

*The  
Florida  
Historical  
Quarterly*

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The Treaty of Paris of 1763 retroceded Florida to Spain. Once more the Spanish flag flew over territory which Spain had discovered and claimed in 1513, and which she had begun to settle with the establishment of St. Augustine in 1565. Only for the years 1763-1783 had the British occupied Florida. Their sovereignty was terminated with a triumphal attack by Bernardo de Gálvez, governor of Spanish Louisiana and commander of its forces there, against Manchac and the British fortification on the lower Mississippi (1779), Mobile (1780), and finally Pensacola in 1781. On May 8, 1781, the explosion by a Spanish grenade of the powder magazine of the Queen's Redoubt forced the British to call for a cessation of hostilities. The siege of Pensacola was over. This important event in Florida and American history is being celebrated in Pensacola and elsewhere this year. The articles which appear in this issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are dedicated to the bicentennial of the Battle of Pensacola and reflect on the Second Spanish Period, 1783-1821.

(cover photo)

On May 8, 1781, a Spanish grenade exploded the powder magazine of the Queen's Redoubt in Pensacola killing and wounding a number of British seamen and soldiers. Major General John Campbell, commanding the British forces, called for a cease fire. Under the Articles of Capitulation which followed, the British surrendered the entire province of West Florida. This imaginative engraving by M. Ponce and M. Godefroy depicts Don Bernardo de Gálvez leading his forces to victory at Pensacola.

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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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# Table of Contents

LOYALIST REFUGEES AND THE BRITISH EVACUATION OF EAST FLORIDA, 1783-1785	<i>Carole Watterson Troxler</i>	1
ARTURO O'NEILL: FIRST GOVERNOR OF WEST FLORIDA DURING THE SECOND SPANISH PERIOD	<i>Eric Beerman</i>	29
A LOST LANDMARK REVISITED: THE PANTON HOUSE OF PENSACOLA	<i>Thomas D. Watson and Samuel Wilson, Jr.</i>	42
WAR CLOUDS ON THE MISSISSIPPI: SPAIN'S 1785 CRISIS IN WEST FLORIDA	<i>Gilbert C. Din</i>	51
EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN SPANISH WEST FLORIDA, 1781-1821	<i>Jack D. L. Holmes</i>	77
BERNARD LINTOT: A CONNECTICUT YANKEE ON THE MISSISSIPPI, 1775-1805	<i>Robin Fabel</i>	88
BOOK REVIEWS .....		103
BOOK NOTES .....		131
HISTORY NEWS .....		187

## BOOK REVIEWS

FLORIDA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT, edited by Manning J. Dauer  
*reviewed by Charlton W. Tebeau*

FLORIDA'S AVIATION HISTORY: THE FIRST 100 YEARS, by Warren J. Brown  
*reviewed by John P. Ingle, Jr.*

FLORIDA ARCHAEOLOGY, by Jerald T. Milanich and Charles H. Fairbanks  
*reviewed by Stephen J. Gluckman*

THE REVOLUTION REMEMBERED: EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE, edited by John C. Dann  
*reviewed by Geraldine M. Meroney*

CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES K. POLK. VOLUME V, 1839-1841, edited by Wayne Cutler  
*reviewed by Joseph H. Parks*

VIOLENCE AND CULTURE IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH, by Dickson D. Bruce, Jr.  
*reviewed by Ernest M. Lander, Jr.*

NEW MASTERS: NORTHERN PLANTERS DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION, by Lawrence N. Powell  
*reviewed by Joe Gray Taylor*

RECONSTRUCTION AND REDEMPTION IN THE SOUTH, edited by Otto H. Olsen  
*reviewed by La Wanda Cox*

NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOUTHERN LITERATURE, by J. V. Ridgely  
*reviewed by Marjory Bartlett Sanger*

SOUTHERN WRITERS AND THE NEW SOUTH MOVEMENT, 1865-1913, by Wayne  
Mixon  
*reviewed by Kevin M. McCarthy*

A SOUTHERN RENAISSANCE: THE CULTURAL AWAKENING OF THE AMERICAN SOUTH, 1930-1955, by Richard H. King  
*reviewed by Monroe Billington*

OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY, by Evans C. Johnson  
*reviewed by Wayne Flynt*

THE LUMBEE PROBLEM: THE MAKING OF AN AMERICAN INDIAN PEOPLE, by Karen  
Blum  
*reviewed by Kendall Blanchard*

FORT GIBSON: TERMINAL ON THE TRAIL OF TEARS, by Brad Agnew  
*reviewed by Edwin C. Bearss*

THE UNITED STATES AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1900-1970, by Lester D. Langley  
*reviewed by James W. Cortada*

# LOYALIST REFUGEES AND THE BRITISH EVACUATION OF EAST FLORIDA, 1783-1785

by CAROLE WATTERSON TROXLER

**F**ROM THE beginning of the American Revolution, the security afforded by the St. Augustine garrison attracted loyalists from nearby Georgia and the Carolinas to the British colony of East Florida. The stream of refugees fluctuated with the course of the war. It swelled in 1778, reflecting the confiscation and banishment acts, but reversed itself the following year in the wake of the British invasion of the southern colonies. The autumn of 1782 brought a flood of men who had gained the enmity of their neighbors by service in loyalist militia or provincial corps. They accompanied the British withdrawal, first from Savannah and then from Charleston, many bringing families with them. The removal of slaves, the most salvageable form of wealth, further increased the number of displaced persons arriving from the Carolinas and Georgia. Estimates for the population in early 1783 range between 6,000 and 8,000 for whites and between 9,000 and 11,000 for blacks. Most of them had not lived in East Florida before the war and would leave by the end of 1785.<sup>1</sup>

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1. "Considerations submitted to Lord Shelburne on the means of rendering Loyal Americans useful to Government," December 11, 1782, Shelburne Papers, LXVII, 447, transcripts in Public Archives of Canada; East Florida Returns, British Headquarters Papers, Nos. 6159, 6475, 7468, Public Archives of Canada (hereinafter cited as BHP); "Observations on East Florida," enclosed in Bernardo del Campo to Conde de Floridablanca, June 8, 1783, Archivo Histórico Nacional: Estado, legajo 4246, Ap I, 117-27, in Joseph Byrne Lockey, *East Florida 1783-1785: A File of Documents Assembled, and Many of Them Translated*, ed. by John Walton Caughey (Berkeley, 1949), 120-21; Colonial Office Papers 5:560, 482-84, 493-98, 805-20, Public Record Office (hereinafter cited as CO); Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1783-1785*, 2 vols. (Deland, Florida, 1929), I, 115; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report On American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, 4 vols. (Hereford, England, 1909), IV, 97; Carole Watterson Troxler, "The Migration of Carolina and Georgia Loyalists to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick"

If the loyalists were insignificant in the history of East Florida, the reverse certainly was not true. They tried to build a new life there, like their old ones, hoping against the fear of a cession to Spain and trying to ignore its likelihood. When the fear became reality in the 1783 Treaty of Paris, the loyalist refugees' response resulted in anything but the orderly and prompt evacuation which the peacemakers envisioned. An examination of that response and the ensuing British evacuation of East Florida discloses the anguish, desperation, and pettiness of men and women whose roles in an imperial struggle had ended but whose personal lives faced a wrenching and uncertain transition.

During the first half of 1782, even before the cession, East Florida was in danger of being abandoned by the British forces. The danger passed, and the episode gave false comfort to many residents who told themselves that Britain would keep East Florida even without the rest of the Atlantic seaboard. In May, Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander-in-chief, ordered General Alexander Leslie to evacuate Savannah and St. Augustine prior to evacuating his post at Charleston. Leslie informed East Florida Governor Patrick Tonyn that, within the course of 1782, the St. Augustine garrison and all loyalists who desired to leave would be evacuated from East Florida. Tonyn and the General Assembly appealed to Carleton to protect them from expected Spanish encroachments, emphasizing the colony's value as a haven for loyalists. Carleton decided to delay the evacuation of St. Augustine, but not in response to the pleas of the East Floridians. Captain Keith Elphinstone, later Admiral Viscount Keith, who was familiar with southern waters, suggested that all available shipping was needed to evacuate Savannah and Charleston and that later vessels could be used to handle the situation at St. Augustine. Elphinstone assumed that when the refugees reached East Florida they would organize themselves for an orderly and efficient second evacuation. In July 1782 Tonyn learned from Leslie that St. Augustine was not to be evacuated for the present and that for

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(Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1974), 48-61; The loyalism of the non-refugee East Floridians is surveyed in J. Leitch Wright, "British East Florida: Loyalist Bastion," in Samuel Proctor, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Florida: The Impact of the American Revolution* (Gainesville, 1978), 1-13.

Carleton, East Florida's value lay in its function as a loyalist refuge.<sup>2</sup>

The preliminary articles of peace between Britain and Spain were signed in Paris on January 20, 1783. The third article provided for the cession of East Florida to Spain. It allowed the British inhabitants eighteen months from the time of ratification of the definitive treaty in which to sell their goods, collect their debts, and move their persons and effects from the province. The Spanish were to take possession within three months of ratification of the definitive treaty.<sup>3</sup>

Governor Tonyn received a copy of the preliminary articles from Secretary Thomas Townshend in April. Fearing "tumultuous meetings," he called the General Assembly and had it vent some of its anguish by preparing a joint address to the king. The address had a tone of passionate loyalty tinged with the bitterness which characterizes loyalist memorials. It hinted at transportation and compensation in stressing the loyalists' reliance on the king's mercy. Tonyn apologized for the tone of the address and for its omission of expressions of gratitude for provisions and lands which the loyalists had received in East Florida. Sending the address to Townshend, Tonyn asked him to understand the self-centeredness of "spirited men labouring under difficulties and misfortunes . . . who, unacquainted with the great Engines by which Government is upheld, have in the first instance been led to think themselves agrieved because unfortunate."<sup>4</sup> A year passed before Tonyn received evacuation orders. During that year of uncertainty all but the most obdurate accepted the reality of the cession but accommodated themselves to it in various ways.

Concern for compensation was strong. While they were in East Florida, more than 100 loyalists began seeking compensation for their Carolina and Georgia losses. Inventories of their property were witnessed by neighbors and notarized by Chief Justice James Hume. In addition, concern grew for compensation of East Florida property that would be lost by the cession.

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2. Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley, 1943), 136; Sir Guy Carleton to General Alexander Leslie, May 23, 1782, BHP No. 4636.
  3. "Preliminary Articles of Peace between Spain and England," Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 54-57.
  4. Governor Patrick Tonyn to Thomas Townshend, May 15, 1783, and enclosures, CO 5:560, 583-616, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 96-108.

The case for compensation for East Florida losses was explained at length in a pamphlet printed by the former Charleston printer John Wells in 1784, and written by "a few gentlemen residing in St. Augustine." The central question was, "Can the Subject be divested of his property, under the British Constitution, by the King, or by the Legislature, or by any man or set of men without receiving a recompense or equivalent for it?"<sup>5</sup> The writers began by showing that the inhabitants of East Florida had been faithful subjects during the American Revolution. The burden of the pamphlet was to prove that, in return for this allegiance, the subjects were entitled to protection of their real property. The argument was based on the feudal relationship binding king, subject, and land: "Protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties. . . . A fundamental principle in the Feudal Law was, that . . . the Lord should give full protection to the Vassal, in his territorial property; and the Vassal was to defend and support his lord, to the utmost of his power, against all enemies. All lands held by British Subjects, are derived, mediately or immediately, from the Crown; and the oath of allegiance . . . ran nearly in the same words as the Vassal's oath of fealty. They are called our liege Lord and Sovereign"<sup>6</sup>

Reinforcing the feudal relationship were "rights and privileges, acquired by being born within the King's allegiance" which are not forfeited by "distance of time or place." The writers cited, as one of these rights, Clause 39 of Magna Carta and included Coke's addition that "lands, tenements, goods and chattels shall not be seized into the King's hand nor may any man be . . . dispossessed of his goods and chattels, contrary to this Great Charter, or the law of the land."<sup>7</sup> The authors acknowledged the right of the king in Parliament to deprive persons of their property for the good of the entire British community. They cited examples of such deprivation— and corresponding compensation. In the present case, they declared that His Majesty gave up his province of East Florida for the good of the British nation; but since in so doing he deprived individuals of property, the nation must pay for that property.<sup>8</sup>

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5. *The Case of the Inhabitants of East-Florida* (St. Augustine, 1784), 5.

6. *Ibid.*, 7.

7. *Ibid.*, 8.

8. *Ibid.*, 9.

With the crux of their case stated, what remained was to show that the inhabitants of East Florida were deprived of property by the 1783 treaty. Deprivation occurred in one of two ways, depending on whether the subject emigrated or remained. If he sold his property to a Spaniard for a trifling sum or was unable to sell it and left it behind, he would be unprotected in his property. If he remained in East Florida by changing his religion— the possibility was mentioned only for the sake of the argument— the subject would nevertheless have done nothing for which he could be deprived of his “birth-right immunities and privileges.” An Anglo-Spanish war would present a dilemma, for without the consent of his sovereign the subject could not divest himself of his allegiance. The pamphlet maintained that British Floridians did not have the consent of their sovereign to remain under the Spanish, for the treaty stipulated that they be allowed to leave, “which plainly evinces, that if any of His Majesty’s Subjects remain, they do it at their own risk, and still owe allegiance to Great Britain, And if that had not been the intention, the article ought to have gone on and declared that such of His Majesty’s Subjects as Chose to stay were absolved from the duties of natural allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain”<sup>9</sup>

The writers bolstered their convoluted reasoning with the case of Angus (or Eneas) M’Donald, who had been convicted of treason for his participation in the ‘45 Rising in spite of the fact that in all respects except his Scottish birth he was a Frenchman. He had grown up and been educated in France and held a commission from the French king. His conviction was on the grounds that “no change of place, time, or circumstances, could enable him to get rid of the allegiance due to the Government, under which he was born.”<sup>10</sup> According to this precedent, a British Floridian caught in an Anglo-Spanish war would be either an enemy to Spain or a traitor to Britain. In either case, he would suffer in his person and property. Compensation, the loyalists argued, was the only way for the rights of the subject to be honored.<sup>11</sup>

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9. *Ibid.*, 10-11.

10. *Ibid.*, 11.

11. In 1785 and 1787 Parliament provided for compensation to persons who had lost East Florida property because of the cession. The 372 claims are in Audit Office Papers 12:3, British Public Record Office (hereinafter cited as AO, and are published in Siebert, *Loyalists*, II).

Disorder increased following announcement of the cession. In particular, mounted thieves took advantage of the uncertain status of the colony and defenselessness of its inhabitants. They broke into houses and plundered slaves, provisions, and livestock from farms throughout the colony. Thievery was worse north of the St. Johns River, where most of the slaves were concentrated and where Tonyn's control was weak. Many of the criminals were vagrants who during the war had preyed upon the Whigs in Georgia and the Tories in East Florida. After the war they had found protection in the frontier swamps. The most notorious band was led by Daniel McGirtt. As a slave thief the former Georgian surpassed even the proficiency he had attained with the East Florida Rangers. Adding ferocity were John Linder and his son, John, from coastal South Carolina, who rode with McGirtt. Tonyn raised two troops of horse to oppose the gangs, or "banditti," as he called them. Largely loyalist in composition, Tonyn's force was led by William Young from South Carolina's Ninety Six District. The group had several skirmishes with the banditti and were active until the final evacuation.<sup>12</sup>

The provincial corps at St. Augustine increased the sense of disorder. Ever since the approximately 900 men of the Royal North Carolina Regiment, the South Carolina Royalists, and the King's Carolina Rangers had left Charleston, there had been rumors about where and when they would be discharged.<sup>13</sup> Such

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12. Young had led a troop of loyal militia dragoons. Tonyn to Evan Nepean, October 1, 1783, CO 5:560, 717-19, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 167-68; William Young claim, AO 52; Allen D. Candler, ed., *The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1908), I, 380; Confiscated Estates Papers, Plats, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia; 1784 census, East Florida Papers, b323A, Library of Congress, microfilm copy in P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.
  13. April 1783 muster rolls for the Royal North Carolina Regiment and the King's Carolina Rangers list as present in East Florida 265 and 302 men, respectively. By early 1784, 116 members of the South Carolina Royalists had settled in Nova Scotia; this and the St. Augustine garrison commander's September 1783 estimate that nearly two-thirds of the South Carolina Royalists would be discharged in East Florida suggest that there had been at least 340 South Carolina Royalists in East Florida. Muster rolls of King's Carolina Rangers in British Military Records, "C" series, Vol. 1892, Public Archives of Canada; muster rolls of Royal North Carolina Regiment in Lawrence Collection, Ward Chipman Papers, Vol. 26, Public Archives of Canada; muster rolls of South Carolina Royalists, *ibid.*; warrant to survey for South Carolina Regiment, February 18, 1784, Public Archives of Nova Scotia; *Report on American Manuscripts*, IV, 350-51.

rumors brought them to the point of mutiny on May Day 1783. A resident of St. Augustine described the confusion in the colony to a former resident, then in London. He blamed the lawlessness on outrage over the cession and related, "our Troops are likewise very mutinous, a few nights ago several have been killed, their plan was to burn the barracks, plunder the Town, & take Possession of the Fort, to arm all the Negroes, & to put every white Man to Death that opposed them keeping the Country to themselves as they will rather die than be Carried to Halifax to be discharged, how all this will end I know not but **an** afraid Mischief will be done as their spirits are not broke yet."<sup>14</sup>

General Archibald McArthur, the garrison commander, explained to Carleton that the near-mutiny had developed as a result of talk that the provincials would be moved without their consent to the West Indies or even the East Indies. According to McArthur, "they were on the point of taking arms . . . and demanding their discharge."<sup>15</sup> McArthur dampened the threat by punishing the ringleaders and by having the commander of each corps submit a statement of his group's position regarding a place of discharge. This action conformed with Carleton's request, sent in early April, that McArthur inform him of "the intentions of the Provincial troops and loyalists . . . [to enable Carleton] to assist them."<sup>16</sup>

The three statements reflect difficulties over the separation of families and a reluctance to leave East Florida without more information about lands and officers' pensions. (Land and provision records made in Nova Scotia about a year later suggest that only a few provincials, all of them commissioned officers, had their families with them when they were in East Florida.) Lieutenant Colonel John Hamilton's statement for the Royal North Carolina Regiment was the most submissive. He said his men would go "however soon they may be ordered, either to Britain, Halifax, or the West Indies."<sup>17</sup> He indicated, however, that "a few" of the non-commissioned officers and privates wanted to be discharged in East Florida for fear of separation from their families. Major

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14. "Extract of a letter to Captain Bissett in London," enclosed in Thomas Nixon to Evan Nepean, October 22, 1783, CO 5:560, 843-50, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 173.

15. *Report on American Manuscripts*, IV, 90.

16. *Ibid.*, 17.

17. *Ibid.*, 75.

Thomas Fraser of the South Carolina Royalists indicated that one-fourth of his privates wished to return to the United States. Other soldiers were willing to go to a British area but asked to be discharged prior to departure. Before consenting to leave East Florida, the officers wanted to know what pensions they would get.<sup>18</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown reported that the officers and men of the King's Carolina Rangers would not choose a destination until they knew more about the places available.<sup>19</sup> At this time what Tonyn had referred to as "the great Engines by which Government is upheld" had provided for land to be distributed to provincial corpsmen in Nova Scotia; as yet there was no assurance of military grants elsewhere. Even the details which had been worked out for Nova Scotia had not reached St. Augustine, and when McArthur sent the three statements to Carleton he added, "they are all extremely anxious to know what lands or gratuities will be allowed such as will go to Nova Scotia, though they much dread that climate."<sup>20</sup>

Information about Nova Scotia lands was available in St. Augustine by September. Carleton sent vessels from New York to move provincials to Nova Scotia for disbanding, but he instructed McArthur, "but should any of them chuse to be dismissed at St. Augustine or go to Providence or any other of the Bahama Islands, I shall have no objection."<sup>21</sup> Earlier he had told McArthur to permit any of the provincials to remain with the Spanish or move to the United States. Responsibility for transporting men to the Bahamas fell to McArthur, who was headed there himself. Just prior to the provincials' departure, the commander told Carleton that Brown and "a high proportion of the men and officers" of the King's Carolina Rangers would go to the Bahamas but that few in the other corps would be willing to do so. He said nearly two-thirds of the South Carolina Royalists would be discharged in East Florida. About one-half of the Royal North Carolina Regiment planned to emigrate to Nova Scotia, and about forty of that corps wished to go to Britain.<sup>22</sup> Nova Scotia land records indicate that at least 368 provincials, with 132 rela-

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18. *Ibid.*, 54; John Hamilton claim, AO 13:95; Robert Hope claim, AO 12:3, 164-69.

19. *Report on American Manuscripts*, IV, 88.

20. *Ibid.*, 93.

21. *Ibid.*, 293.

