lots to be drawn by number between them.

"I give to Charles and his brother Phillippe Bicaire a Lot of sixteen acres of land (16) to be divided between them [T]he Lot shall be on the northwest corner of my [sic] in a square of four (4) acres each side.

"The remainder of my land shall be divided into equal parts between my three daughters before named.

"I give my gold spectacles to Octavia. I give my gold watch to Melanie. I give to Alice Kelly four cows (4). I give one cow to each of my children from Octavia Melanie and Charlotte[.] I give one calf to PhilLippe Whanton and to Sidney and one to the Bishop. [Philippe was a Catholic.] I give two calves to John Booth, The balance of my cattle shall be divided between my two daughters Octavia and Melanie.

"My horse and buggy shall be sold and the money divided between Octavia and Melanie.

"If Mr. Lawrance Mitchell shall recover a debt of one hundred and fifty dollars (150) due me by a certain Morey that money shall be divided between all my grandchildren from Octavia and Melanie, and also a debt due by Capt Cook of Hernando of which Mr. Mitchell has the account to collect[.] I name for my executors my three daughters and beg Capt Richard and Mr. John Enderson [no doubt meaning Attorney John A. Henderson] to assist them with their advice. I beg Mr. Enderson, as more acquainted with the laws to have their property recorded in order that their husbands may have no right upon it to them[.] Now I swear before my God that I do not owe a cent to a living soul in this world and I intend to keep myself free of debt, and if any demand shall be made upon my estate the claimant shall show my handwriting for his claim.

"I give my trunk and clothing to Richard Booth [J]r I give my gun to Odet Booth. I give my Saddle to George Booth. I give my desk to the prince de Joinville Booth. I give two (2) heffer calves to Maria Kelly.

"This is my Last will and Testament [T]his instrument shall destroy and annul all other wills testaments or codicils made by me previous to this document.

"Done at Tampa Bay this twenty second day of May 1868.

"Signed and sealed by me in person.

"Signed Odet Phillippi."

³⁹ This will is appended to Estate of James Pent (died 1864, probated 1874) Monroe County Probate Records 1-P-1. Found by Mark H. Kelly and forwarded to the author June 7, 1990. The full text is as follows:

"Be it known unto all whom it may concern that I, Odet Philippe, being in good health and of sound mind, impressed with a sense of the uncertainty of life, and of the propriety or propriety of my present [?], do make this my last will and testament hereby revoking all others previously made and particularly the will lately at Tampa Bay.

"For the future happiness of my adopted child, Henrietta Florance Philipi, I am particularly anxious. To her, I do give and bequeath so much of my lands at Tampa Bay where I lately relocated as will make a square containing forty-two acres which square must have the small stream or crest on my said land as its base line and one of its sides or lines must run from 'Philippi point' (as dedicated on the late Army Map of Tampa Bay) North Northeast and the back line of my 'place' will be the boundary of another side these lines must be so run as to give to her a square of forty-two acres and my Executors herein after named is charged particularly with the duty of designating and setting off this land by suitable marks to the end that my design of giving to my child the square of forty-two acres may be carried fully into effect. I also give and bequeath unto my said adopted daughter my negro man, Anthony, my mulatto boy William and my two black boys Tom and Brutus, all the promised ornaments, jewelry and personal effects of her late mother by adoption, Marie Charlotte Florence Philippe, together with my own watch and all my jewels of every description whatsoever. For the further benefit of my said child, I do direct that within three months after my death my executor aforesaid shall cause to be sold at public outcry, in Key West to the highest bidder for cash my [?] Margiarina [?], twenty-five of my cows with six calves which are on my place at Tampa Bay, [?] of my calves which [are?][at?] Key West [?] any with a colt and that the proceeds thereof shall be invested by my executors for the benefit of my said child in such a manner as may be directed by Stephen C. Mallory of Key West, she being the Godmother of my said child - I further direct that my said Executors shall take charge of and manage the property herein given and bequeathed to my child to the best advantage for her interest and that annually from my death, she shall accrue with and interest under the direction aforesaid, the yearly profit which may result from the [?] prosperity. My Executor is charged with the management of the property; and with investing it in such manner as the persons aforesaid may direct, to the end that a fund may be created for the education and general welfare of the child, and the said Stephen [?] Mallory and his wife as aforesaid are surely charged with seeing the profits and funds aforesaid suitably invested - Neither [?] nor [?] be sold or alienated from My Child. When my said child shall have reached the age of eleven years, I direct that she may be placed at a Catholic institution for the education of young ladies, which institution must be selected by the said Mallory or his wife, and that she must be kept there until she shall be sixteen years of age, unless her health should require her removal, and of this the said Mallory or wife shall be the judge. My said executor is charged with the placing and maintaining the child at such an institution as they shall [?]. I desire that she may be [?] in the [?] Catholic [?] as taught by the Roman Church in the United States and that she be particularly instructed in the French and Spanish languages and in music and that her education shall be designed to make her a good Christian and a useful and agreeable woman. Of her education, the said Mallory and wife shall have control.