22. *Ibid.*, 350-51, 164-65.

tives and slaves, arrived there. They sailed in October 1783. At the same time, Brown, and at least sixteen other King's Carolina Rangers, accompanied McArthur to the Bahamas.<sup>23</sup>

The provincials who took their discharges in St. Augustine rather than move to Nova Scotia or the Bahamas aroused suspicions among some of the civilian residents. In September Tonyn declared that his greatest fear was of "the licentious disbanded Soldiers who have discovered intentions of rapine and plunder."<sup>24</sup> Eighty-two "Principal Inhabitants" declared their apprehension that the discharged provincials would swell the ranks of the bands of robbers who plagued the northern part of the province.<sup>25</sup>

Before any of the provincials left, they figured in plans for a revolt. When news of the cession reached St. Johns Town, the loyalist settlement that had mushroomed on Hester's Bluff, there was talk of a rising to greet the Spanish on their arrival. The conspirators assumed that the British would recognize their *fait accompli* and rescue them if the Spanish tried to conquer East Florida. Three years later witnesses said that 2,000 refugees and other East Floridians had been "ready to act" in 1783, and that the three provincial corps would have joined them. The plans were blocked by John Hamilton of the Royal North Carolina Regiment. Refusing to command the enterprise, Hamilton threatened to oppose it, since in the first instance it would be directed against British authority.<sup>26</sup>

The talk of opposing the cession by force lived on, even after all the provincials were discharged or removed in October 1783. In the spring of 1784 the arrival of evacuation orders finally ended the uncertainty. The reality of the cession could be ignored no longer. Plans to prevent the Spanish from taking possession revived and became a threat to the peaceful transfer of power.

The plans surfaced under the leadership of John Cruden. Be-

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23. Robert Cunningham claim, AO 12:3, 4-6; John Martin claim, AO 13:121; Benjamin Douglass Advertisement, November 29, 1783, in *Halifax* (Nova Scotia) *Gazette*, December 9, 1783; *Report on American Manuscripts*, IV, 293; Troxler, "Migration," 122-24; Crown Grants and Conveyances, Bahamas Register General, Nassau, microfilm copies in P.K. Yonge Library.
  24. Tonyn to Carleton, September 11, 1783, enclosed in Tonyn to North, September 11, 1783, CO 5:111, 49-64, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 154.
  25. "Memorial and Petition of the Inhabitants of East Florida, September 11, 1783, enclosed in Tonyn to North, September 11, 1783, CO 5:111, 57-64, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 156-59.
  26. John Hamilton claim, AO 13:95.

fore the war Cruden, his uncle, and his brother were merchants in North Carolina, with stores at Wilmington, Cross Creek, and Guilford County.<sup>27</sup> During the British occupation of coastal South Carolina he rose to some prominence as "commissioner of sequestered estates" under the authority of General Charles Lord Cornwallis. His duties were to supervise the distribution of lands and slaves confiscated from the rebels in South and North Carolina. He was unable to control the distribution, but he took his importance seriously. In East Florida he annoyed some of his compatriots by trying to keep a record of the slaves owned by revolutionaries and brought into the colony by the loyalists. Claiming still to be under Cornwallis's authority, he sought to return these slaves to their owners in the United States. He thought the laws banishing loyalists and confiscating their property would be rescinded as a result. Indeed, the peace treaty had committed Congress to recommend that the states restore loyalists' rights and property, and at the time of Cruden's activities it was not yet clear what the responses of the various states would be. Cruden's zeal was fruitless, in spite of an attempt by the state of South Carolina to negotiate the issues. Tonym insisted that the confiscation and banishment acts must be repealed before he would sanction any efforts to return slaves to the United States.<sup>28</sup>

Whatever Cruden's plans for an insurrection were, they were surpassed by those of his associates.<sup>29</sup> Apparently Cruden intended organizing a force to overpower the Spanish officials when they reached East Florida. Some of the loyalist refugees were to go to North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia to recruit men for service under Cruden, and he seems to have had correspondents in the United States. Cruden's original plan was con-

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27. James Cruden claim, AO 12:37.

28. There were accusations that Tonym's motivation was self-enrichment. *East Florida Gazette*, May 3, 1783; Siebert, *Loyalists*, 123-24; *Report on American Manuscripts*, IV, 49, 57, 96, 101, 114-15, 125, 159.

29. The following account is based on Tonym to General Archibald McArthur [May 21], 1784, and Tonym to Viscount Sydney, June 14, 1784, enclosed in Conde de Floridablanca to José de Gálvez, October 21, 1784, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 2660, Seville (hereinafter cited as AGI: SD) cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 288-92; Tonym to John Cruden, May 26, 1784, *East Florida Papers*, b195, m16, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 195-96; "Address of the Inhabitants of the Province Living on St. John's and St. Mary's River," June 19, 1784, *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, September 1, 1784, 2.

sidered inoffensive by Lieutenant Governor John Moultrie. He refused a request that he be commander-in-chief of the undertaking, but he kept the secret. Another member of the council agreed to participate. On a false pretext, Cruden called mass meetings at St. Johns Town and on the St. Marys River in order to ascertain the number of men available. At this point the enterprise fell apart. Some of the conspirators wanted to join forces with the robber gangs— perhaps they were the same people— and take over the government of East Florida before the Spanish arrived. This was to be accomplished by about 200 refugees in St. Augustine and more in the St. Johns and St. Marys regions. Plans were made to overtake the garrison, ships, and fort at St. Augustine and capture Tonyn, McArthur, and other officials. Then a general assembly would be called, and a determined people would prevent the servants of His Catholic Majesty from taking possession.

A step was taken toward overthrowing the provincial government. The banditti attacked two detachments of regulars from the garrison.<sup>30</sup> They dispersed one detachment, killed the captain and one of the men, and captured the sixteen soldiers who manned a post on the St. Johns River. These attacks on His Majesty's troops were too much for Cruden; he offered his services to Tonyn to help put down the conspirators. The governor put Cruden in charge of subjugating the banditti in the St. Johns-St. Marys area, empowering him to call out the militia and demand the assistance of the magistrates. Working with Young's forces, Cruden dispersed some of the banditti and executed one of them.

When or how Tonyn learned of the conspiracy is not clear. Perhaps Cruden told him when he abandoned the project, but Tonyn claimed some previous knowledge. Cruden's commission is dated May 26, 1784. Tonyn prepared an undated document with which he planned to acquaint McArthur of the crisis whenever meeting it head-on could be averted no longer; later he said he had written it on May 21. In it he requested McArthur to capture and confine the leaders, whom Tonyn would name when he sent the notice.<sup>31</sup> He did not find it necessary to inform

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30. From November 1783 until the evacuation, the garrison was manned by three companies of the 37th Regiment and a detachment of the artillery. Mowat, *East Florida, 1763-1784*, 143.

31. Tonyn to McArthur [May 21], 1784, enclosed in Floridablanca to José de

McArthur. Apparently he told no one in the colony of the conspiracy. The leaders at least suspected that Tonyn knew their plans. With the conspirators divided, and with Cruden pitted against the banditti, the governor waited out the situation. In June, after the crisis had passed, he outlined the danger to Townshend (now Lord Sydney) but named no one. By the time the Spanish governor arrived in July, rumors of a loyalist uprising were widespread. Tonyn assured the new governor that the banditti, not Cruden's followers, were the danger. Tonyn considered Cruden a harmless eccentric. He told the Spaniard that Cruden's continuing hopes of East Florida's remaining British were "merely chimerical, and such as deserves no kind of serious consideration."<sup>32</sup>

Cruden and others persisted in their hopes. In October 1784, as the "President" of "The British American Loyalists who took Refuge in East Florida," Cruden petitioned Carlos III for autonomy under Spanish sovereignty for the area between the St. Johns and the St. Marys rivers. He implored, "We may it please your Majesty are Reduced to the dreadful alternative of returning to our Homes, to receive insult worse then Death to Men of Spirit, or to run the hazzard of being Murderd in Cold blood, to Go to the inhospitable Regions of Nova Scotia or take refuge on the Barren Rocks of the Bahamas where poverty and wretchedness stares us in the face Or do what our Spirit can not brook (pardon Sire the freedom) renounce our Country. Drug the Religion of our Fathers and become your Subjects."<sup>33</sup>

Cruden's analysis expressed the loyalists' dilemma. Neither of the four choices was attractive. Moreover, after the Spanish gov-

Gálvez, October 21, 1784, AGI: SD, legajo 2660, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 288-89.

32. Tonyn to Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes, July 10, 1784, East Florida Papers, b40, 11-12, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 221.
33. "The Petition of the British American Loyalists who took refuge in East Florida," October 28, 1784, East Florida Papers, b195, m15, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 302. Cruden gave a copy to the secretary of the Spanish governor and planned to give another to the Spanish ambassador in London. He left East Florida in December 1784. He intended going to Nova Scotia but went to the Bahamas. Cruden to Carlos Howard, November 14, 1784, East Florida Papers, b195, m15, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 311-12; Cruden to Howard, November 22, 1784, East Florida Papers, b195, m15, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 312-14; Zéspedes to Bernardo de Gálvez, March 23, 1785, East Florida Papers, b40, No. 55, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 484.

error arrived, time for making the painful decision was fast running out.

Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes y Velasco, governor and captain general of St. Augustine and the Provinces of Florida, took possession of East Florida in the name of the Spanish crown in July 1784. The eighteen months allowed for evacuation ended the following March, but Zéspedes extended it until July 19, 1785. The last British ship, however, was not ready to sail until early September 1785. There were several reasons for the slow evacuation, but mainly it was because so many people were reluctant to leave.<sup>34</sup> Letters and newspapers suggested that Britain might not relinquish control of the colony after all. The Cruden conspiracy and the rumors it nourished temporarily halted emigration in May and June 1784, almost as soon as it started.<sup>35</sup> British merchants in St. Augustine had allowed Zéspedes credit with which to supply his garrison, and they were loath to emigrate until funds arrived from Cuba to pay these obligations. There were other debts also that the merchants hoped to collect. Farmers did not want to leave their crops unharvested, although many were eventually forced to do so. Persons named in the confiscation and banishment acts also lingered, hoping to learn of changes in their status. Some went back to their old homes in what was now the United States but were forced to return to East Florida. There were persistent reports of loyalists being murdered, and even if these stories were not true, these people were often the targets for harassment, insult, and injury. Returning to the United States was a dangerous undertaking, even with legal precautions. For example, John Tunno carried Tonym's flag of truce with him when he went to Georgia to settle his affairs, but he was arrested nevertheless.<sup>36</sup>

The sluggishness of the real estate market was still another cause for delay. The loyalists hoped Spaniards would swarm into East Florida and buy their houses and lands, especially lots in St. Augustine. But only the men of the garrison and the civil

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34. Tonym mentioned several in his "Reasons for the Long Evacuation Period," which follows Tonym to Nepean, May 2, 1786, CO 5:561, 849-52.

35. Tonym to Sydney, June 14, 1784, enclosed in Floridablanca to José de Gálvez, October 21, 1781, AGI: SD, legajo 2660, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 289-92.

36. Chatham County Court Minutes, April 26, 1783, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta; *Report on American Manuscripts*, IV, 264.

employees under Zéspedes came in the early years, and there was little demand for property. Those who found buyers generally had to sell at little more than one-third the value of the property; many sold for less. Thomas Courtney of South Carolina bought a house and lot in St. Augustine for £400 in January 1783 and spent £25 for improvements. At auction no bid was higher than £40, and he later sold it to a Spaniard for £53.<sup>37</sup> With a view to compensation, Tonym had a board of appraisers determine the value of individual emigrants' property and subtract the price of any sale from it.<sup>38</sup>

Many people could not sell their property and had to leave it in the hands of agents. Francis Philip Fatio, a native of Switzerland and perhaps the most prominent East Floridian to remain under the Spanish, was such an agent. John Champneys of South Carolina described the "sale" of his house and store buildings in St. Augustine to Fatio as follows: "it was up at vendue on the 18th of July 1785 the last day for the sale of British property and called to Francis Fatio for 299 dollars but this was only a friendly sale and intended to secure the property to Mr. Champneys and tho' the title deeds were to be sent and a regular conveyance made to Mr. Fatio, he was to execute an instrument certifying that he had paid no price whatever for the property. That he accordingly sent the title deeds in September 1785: that he understood that Fatio was to sell for him if any opportunity offered. . . . That a great number of estates were sold in this manner, if they had not been so disposed of they would have been seized by the Spaniards."<sup>39</sup> David Marran, a tavern keeper from Georgia, left his wife in possession of his house and lot in St. Augustine with instructions to dispose of it whenever she could.<sup>40</sup>

Household goods and livestock sold cheaply. Chairs purchased in Charleston in 1782 for twenty shillings sold for six shillings each in St. Augustine after the cession; eight-shilling pictures brought two shillings each.<sup>41</sup> Livestock was sold at a loss or traded for transportable provisions. A few men left their live-

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37. Thomas Courtney claim, AO 12:3, 18-21.

38. East Florida claims, AO 12:3, *passim*; "Lord Hawke's Requisitions Respecting East Florida," n.d., CO 5:560, copy in Lockey Collection, P.K. Yonge Library.

39. John Champney claim, AO 12:3, 8-9.

40. David Marran claims, AO 12:3, 50-52.

41. Thomas Courtney claim, AO 12:3, 18-21.

stock unsold, especially in the hinterland. Benjamin Springer probably left the most— fifty horses, forty head of cattle, and forty hogs.<sup>42</sup>

The decision to sell slaves or take them out of the province was more complex, since they could be moved fairly easily. The best prices were available in the United States. If one owned many slaves it was worth the trouble to transport them northward. In December 1784 John Graham from Georgia sent more than 200 slaves to Beaufort, South Carolina, for sale because the price there was higher than in Jamaica.<sup>43</sup> Elias Ball sold 140 of his slaves to his cousin, who was allowed to return to South Carolina.<sup>44</sup> Such sales were speculative, and the sellers sometimes misjudged the market. Judith Shivers, discouraged by the low prices in East Florida, took her slaves to Dominica but was forced to sell them for less than half their East Florida price.<sup>45</sup>

Technical problems delayed evacuation. At first it was difficult to secure the small vessels needed to take the emigrants and their property to the transports. Since the St. Augustine bar was considered too dangerous for the transports to lade there, most of the lading was at the nearest good harbor, the mouth of the St. Marys River. This meant that many loyalists and their property went in coastal vessels from St. Augustine to the St. Marys River before boarding the transports. Tonym spent £12,885.3.3 hiring coastal vessels for this purpose.<sup>46</sup>

The seventeen months between Zéspedes's arrival in St. Augustine and Tonym's departure were filled with problems growing out of the ambiguous authority of both governors. Both were in St. Augustine for a year. Tonym moved to the St. Marys River in June 1785, after sending the church bell and pews and the fire engine to the Bahamas.<sup>47</sup> In spite of their efforts of cordiality and understanding, the relationship between the two men turned into a personal vendetta as the British evacuation dragged past Zés-

42. Benjamin Springer claim, AO 12:3,182-87.

43. John Graham claim, AO 12:3, 56-60.

44. Elias Ball claim, AO 12:3, 9-13.

45. Judith Shivers claim, AO 12:3, 159-64.

46. Siebert, *Loyalists*, II, 379-80.

47. Zéspedes to José de Gálvez, June 6, 1785, AGI:SD, legajo 2660, No. 82, in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 552-53; Tonym to Lieutenant Governor James Edward Powell, April 21, 1785, enclosed in Tonym to Sydney, August 29, 1785, CO 5:561, 717-20, in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 694-95. Zéspedes declined Tonym's offer to sell the church furnishings and fire engine.

pedes's extension.<sup>48</sup> Most of their conflicts arose out of problems involving the activities of loyalists.

The worst problem facing both governors was the banditti in the northern area, particularly McGirtt's gang. At the time of the transfer of power, both Daniel McGirtt and John Linder recently had escaped imprisonment in St. Augustine. In July 1784 Zéspedes announced a twenty-day period during which persons who had broken British laws might obtain Spanish permission to leave East Florida unmolested. James McGirtt, whom neither Zéspedes nor Tonyn regarded as a criminal, complied with the offer and was allowed to remain in St. Augustine. Five of Daniel McGirtt's confederates—William Cunningham, William Mangum, John Linder, Sr., William Collins, and Bailey Cheney—obtained permission to go to Louisiana.<sup>49</sup> All had been responsible for the bloody deeds done in the name of Britain, and they had been expelled from the Carolinas or Georgia. In the meantime, Daniel McGirtt and John Linder, Jr., returned to McGirtt's home on the St. Marys River. They continued raiding with undiminished zest. When informed of the proclamation, Linder replied: "God damn their Proclamations that he disregarded them, and they might wipe their backsides with them, that he was going out of the Province, and never expected to receive benefit from it."<sup>50</sup> The Spanish lacked the force to control the northern part of East Florida. Tonyn permitted Young's cavalry to remain active in order to protect the British in the area. Young's group attacked McGirtt's party at the latter's home during Zéspedes's clemency period. After that, the Spanish governor felt that Tonyn was not respecting his authority, while Tonyn accused him of neglecting the protection of British subjects. At first Zéspedes lacked the troops to resist the banditti, but in 1785 he captured Daniel McGirtt, Steven Mayfield, and William Cunningham (who had rejoined McGirtt). They were sent first to Havana and later to the Bahamas.<sup>51</sup>

48. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida, 1784-1790* (Coral Gables, 1963), 38-66.

49. "Statement of William Cunningham and Other Americans," July 15, 1784, enclosed in Zéspedes to Bernardo de Gálvez, July 16, 1784, AGI:SD, leg. 2660, No. 3, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 235-36.

50. Daniel Melyard affidavit, August 3, 1784, enclosed in Tonyn to Sydney, December 6, 1784, C.O. 5:561, 145, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 357-58.

51. Daniel McGirtt returned to East Florida in 1788, was sent as a prisoner

Zéspedes also sent Henry O'Neill, a loyalist from Ninety-Six District, as a peacekeeper into the troubled St. Johns to St. Marys area.<sup>52</sup> O'Neill was authorized to arrest suspected smugglers, runaway slaves, and marauders and deliver them to Pedro Vásquez, commander of the Spanish brigantine stationed in St. Marys harbor. Vásquez, the ranking Spanish official in the area, was then supposed to send the culprits to St. Augustine to stand trial. More than half of the banditti named in O'Neill's correspondence were loyalists.<sup>53</sup> To prevent escapes across the St. Marys River, O'Neill cooperated with Georgians insofar as Zéspedes would allow him.<sup>54</sup> O'Neill's mission was only an interim measure for Zéspedes, and in spite of his diligence there were no wholesale arrests.

O'Neill's presence in the "British" area further deteriorated Anglo-Spanish relations. Both O'Neill and Vásquez were supposed to report on Tonym's activities to Zéspedes. Vásquez was somewhat aloof, but the barely literate O'Neill tried to lecture Tonym.<sup>55</sup> The Spanish were chagrined by the fact that the British were cutting timber even after the original evacuation date had

to Havana again, and probably died in South Carolina. The Linders and Cheney went to the Mobile area where they raised cattle. Joseph Byrne Lockey, "The Florida Banditti, 1783," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (October 1945), 87-107. William Cunningham went to London in May 1786 and died in Charleston in 1787. William Cunningham claim, AO 12:3, 3-6; *Charles Town Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, January 30, 1787.

52. A native of Virginia, Henry O'Neill had owned 330 acres on Beaver Dam Creek. He was named in the 1782 Confiscation and Banishment Act. *Law Enacted by the General Assembly, of the State of South Carolina . . . January 8, 1782 . . . February 26, 1782*, 23; 1784 census, Confiscated Estates Papers, Plats, South Carolina Department of Archives and History Columbia, SC.
53. William Conway, Jacob Chappel, and Jesse Gray were from South Carolina William Hinson and Joseph Johnston were Georgians. Other loyalists accused the Georgia loyalists George Phillips and Arthur Carney of robbery. Francis Philip Fatio and John Leslie to Zéspedes, October 5, 1784, East Florida Papers, b195, m15, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 284-85; Petition of William Mangum, November 6, 1784, enclosed in Tonym to Sidney, December 6, 1784, CO 5:561, 265-67, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 399-400; O'Neill to Carlos Howard, April 17, 1785, East Florida Papers, b118, a10, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 537-39.
54. O'Neill to Howard, May 10, 1785, East Florida Papers, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 542; Howard to O'Neill, May 23, 1785, *ibid.*, in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 548; Alexander Semple to Samuel Elbert, May 18, 1785, Georgia Department of Archives and History, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 543-44.
55. O'Neill to Tonym, n.d., in O'Neill to Howard, July 3, 1785, East Florida Papers, b118, a10, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 566-67.

passed. O'Neill was not alone in reporting these activities to St. Augustine; there was also William Maxwell, an English-born Catholic, who chose to remain in East Florida. He had been captain in a provincial unit during the war, and during 1784 and 1785 he was employed by the engineer's department in the service of Spain. He informed Zéspedes that he had seen between 300 and 400 people cutting timber at the St. Marys River area which was then being shipped to Charleston and the West Indies. He also claimed that he had observed more than 100 people cutting timber near the Nassau River. He said, "[T]hey Cutt it under the pretence that it was Cutt before the 17 Day of March and have a Right to take it Away."<sup>56</sup> The British also cut timber on Cumberland Island, inside the Georgia border. When the Georgia governor complained to Zéspedes about this, he was told that nothing would be done against the British during the evacuation period.<sup>57</sup>

As the evacuation proceeded, O'Neill accused Tonyñ of showing malice against those who had indicated their desire to remain in East Florida. O'Neill championed George Arons, who he claimed had been arrested by Tonyñ only because he did not want to leave: "Tonyñ seems so disgusted with the people who wish to remain in this country that some think he will adopt further measures of the sort."<sup>58</sup> Arons, native of Alsace who had been named in the Georgia 1782 confiscation and banishment act, lived with his wife and son on his farm on the Amalia Straits. He told the Spanish census keeper in 1784 that he had not decided whether to emigrate or not.<sup>59</sup>

After Zéspedes arrived in St. Augustine, the British there became subject to Spanish jurisdiction. Most of the British were involved in selling property and in collecting debts. Zéspedes appointed Fatio and John Leslie to act as arbitrators in minor cases involving British subjects. Leslie, like Fatio, had been a pros-

56. Maxwell to Zéspedes, n.d., enclosed in Zéspedes to Bernardo de Gálvez, April 1, 1785, East Florida Papers, b40, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 491-92; Petition of William Maxwell, March 11, 1785, *ibid.*, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 477-78; Howard to O'Neill, May 2, 1785, East Florida Papers, b118, a10, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 539-40.

57. Zéspedes to John Houston, December 21, 1784, original not located, copy in Lockey Collection.

58. O'Neill to Howard, July 3, 1785, East Florida Papers, b118, a10, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 565-66.

59. *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, I, 380; 1784 census.

perous East Florida merchant and trader before the war and would stay on in the colony under Spanish rule. Britons with grievances against other Britons petitioned the Spanish governor who then referred the complaints to Leslie and Fatio. Most of the work of the two men involved collecting debts and recovering stolen or runaway slaves. Fatio and Leslie's work went well, and Zéspedes accepted their decisions as final. In one case, however, he refused to permit the arbitrators to handle the case. Of the many accusations against Daniel McGirtt that were presented to Zéspedes, one was from Samuel Farley, a Georgia loyalist, who charged the bandit with the theft of eight slaves. Earlier, Zéspedes had asked Farley to serve as an arbitrator, and Farley had refused. Now, in retaliation, Zéspedes forbade the arbitrators to consider Farley's grievance. After Farley left for the Bahamas, the slaves were delivered to his attorney.<sup>60</sup>

There were other legal irritants. Some refugees wanted to marry before emigrating. There was no Anglican clergyman in St. Augustine, so Tonym asked Zéspedes to authorize Leslie to perform marriages. The governor refused, on grounds of religious inconsistency.<sup>61</sup>

Generally, the Spanish considered the British undesirable residents and wanted them to depart. Unable to separate the troublemakers from more peaceful inhabitants, and believing the agitators were in the majority, the Spanish hoped to get rid of all of the British. The Minorcan settlers, who were Roman Catholic, and a few others, like Fatio and Leslie, were exceptions. In November 1784, the commander of a detachment of the Spanish Hibernia Regiment on the St. Marys River reported to Zéspedes on that area. He expressed what became the official attitude toward the British inhabitants: "I estimate the number of people

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60. Memorial of John Mowbray, n.d., enclosed in Tonym to Sydney, August 10, 1785, CO 5:561, 689-96, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 675-77; "Case of Louisa Waldron and Affidavit of John Thomas," May 3, 1785, enclosed in Tonym to Sydney, August 10, 1785, CO 5:561, 649-64, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 660-65; Petition of Farley, August 16, 1784, Zéspedes's Decree against Farley, September 4, 1784, Memorial of Farley, September 9, 1784, Memorial of Farley, September 24, 1784, all enclosed in Tonym to Sydney, December 6, 1784, CO 5:561, 159-74, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 363-67; Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida*, 43-45.

61. Zéspedes to Tonym, January 2, 1785, enclosed in Tonym to Sydney, April 4, 1785, CO 5:561, 376-77, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 502-03.

living on the mainland between the town of St. Johns and the St. Marys to be sixty families. Among them are probably some of good reputation who may prove to be of great utility to our nation. But for the rest, I believe that it would be better to throw them out of the province as soon as possible. They are men without god or king, men who would only serve to destroy the public tranquility; men, in short, capable of the greatest atrocities."<sup>62</sup>

Several alternatives faced the loyalists in East Florida. The most obvious choice was to remain where they were. If the Spanish did not encourage them to remain, neither did they press civilians without criminal records to leave. Tonym did urge the British to evacuate. In April 1785 he predicted to Viscount Sydney that there would not be more than three or four Britishers remaining under Spanish rule, but as it turned out he was mistaken. Except for those who lived at St. Johns Town and those who had moved from St. Augustine to the St. Marys River to await evacuation, most of the other prospective evacuees were scattered in the backcountry. If they did not want to leave East Florida, they did not have to. Those who thought they could safely return to their homes in the neighboring states did so, drifting back to the United States almost as soon as the peace was published. Tonym estimated that 5,000 backcountry people had returned overland to the United States before the evacuation.<sup>63</sup> Many who left East Florida with the British delayed as long as possible, hoping that the confiscation and banishment laws would be changed or rescinded. Tonym tried to persuade the Minorcans to migrate to Gibraltar, Dominica, and the Bahamas, but Zéspedes foiled this effort to deprive East Florida of its most valuable inhabitants. He detained the priest who was to lead the proposed exodus and brought in two Irish priests who counselled the Minorcans to remain under His Catholic Majesty.<sup>64</sup>

British transports moved loyalists from East Florida to England, the Bahama Islands, Jamaica, Antigua, Dominica, the Mos-

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62. Letter and Report of Nicolas Grenier, November 10, 1784, enclosed in Zéspedes to Bernardo de Gálvez, AGI:SD, legajo 2530, No. 31, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 306-08.

63. Tonym to Nepean, May 2, 1786, CO 5:561, 820, copy in Lockey Collection.

64. Tonym to Sydney, April 4, 1785, CO 5:561, 359-61, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 496-501.

quito Coast, and Nova Scotia. William Brown, Tonym's assistant for the evacuation, made the following report.<sup>65</sup>

Return of Persons Who Emigrated From East Florida to  
Different Parts of the British Dominions & etc.

	Whites	Blacks
To Europe	246	35
To Nova Scotia	725	155
To Jamaica and Spanish Main	196	714
To Dominica	225	444
To Bahamas	1,033	2,214
To States of America	462	2,561
To other foreign parts	61	217
Remain with Spaniards	450	200
	3,398	6,540

Though incomplete, Brown's return shows that as a general pattern, slave-owners went mainly to the West Indies and the Bahama Islands, and people with few or no slaves moved to Europe and Nova Scotia.

Nova Scotia was not particularly alluring to most of the loyalists. They thought it was a frozen wasteland to which their "Southern Constitutions" could not adapt. One East Floridian, who later went to the Bahamas, said of Nova Scotia, "[I] fear that it is to cold for us to bear it now we have bin so long in this hot climett."<sup>66</sup> One man claimed that before he went to Nova Scotia he sold a slave "at a great loss" because of "her aversion go to Hallifax being a very cold Climate."<sup>67</sup> The Reverend James Seymour asked the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for an appointment to the Bahamas because he feared the severe winters of Nova Scotia.<sup>68</sup> In spite of its unattractive image, in

65. Brown had been in the military service of the United Provinces and the East India Company and had been customs officer in Georgia. He was Speaker of the East Florida Commons House of Assembly. William Brown claim, AO 13:38; "Return of Persons who Emigrated from East Florida," May 2, 1786, enclosed in Tonym to Nepean, May 2, 1786, CO 5:561, 817-20, copy in Lockey Collection.
66. Barbara Gorley Teller, "The Case of Some Inhabitants of East Florida, 1767-1785," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (October 1954), 106.
67. Robert Robinson claim AO 12:3, 13-18.
68. Seymour died on the way to the Bahamas. Edgar Legare Pennington, "The Reverend James Seymour, S.P.G. Missionary in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, V (April 1927), 198-99.

William Brown's report Nova Scotia is second only to the Bahamas in the number of whites who emigrated there.<sup>69</sup>

The loyalist haven nearest East Florida was the Bahama Islands. With a climate which promised to facilitate a plantation economy, the Bahamas seemed to be a place where slave-owning refugees could rebuild their lives. Even so, the Bahamas were not regarded with anything like enthusiasm. Men who knew its soil considered it unsuited to serious agriculture. Lewis Johnston, who had been a planter and a member of the executive council in Georgia, went to the Bahamas in 1783 to assess its suitability for loyalist settlement. Disappointed by the quality of the thin soil, he concluded that the best land would yield good crops for only two or three years: "My expectations by no means sanguine being so cruelly disappointed I intend to embark for St. Augustine in 7 or 8 days as much at a loss as ever where to direct my steps. . . . The West Indies would on many accounts be the country I would prefer, but the great expence of living there and the uncertainty of being about to employ my few Negroes to any advantage deters me from it, so that after all if better prospects do not open to me on my return to St. Augustine it is probable I will be obliged to return to this poor Country on the evacuation of Florida."<sup>70</sup>

The governor of the Bahamas tried to select the wealthier loyalists as settlers. He told Tonym that the Bahamas were not suited to backcountry folk and that they should go to Nova Scotia or the Mosquito Coast. Fearful of having to provide for them, he wrote, "I understand a large number of back Country Loyalists may be expected by the next Transports that arrive here, these Islands are by no means calculated for these people, who mostly subsisted on the Continent by Hunting, and like Arabs removing their habitations, and Stock from one place or province to another, and therefore could Your Excellency order them to Nova Scotia or some other Province on the Continent, or should Your

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69. Siebert surmised that Brown counted the provincials in his Nova Scotia figures: Siebert, *Loyalists*, I, 209. The provincials had left in October 1783. Since Tonym had no responsibility for their departure, there was no reason for Brown to include them. Their absence from Brown's return can be deduced further from 1784-1785 shipping records. They show a quantity of shipping for Nova Scotia which is consistent with Brown's number of emigrants going there. See appendices 1 and 2.

70. "Extract of a letter from Mr. Johnston to a friend in London," July 14, 1783, in Thomas Nixon to Nepean, n.d., CO 5:560, copy in Lockey Collection.

Excellency be inclined to send them this way, you may think it more of His Majes[ty's] Service to empower me to forward them in the same bottoms to the Moskito shore."<sup>71</sup> It was not their fancied mode of life but their poverty which made them unwelcome. Tonyn disregarded the request.<sup>72</sup>

The evacuation of East Florida began in earnest in April 1784, and was completed with Tonyn's departure in November 1785. Of the twenty-five transports used in the evacuation, fourteen carried only government cargoes: timber, tar, pitch, turpentine, deerskin, and the ordnance, artillery, and personnel of the garrison. Fifteen vessels made a total of thirty-four trips laden with refugees and their property, most of them sailing during the late spring and summer of 1784 and 1785. Five shipments of naval stores left in July and August 1784, and two more sailed in May and August 1785. In August 1784 the remainder of the garrison was evacuated to Nassau.<sup>73</sup>

The agent for the evacuation, Lieutenant Robert Leaver, arrived with the transports early in 1784. He made the immediate decisions with little interference from Tonyn. Leaver was concerned for efficiency and was not sympathetic with delay. Nevertheless, delay was endemic. The pace of lading the transports slowed as evacuation proceeded. During the spring and summer of 1784 the average lading time was about a month, in 1785 the average was about fifty days, with a marked increase as the summer wore on.<sup>74</sup>

The transports were intended to move loyalists and their "property" – their slaves and baggage. The evacuees were dismayed to learn that they could not take all their movable property. Most of them wanted to take building materials. This was especially true of those going to the Bahamas or the West Indies,

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71. James Edward Powell to Tonyn, June 9, 1785, enclosed in Tonyn to Sydney, August 29, 1785, CO 5:561, 721-23, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 695-96; Tonyn to Powell, August 25, 1785, enclosed in Tonyn to Sydney, August 29, 1785, CO 5:561, 726-28, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 696-98.

72. The presence of some backcountry loyalists in the Bahamas is indicated in Crown Grants and Conveyances, Bahamas Register General.

73. "A General Return of Transports under the Direction of Lieutenant Robert Leaver Agent Employ'd on the Evacuation of East Florida," Admiralty Papers 49:9, 100-01, Public Record Office; "An Account showing the Names of the Transports that were employed in Carrying Loyalists and Refugees," February 22, 1786, *ibid.*, 11-17.

74. *Ibid.*, 100-01.

where lumber had to be imported. It seemed foolish to them to sail without lumber and shingles from an area where cypress shingles and choice hardwood could be obtained easily and cheaply. Leaver allowed some lumber and shingles to sail as "baggage," but he drew the line for entire buildings. Peter Edwards had dismantled his house in St. Augustine and moved it to the St. Marys harbor, and was chagrined when Leaver refused space for it. Robert Murphy planned to take along enough lumber to build a house, but when Leaver refused it, Murphy built a house at the harbor and sold it for £8. Many took along the planks and shingles from their houses. They were allowed to transport fowl and hogs as provisions, but cattle and horses could not be moved, and many were abandoned in the woods.<sup>75</sup>

People lost slaves during the evacuation. Some were stolen, while others ran away. Most charges of theft were directed against the Spanish. Vásquez, commander of the Spanish brigantine, was accused of selling slaves he had lured from the British transports.<sup>76</sup> Attempts to find stolen slaves was another cause for delay. Likely fewer slaves were stolen than escaped from the ships that were waiting to sail.<sup>77</sup>

Escape from a loyalist owner did not guarantee freedom. Blacks were safe from Spanish enslavement only if they avoided the Spanish or convinced them that they were freemen who had been unable to register their freedom in St. Augustine before the British evacuated. Roving bands captured some blacks and sold them in East Florida and Georgia. The experience of one family illustrates the fortunes of many of the loyalist-held slaves. Prince and his wife, Judy, had been taken from South Carolina rebels during the war. In East Florida they belonged to William Young, but during the turmoil of the evacuation they and their son and daughter, aged about six and four years, managed to escape. In some way they fell into the hands of a Georgian, but they escaped

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75. *Ibid.*, 11-17, 100-01; East Florida claims, AO 12:3, *passim*; Peter Edwards claim, *ibid.*, 142-45; Robert Murphy claim, *ibid.*, 138-41.

76. Memorial of John Fox, July 25, 1785, enclosed in Tonym to Sydney, August 10, 1785, CO 5:561, 673-76, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 668-70; John Fox claim, AO 12:3, 146-49.

77. Perhaps individuals exaggerated their claims for escapee in order to get compensation. Even so, the claimants produced witnesses, and it was simpler to overvalue a lost slave than to invent a loss. Eventually the government compensated loyalists for stolen slaves but not for escapees. East Florida claims, AO 12:3, *passim*.

again and proceeded to the St. Johns area in 1786.<sup>78</sup> What happened to them there is not known.

Zéspedes was distressed by the British delays, and he blamed Tonyn for them. At the end of July 1785 he dispatched Lieutenant James Curtis of the Hibernia Regiment to the St. Marys harbor with orders to report on the British activities. Along with Curtis, Zéspedes dispatched a sharp reminder that the extension had expired on July 19, and he told Tonyn to leave immediately. Apparently Curtis's presence was to discourage further timber cutting and prevent the British from taking disputes with Spaniards into their own hands.<sup>79</sup> Throughout August, the main reason given for delay was to collect debts. By the end of August the creditors had either settled or had given up hope of collecting their indebtedness, and had moved to the St. Marys harbor.<sup>80</sup>

During the final weeks, Tonyn and Zéspedes argued over Vásquez's alleged slave thefts. Their last communications dealt with this subject. In his final dispatch to Zéspedes Tonyn recapitulated his view of all the Anglo-Spanish disputes in which the two governors had become embroiled. He prepared the dispatch, complete with supporting documents in July, but did not send the papers until September 11, the day he sailed.<sup>81</sup>

The last British ship to leave East Florida was to have been the *Cyrus*, the frigate which had been Tonyn's residence since June. As the *Cyrus* left the St. Marys harbor, the wind cast her about, and her flailing anchor caused serious leakage. Examination of the damage disclosed rotten wood which made a simple repair impossible. The predicament was embarrassing. Having fired his parting salvo at Zéspedes, Tonyn hoped to remain aloof

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78. Alexander Semple to James McTernan, December 16, 1786, East Florida Papers, b108, d9, copy in Lockey Collection; Tonyn Certificate, December 18, 1784, *ibid.*, b323A.

79. Zéspedes to Tonyn, July 27, 1785, enclosed in Tonyn to Sydney, August 10, 1785, CO 5:561, 681-83, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 671-72; Tonyn to Zéspedes, August 6, 1785, enclosed in Tonyn to Sydney, August 10, 1785, CO 5:561, 685-88, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 673-74.

80. Memorial of John Mowbray, enclosed in Tonyn to Sydney, August 10, 1785, CO 5:561, 689-96, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 675-77.

81. Zéspedes to José de Gálvez, October 4, 1785, AGI:SD, legajo 2660, No. 92, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 731-32; Tonyn to Zéspedes, July 29, 1785, enclosed in Tonyn to Sydney, August 10, 1785, CO 5:561, 549-68, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 604-15.

from St. Augustine, but to go to Georgia was unthinkable.<sup>82</sup> After considerable difficulty, Tonyn contacted two transports still at Nassau. They returned for him, and the governor of British East Florida departed on November 19, 1785, some eight months after the date stipulated in the treaty.<sup>83</sup>

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82. Tonyn to Sydney, September 15, 1785, CO 5:561, 777-78, cited in Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 721-24.

83. Leaver's evacuation return clears up some uncertainty concerning the date of Tonyn's departure, Admiralty Papers, 49:9, 101. See also Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785*, 739. Fn. 1.

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## APPENDIX 1

## THE EVACUATION OF EAST FLORIDA: SAILING SCHEDULE

Sailing date	Ship	Destination
April 1784	<i>Friendship</i>	Glasgow
	<i>Elizabeth</i>	Bahamas
	<i>Charlotte</i>	Bahamas
May 1784	<i>Spring</i>	Bahamas
	<i>Nancy</i>	Bahamas
June 1784	<i>Argo</i>	Nova Scotia
	<i>Betsy</i>	Jamaica, Mosquito Coast
July 1784	<i>Amityes Production</i>	Jamaica, Mosquito Coast
	<i>William and Mary</i>	Jamaica
	<i>Ann</i>	Bahamas
August 1784	<i>Nancy</i>	Deptford
	<i>Ann</i>	Bahamas
	<i>Spring</i>	Bahamas
	<i>Countess of Darlington</i>	Bahamas
December 1784	<i>Elizabeth</i>	Bahamas
	<i>William and Mary</i>	Bahamas
	<i>Polly 2nd</i>	Bahamas
March 1785	<i>Spring</i>	Bahamas
	<i>Betsy</i>	Jamaica, Mosquito Coast
	<i>Ann</i>	Bahamas
	<i>Countess of Darlington</i>	Bahamas
April 1785	<i>Tartar</i>	Nova Scotia
May 1785	<i>Polly 2nd</i>	Bahamas
	<i>Robert and Dorothy</i>	Dominica
June 1785	<i>Elizabeth</i>	Jamaica, Mosquito Coast
	<i>Amity's Production</i>	Bahamas
July 1785	<i>Robert and Dorothy</i>	Bahamas
	<i>Countess of Darlington</i>	Dominica
	<i>Charlotte</i>	Dominica
	<i>Spring</i>	Nova Scotia
September 1785	<i>Two Sisters</i>	Bahamas
	<i>Ann</i>	
November 1785	<i>Two Sisters</i>	Deptford

("An Account shewing the Names of the Transports that were employed in carrying Loyalists and Refugees," February 22, 1786, Admiralty Papers, 49:9, Public Record Office, 11-17; "A General Return of Transports under the Direction of Lieutenant Robt Leaver Agent Employ'd on the Evacuation of East Florida," *ibid.*, 100-01.)

## APPENDIX 2

## THE EVACUATION OF EAST FLORIDA: QUANTITY OF SHIPPING

Shipping	Quantity in tons
Refugees and property to Bahamas	4982
Refugees and property to Dominica	1057
Refugees and property to Nova Scotia	962
Refugees and property to Jamaica and Mosquito Coast	947
Refugees and property to Jamaica	632
Lewis Johnston, Jr., and property to Glasgow	248
Refugees and property to Deptford (includes Tonym)	646
Naval stores, timber, deerskins to Deptford	2092
Garrison, ordnance, artillery to Bahamas	1333

("A General Return of Transports under the Direction of Lieutenant Robt Leaver Agent Employ'd on the Evacuation of East Florida," Admiralty Papers, 49:9, *ibid.*, 100-01.)

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## ARTURO O'NEILL: FIRST GOVERNOR OF WEST FLORIDA DURING THE SECOND SPANISH PERIOD

by ERIC BEERMAN

**A**N Irish lieutenant colonel in the Hibernia Regiment— Arturo O'Neill— gazed through the late afternoon haze that ninth day of March in 1781 and received his first look at Sigüenza Point on the western end of Santa Rosa Island at the entrance of Pensacola Bay. As the Spanish invasion fleet moved closer, Arturo O'Neill saw the hill behind Pensacola with British Fort George dominating the surrounding terrain. He no doubt felt a certain trepidation as the Spaniards would be making a nighttime assault on Sigüenza. However, this was not his baptism of fire and with veteran Hibernia troops around him, O'Neill's worries diminished. Little did this Irish lieutenant colonel realize with a tough battle ahead that Pensacola would be home for the next twelve years. At the battle's conclusion, O'Neill became governor of West Florida and served until 1793, proving to be an effective diplomat, an able administrator, in addition to being an old soldier. His brilliant career continued as captain general of Yucatán, lieutenant general, minister of the king's Supreme War Council, Marquis del Norte, Viscount de O'Neill, and finally hero in the war against Napoleon.