"To my grandsons John and Odet Grillon I do give and bequeath to be divided equally between them a lot of land containing about [?] acres [?] which is on the South part of the land bequeathed to my daughter Herretie [sic]. The next square of land at Tampa Bay adjoining the one already given to my adopted child I direct to be divided into six square lots or parcels to be divided and numbered from one to six; and for a better understanding of this my (will?) I hereby annex a sketch of all the said lands divided and numbered; and to my daughter Marie Charlotte Grillon I do give and bequeath the two lots or parcels which are marked on this sketch Number one and six, being the one third of the square aforesaid to her, heirs and assigns, executors and administrators and I also give to her, her heirs, executors and administrators my negro woman [Julie?].

"To Melanie Booth I do give and bequeath and to her heirs executors and administrators, my negro girl Daeiline, twelve cows with their calves, not at Tampa Bay, all my household furniture at Tampa Bay and my [?] known as Philippe' Oyster Shop at Fort Brooke, and also the lots or parcels of land numbered in the sketch aforesaid as two and five, - being the third part of the square last aforesaid.

"To Maria [Marie?] Elizabeth [Quebas?] I do give and bequeath my negro woman Nelly in the house which the said Maria [Marie?] now occupies at Ft. Brooke, the lots or parcels of land numbered in said skitch [sic] three and four and the one half of all my Estate which may remain at my death undisposed of the other half of which I bequeath to Marie Charlotte Grillon aforesaid.

"All the property of eny [sic] description and nature whatsoever which is not herein before disposed of and of which I may be possessed I give and bequeath to my adopted daughter. First herein before mentioned and I do direct my executor to sell and dispose of the same at public outcry in the same manner and to invest the proceeds thereof as I have heretofore required of him to [? list] under the directions of the said St. Mallory and his wife.

"Should my dear daughter herewith die before she [?] marries at the age of sixteen years the property which I have left to her by the Will and which may then [to? wit (?)] at her death aforesaid [?] to her must be divided and distributed as follows:

"The real estate herein bequeathed to her [?] be [?] to [?] Philippi and of these [?] to John [B?] Grillon and Odet Grillon their heirs and assign equally.

"The other half or equal part shall be divided into three equal parts and [?] Washington, George Philippi Washington and Charles Washington shall each have one of the said square parts to be determined as [?] into [?] my Executor or by lot.

"I direct and request and enjoin that my Executor shall [defrey?] all and every expenses of my funeral, last [?] Interment[?] if this [?] property [?] are the [?] if which shall go [?] my [?] adopted daughter Henrietta. [?] of Stephen C. Mallory [?] I do give and bequeath a lot or parcel of land fronting [?] in Safety Harbo[u?]r I my [?] on Tampa Bay[?]. on which it has on front of [?] and feet and a depth bank of two hundred. feet which is in the land [?] to my daughter Henrietta aforesaid and the last bequest in front of Margaret Mallory shall be in [?] [tear] is not be affected by the death of Henrietta. I [?] annex as a map, [here the document is torn] map is to accompany this will which only as somewhat explanatory of it. It is innocently drawn but will afford a general idea of the lands.

"On [finding?] [no?] fault in [?] discretion of Angela [?] Mallory the Godmother of my child and in her desire to promote the happiness of my child I [do?] ct[?] that [torn document] not marry without the affirmation and consent of the said Godmother and I further direct that if my said daughter shall marry without the consent and approval of aforesaid Godmother unless the said Godmother [?] the death or other [?] be legally incapacitated [document is burned] obtained the end in such [burned] all the property [burned] upon [burned] [?] thereupon be divided as [?] before directed in the event of here death and that is shall [?] to be hers and go to the other children and grandchildren aforesaid.

"And now as the executor herein before alluded to I do appoint my son-in-law John Grillon and direct him immediately upon my death to prove the will and proceed at will in the [burned] [?] of his appointment."

[here is a signature which appears to be Philippe's deformed or burned]

"Signed, Sealed and delivered to Charles [Nave?] by Odet Philippe at Key West this 19 July 1847 the said Philippi declaring [it?] as that [burned] it [?] his last will and testament as signed, sealed and delivered in presence of us.

"Signed: St. C. Mallory

W. F. English"