The O'Neill ancestral home was in the county of Tyrone in Northern Ireland, where Arturo O'Neill was born on January 8, 1736. He was the third of the five children of Henry O'Neill and Ana O'Kelly.<sup>1</sup> As a youth he came to Spain and entered the Irlanda Regiment as a cadet in 1752; the regimental commander

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1. Copy of O'Neill's baptismal document in Latin found in his probated will, "Dilixencias de Inventario y Tasación de Bienes presentadas por los Testamentarios del Exmo. Sr. Arturo O'Neill de Tirone, Marques del Norte, Teniente General de los Reales Exércitos, del Consejo de Su Majestad en el Supremo de la Guerra, mandadas protocolizar por auto de 3 de Marzo de dicho año, 1815," Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Madrid (hereinafter cited as AHP), libro 24918.

was his cousin José Camerford.<sup>2</sup> The following year O'Neill transferred to the Hibernia Regiment where he spent the next twenty-eight years of his military career. He served nine years as sublieutenant, and in 1762, it was as Lieutenant O'Neill that he took part in the invasion of Portugal during the Seven Years' War under Count de Vega Florida that occupied the strategic center of Chaves. O'Neill's combat abilities came to the attention of his superiors, and he received promotion in 1764 to adjutant major of Hibernia. Nine years later he became captain while serving in Pamplona.<sup>3</sup>

Moorish pirates harassed Spanish shipping in the Mediterranean for years. Exasperated, King Carlos III of Spain decided to punish the pirates in their own lair—Algiers. The Hibernia left the capital of Navarre and went to Barcelona in April 1775, in preparation for the assault on the African coast. The next month O'Neill's regiment was at Cartagena from where 22,000 Spanish infantrymen, commanded by General Alejandro O'Reilly, departed in June with Algiers as their objective. O'Neill and his men went ashore on July 8. By the end of a bloody day of fighting some 2,000 Spaniards lay dead or wounded on the rocky Algerian beach.<sup>4</sup> It was a disaster, and O'Reilly ordered all his men to re-board the offshore ships. O'Neill escaped unscathed and returned with his regiment to Alicante a week after the invasion. The following month the Hibernia was stationed a few miles inland at Elda and Monovar, before moving on to Malaga. In August 1776, O'Neill accompanied his regiment to its new station at Cadiz then under O'Reilly's command.

Spain and Portugal again declared war with the principal scene of action in South America. Marquis de Casa-Tilly and General Pedro Ceballos commanded a large naval and army expedition which sailed out of Cadiz in November 1776, destined for the Portuguese island of Santa Catalina off the southern coast

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2. "Expediente Personal del Teniente General Arturo O'Neill, 1814" (hereinafter cited as "Expediente de O'Neill"), Archivo General Militar de Segovia (hereinafter cited as AGMS), Sección I, expediente 0-364. Comerford entered the Military Order of Calatrava in 1747, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (hereinafter cited as AHN), Orden Militar de Calatrava, expediente 614. O'Neill's 1791 service sheet is in Jack D. L. Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity* (Birmingham, 1965), 139-40.
  3. "Expediente de O'Neill."
  4. *Ibid.*; *Gaceta de Madrid*, January 10, 1815, 31-32.

of Brazil. The second battalion of Hibernia remained behind, so O'Neill was happy to be with the first battalion which put to sea.

The Brazilian coast was sighted after two months, and Captain O'Neill led his infantry company ashore at Santa Catalina Island, and the Portuguese garrison surrendered on February 20, 1777. Fort Santa Cruz was the next objective several miles away on the mainland. Concerned about adequate clearance for large vessels, General Ceballos told O'Neill to make soundings of the channel between the island and mainland. The draft proved adequate, and the ships moved troops to the mainland which captured Fort Santa Cruz. The Spanish expedition sailed south for 800 miles, and O'Neill participated in the seizure of the Portuguese fort at Colonia de Sacramento and the island of San Gabriel in the River Plate. Ceballos appointed O'Neill governor of Santa Catalina in June and directed him to strengthen the island's fortifications in the event of a Portuguese counterattack. O'Neill returned with the expedition to Cadiz in March 1778.<sup>5</sup>

When war broke out between Spain and England in June 1779, Carlos III was determined to eliminate British power in Florida and the Caribbean. Bernardo de Gálvez, governor of Louisiana, led Spanish troops later that year in victories at Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez. The forts at Mobile and Pensacola would require additional Spanish troops if they were to be captured also. O'Neill accompanied both battalions of Hibernia in April 1780 that sailed out of Cadiz bound for Havana. The fleet of 141 vessels commanded by Admiral José de Solano was carrying 11,752 infantrymen under Lieutenant General Victoria de Navia.<sup>6</sup> This was perhaps the greatest concentration of Spanish military force ever sent to the Americas. It proved to be a long ocean crossing, and Hibernia suffered 272 losses.<sup>7</sup>

O'Neill and Gálvez had not seen each other since that tragic day on the rocky beach at Algiers five years earlier. After the conquest of Fort Charlotte at Mobile, Gálvez came to Havana to prepare for the coming assault on Pensacola, and the two soldiers

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5. Ibid.; José María Soto Serafin, *Historia orgánica de las Armas de Infantería y Caballería españolas desde la creación del ejército permanente hasta el día*, 16 vols. (Madrid, 1851-1862), XI, 338-40.

6. "Estado General de la Expedición de Mar y Tierra que salió de Cádiz, con destino á América el 28 de Abril de 1780," Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Ms. 19445.

7. "Noticias de los oficiales que han muertos desde la salida de Cádiz hasta el día de la fecha, Havana, 1780," *ibid.*

met again. Gálvez wanted to attack Pensacola immediately after the fall of Mobile but there were not enough naval units available.<sup>8</sup>

All was ready on October 16, 1780, as Gálvez and Solano departed Havana for Pensacola. A few hours out of the bay, a fierce hurricane struck the invasion fleet and wildly scattered the ships. The *Hibernia* had remained behind on garrison duty in Cuba, and O'Neill, learning of the hurricane, imagined the worst as to the fate of the fleet. A month later he was surprised, however, to see Gálvez, aboard his frigate *Nuestra Señora de la O*, sailing back into Havana Bay with two captured British frigates in tow. The Pensacola expedition was only delayed; it was not abandoned.<sup>9</sup>

The army and navy quarreled over the responsibility of the October disaster, and for the next try at Pensacola, Captain José Calvo de Irazabal replaced Solano as fleet commander.<sup>10</sup> On February 28, 1781, O'Neill and 319 men of his regiment sailed out of Havana Bay with Pensacola as the objective.<sup>11</sup> Santa Rosa Island came into view on the afternoon of March 9, and O'Neill led his grenadier company ashore at nine o'clock that same night, quickly securing Sigüenza Point. The Spaniards were delighted to find the British battery not operational. If it had been functioning, it could have raised havoc with the invasion. Governor Gálvez ap-

8. For the battle of Mobile, see the author's manuscript on the translating and editing of the Gálvez Mobile Battle Diary included in Jack D. L. Holmes's forthcoming volume on the Battle of Mobile.
9. "Expedición contra Pensacola, 1780," José de Solano to Marqués González de Castejón, aboard the *navío Guerrero* in Havana Bay, December 23, 1780, Archivo General de Simancas (hereinafter cited as AGS), Marina, legajo 420, document 220.
10. Juan Bautista de Bonet to José Calvo de Irazabal, Havana, February 6, 1781, AHN, Estado, legajo 4201.
11. "Diario de las operaciones contra la plaza de Pensacola . . . baxo las órdenes del Mariscal de campo D. Bernardo de Gálvez . . . Pensacola, 12 de mayo 1781," AGS, Guerra Moderna, legajo 6912 (hereinafter cited as "Diario de Pensacola"). This diary was published in *Gaceta de Madrid*, August 21, 1781. For additional accounts of this siege, see Albert W. Haarmann, "The Spanish Conquest of British West Florida, 1779-1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX (October 1960), 107-34; Maury Baker and Margaret Bissler Haas, eds., "Bernardo de Gálvez's Combat Diary for the Battle of Pensacola, 1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVI (October 1977), 176-99; N. Orwin Rush, *The Battle of Pensacola, March 9 to May 8, 1781* (Tallahassee, 1966); and E. A. Montemayor, tr., *Yo Solo: The Battle Journal of Bernardo de Gálvez during the American Revolution* (New Orleans, 1978).

parently had much faith in O'Neill and named him his aide-de-camp and commander of the patrol scouts.<sup>12</sup>

Gálvez forced the entrance of Pensacola Bay on March 18 despite a furious barrage from the English battery at Barrancas Coloradas.<sup>13</sup> The following afternoon at two o'clock, O'Neill sailed through a similar barrage unscathed as the remainder of the fleet joined Gálvez inside the bay and the siege of Fort George began.

O'Neill's patrol scouts blunted an attack by 400 Indians during the afternoon of March 28.<sup>14</sup> Indians supporting British troops from Fort George launched a combined attack on April 12. At first the Spaniards fell back, but the patrol scouts rallied and forced the enemy to withdraw. Spanish losses included one killed and six wounded, one of whom was Gálvez, who was replaced temporarily by José de Ezpeleta.<sup>15</sup> Gálvez recovered rapidly, however, and resumed command. The siege of Fort George until that time had moved slowly, so the Spaniards were pleased when on April 19, Solano's fleet arrived with 1,600 fresh reinforcements under the command of Field Marshal Juan Manuel de Cagigal.<sup>16</sup>

The siege lines tightened around Fort George in spite of sharp counterattacks. One came three days after Solano's arrival. O'Neill accompanied Gálvez and Cagigal in reconnoitering an artillery battery site some 550 yards from the Queen's Redoubt when 16th Regiment soldiers came out and fired on the Gálvez patrol.<sup>17</sup> Two days later, April 24, an Indian attack caught the Spaniards by surprise, wounded five, including O'Neill's kinsman—Hibernia Sublieutenant Felipe O'Neill. On April 26, English soldiers from

12. "Diario de Pensacola;" and "Expediente de O'Neill."

13. "Diario de Pensacola." For an account on Gálvez's brother-in-law who entered the bay that day, see Eric Beerman, "Yo Solo' Not 'Solo': Juan Antonio de Riaño," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVIII (October 1979), 174-84.

14. "Diario de Pensacola;" and "Expediente de O'Neill."

15. *Ibid.* For accounts on Ezpeleta, see Eric Beerman, "José de Ezpeleta," *Revista de Historia Militar*, XXI (1977), 97-118; *ibid.*, "José de Ezpeleta: Alabama's First Spanish Commandant during the American Revolution," *Alabama Review*, XXIX (October 1976), 249-60; and Francisco Borja Medina, *José de Ezpeleta: Gobernador de Mobila* (Seville, 1980).

16. "Diario de lo ocurrido en la escuadra, y tropas, que al mando del Gefé Dn. Josef Solano, y del Mariscal de Campo Dn. Juan Manuel de Cagigal, salieron de la Havana el 9 de Abril de 1781, para socorrer al ejército español, que atacaba la plaza de Panzacola . . ." (hereinafter cited as "Diario de Solano"), *Archivo del General Miranda*, 24 vols. (Caracas, 1929-1930), I, 150.

17. "Diario de Pensacola;" and "Expediente de O'Neill."

the Queens Redoubt attacked Spanish positions, but O'Neill's scouts managed to drive the enemy back.<sup>18</sup>

The Spanish batteries next began a heavy barrage against the Queen's Redoubt. A round hit the powder magazine on May 8, killing 105 English defenders. General John Campbell surrendered Fort George and Prince of Wales Redoubt two days later. O'Neill participated in the surrender ceremonies which ended British sovereignty in West Florida.<sup>19</sup>

The Spanish fleet with troops aboard sailed out of Pensacola for Havana on June 1 to assemble for the invasion of the remaining British bastion in the Caribbean.<sup>20</sup> O'Neill did not accompany the departing Hibernia; three days later, Gálvez named him governor of West Florida.<sup>21</sup> He was told to improve Pensacola's defenses quickly as an English counterattack was possible. O'Neill realized that poor British marksmanship at Barranacas Coloradas was due to the battery being too far and too high from the entrance of the bay. He constructed a new battery of five thirty-two pounders on the beach below Barrancas and another battery across the water at Sigüenza Point. O'Neill drafted a plan for a Santa Rosa garrison. Fort George was strengthened to withstand an attack from the northwest. Indians had been one of the main lines of English defense at Pensacola, and so O'Neill gave top priority to winning their friendship by trade and alliance.<sup>22</sup> He wrote Cagigal, describing his military position at Pensacola and detailing what would be needed from Spain and Cuba to with-

18. Ibid. For list of Spanish casualties at Pensacola, see *relación* at end of "Diario de Solano."
19. "Artículos de las capitulaciones convenidas entre D. Bernardo de Gálvez . . . y los Exemos. Señores D. Pedro de Chester, Juan Campbell . . . 12 Mayo 1781," AGS, Guerra Moderna, legajo 6912. For accounts of the Hibernia at Pensacola, see W. S. Murphy, "The Irish Brigade of Spain at the Capture of Pensacola, 1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (January 1960), 216-25; Thomas J. Mullen, Jr., "The Hibernia Regiment of the Spanish Army," *Irish Sword*, VIII (Summer 1968), 218-25.
20. Bernardo de Gálvez to Arturo O'Neill, Pensacola, June 1, 1781, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereinafter cited as AGI), Papeles de Cuba (hereinafter cited as PC), legajo 2359.
21. "Expediente de O'Neill"; and Gálvez to O'Neill, June 4, 1781, AGI, PC 2359, cited in John Walton Caughey, *Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783* (Berkeley, 1934; reprinted, Gretna, 1972), 212. The author has submitted the manuscript, "Bernardo de Gálvez (1746-1786)," to *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*.
22. Caughey, *Bernardo de Gálvez*, 212-13.

stand an assault.<sup>23</sup> In August, O'Neill was promoted to colonel.<sup>24</sup>

O'Neill concerned himself also with the need of building up the Spanish population in West Florida. He wrote Gálvez in January 1782, urging a settlement of Canary Islanders around Pensacola.<sup>25</sup>

With the end of hostilities in 1783, O'Neill gave added attention to Indian friendship in West Florida. On January 1, 1784, Indian commissioner of the Upper Creeks, Alexander McGillivray, informed him of the danger of American infiltration on the Mississippi River.<sup>26</sup> O'Neill hosted a conference on May 31-June 1, 1784, in which Spain and the Creeks signed a treaty of friendship.<sup>27</sup>

Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes, a native of Almagro in La Mancha, sailed from Havana with administrators and 460 soldiers from Hibernia and took possession of the East Florida capital of St. Augustine on July 12, 1784.<sup>28</sup> One of his first official acts gave William Panton permission to bring in goods from the Bahamas for the Indians of Florida so as not to have to trade with Americans. McGillivray represented Creeks, Chickasaws, and Cherokees the following year when he requested O'Neill's protection against continuing American encroachment.<sup>30</sup> The American settlers apparently not only posed a threat to the Indians but to Spain as well, and O'Neill sent reinforcements to Mobile when it seemed there might be an attack on that community.<sup>31</sup>

23. "Relación de la artillería, pertrechos y demás géneros que se hallan en los almacenes de Panzacola y de lo que falta," O'Neill to Cagigal, Pensacola, July 4, 1781, AGI, Indiferente General, legajo 1583.

24. "Expediente de O'Neill."

25. O'Neill to Gálvez, Pensacola, January 18, 1782, AGI, Santo Domingo (hereinafter cited as SD), legajo 2548.

26. Alexander McGillivray to O'Neill, Little Tallassie, January 1, 1784, AGI, PC, legajo 36.

27. "Artículos de convenio, trato y pacificación y acordados por la nación española con los Indios Talapuches en el Congreso celebrado en Panzacola los días 31 de Mayo y 1º de Junio de 1784," AHN, Estado, legajo 3885.

28. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Florida in the American Revolution* (Gainesville, 1975), 135. For the Florida story on Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes, see Helen H. Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida, 1784-1790* (Coral Gables, 1963). For *hoja de servicios* of Zéspedes (Céspedes), see AGS, Secretaría de Guerra, legajo 7259, XVI, 3.

29. Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes to O'Neill, St. Augustine, September 12, 1784, AGI, PC, legajo 40. William S. Coker is preparing the terminal work on Panton, Leslie and Company.

30. McGillivray to O'Neill, Pensacola, July 24, 1785, AGI, SD, legajo 2250.

31. O'Neill to Esteban Miró, Pensacola, June 28, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 37.

O'Neill sought the permission of Esteban Miró, governor of Louisiana, in 1786 to supply McGillivray with arms and munitions.<sup>32</sup> McGillivray wanted additional muskets to be able to attack the Americans the following spring.<sup>33</sup> McGillivray then informed O'Neill that the Americans seemed to be changing their tactics and were trying to gain the friendship of the Creeks. O'Neill realized the danger of an American-Indian alliance to Spanish security in West Florida, and thought it could best be countered by another conference with the Indians at Mobile.<sup>34</sup>

By the end of 1787 he had served as governor one year more than the customary five-year term, as well as having been sub-delegate of the Pensacola Intendencia. O'Neill requested promotion to brigadier and transfer as governor to Puerto Rico or to a similar post.<sup>35</sup> He failed to receive the transfer and was destined to stay on another six hectic years in Florida.

The British hoped to win over McGillivray in 1788 to fight Americans and Spaniards, and thus allow them to retake Pensacola.<sup>36</sup> William Augustus Bowles was a key element in the British plan through his expedition to the Apalachicola River with arms and goods for McGillivray's Creeks.<sup>37</sup> O'Neill's health was failing, and as the Bowles's threat seemed somewhat alleviated, he requested leave of absence to go to Mobile for a rest. He was replaced by Francisco Cruzat, former lieutenant governor of Illinois.

Madrid did approve the first part of O'Neill's request and promoted him to brigadier in 1789. Back in Pensacola the following year, he learned that Bowles had returned to Florida from the Bahamas and had landed near St. Marks.<sup>39</sup> To strengthen his

32. Miró to O'Neill, New Orleans, June 20, 1786, AGI, SD, legajo 2551, and McGillivray to O'Neill, Little Tallassie, August 26, 1786, AGI, PC, legajo 37.

33. O'Neill to Miró, Pensacola, March 1, 1787, AGI, SD, legajo 2552.

34. McGillivray to O'Neill, Little Tallassie, April 18, 1787, *ibid.*

35. O'Neill to Antonio Valdez, Pensacola, December 3, 1787, AGI, SD, legajo 2550. For an account of the Minister of the Indies and Navy Admiral Antonio Valdez, see Eric Beerman, "Spanish Admiral Antonio Valdez and Valdez, Alaska," *Alaska Journal*, IX (Spring 1979), 38-43.

36. O'Neill to Miró, Pensacola, July 28, 1788, AGI, PC, legajo 38, and O'Neill to Ezpeleta, Pensacola, August 15, 1788, *ibid.*

37. O'Neill to Miró, Pensacola, December 29, 1788, *ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, November 21, 1788, *ibid.* For Cruzat's marriage dossier for matrimony to Nicanora Ramos of New Orleans (1768), see AGMS, Sección I, expediente 3918.

39. Diego de Vegas to O'Neill, San Marcos de Apalachee, January 19, 1789,

military position in West Florida, O'Neill organized the third battalion of the Louisiana Fixed Infantry Regiment.<sup>40</sup> The former San Marcos de Apalachee commandant Diego de Vegas was replaced in 1798 by a native of France, Captain Luis Bertucat, who rebuilt the old Spanish fort and made three sallies against Bowles, the "Director of the Talapuche Nation." Bertucat captured arms and ammunitions in one of these attacks in 1791.<sup>41</sup>

Meanwhile Miró's replacement in New Orleans was Baron de Carondelet, a native of Flanders and a decorated veteran of the siege of Pensacola. Soon after taking office in 1792, Carondelet told O'Neill to send reinforcements to Mobile because of another possible attack.<sup>42</sup> He informed O'Neill that William Panton had Spanish authorization for the importation of muskets from the Bahamas for Florida Indians.<sup>43</sup> Lord Durnford, the English governor of the Bahamas, sent a naval vessel to intersect this navigation between the Bahamas and Florida. To counter this, the captain general of Cuba, Luis de las Casas, dispatched a coastguard ship San Luis to protect Spanish interests in that area.<sup>44</sup>

O'Neill was replaced as governor in 1793 by his fellow Irishman Carlos Howard, and was assigned as captain general of Yucatán and intendant of Tabasco and Laguna de Términos.<sup>45</sup> The war which broke out that year between Spain and France delayed his departure from Pensacola, but he was able finally to begin his 1,000 mile journey to Campeche, port for the inland city of Mérida, the capital of Yucatán, where he succeeded the assassinated Lucas de Gálvez.<sup>46</sup> Soon after arrival at his new post,

AGI, PC, legajo 15-A; Miró to O'Neill, New Orleans, AGI, PC, legajo 7; and "Expediente de O'Neill."

40. "Relación de las fuerzas del Tercer Batallón del Regimiento de Infantería de Luisiana," O'Neill to Miró, Pensacola, August 19, 1790, AGI, PC, legajo 38.
41. O'Neill to Miró, Pensacola, October 3, 1791, AGI, PC, legajo 39. For *hoja de servicios* of Bertucat, see AGS, Secretaría de Guerra, legajo 7291, VIII, 25.
42. Baron de Carondelet to O'Neill, New Orleans, May 2, 1792, AGI, PC, legajo 18. For a biographical sketch on Carondelet, see Eric Beerman, "XV Barón de Carondelet: Gobernador de la Luisiana y la Florida, 1791-1797," *Hidalguía*, No. 148 (March 1978), 179-91.
43. Carondelet to O'Neill, New Orleans, September 14, 1792, AGE, PC, legajo 18.
44. O'Neill to Carondelet, Pensacola, April 24, 1793, AGI, PC, legajo 26.
45. "Expediente de O'Neill," and AGS, Títulos de Indias, signatura 188-300 (January 20, 1793).
46. "Expediente sobre el asesinato del Gobernador de Yucatán D. Lucas de Gálvez cometido en 1792 según su mujer Da. María Francisca de Moya

O'Neill received the welcomed news of his promotion to field marshal.<sup>47</sup>

O'Neill's conduct as governor of West Florida underwent the customary investigation by a Spanish judge, Luis Carlos de Jaen, a lawyer of the Real Audiencia of Louisiana. The inquiry began in 1796 and was concluded in 1807, when the judge announced that O'Neill had performed his duty in Pensacola with great skill and impartiality.<sup>48</sup>

O'Neill traveled a great deal that first year of 1794, seeking a first-hand impression of his new command. As a result, he was able to write an account of the region, "Descripción, población, y censo de la Provincia de Yucatán en la Nueva España, 1795."<sup>49</sup> Possibly he was on the road too much, or perhaps his spiritual qualities did not measure up to his martial attributes, but the Bishop of Yucatán noted in a communication to Minister of State Manuel Godoy that O'Neill was noticeably absent from a special mass in the Mérida Cathedral honoring Queen Maria Luisa.<sup>50</sup>

Spain's war with France ended in 1795, but peace did not last long; conflict broke out with England the following year. O'Neill instituted the training of black *militamen* and put his forces on wartime alert. English vessels from the Jamaica squadron blockaded Campeche.<sup>51</sup> O'Neill developed a plan to expel the English from their foothold in Central America at Belize and requested Godoy's approval in 1797 to undertake this expedition.<sup>52</sup> Godoy concurred, and the following September, Spain and England fought a naval engagement near Belize. English ships carried the day, however, and destroyed O'Neill's plans of expelling the

por los llamados Quijanos y sus incidencias," AGS, Secretaría de Guerra, legajo 7219.

47. "Expediente de O'Neill."

48. Residencia of O'Neill, AHN, Consejo de Indias (hereinafter cited as CI), legajo 21225. O'Neill's nephew Juan Mapoter had his uncle's power of attorney to act on his behalf in the residencia. Judge Jaen recommended that Pensacola should be considered a suburb of New Orleans and instead of having a governor, it should have an *alcalde* (mayor).

49. O'Neill to Duke de Alcudia, Mérida de Yucatán, June 30, 1795, AGI, Estado, legajo 35.

50. Bishop of Yucatán to Alcudia, Mérida, July 18, 1795, AGI, Estado, legajo 41.

51. O'Neill to Prince de la Paz (Godoy), Mérida, April 22, 1796, AGI, Estado, legajo 35.

52. O'Neill to Pas, Mérida, January 27, 1797, AGI, Estado, legajo 26; and *Diccionario Porrúa de Historia, Biografía y Geografía de México*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1970), II, 1517-18.

enemy from Bacalar to the Walix River.<sup>53</sup> The Spanish expedition returned to Campeche in November.<sup>54</sup>

Completing the mandatory five-year term at his post, O'Neill who was nearly sixty-five years of age, requested reassignment to Spain. He was replaced in 1800 by Benito Pérez, who took his predecessor's *residencia*.<sup>55</sup> The only apparent blemish to O'Neill's record was the Belize expedition, and, Pérez concluded that O'Neill's service had been superior.<sup>56</sup>

The conflict with England continued, and Campeche remained blockaded, so O'Neill was forced to take an American frigate to Havana, and to wait there until he could secure safe passage to Spain. He departed Havana in November 1801 on the corvette *El Príncipe* and arrived without incident at El Ferrol in Galicia on Christmas Day. He immediately wrote to Madrid, asking to be received in court "to kiss the royal hand."<sup>57</sup>

On the occasion of the marriage of Prince of Asturias (Fernando VII) to Princess María Antonia in October 1802, Carlos IV signed the Royal Order promoting O'Neill to lieutenant general.<sup>58</sup> Three weeks later O'Neill wrote the king, requesting an audience to express his deep gratitude.<sup>59</sup> The following May, O'Neill became minister of the king's prestigious Supreme War Council.<sup>60</sup>

The process commenced in 1804 to secure an aristocratic title for O'Neill, and it was necessary for him to write his former commander and then Minister of State Pedro Ceballos to obtain genealogy papers from Ireland.<sup>61</sup> All was in order, and the follow-

53. O'Neill to Sancho de Luna, Presidio de Bacalar, September 26, 1798, AGI, Estado, legajo 35; "Defensa del Capitán de fragata Dn. Sancho de Luna, contra las acusaciones del Capitán General de Yucatán Dn. Arturo O'Neill, hecho en la Havana en 3 de Octubre de 1802," Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Ms. 17617.

54. O'Neill to Francisco Saavedra, Mérida, November 6, 1798, AGI, Estado, legajo 35.

55. "Expediente de O'Neill," and Residencia of O'Neill, AHN, CI, legajo 20752.

56. Ibid. For Pérez's appointment as captain general of Yucatán, see AGS, Títulos de Indias, signatura 2-86-126 (June 19, 1799).

57. O'Neill to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Mérida, October 13, 1800, AGI, Estado, legajo 35, and O'Neill to Joseph Antonio Caballero, Bahía del Ferrol, December 25, 1801, "Expediente de O'Neill."

58. Royal Order of October 5, 1802, Palacio de Madrid, *ibid*.

59. O'Neill to Señor [Carlos IV], Madrid, October 26, 1802, *ibid*.

60. Marquis del Norte (Viscount de O'Neill) to Señor [Fernando VII], Madrid, February 14, 1814, *ibid*.

61. O'Neill to Pedro Ceballos, Madrid, June 30, 1804, *ibid*.

ing year Arturo O'Neill became Marquis del Norte and Viscount de O'Neill.<sup>62</sup>

The Marquis del Norte no doubt thought that at seventy-one years of age in 1808 his combat days were over. But he was in Madrid during the epic Dos de Mayo and served heroically that day when that city rose against Napoleon's troops. Nonetheless, the odds were too great, and O'Neill joined the Spanish forces which withdrew to the south. When these forces regrouped, O'Neill became commander of the Second Division in the Castilla Vieja Army which played an important role in the Spanish victory at Bailén in July. This action stemmed the tide in Andalusia and caused the French to withdraw. The Second Division was in the vanguard several months later in the liberation of Madrid.

General Francisco Javier Castaños, the hero of Bailén and brother-in-law of Carondelet, asked O'Neill to remain in Madrid with the Supreme War Council. The Spaniards believed the war might be over, but the following year, 1809, Napoleon laid siege to the Spanish capital. O'Neill left his desk at the War Council and took command of a vital artillery battery at the Puerta de los Pozos. One of his rounds struck a French ammunition deposit which caused many enemy casualties. But his combativeness was not matched by the governor of Madrid who asked for capitulation terms.

O'Neill, still full of fight, joined the armies of Castaños and the Duke of Wellington, which retreated towards the Portuguese frontier. At the tiny Salamanca village of Vitigudino, Napoleon caught up with the Princesa Regiment commanded by O'Neill and severely mauled the unit. Most of the Spaniards, however, made it across the border to Freixo. After regrouping, the Spanish and English force returned to combat in Spain. O'Neill fell desperately ill and went to recover at the Sierra de Gata near Ciudad Rodrigo, but there he fell prisoner to the French. Because of the gravity of his illness and age, he was not sent to France like most of the other captives. When O'Neill recovered, and at great risk, he escaped and returned to Spanish lines and rejoined the fight. In August 1812, O'Neill proudly marched back into Madrid with the liberating Spanish and English armies.<sup>63</sup>

62. Royal Order of April 18, 1805, Aranjuez, AHN, Consejos Supremos, legajo 8979, No. 5137.

63. Marquis del Norte to Señor Fernando VII, Madrid, February 14, 1814, "Expediente de O'Neill," and *Gaceta de Madrid*, January 10, 1815, 31-32.

Possibly the Marquis del Norte was feeling his years of age and long military service, and one of the first things he did in Madrid the following month was to make his last will and testament.<sup>64</sup> He was married to the army and had remained a lifelong bachelor. O'Neill's parents were deceased, as well as his brothers and sisters: Nicolás, Isabel, Ana, and Julio. Arturo O'Neill passed away just before his seventy-ninth birthday at his Madrid home on San Onofre 22, in the evening of December 9, 1814. He was attended in his final days by his nephew, Brigadier Julio O'Neill, who was heir to his uncle's estate and who became II Marquis de Norte.<sup>65</sup>

As Arturo O'Neill's obituary stated in the *Gaceta de Madrid*, he possessed "valor, loyalty, zeal, and skill." These were qualities he had amply demonstrated as the first governor of West Florida during the critical Second Spanish Period, serving longer probably than any other Spaniard. Few governors became a lieutenant general, few received an aristocratic title, and fewer attained both.

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64. Last will and testament of Arturo O'Neill, Madrid, September 1, 1812, AHP, Libro 22628. According to this 1812 will, O'Neill made previous wills in 1807 and 1810.
65. Probated will of O'Neill, Madrid, March 3, 1815, AHP, Libro 24918; Jack D. L. Holmes, "Some Irish Officers in Spanish Louisiana," *Irish Sword*, VI (Winter 1964), 243-44; Micheline Walsh, *The O'Neills in Spain* (Dublin, 1957), 37-38. O'Neill's oldest brother Nicolás was born in Ireland in 1734. Both brothers came to Spain at the same time, entering the Irlanda Regiment together in 1752. Nicolás died as lieutenant colonel in 1790, leaving a widow, Brigida Kil Kelly, and a daughter Elena. O'Neill's older sister Isabel came to Spain and was married in 1778 to Tadeo O'Sullivan, Count de Birabén. A younger sister, Ana, remained in Ireland and married Edmund McCormick. They bore five children, one, of whom, went to Puerto Rico. The youngest child, Julio, came to Spain and married Catherine O'Keef, and raised two daughters and two sons. One of the sons, Arturo, established in Puerto Rico and the other, Julio, had a brilliant army career as a brigadier. In addition, Julio was heir to his Uncle Arturo's estate (II Marquis del Norte). He married Manuela de Castilla, Marquise de la Granja. The Casa contains archival documents of the Marquis del Norte.

## A LOST LANDMARK REVISITED: THE PANTON HOUSE OF PENSACOLA

by THOMAS D. WATSON AND SAMUEL WILSON, JR.

**F**IRE destroyed much of Pensacola during the night of September 24-25, 1848.<sup>1</sup> Among the many buildings lost to the flames was the imposing, three-story brick mansion that once had served as the West Florida headquarters of Panton, Leslie and Company. For over half a century its columns had towered above the northern shoreline of Pensacola Bay as silent reminders of bygone years when William Panton, its builder and first occupant, had lorded it over the southern Indian trade from within its confines.<sup>2</sup>

According to Marie Taylor Greenslade, a descendant of the Panton family, Panton built the house in 1785. From other evidence, however, this date seems too early for its construction.<sup>3</sup> This was the year that Panton first took up residence in Pensacola, and four more years passed before he, a British subject, received the Spanish government's official notification that he would be permitted to stay. Local tradition maintains that he

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1. Captain Dubreuil to Admiral Kendrain, September 28, 1848, in *Ministere d' Affaires Etrangere, Archives Diplomatique*, box 236, xerox copy, Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company, University of West Florida Library, Pensacola, Florida (hereinafter cited as Panton, Leslie papers).
2. Panton, an avid loyalist of Scottish origins, fled from Georgia to East Florida at the onset of the American Revolution. On or about January 15, 1783, he joined John Leslie, Thomas Forbes, and William Alexander as a founder and senior partner in Panton, Leslie and Company, formed for the purpose of engaging in the war-ravaged southern Indian trade. Alexander severed his ties with the firm some time after it was discovered that East Florida would be retroceded to Spain. See Panton to Leslie, July 18, 1791, in D. W. Johnson et al v. John Innerarity et al, Louisiana Supreme Court, case no. 1156 (1825). The others continued the partnership eventually gaining Spain's approval to conduct the Indian trade in both Floridas. Panton managed the company's West Florida operations, Leslie handled its affairs in East Florida, and Forbes looked after its interests in Nassau. Randy Frank Nimnicht, "William Panton: His Early Career on the Changing Frontier" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1968), offers a solid account of the pre-Spanish phase of Panton's career.
3. Marie Taylor Greenslade, "John Innerarity, 1783-1854," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, IX (October 1930), 90-95.

completed the house in 1796.<sup>4</sup> Construction quite likely began no later than 1796, given Panton's mounting misfortunes.

In April 1785, Panton sailed into the harbor at Pensacola with an assortment of goods he had hastily assembled in Nassau. It was his plan to engross the lucrative Indian trade throughout the area of West Florida and beyond. His hopes rested on the assumption that Spain had no other alternative for meeting its treaty commitments to the Creeks, Alabamas, Choctaws, and Chickasaws to establish and maintain a satisfactory trade for their convenience. At the outset, however, Panton learned to his chagrin that he could obtain nothing more from the Spaniards than begrudging sufferance to supply only the Creeks on a year-to-year emergency basis. Indeed, if not for the importunings of Alexander McGillivray, the half-breed Creek leader, Spanish-Indian agent, and a business associate, Panton's tenure in Pensacola would have been shortlived at best.<sup>5</sup>

The year 1789 brought vast improvements to Panton's status in Spanish West Florida. In February he assumed the Choctaw and Chickasaw trade through Mobile when the original concessionaire, the New Orleans-based firm of Mather and Strother, failed. Five months later he learned that the Spanish court had formally adopted a policy that sanctioned, at least indirectly, a Panton memorial of 1786 outlining the terms his company would require for remaining in the West Florida Indian trade. This concession laid to rest a threat Panton had made in 1787 to pull out of West Florida unless relieved of burdensome Spanish trade restrictions and import duties.<sup>6</sup>

In the 1790s, however, Panton's dominance of the southern Indian trade began to slip away. The talented Alexander McGillivray, whose sway over the anti-American Creek party was crucial to the interests of both Panton and Spain, died in Pensacola on February 17, 1793. His passing threw the leadership of

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4. Leora M. Sutton, "Archaeological Investigations, Blocks Three and Eleven Old City Plat of Pensacola" (unpublished report to Board of County Commissioners, Escambia County, Florida, ca. 1976), 4.
  5. Thomas D. Watson, "The Troubled Advance of Panton, Leslie and Company into Spanish West Florida," in *Eighteenth-Century Florida and the Revolutionary South*, ed. by Samuel Proctor (Gainesville, 1978), 79-86.
  6. Thomas D. Watson, "Continuity in Commerce: Development of the Panton, Leslie and Company Trade Monopoly in West Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LIV (April 1976), 558-63.

the Creeks into almost total disarray at the very time that the United States government intensified its efforts to lure the southern Indians away from Spanish influence. Later in the year, President Washington proposed, with Panton, Leslie and Company clearly in mind, that Congress institute a non-profit government factory system for assuming the Indian trade. Thereafter Panton brooded over the prospect of having to compete against the resources of the United States.<sup>7</sup> Congress eventually acted favorably on Washington's proposal, and the factory system was funded in 1795. The Creeks accepted the establishment of government factories on their land in the Treaty of Colerain, concluded in July 1796.<sup>8</sup>

During this very month, the terms of the Treaty of San Lorenzo setting the northern boundary of West Florida at thirty-one degrees north latitude came to Panton's attention. He protested mightily to Spanish authorities over his abandonment to the whims of the United States, his foremost adversary.<sup>9</sup> For the remainder of his life he devoted his efforts variously to conciliating the United States, liquidating his company's considerable outstanding Indian debts, and pleading with Spain for compensation for actual and anticipated business losses.<sup>10</sup>

In January 1797, meanwhile, Panton was faced with the ultimate complication of his declining years: the outbreak of war between Britain and Spain. Out of concern for Indian reprisals against West Florida, Spain allowed Panton to remain and to struggle to hold on to whatever of the Indian trade he could. He did so by resorting to subterfuge on the high seas, by influencing British authorities to make special allowances for his commercial needs, and by sheer luck.<sup>11</sup> From these considerations it seems likely that construction on the Panton house could have begun no earlier than mid-1789 and no later than mid-1796.

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7. Michael D. Green, *The Creeks: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington and London, 1979), 32-36; Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790-1834* (paperback ed., Lincoln, 1970), 86; Thomas D. Watson, "Merchant-Adventurer in the Old Southwest: William Panton, the Spanish Years, 1783-1801" (Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1972), 245-49.

8. R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* (Norman, 1954), 113-15.

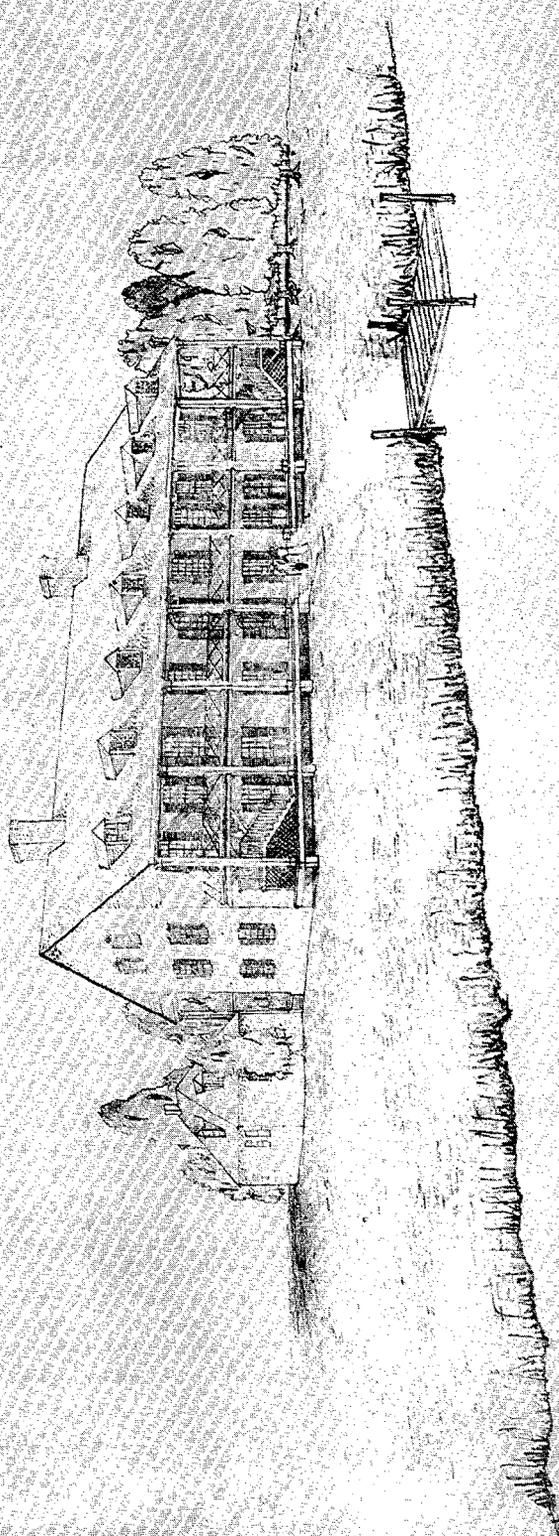
9. Watson, "Merchant-Adventurer," 260-61.

10. *Ibid.*, 261-65.

11. *Ibid.*, 266-312.



View of the north and east sides of the old Panton, Leslie and Company warehouse that was converted into a residence for John Innerarity in 1806. The hipped roof building in the left foreground is the kitchen of the Panton mansion (courtesy of the Pensacola Historical Society).



Conceptual sketch of the Panten mansion, built around 1796 and destroyed by fire in 1848.

Weary from his many cares and burdens, and afflicted with dropsy, Panton died at sea on February 26, 1801. John Forbes, one of the partners in the business, assumed directorship over the Panton firm's West Florida interests.<sup>12</sup> Foremost among his immediate problems was finding means for replenishing the company's supply of gunpowder and musket balls, the *sine qua non* of the Indian trade, and items that British wartime restrictions had forbidden the company to acquire from English sources.<sup>13</sup> Within a fortnight of Panton's death, Forbes petitioned Vicente Folch y Juan, governor of West Florida, to accept the Panton house and its adjacent kitchen as collateral against a loan of gunpowder and musket balls from Spanish government stores.<sup>14</sup>

Governor Folch initiated a formal inquiry to establish the legal ownership of the house. Three sworn witnesses, Martin de Madrid, José Hernández de Armas, and Louis Gagnet, testified that they had seen the house built and knew Panton to be the owner and proprietor. Folch then appointed three official appraisers, James Wilkins, Florencio Ximénez, and Nicolás López, to assess the value of the property. They submitted their report on March 14, 1801 (see appendix).<sup>15</sup> The appraisers made no description of the overall physical appearance of the building. Instead they listed the types and quantities of the various components, such as masonry, carpentry, hardware, etc., that went into the construction of the house and kitchen. They placed the total value of the components at 14,704 pesos, 3 1/4 reales. An English translation of relevant excerpts from the appraisal appears below.<sup>16</sup> These data, along with an archeological site survey of the Panton mansion conducted in 1975 by Leora M. Sutton of Pensacola, were indispensable to the preparation of this study.

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12. John Forbes, a younger brother of Thomas Forbes, accompanied Panton on his voyage from Nassau to Pensacola in 1785. The younger Forbes became a junior partner in Panton, Leslie and Company in 1791. See Panton to Leslie, July 18, 1791, in Johnson v. Innerarity. In 1804, after the death of John Leslie, the original firm was succeeded by John Forbes and Company. See William S. Coker, "Entrepreneurs in British and Spanish Floridas, 1775-1821," reprinted in William S. Coker (ed.), *Historical Sketches of Panton, Leslie and Company* (Pensacola, 1976), 5.
  13. Watson, "Merchant-Adventurer," 294-96.
  14. Petition of John Forbes to Vicente Folch y Juan, March 12, 1801, Archivo General de las Indias, Papeles de Cuba, Legajo 58, Doc. F, Elizabeth Howard West Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
  15. *Ibid.*
  16. Sutton, "Archaeological Investigations." In 1975, Ms. Sutton, an authority

It has been stated that Pantón's nephew, John Innerarity, married Marie Victoria Coulon de Villiers in 1806, and that afterwards "Pantón's mansion at Pensacola became their home. . . . It was a massive brick house, three stories and a cellar, built on the English style with adaptations for a southern climate."<sup>17</sup> The Sutton excavations, however, uncovered no evidence of a cellar. The shallow water table also precludes the use of cellars. It is more likely that some particular room on the ground floor was designated as and served the same purpose as a cellar. One contemporary account calls the Pantón house "a three story brick mansion—the most imposing edifice in the area." Another confirms this general impression.<sup>18</sup>

Innerarity still occupied the house at the time of its fiery destruction in 1848. Adverse fresh winds, according to one account, drove the flames over three-quarters of a mile from their point of origin before they engulfed the mansion, leaving the occupant "the final but also the principal victim" of the conflagration.<sup>19</sup> A son-in-law, Isaac Hulse, a United States Navy surgeon, supervised the conversion of a nearby company warehouse constructed at the same time as the Pantón mansion into a residence for John Innerarity. Of the warehouse, Hulse wrote: "The walls are brick, three feet thick at the base, and three stories high. The new dwelling will have as many conveniences almost as he [Innerarity] enjoyed in the spacious dwelling that was destroyed. His actual loss by fire he estimates at over \$50,000."<sup>20</sup>

The converted warehouse was destroyed by fire and storm in 1915. Photographs of this structure are extant and shed light on the general appearance of the original Pantón house. Its description as an English-style structure suggests a gable-end building, perhaps not unlike the Johnson plantation, *Magnolia*, on the

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on the history of Pensacola, organized and supervised an archeological survey of the old Pantón-Forbes complex and adjacent sites of historical interest just before construction began on a judicial building and parking lot. The study was funded by a grant from the Escambia County Commissioners.

17. Greenslade, "John Innerarity," 92. Greenslade states that John Innerarity arrived in Pensacola from England in 1802 as an employee of the Pantón firm. A brother, James, had preceded him to Pensacola by several years. See *ibid.*, 91. The Innerarity brothers later acquired an interest in John Forbes and Company. See Coker, "Entrepreneurs," 5.
18. Sutton, "Archaeological Investigations," 43.
19. Dubreil to Kendrain, September 28, 1848, Pantón, Leslie papers.
20. Greenslade, "John Innerarity," 95.

west bank of the Mississippi River below New Orleans, which was built in the early 1800s and is now almost in ruins. The architect Benjamin Latrobe, in ascending the river in 1819, noted that Johnson's was the first sugar plantation on the large scale that he saw and described it as "a large house of two stories of brick, with a portico on each front."<sup>21</sup> These two houses, Johnson's and the remodeled Panton warehouse, form the basis for the character of the conjectural restoration sketch presented herein.

The most important data used to determine the original size and shape of the Panton mansion are contained in the Sutton archeological report. The mansion's outer walls were seventeen inches thick with outer dimensions of 34' 4" x 102'. Three interior brick walls separated the four rooms of the lower story. From the data contained in the 1801 appraisal, it may be inferred that these partitions also extended into the upper stories. The ground excavations, however, reveal one discrepancy: Sutton discovered the foundation of only one double fireplace that served to heat the two easternmost rooms of the house, whereas the 1801 appraisal lists two double fireplaces. It is possible that the foundation of the westernmost fireplace was removed. The excavations also failed to reveal the foundations for the front and rear galleries whose existence is documented in the 1801 appraisal.

The appraisal also lists materials for fourteen dormer windows, which indicates that there were seven on the north slope of the roof and seven on the south. There were sixteen gallery columns totaling 304 feet, or nineteen feet in length for each column, two-stories high, on both the north and south galleries. Two hundred forty feet of Chinese balustrades are listed, probably similar to those described by C. C. Robin as seen on houses on Bayou St. John when he arrived in New Orleans in 1803.<sup>22</sup> Such balustrades, as shown in the sketch, Charles Alexandre Lesueur made in the 1820s of the Albin Michel house on the

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21. Samuel Wilson, Jr., ed., *Impressions Respecting New Orleans by Benjamin Henry Beneval Latrobe, Diary and Sketches, 1818-1820* (New York, 1951), 17.
  22. C. C. Robin, *Voyages dans l'interieur de la Louisiane, de la Floride Occidentale, et dans les Isles de la Martinique et de Saint Dominique pendant Les Années 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 et 1806*. 2 vols. (Paris, 1807), II, 63; Stuart O. Landry, Jr., ed. and trans., *Voyage to Louisiana by C. C. Robin, 1803-1805* (New Orleans, 1966), 30.

bayou, a cross pattern balustrade in the Chinese Chippendale taste.<sup>23</sup>

Exterior stairways are listed and were probably located within the galleries as was the usual practice in southern houses of this period. The lattice work listed was possibly used for enclosing the space beneath the stairways. The balusters and railings in all likelihood were also used for the stairways and for surrounding the stairwells on the second floor level. The mill work listed includes doors, windows and shutters, baseboards, cornices, etc.

The building shown in the left foreground of figure 1 is identified by Sutton as the original kitchen of the Panton mansion. The 1801 appraisal seems to corroborate this position, although its hipped roof and small dormer windows are more French than English in character. The sketch included herein as figure 2 suggests the appearance of the Panton mansion, but it is only conjectural. Further research and analysis would be required to make a more authentic reconstruction of this important house.

*Appendix, from AGI-PC legajo 58, document F*

Appraisal which, by order of the Señor, Governor of this Plaza was made by the undersigned, of the dwelling house of Don Juan Forbes, in the presence of the Engineer Commander who also signed.

MASONRY

[pesos-reales]

For 447 Castilian varas of walls of two bricks and a half of thickness for the principal house, two divisions; in the lower story, they are of the same thickness and room partitions of 137 varas; those forming the rooms in the upper story are of a half brick in thickness.	1933 - 0
For 1167 varas of floors.	383-4
For two double chimneys and two from the second floor.	680-0
For two kitchen walls that contain 246 varas of	

23. Musée de l'Histoire Naturelle, Le Havre, France, Lesueur Collection.

two bricks in thickness.	632 - 0
For a chimney in the same; two ovens and a cooking grille with ten grates.	300 - 0
For 80 varas of floors in the upper story of same.	40 - 0

### CARPENTRY

For 3500 feet of boards in the floor of the first story.	420 - 0
For 3500 ditto of ditto in the second.	280 - 0
For 3500 feet of ceiling in the first floor.	525 - 0
For 3500 ditto of ditto in the second.	525 - 0
For 640 ditto frames of windows.	192 - 0
For 384 lights 12 inches by 16.	184 - 2 1/2
For 12 casement doors.	109 - 3 1/2
For 20 jalousie doors.	380 - 0
For 12 ditto for rooms.	120 - 7 1/2
For 4 double architraves.	30 - 5 1/2
For 14 ditto for doors to rooms.	95 - 3
For 22 ditto for windows.	126 - 6 1/2
For the forms of three principal mantelpieces.	180 - 0

\* \* \* \* \*

For 14 door frames.	124 - 2 1/2
For 210 feet of base.	67 - 1 3/4
For 210 ditto of single moulding.	20 - 2
For 150 ditto of double cornice.	20 - 3
For 85 ditto of single cornice.	5 - 1 1/2
For 4 partition walls.	9 - 0
For 5 doors.	50 - 3 1/2
For 15 frames.	24 - 6
For 42 feet of single architrave.	20 - 1 1/4
For 14 garret dormer windows.	43 - 1 1/2
For 14 frames for ditto.	10 - 4
For 168 lights.	67 - 1 1/2
For 14 sides for the dormer windows.	43 - 1 1/2
For 489 feet of single mouldings.	62 - 3
For 7436 feet of roofing for the house.	223 - 0
For 672 ditto ditto for the dormer windows.	40 - 2 1/2
For 285 ditto of cornice of the roof.	68 - 3 1/4
For 20 outside architraves.	63 - 6 3/4

For 20 doors.	84 - 0
For 5 door frames.	69 - 0
For 5 doors for the storehouse (or wine cellar).	58 - 5
For 4 ditto in the partitions.	49 -
For 1 partition wall wainscot.	173 - 6 3/4
For 1 partition wall with posts.	173 - 6 3/4
For 130 feet of bases.	10 - 3 1/4
For 1056 superficial feet of the outside stairways.	506 - 7
For 108 feet railings.	51 - 6 3/4
For 96 ditto of posts for ditto.	14 - 3 1/4
For 420 ditto of small railing.	52 - 4
For 104 ditto of side mouldings.	15 - 4 3/4
For 240 ditto of sheathing under the stairway.	14 - 3 3/4
For 240 ditto Chinese railing.	115 - 1 1/2

\* \* \* \*

For 4 doors under the stairways.	14 - 3 1/4
For 74 feet of base.	14 - 6 1/2
For 120 feet of single mouldings.	15 - 0
For 244 feet 6 inch cornices.	137 - 1
For 168 ditto of gallery railings.	80 - 5
For 16 Gallery columns - 304 feet.	45 - 4 3/4
For 231 feet of lattice.	231 - 0
For 84 feet of mouldings for the capitals of the columns.	28 - 4
For 36 feet of ditto smaller moulding.	12 - 2
For 667 1/2 ditto of partition wall in the third story.	100 - 1
For the work in forming the two chimney fronts.	20 - 0
For 144 feet of ladder.	69 - 1

\* \* \* \*

The undersigned guarantee of having proceeded faithfully and legally in the evaluation we have made, following our understanding and knowledge, of the residence of John Forbes, and the property of Panton, Leslie and Company, in Pensacola on the 14th of March, 1801.

(s) James Wilkins

(s) Florencio Ximénez  
(Rubricado)

(s) Nicolás López  
(Rubricado)

## WAR CLOUDS ON THE MISSISSIPPI: SPAIN'S 1785 CRISIS IN WEST FLORIDA

by GILBERT C. DIN

"I LOOK forward to a time, not very far distant, when . . . the whole [of Georgia] will be settled and connected . . . to the banks of the Mississippi."<sup>1</sup> Judge George Walton of Wilkes County, Georgia, who spoke these words in 1785, visualized the expansion of his state after the assembly had that year enacted a law for the erection of Bourbon County on the Mississippi's east bank. The new county extended along the Father of Waters from the Yazoo River to the thirty-first parallel. In creating it, Georgia based itself on the 1783 peace treaty with Britain which ceded to the United States lands down to the thirty-first parallel. The same treaty gave the new nation the right to navigate the Mississippi throughout its course. Britain's generous treaty concessions to the United States, however, failed to take into account the Spanish conquest of West Florida in the American Revolution and Britain's own recognition of the Floridas as Spanish in a separate treaty. Spain also claimed lands north of the Yazoo (Britain's northern boundary of West Florida) and eastward to the Appalachian mountains. Moreover the Spaniards, in refusing to grant the United States the navigation of the Mississippi where it possessed both banks, closed the river to Americans in 1784. While Spain had not obtained a clear definition of its boundaries and rights in the peace treaties, it intended to resolve disputed points in direct negotiations with the United States. For this purpose, the Spanish court named Diego de Gardoqui as its envoy to the United States in late 1784, and he arrived in the new republic in

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1. Quoted in Arthur Preston Whitaker, *The Spanish American Frontier: 1783-1795* (Gloucester, Mass., 1927; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass., 1962), 6. The Bourbon County episode in West Florida history has been overlooked. This includes two recent studies: Peter Zahendra, "Spanish West Florida 1781-1821\_\_" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1976); and Elena Sánchez-Fabrés Mirat, *Situación histórica de las Floridas en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII (1783-1819)* (Madrid, 1977).

mid-1785.<sup>2</sup> Before that time, however, Georgia had created Bourbon County, which was the Natchez district of West Florida, and authorized commissioners to take peaceful possession of it.<sup>3</sup>

The origins of Georgia's claim to lands extending to the Mississippi River dated back to 1783. The state, however, did nothing more until November 1784, when Thomas Green presented a petition to the Georgia assembly, allegedly in behalf of the Natchez residents. Green, approximately sixty years of age, had settled in Natchez in May 1782, with twelve families, nearly all related to him, and 200 slaves. In 1783 he indiscreetly distributed medals to the Indians to gain their friendship, an act that caused the Spanish commandant at Natchez to draw up charges against him. Before the case proceeded farther, Green escaped to Georgia where he continued his machinations against the Spaniards. Undoubtedly based on his petition, a committee of the assembly, on January 21, 1785, reported a bill for the creation of Bourbon County. By February 3, it was enacted into law, and four days later instructions were drawn up for the persons who were to exercise the offices of justice of the peace in the county. On February 8, Green, Nicholas Long, William Davenport, and Nathaniel Christmas took the oath as justices with the power to administer oaths to other justices of the peace, several of whom were members of Green's family in Natchez.<sup>4</sup> The four original justices, or

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2. On wartime diplomacy, for the American side, see Samuel Flagg Bemis, *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (Bloomington, 1957), and for the Spanish side, Juan F. Yela Utrilla, *España ante la independencia de los Estados Unidos*, 2 vols. (2nd ed.; Lérida, Spain, 1925). For the Gardoqui mission, see Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, "La Mision Gardoqui" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Madrid, 1930), and Michael A. Otero, "The American Mission of Diego de Gardoqui, 1785-1789" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1948).
  3. Edmund C. Burnett, ed., "Papers Relating to Bourbon County, Georgia, 1785-1786," *American Historical Review*, XV (May 1909-February 1910), 66-111, 293-353.
  4. On the background to Bourbon County, see Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 67-69. Georgia state documents in Spanish are in Archivo Historico Nacional (Madrid), Estado (hereinafter cited as AHN), legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6; Mississippi Provincial Archives, Spanish Dominion, Vol. II, 1783-1786 (Jackson, Miss.), on microfilm (hereinafter cited as MPA, SD); in English in Burnett, "Papers relating to Bourbon County," 71-73; and in Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794*, 3 pts. (Washington, 1949), Pt. 2, 120-23. The other justices appointed were Tacitus Gaillard, Sutton Banks, William McIntosh, Benjamin Farrar, Cato West, Thomas Marston Green, William Anderson, Adam Bingaman, and John Ellis. See also Esteban Miró to the Conde de Gálvez (Bernardo de Gálvez), June 20, 1785, AHN,

“commissioners” as they became known, regarded themselves as special envoys, and at least two of them enlarged their powers upon reaching Natchez. They also carried blank commissions for officers in a militia they proposed to create in Natchez.<sup>5</sup> All four of the commissioners assumed military rank.

Of the commissioners, Green and Davenport journeyed west via the Ohio River, with Green preceeding Davenport. Long and Christmas travelled by way of the “nations” (the lands of the Chickasaw, Creek, and Choctaw tribes). As he travelled, it was probably Green with his rambunctious personality who unleashed rumors of American troops moving westward to seize Natchez from the Spaniards. These rumors grew as they spread and reached alarming proportions by the time Spanish officials heard them. Governor Esteban Miró of Louisiana and West Florida, who knew nothing of the creation of Bourbon County, first heard the rumors in New Orleans. From about May 30, reports reached him of large numbers of American soldiers heading for Natchez. Alexander McGillivray, leader of the Creeks and a new ally of the Spaniards, wrote that approximately 2,500 men were on the Ohio under Generals Montgomery and Clark. The commandant of Mobile, Pedro Favrot, confirmed this and added that 300 picked troops under Captain Davenport from Georgia intended to seize the Natchez fort and district if the Spanish commandant refused to surrender them.<sup>6</sup>

The reports greatly disturbed Miró who, on June 11, wrote to the governor of Cuba for assistance, and three days later at great length to Bernardo de Gálvez, the Conde de Gálvez, and Viceroy of New Spain. For months Miró had heard rumors of American plans to take over Natchez, and many of the Anglo-

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Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6. Green brought his wife, nine children, and thirty-two slaves with him. “Account of the American families who arrived in Natchez in May, 1782.” Carlos de Grand-Pré, July 6, 1782, Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Papeles Procedentes de Cuba (hereinafter cited as AGI, PC), legajo 193B.

5. Instructions to the Justices of Bourbon County,” Burnett, “Papers Relating to Bourbon County,” 71-73. A blank commission with the rank of captain is in AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6.
6. Miró to Bernardo Troncoso, June 11, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 1,387; Miró to the Conde de Gálvez, June 14, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6, and Miró to José de Gálvez on the same date, *ibid.*; Alexander McGillivray to Miró, May 16, 1785; and Pedro Favrot to Miró, June 3, 1785, both in *ibid.* See also MPA, SD, and Burnett, “Papers Relating to Bourbon County,” 73-74, 75.

American residents believed that American control would soon occur. This had not bothered him until the most recent news arrived. Miró consequently ordered forty-six grenadiers to go up to Natchez to increase Fort Panmure's garrison to 100 men, and he sent supplies for the fort and gifts for the Indians. He also dispatched a corporal and four rowers, disguised as hunters, to ascend the Mississippi to ascertain if hostile forces were heading downriver. They were to go all the way to the mouth of the Ohio and up to St. Louis if they did not observe anything.<sup>7</sup>

Although proceeding cautiously, Miró failed to comprehend why the United States would employ force against the Spaniards when an envoy was on his way to Philadelphia for negotiations. Miró preferred to believe that the American soldiers and families at the mouth of the Ohio planned to establish a fort and settlement on the boundary line with Spain's Florida and Louisiana possessions. He nevertheless prepared his understrength forces. He had only 323 soldiers in New Orleans, most of them newly-arrived recruits, and 695 more scattered at posts in Louisiana and West Florida. He could also count on 500 militiamen and 200 blacks, including slaves. Of the forts on the Mississippi, only Natchez's was in condition to offer resistance. He proposed to fight there or downstream at Pointe Coupée.<sup>8</sup> A council of war on June 15 authorized the governor to make extraordinary expenditures as it believed an attack was imminent.<sup>9</sup> Miró therefore sent a lengthy list of matériel needed to bring Louisiana's and West Florida's equipment to full strength. He wanted 136 iron cannons of various caliber, eight bronze cannons, four howitzers, 2,000 fusils with bayonettes, gun carriages, grenades, gunpowder, flints, bullets, and countless more equipment for the infantry and artillery.<sup>10</sup> The request would double Spanish armament on the Mississippi.

On June 16, Miró issued instructions to the Spanish com-

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7. Miró to Troncoso, June 11, 1785; AGI, PC, legajo 1,387; Miró to the Conde de Gálvez, June 14, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6. See also MPA, SD, and Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 78-82. There is a possibility that the soldiers who were to go up the Mississippi disguised as hunters never left.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Miró to the Conde de Gálvez, June 20, 1785, *ibid.* See also MPA, SD, and Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 91-94.

10. "Statement of the Artillery, Carriages, and Munitions and other Stores needed to Complete this Colony's and its dependent parts," Miró, June 15, 1785, *ibid.* See also MPA, SD. Two other lists made up by the chief artillery officer, Nicolás Daunoy, dated June 15 and 20, 1785, are in *ibid.*

mandant at Natchez, Lieutenant Colonel Felipe Treviño.<sup>11</sup> He was to post a corporal and four soldiers at the Yazoo to watch for flatboats and barges coming downstream and place another similar detachment on Second Creek for hostile forces approaching by land. If the Georgia commissioners, about whom the Spaniards were now aware, appeared demanding the fort, Treviño was to refer them to Miró who would ascend the river to talk with them. If the Americans were determined to attack, Treviño was to resist while Miró led reinforcements to Natchez. Meanwhile Treviño was to attract British loyalists of the district to his side, provide their families with refuge in Pointe Coupée, and employ up to fifty loyalists as part of the garrison. Once an attack became certain, Treviño was to publish a band reminding the residents of their oaths of fidelity to Spain and that they would be severely punished if they failed to live up to their pledged words.<sup>12</sup>

By the time Miró wrote to his superiors, one of the commissioners, "Colonel" Green, had arrived in Natchez on June 9, announcing to everyone his powers to take charge of Bourbon County, even intimating to some that he was the governor. Before seeing Treviño, he delivered commissions of justice of the peace to several residents. A few days later he approached Treviño and asked for the surrender of the fort and district. Although initially reluctant to show his credentials, Green permitted copies to be made and sent to New Orleans on June 15 while he waited in Natchez for Miró's decision. Much to his surprise, Green did not find the Natchez populace welcoming him or even members of his own family with open arms. Many residents denounced him as untrustworthy and captious. Two refused to accept their commissions, while Tacitus Gaillard, Richard Ellis, and Sutton Banks

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11. For a description of the Natchez district, see Francisco Bouligny to Miró, August 22, 1785, Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, Pt. 2, 136-42. Natchez consisted of three regions: St. Catherine Creek with 180 families, Second Creek with fifty-five families, and Coles Creek with forty families, or about 1,100 persons in all. Norman E. Gillis, *Early Inhabitants of the Natchez District* (Baton Rouge, 1963), 3, states that the 1785 population was 1,610, which included sixty soldiers. By 1788, it had increased to 2,679.
  12. "Instructions for the Commandant of Natchez, Dn. Felipe Treviño," Miró, June 16, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6. See also MPA, SD, and Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 85-87. The Natchez population consisted of both English loyalists and Americans.

held a meeting to urge the inhabitants to reject Georgia's claim which might lead to their ruination. William Brocus also informed Juan Rodríguez, the fort's storekeeper, that the local residents would neither accept Green as their governor nor Georgia's authority; they preferred an independent status if Spain would permit it. Treviño, who had first dismissed rumors of American troops, now reported that he believed 400 men were coming to seize Natchez.<sup>13</sup>

Treviño's June 15 letter increased Miró's apprehension when he received it two or three days later. He first wrote Green a stern message refusing to accept his authority. He demanded that Green come to New Orleans to show him the originals of his documents with their signatures. Privately Miró hoped to delay Green in writing to his superiors in order to gain time and get assistance from Cuba and Mexico.<sup>14</sup>

By June 20, Miró was convinced that American forces were marching on Natchez. He planned to make a stand immediately below Natchez. For this purpose he prepared two gunboats, each with an eighteen-pound cannon, and called up a galley stationed at Baliza at the mouth of the Mississippi. He purchased cannon shots, stopped discharging soldiers, and summoned 100 troops from Pensacola under Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Piernas.<sup>15</sup> He also requested 1,000 men from Mexico, with artillery, munitions,

13. Treviño to Miró, June 15, 1785, *ibid.*, with enclosures: Thomas Green to Treviño, June 12, 1785, and documents on Georgia's creation of Bourbon County, its limits, and Green's instructions, *ibid.* See also MPA, SD, and Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 76-78. See also "Ricardo Ellis, Tacitus Gaillard, and Sutton Banks to the Residents of Natchez," and "Statement of Juan Joseph Rodríguez, Storekeeper of Fort Panmure," Natchez, June 16, 1785, *ibid.* See also MPA, SD, and Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 85, 87-89. In Bouligny to Miró, No. 62, September 14, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11, he mentions that Green tried to pass himself off as governor.

14. Miró to Green, June 19, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6. See also Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 90-91.

15. Miró to Conde de Gálvez, June 20, 1785, *ibid.* See also Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 91-95; [Miró] to Pedro Piernas, June 17, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 3B. See also Miró to Martín Navarro (Intendant of Louisiana), June 18, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6. Miró at one time stated that he wanted two *lanchas* (boats) and two *lanchones* (barges), each capable of carrying a 24 caliber cannon (24-pounder). [Miró] to Piernas, June 17, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 3B. Miró proposed taking twelve cannons with him to Natchez. See "Statement of the artillery, carriages, munitions, arms, and other goods which can be prepared in this Plaza for the expedition proposed by its Governor today," Nicolás Daunoy, New Orleans, June 20, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6.

and other supplies. Miró now replaced Treviño at Natchez with Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Bouligny who was taking the reinforcements upriver; heavy rains had detained them for five days. Miró further ordered Bouligny to arrest Gaillard, Ellis, and Banks for advocating the "independence" of the district.<sup>16</sup>

Because of the urgent situation, Miró dispatched the brigantine *Galveztown* to Veracruz, Mexico, on June 21, with Lieutenant Vicente Folch of the regiment taking letters to Viceroy Gálvez. Although the governor wanted to go immediately to Natchez, he would not do so until mid-July when the gunboats were ready. He hoped by August to have supplies from Cuba. Despite his preparations, he still could not understand United States actions over Natchez which would mean certain war.<sup>17</sup>

By June 30, Miró had Treviño's first report of the peaceful arrival of the second commissioner, Davenport, at Natchez and concluded that perhaps an attack was not imminent after all. He nevertheless continued his preparations hoping that the difficult summer season, with its heavy toll on soldiers, would pass before he ascended to Natchez. He also wanted to delay the Georgia commissioners until instructions and supplies reached him. If the commissioners seemed determined to begin the boundary survey at the thirty-first parallel, a demand Davenport made, Miró ordered Bouligny to arrest them. Miró's new assessment of the situation in Natchez gained strength on June 30, when Carlos Steen floated down to New Orleans with furs from St. Louis. He had observed no troops on the Mississippi or at the Ohio's mouth. Moreover travellers from the United States told Steen that all was quiet there. Miró now decided to remain in New Orleans until he discovered what the Georgia commissioners were up to.<sup>18</sup>

At the start of July, both Miró and Commandant Arturo O'Neill at Pensacola requested help from Havana. On July 1,

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16. Miró to the Conde de Gálvez, June 20, 1785, *ibid.* Bouligny gave his opinion of the situation in his "Dictamen," New Orleans, June 16, 1785, MPA, SD. See also Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 87-89. For a study of Bouligny, see Gilbert C. Din, *Louisiana in 1776: A Memoria of Francisco Bouligny* (New Orleans, 1977).
  17. Miró to José de Gálvez, No. 83 *reservada de preferencia*, June 25, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6; and in AGI, Santo Domingo (SD), legajo 2,550.
  18. Miró to Treviño, July 1, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 3B. Miró mentions Treviño's June 23, 1785 letter but it is missing. See also Miró to the Conde de Gálvez, July 1 and 2, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6.

Miró sent a downwardly revised list of equipment. He wanted forty-two cannons ranging in size from four to twelve pounders, two mortars, twenty swivel guns, 2,000 fusils, 20,000 pounds of bullets, 10,000 pounds of gunpowder, thousands of artillery shots, gun carriages, and many other items.<sup>19</sup> O'Neill finally sent Miró the 100 soldiers from Pensacola under Piernas on July 7. He also dispatched twenty-five men to reinforce Mobile while he retained twelve officers and 330 soldiers in Pensacola. But he asked Governor Bernardo Troncoso of Cuba to send all the recruits who arrived in Havana to Pensacola as quickly as possible.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile Lieutenant Folch reached Mexico City on July 16, after a 25-day journey from New Orleans with Miró's letters of June 14 and 20. The Conde de Gálvez, after reflecting upon the reports of American troops descending on Natchez, regarded it as a flurry of activity rather than a genuine threat. He speculated that perhaps Gardoqui's arrival in the United States had improved the situation, but he was also concerned about the troublesome hurricane season then, underway, the availability of few ships capable of crossing the sand bar at the Mississippi's entrance, and the deadliness of summer in Veracruz where the military death rate was very high. An extraordinary council of war and of the treasury, on July 18, resolved that there was no doubt about the American design to acquire Natchez, but that sending troops in the summer and in the hurricane season was impossible. Because of many reservations, Gálvez limited himself for now to dispatching two coast guard ships with arms, supplies, and 200,000 pesos in money. Fifty soldiers, one subaltern, and one captain would escort the funds. He trusted that nothing more would be necessary and that Gardoqui had already averted a confrontation on the Mississippi.<sup>21</sup> Two royal coast guard vessels, the frigate

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19. Miró to Troncoso, July 1, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 1,387; a list of equipment needed from Havana, of July 6, 1785, is in AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6, and in AGI, PC legajo 177. See also Miró to the Conde de Gálvez, New Orleans, July 1 and 2, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6; and Miró to José de Gálvez, No. 86 *reservada de preferencia*, July 1, 1785, *ibid.*
  20. Troncoso had Miró's July 1 and 5 letters for help by August 16. Troncoso to José de Gálvez, August 16, 1785, *ibid.* Arturo O'Neill to Troncoso, Pensacola, July 8, 1785, *ibid.* Troncoso received this letter by July 28, 1785. Troncoso to José de Gálvez, July 28, 1785, *ibid.* in which he stated he was expediting the sending of recruits to Pensacola; fifty sailed on July 28.
  21. Conde de Gálvez to José de Gálvez, No. 82 *reservada*, August 2, 1785, *ibid.*

*San Joseph El Venturon* and the brigantine *San Antonio*, quickly loaded the money and supplies. But a third ship, the sloop *San Francisco Xavier*, had to be rented when the first two drew too much water with their cargoes. The frigate and brigantine sailed for New Orleans on August 11, and the sloop followed two days later. Gálvez also sent the brigantine *Galveztown* to Philadelphia with dispatches for Gardoqui about the threat to Natchez. The ship was to stop momentarily at the entrance to Havana harbor to drop off copies of the documents to Troncoso with orders for him to help Miró.<sup>22</sup>

While the Spaniards prepared assistance for Louisiana and West Florida and sought a diplomatic solution for the Natchez crisis, the commissioners there continued to cause difficulties. Treviño, following procedure, quarantined Davenport's party when it arrived on June 23. After a few days, he permitted Davenport and his family to leave their barge but kept the other members of the party on board despite Davenport's repeated protests. When the commissioner threatened to remove them by force, Treviño collected the weapons of the Georgians on board and marched them off to prison on July 4. Davenport also initially refused to show the commandant his documents but at last permitted copies to be made for the governor. Besides Davenport, Treviño complained of Green's continued outrageous behavior as he travelled about the district, attempting to rally support for the Georgia cause. In response to reports that members of Green's party were stealing horses and slaves, Treviño sent soldiers after the culprits. Overall, he described the district as quiet and con-

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See also MPA, SD, and Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 314-17; "Relation of the Artillery, Stores, and Munitions that by disposition of the Viceroy, Conde de Gálvez, should be embarked in Veracruz for Louisiana," Francisco Jmz. de Córdoba, August 2, 1785, *ibid.* The equipment consisted of twelve cannons, gun carriages, several thousand artillery shots, 1,000 fusils, and 300 *quintales* of gunpowder. "Relation of the Artillery, Stores, and Munitions . . . to be embarked . . . for Louisiana," José Lostonó y Rozas to José de Gálvez, July 21, 1785, *ibid.* See also "Testimony of the Junta of War and of the Royal Treasury . . ." [1785], *ibid.*; Conde de Gálvez to Miró, August 2, 1785. Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 312-14; and Condo de Gálvez to the Conde de Floridablanca, August 2, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 7. For the deadliness of Veracruz in the summer, see Christon I. Archer, *The Army in Bourbon Mexico, 1760-1810* (Albuquerque, 1977), 38-44.

22. Conde de Gálvez to José de Gálvez, No. 150 *reservada*, August 27, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6.

tended that the residents, disillusioned with the unbridled Green, preferred Spanish rule to that of any other government.<sup>23</sup>

A week later Treviño sent Miró more distressing news. About July 8, at a social gathering at Job Curry's house in Natchez, Davenport spoke about seizing the fort by surprise or stratagem after he had been denied the right to exercise any authority. Most of those at the gathering, the reports stated, concurred. The following day Davenport told Stephen Minor, the fort's adjutant, that his statements were not to be taken seriously; he replied to questions with the first frivolous thought that came to mind in order to confuse his interrogators. But Davenport stressed to Minor the United States' claim to the district. Green, moreover, had fled Natchez after receiving Miró's stern letter of June 19, although Davenport alleged that he departed in response to orders from Georgia. Treviño believed that Davenport's conduct deserved arrest, but he refrained from doing so because the situation was delicate and he did not know the governor's wishes. He would exercise caution until Bouligny assumed command in a few days.<sup>24</sup>

Miró responded to Treviño's letters by ordering Bouligny to collect the arms of suspected treacherous persons and to employ the British loyalist Anthony Hutchins to gather information for him. He demanded that Davenport either come to New Orleans or send the originals of his documents. Miró instructed the new Natchez commandant to investigate the occurrence at Curry's house and arrest anyone found guilty of sedition. But he hesitated instituting proceedings against the offenders as it would surely disturb Natchez's tranquility. He therefore told Bouligny that if wine had stimulated their utterances, and they had subsequently

23. Miró to Treviño, July 1, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 3B; Treviño to Miró, No. 192, Natchez, July 4, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6. See also Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 98-100. Miró disapproved of Treviño's arrest of the persons who accompanied Davenport; Miró to Bouligny, July 16, 1785, *ibid.* See also Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 104-05.

24. Treviño to Miró, No. 202, Natchez, July 11, 1785, *ibid.* See also MPA, SD; "Statement of Stephen Minor," July 10, 1785, attached to *ibid.* See also Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 100-01. Davenport, in his letter to Governor Samuel Elbert of Georgia, of July 17, 1785, Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 105-06, stated that Miró's letter prompted Green's flight and that Green had greatly disturbed the Natchez district. For a sketch of Minor, see Jack D. L. Holmes, "Stephen Minor: Natchez Pioneer," *Journal of Mississippi History*, XLII (February 1980), 17-26.

behaved well without holding further meetings, Bouligny could employ his best judgment as long as he stifled rebellious sentiment. Still the commandant was to investigate quietly Davenport's alleged sedition by collecting testimony from four or six trustworthy individuals who were present. If found guilty, Bouligny was to arrest Davenport.<sup>25</sup>

A few days later, as Miró reported to Viceroy Gálvez the recent events in Natchez on July 22, he sent the first company of sixty-eight grenadiers under Lieutenant Colonel Carlos de Grande-Pré to reinforce Natchez and help calm the district. With the recent arrival of Piernas from Pensacola, Miró had an additional 100 men in New Orleans. The governor continued his preparations to go to Natchez at the end of summer. His primary concern was the return of Green to Natchez with, he feared, American troops. He again asked Gálvez for orders.<sup>26</sup>

From late June and through most of July, Bouligny slowly led reinforcements upriver to Natchez, plagued by difficulties with the rowers. While at the Tonicas village, he received Miró's orders of July 1 to calm the district and to send out scouts to determine whether American soldiers were coming to Natchez.<sup>27</sup> If the Georgia commissioners wanted to begin marking the boundary, Bouligny was to tell them that perhaps the governor would concede permission if he were asked— a device Miró hoped to employ in order to gain time. But if they insisted on starting immediately, then Bouligny was to arrest them. The commissioners, however, could stay in the district until instructions arrived.<sup>28</sup> Miró acted discreetly as the possibility of an American invasion of Spanish-held territory continued.

From the Tonicas, Bouligny rushed on to Natchez, arriving there on July 23, four days ahead of his troops. He assumed command on the following day.<sup>29</sup> He immediately sought information on American soldiers, the extent of unrest, and evidence

25. Miró to Bouligny, No. 12, July 16, No. 13, July 17, Nos. 17, 18, and 22, July 19, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 3B. The last three letters are in Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 106-07.

26. Miró to the Conde de Gálvez, July 22, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6, with many enclosures: Miró to José de Gálvez, Nos. 95-98, New Orleans, July 22, 1785, AGI, SD, legajo 2,550; Miró to Bouligny, July 19 and 30, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 3B.

27. "Instructions to Francisco Bouligny," Miró, July 1, 1785, *ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*; Bouligny to Miró, July 20, 1785, *ibid.*, legajo 11.

29. Bouligny to Miró, July 24 and 27, 1785, *ibid.* See also MPA, SD, and Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 299-303, 304-05.

against Gaillard, Ellis, and Banks. He also released the imprisoned members of Davenport's party except for John Woods. From Gaillard's son-in-law, Dr. Farar, Bouligny obtained a detailed report of conditions in the American West. Farar, a reputable and long-time resident of False River, was mortified over the irresponsible conduct of his father-in-law and offered to cooperate with Bouligny. The commandant also proposed to Miró a 300-man garrison in Natchez which would force the local residents to respect the fort and American soldiers, if any came, to act prudently.<sup>30</sup>

When his troops reached Natchez, Bouligny sent squads out to arrest the "Natchez three." He managed, however, only to apprehend Banks as Gaillard and Ellis had both fled. Dr. Farar, despairing of Gaillard's continued rash behavior, offered to find and induce him to surrender. Also Ellis's oldest son John quickly appeared before Bouligny, similarly regretting his father's conduct. Both Farar and Ellis successfully persuaded the two fugitives to return and Bouligny to place them only under house arrest. They stood surety for the accused and argued the pair as too sick and elderly to escape into the wilderness. Bouligny accepted the arrangement. On July 29, he published Miró's proclamation to the district's inhabitants of Spanish ownership of the region.<sup>31</sup>

After their apprehension, Bouligny began the investigation of the three. He considered them guilty of writing the letter calling for a meeting but believed evidence to be insufficient to convict them of sedition. He submitted his findings, nevertheless, to Miró for a verdict. Bouligny retained Gaillard and Ellis in Natchez as a journey to New Orleans might be perilous in their advanced age.<sup>32</sup>

Upon reaching Natchez, Bouligny also evaluated the possibility of an invasion as the rumors persisted. Treviño had recently sent the British loyalist Stephen Hayward to investigate their accuracy. Bouligny, however, preferred placing a permanent de-

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30. Bouligny to Miró, Fort Panmure, July 25 and 30, 1785, *ibid.* John Woods confessed his wrong-doings to Bouligny, who released him on condition that he never return to Natchez. Bouligny to Miró, August 8, 1785, *ibid.* Dr. Farar was quite possibly Benjamin Farrar.

31. Bouligny to Miró, July 30, 1785, *ibid.*; Bouligny to Miró, No. 12, August 4, 1785, *ibid.* Another Bouligny letter to Miró, July 30, 1785, is in MPA, SD, and Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 308-09. Tacitus Gaillard was also John Ellis's father-in-law.

32. Bouligny to Miró, July 30 and August 4, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11.

tachment of a trusted officer with several soldiers on the Cherokee River which would send word of an authentic attack; it would obviate the need of sending spies each time a rumor cropped up. He also learned that the two other commissioners, Long and Christmas, were among the Choctaws waiting for word that all was tranquil in Natchez before venturing there. The Americans, another rumor purported, were attempting to induce the Chickasaw to assist them in seizing Natchez, but the tribe had resisted these efforts.<sup>33</sup>

On July 25, two days after arriving, Boulogny began several days of exchanging letters with Davenport. His first impression of the commissioner was highly unfavorable; he described him as suspicious, of irregular conduct, fond of drinking, and seditious in conversation. Davenport first informed the commandant of Georgia's creation of Bourbon County, with its divisions, in order that the inhabitants might elect representatives to the state assembly.<sup>34</sup> Boulogny replied that the Spanish government, by virtue of Gálvez's conquest of the area (Mobile and Pensacola) held the district under Governor Miró's authority and that Davenport could not proceed with his commission. Boulogny marvelled at how Davenport had proposed to measure the boundary at the thirty-first parallel without involving the neighboring nation or conferring with its representatives. When he suggested that Davenport see Miró, who alone possessed authority to discuss the points he raised, Davenport demurred as his instructions limited him to fix the boundary (which, in reality, they did not) and, if denied permission, to leave or advise his superiors. He preferred to wait in Natchez for further orders. Davenport's arguments failed to convince Boulogny who called them as "lacking reason and foundation." Exasperated by the Georgian, the commandant's personal sentiment was to ship him forcibly to New Orleans.<sup>35</sup>

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33. Boulogny to Miró, No. 17, August 4, 1785, *ibid.* Miró rejected Boulogny's suggestion to place a detachment on the Cumberland in Miró to Boulogny, No. 26, August 5, 1785, *ibid.*, legajo 3B; Miró to Boulogny, No. 46, August 22, 1785, *ibid.*; Boulogny to Miró, July 24, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3.885 bis, Expediente 6.
  34. William Davenport to Boulogny, July 25, 1785, Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 303; Boulogny to Miró, July 25, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11. See also Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 304. See also Boulogny to Davenport, July 26, 1785, Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 305.
  35. Miró noted the differences in the authority the commissioners purported to have: Green claimed power to take over the Natchez district

However, he answered that Davenport's presence in Natchez had already produced caviling among the residents which could be seriously prejudicial to them. Bouligny insisted that Davenport see Miró and wait in New Orleans for his instructions. The commissioner, on the other hand, blamed Green and Gaillard for the unrest in the district while he had advised the settlers to devote themselves to their peaceful occupations and work. He pointedly refused to go to New Orleans because he lacked orders. Bouligny immediately retorted that Davenport's instructions lacked validity until the governor gave his consent and that the commissioner's tarrying in Natchez was unacceptable.<sup>36</sup> Just as the two reached an impasse, Davenport suddenly announced the arrival of Long and Christmas in the district; he requested time for them to rest from their travels before seeing the commandant. After that they would jointly travel to New Orleans. Bouligny accepted the request and informed Miró to expect them shortly.<sup>37</sup>

In early August Bouligny saw the end of the crisis at hand. Tranquility in Natchez was returning as rebellious ardor cooled. Because of this Bouligny declined to proceed with the investigation of Davenport's seditious conduct, which he thought would only upset the residents. He also declined to seize the weapons of suspects as it too would disrupt the calm. He added that the farmers needed their weapons to ward off vagabonds and "tigers."<sup>38</sup>

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while Davenport claimed the right to measure the boundary. Miró to Bouligny, New Orleans, July 16, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 3B. See also in MPA, SD, and Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 104-05. On July 26, 1785, Davenport sent Governor Elbert his recent correspondence with Bouligny: Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 305-06. A letter of Davenport to Bouligny of July 26, 1785, appears to be missing. Bouligny mentions it in his to Miró, July 27, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11.

36. Davenport to Bouligny, Brocus's (house), July 30, 1785, Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 310. Brocus lived in St. Catherine's Creek. Bouligny to Davenport, July 30, 1785, *ibid.*, 310-11.
37. Davenport to Bouligny, July 31, 1785, *ibid.*, 311-12; Bouligny to Davenport, Fort Panmure, July 31, 1785, *ibid.*, 312. In his No. 18, August 5, 1785, Bouligny sent Miró four original letters from Davenport, MPA, SD.
38. Bouligny to Miró, August 9, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11. William Dunbar, a Natchez resident and planter, also used the word "tyger" to describe a wild animal. Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Life, Letters and Papers of William Dunbar* (Jackson, Miss., 1930), 90. At this time Thomas Green sent a letter to his sons in Natchez, urging them to leave Spanish territory rather than take an oath of fidelity to the Spaniards. His son Abner, however, took the letter to Bouligny. Bouligny to Miró No. 39, Fort Panmure, August 12, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11. See also Bouligny to

After receiving Bouligny's investigation of the "Natchez three," the government lawyer in New Orleans on August 20, found them guilty but under mitigating circumstances due to the upheaval Green had caused. Juan del Postigo sentenced Gaillard to exile because of his previous refusal to take an oath of fidelity, fined Ellis fifty pesos, and gave Banks three months of imprisonment and a fifty-peso fine. Those who had attended the gathering to discuss independence were to refrain from further meetings in the future. Miró endorsed the sentences and sent them to Viceroy Gálvez for his final approval; however, he ordered Bouligny not to collect the fines until Gálvez replied.<sup>39</sup> Gaillard could wait in Pointe Coupée until the reply came and Ellis in his home. Banks, who languished in the Natchez prison, was to be released after serving three months which began on the day of his arrest.<sup>40</sup>

Miró in August kept alert to the possibility of an attack. He became apprehensive again when foreign newspapers reported American insistence upon obtaining the navigation of the Mississippi. He approved of suspending the collection of arms for the present in Natchez but advised Bouligny to be prepared to do so at any time. While he did not raise Fort Panmure's garrison to 300 men, he kept soldiers shuttling back and forth between New Orleans and Natchez and approved the reconstruction of the fort.<sup>41</sup> He sent on to Gálvez Bouligny's optimistic report of August 10, which stated that the commissioners had come to Natchez naively expecting Spanish authorities to turn over the district to them. Davenport's behavior also had not been as serious as first reported. Miró nevertheless continued his preparations of gunboats, artillery, and munitions. He suspended his trip to Natchez and delayed certain preparations in order to save the crown

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Miró, No. 33, Fort Panmure, August 10, 1785, *ibid.* In August Bouligny suggested the creation of a militia for the Natchez district, in which Green's sons would serve. Bouligny to Miró, August 22, 1785, Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, Pt. 2, 136-42.

39. Juan del Postigo to the governor, New Orleans, August 20, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 3B. The papers of the investigation are in *ibid.*, legajo 173A. The sentences were confirmed in Mexico and Miró had word by March 2, 1786; Miró to the Conde de Gálvez, No. 285, *ibid.*, legajo 3B. See Miró to Bouligny, August 18 and October 20, 1785, *ibid.*

40. [Miró] to Bouligny, August 21, 1785, *ibid.*; and Miró to Bouligny, No. 44, August 18, 1785, *ibid.*

41. Miró to Bouligny, No. 49, August 22, 1785, *ibid.* Bouligny decided not to collect the arms unless there was a valid reason to do so. Bouligny to Miró, No. 65, September 14, 1785, *ibid.*, legajo 11.

money. He also reported that Bouligny had sent two spies, Hayward and Louis Chacharet, into the American West to verify reports of 300 men building boats, presumably to attack the Spaniards.<sup>42</sup>

In mid-August Lieutenant Colonel Grand-Pré reached Fort Panmure with his grenadiers. Davenport witnessed their arrival with repugnance. He disliked the rebuilding of the fort, the increased soldiers and supplies, and the increased river traffic. He believed that Georgia's right to the territory was indisputable and that the Spaniards should surrender the district immediately.<sup>43</sup>

Despite Bouligny's report to Miró to expect the commissioners, they did not descend to New Orleans. Davenport had lied about the arrival of Long and Christmas in the district. On August 16, he informed Bouligny that they were about to leave the Indian nations with Green expected to join them. This did not satisfy Bouligny who had grown weary of Davenport's presence and fabrications. On August 21, he gave the commissioner the choice of going to New Orleans or leaving the district in three days.<sup>44</sup> But Davenport never left, and he did not go to New Orleans.

Soon after Grand-Pré's arrival, Long and Christmas too reached Natchez. On August 27, the three commissioners called upon Bouligny to inform him that they would soon be communicating with him. In a house in Natchez, they set up a room with a table and chairs, which they dubbed "Amity Hall," where they gathered to draft their letters to Bouligny and read his replies. Green, too, was in the district but, as he had quarreled with the other three and was sick, he remained at his farm. Of the two new commissioners, the young but serious Long most impressed Bouligny. He spoke openly to the commandant, regretting the rumors of an American attack and assuring him that the United

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42. Miró to the Conde de Gálvez, No. 225, August 14, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6. See also Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 323-24; Bouligny to Miró, No. 33, August 10, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11. See also Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 322-23.

43. Bouligny to Miró, No. 43, August 21, 1785, *ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*; Bouligny to Miró, No. 40, August 17, 1785, MPA, SD, see also Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 324-26. On August 21, 1785, Davenport asked Bouligny for permission to send all their recent correspondence to Georgia, which the commandant gave. Bouligny believed that Davenport refused to go to New Orleans because he was destitute. Bouligny to Miró, No. 43, August 17, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11.

States did not intend to seize the district. Although Long expressed a willingness to call upon Governor Miró, the fort's adjutant, Minor, informed Boulogny that the other commissioners refused to go.<sup>45</sup>

On August 29, Boulogny told them that he had a bateau prepared to convey them to New Orleans where they could present their claims and documents to the governor. But, as they did not leave, Boulogny, on September 1, asked for the originals of their documents to send to Miró.<sup>46</sup> In response the Georgians sent Boulogny a "true copy" of the authority under which they proposed to act; they retained their original for their business in Natchez. They again claimed all the territory on the Mississippi's left bank down to the thirty-first parallel by virtue of the Anglo-American treaty of 1783. They asked Boulogny for the immediate possession of Bourbon County.<sup>47</sup> Upon reading this message, the commandant did no more than acknowledge their letter and documents which he transmitted to the governor. Exhausted by their intransigence, Boulogny left it up to Miró to reply. He soon noted, too, that Green had once more fled the district for the Indian country.<sup>48</sup>

It took Miró only three days to answer the Georgians. He reiterated Spain's incontestible right to the Mississippi's left bank all the way up to the Ohio and noted that a Spanish envoy was in the United States to discuss disputed points. He cautioned them against attempting to exercise any authority as justices of the peace in Natchez. He expressed amazement at the irregular man-

45. Boulogny to Miró August 28, 1785, Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, Pt. II, 143-45; Boulogny to Miró, No. 52, September 1, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11.

46. Boulogny to Long and Christmas, August 29, 1785, Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 329-30. The commissioners' reply to Boulogny of August 29, 1785 is missing. Boulogny enclosed it in his letter to Miró, No. 52, September 1, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11. Boulogny sent back to New Orleans the *bateau* (boat) he had kept to transport the commissioners. Boulogny to Miró, No. 53, September 1, 1785, *ibid.*

47. Boulogny to Long, Davenport, and Christmas, September 1, 1785, Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 330.

48. Boulogny to Miró, Nos. 52 and 62, September 1 and 14, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11; Boulogny to Long, Davenport, and Christmas, September 2, 1785, Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 331. Boulogny stated he received the commissioners' two letters of September 1 and 2. The commissioners stated in their September 2 letter that they needed their credentials for their business upon taking possession, therefore they could not part with them. Long, Davenport, and Christmas, Amity Hall, September 2, 1785, Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, Pt. II, 145-46.

ner in which Georgia pursued this affair, and he was angered that it forced the Spanish government to make extraordinary expenditures for troops and matériel.<sup>49</sup>

As Miró replied, the first of three supply ships from Mexico reached Louisiana. He first believed that Gálvez had sent a fleet loaded with men and equipment. Although he soon learned that the aid from Mexico was limited, the assistance from Havana also came in September. With the arrival of arms, munitions, and money and the passage of nearly three months without the appearance of an American army, Miró's confidence increased.<sup>50</sup>

After the governor replied to the commissioners, a lull in the negotiations occurred in September as it took three to four weeks for messages to reach Natchez. In this interval, several other persons engaged in letter-writing, including the Georgia commissioners. Green, now in the Chickasaw country after his brief foray into the Natchez district, wrote heatedly against the Spaniards. He strongly condemned them for bringing trade goods to the Indians to secure their loyalty and for increasing defenses at Natchez, which he regarded as rightfully American. He stressed the need for Americans to take measures against the "incrochen Tyrents" who clung to the "most Valuable places in the new world." While Green knew that Bouligny had sent Chacharet from Natchez to spy on the frontiersmen, his outrage would increase when Chacharet intercepted this letter and sent it to the Spaniards.<sup>51</sup>

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49. Miró to Nicholas Long, Guillermo Christmas, and Nataniel Davenport, New Orleans, September 5, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6. See also Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 333-34, and in *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society*, II [1898], Part II, 15-16. Miró reported their letter to the Conde de Gálvez, in his No. 228, September 6, 1785, *ibid.* By September 1, 1785, there were no recent rumors of invasion and the American West appeared quiet.
50. Bouligny to Miró, No. 79, Fort Panmure, October 6, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11. As early as August 13, 1785, Governor Troncoso of Cuba put together a list of equipment and munitions for Miró. It included only seventeen cannons without gun carriages, but he sent Miró the lumber to build them. "Relation of the Artillery, Munitions, Carriages and other Stores . . .)" Troncoso, Havana, August 13, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6.
51. Thomas Green to Anthony Bledsoe, Chickasaw, September 10, 1785, Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, Pt. II, 147-48. See also Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 334-35; Chacharé to Treviño, September 5, 1785, *ibid.*, 146-47; Bouligny to Miró, November 13, 1785, *ibid.*, 155. Miró disapproved of the way which Louis Chacharet obtained the letter; see Miró to the Conde de Gálvez, New Orleans, December 10, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 3B. Chacharet, often given as Chacharé, was born in Paris and was twenty-four years old. He was a

Almost at the same time Green wrote, the three other commissioners informed Governor Samuel Elbert of Georgia of their experience in Natchez. Their negotiations with the Spanish authorities had been frustrated. The misbehavior of Colonel Green as well as the activities of the "Natchez three" had turned many of the residents against Georgia. The commissioners bided their time, however, waiting for a favorable reply to their last letter.<sup>52</sup>

But it was not forthcoming from Miró or from Viceroy Gálvez in Mexico City who dismissed any likelihood of an American attack. On September 22, he replied to Governor Miró's letter of August 2, telling him that the Louisiana officials had reacted too moderately to the hostile designs of Green and Davenport. Gálvez lacked faith in their credentials and ordered that they not be treated as commissioners or ambassadors; the tumultuous Green was to be prosecuted to the full rigor of the law. Miró had no reason for fearing them and if their misconduct persisted, he should arrest them as well as any Natchez resident guilty of sedition.<sup>53</sup>

Four days after writing to Miró, Gálvez sent Gardoqui in the United States all the recent correspondence from Louisiana. The viceroy had not received a reply from the Spanish envoy as the *Galveztown* was only then reaching New York. The brigantine had sailed into Havana harbor on August 27, where it dropped off dispatches and attempted to proceed immediately with Gálvez's letters about the Natchez affair. Adverse weather, however, prevented it from pursuing its journey for three days. Only on September 21, after fifty days of navigation, did the ship arrive at its destination.<sup>54</sup>

Gardoqui, who first landed in Philadelphia on May 20, moved on to New York on June 23, where the American government was

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translator who knew both English and Spanish. He had lived in the district for four years. "Testimony of Charchaet," December 7, 1785, *ibid.*, legajo 11.

52. Long, Davenport, and Christmas to Governor Elbert, Natchez, September 13, 1785, Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 335-37.
53. Conde de Gálvez to Miró, Mexico City, September 22, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6. See also MPA, SD, and Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 337-39.
54. Troncoso to José de Gálvez, No. 100, Havana, September 7, 1785, *ibid.*; Gardoqui to Floridablanca, No. 21, New York, September 24, 1785, *ibid.*; Conde de Gálvez to Floridablanca, Mexico City, September 26, 1785, *ibid.*, Expediente 7.

meeting. Congress officially received him on July 2.<sup>55</sup> Through the summer of 1785, Gardoqui remained ignorant of events on the Mississippi as did the American Congress. On August 23, he sent the Conde de Gálvez news that the American government insisted upon the terms of the Anglo-American treaty of 1783. He also advised the viceroy that Georgia had recently created Bourbon County, evidently obtaining his information from newspapers.<sup>56</sup> But he did not learn of the commissioner in Natchez until the *Galveztown* arrived.

Two days later Gardoqui informed John Jay, the American foreign secretary, of Spain's indisputable right to the Mississippi's east bank by virtue of conquest and occupation. He then proceeded to notify Jay of the real problem at hand: Georgia's effort to take possession of Natchez through the tempestuous presence of Green and the appointment of judges for the county. Gardoqui protested Georgia's bypassing the national government and the threat to good relations between the two countries. He trusted that Congress would take effective measures to ensure that disputes between the nations would be resolved amicably. Gardoqui pressed Jay for a rapid reply.<sup>57</sup>

The foreign secretary then presented Congress with Gardoqui's protest on September 27, after which it took nearly three weeks to receive an answer. In a resolution of October 13, Congress reiterated its adherence to the terms of the treaty with Britain of 1783. It nevertheless truly regretted the attempt of any American to upset harmonious relations between the two governments and disavowed the actions of Georgia. The Georgia representatives in Congress also repudiated the creation of Bourbon County, the appointment of Green, and his attempt to act as governor. Congress declared it would attempt to preserve public tranquility in the future.<sup>58</sup>

By the congressional resolution of October 13, the crisis on

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55. Gardoqui to Floridablanca, No. 2, New York, July 25, 1785, *ibid.*, legajo 3,893, Expediente 2.

56. Gardoqui to the Conde de Gálvez, August 23, 1785, *ibid.*, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6. See also Gardoqui to José de Gálvez, August 23, 1785, *ibid.* Viceroy Gálvez had Gardoqui's letter by November 22, 1785; see his reply to Gardoqui of that date in *ibid.*

57. Gardoqui to [John Jay], September 23, 1785, *ibid.*

58. Jay to Gardoqui, Department of Foreign Affairs, October 14, 1785, and enclosure, "Resolution of the Congress of the United States," October 13, 1785, *ibid.* See also Gardoqui to Floridablanca, October 17, 1785, *ibid.*

the Mississippi of 1785 had been resolved at the diplomatic level and at the seat of American government. It was clear that the national government had not endorsed Georgia's measures and had been ignorant about the commissioners. While the former problems of the Mississippi's navigation and boundary lines remained, the Spaniards at least knew that they did not have to face an American attack. The problem of the Georgia commissioners, however, continued in Natchez for another two months as Gardoqui's news of Congress's resolution travelled slowly to Mexico, Spain, and Louisiana.

In Natchez, on October 6, Boulogny received Miró's September 5 letter which did not surrender Natchez as the commissioners had hoped. The governor's refusal did not surprise Long who soon asked Boulogny for a passport to the Cumberland which the commandant gave him. Davenport and Christmas chose to remain behind in Natchez.<sup>59</sup> On October 16, after signing a new letter to Miró, Long departed, quite possibly objecting to the reckless wording of their last message to the Spanish governor.<sup>60</sup>

On the same day that Congress repudiated the actions of Georgia, the commissioners at Amity Hall drafted their answer to Miró. Their immoderate language doomed any possibility of their remaining in Natchez. They told the governor that it was not their intention to exercise their offices until the matter of jurisdiction was resolved; but they differed greatly with him as to whether they had business in Natchez. They had expected the Spanish authorities to honor a treaty which their sovereign had ratified (an assertion unsubstantiated by fact). Upon that treaty, Georgia based its right to demand the surrender of Natchez. The commissioners denied any intention of wanting to produce a rupture between Spain and the United States— an accusation Miró made— but declared that Georgia would object to Spain's build up of military defenses at Natchez and reject any suggestion of being charged for the expenditures Spain incurred because of their presence.<sup>61</sup>

After Boulogny sent their letter to Miró on October 17, an-

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59. Boulogny to Miró, No. 76, October 6, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11.

60. Boulogny to Miró, No. 87, October 17, 1785, *ibid.*

61. Davenport, Long, and Christmas to Miró, Amity Hall, October 13, 1785, Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, Pt. II, 149-150. See also MPA, SD, and Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 339-40.

other interval of waiting followed.<sup>62</sup> During this time Boulogny reported Gaillard's flight after he refused to go down to Pointe Coupée.<sup>63</sup> On November 5, Chacharet returned to Natchez after an absence of approximately three months. He reported his travels through the western American establishments, which he described in detail, but nowhere did he encounter or hear of a projected invasion of Spanish territory.<sup>64</sup> Also at this time Gálvez's September 22 letter chastizing Miró for his leniency toward the Georgians reached New Orleans.<sup>65</sup> Miró no doubt winced at the official upbraiding he received and, as it coincided with the commissioners' arrogant letter, he retaliated with a fiery reply.

He condemned the insolent tone of the commissioners' message and the assurance with which they regarded themselves authorized to remain in Natchez. He rejected their reproach for strengthening military defenses on lands they considered American. He consequently ordered them to quit Natchez within fifteen days and Spanish territory within an additional month. Miró now even doubted that they were commissioners, a question Gálvez had raised, and declared that no responsible government would have sent them.<sup>66</sup>

That same day Miró answered Gálvez's charges that he and his subordinates had behaved too moderately toward the Georgians. The first rumors of an American attack, confirmed by trustworthy people, seemed real, and Spanish defenses on the Mississippi were precariously weak. Despite this Miró sent Green a strong letter which forced his departure from Natchez, and he ordered an investigation of Davenport's conduct, an order Boulogny neglected to carry out. He admitted responsibility for not compelling the Georgians to come down to New Orleans and for the Natchez commandants not always following his instructions. But after Boulogny's arrival in Natchez, the commissioners

62. Boulogny enclosed the commissioners' October 13 letter in his to Miró, No. 87, October 17, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11.

63. Boulogny to Miró, No. 95, Fort Panmure, October 25, 1785, *ibid.*

64. Chacharet to Boulogny, November 7, 1785, Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, Pt. II, 151-54, which was enclosed in Boulogny to Miró, Fort Panmure, November 13, 1785, *ibid.*, 155.

65. Miró responded to the Conde de Gálvez's September 22 letter on November 10, 1785, Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 343-47.

66. Miró to Long, Christmas, and Davenport, New Orleans, November 10, 1785, AHN, Estado, legajo 3,885 bis, Expediente 6. See also AGI, PC, legajo 3B, MPA, SD, and Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 342-43.

had behaved well until their most recent outburst. For their insolence, Miró ordered their arrest if they failed to depart within fifteen days.<sup>67</sup> Miró also instructed Bouligny to investigate quietly Davenport's conduct at Curry's house last July, but not to use any incriminating evidence unless he did not leave.<sup>68</sup>

In November Bouligny attempted to capture Gaillard who remained lurking about the district, but the crusty old fugitive again eluded him. The Spanish commandant even tried getting information on Gaillard's whereabouts from John Ellis, his son-in-law. Although Ellis was jailed for disrespectful conduct, he refused to talk.<sup>69</sup> In December, as Davenport and Christmas departed, reports circulated that Gaillard would go with them. While he seems to have joined them briefly, Gaillard stayed behind, living on the fringes of the district with his son and several slaves. In January 1786 Bouligny sent a detachment of soldiers after him, but Gaillard had already left for the Indian nations.<sup>70</sup>

As for the commissioners, about December 5, Bouligny notified them of the governor's order to depart. Davenport replied that they would leave in about a week with some of his followers for the Indian country. He requested permission for his pregnant wife and thirteen year-old brother to stay until spring when he would send for them. Bouligny gave his tacit approval which Miró later confirmed.<sup>71</sup>

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67. Miró to the Conde de Gálvez, No. 249, November 10, 1785, MPA, SD. See also in Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 343-46.
68. Miró to Bouligny, No. 99, November 10, 1785, MPA, SD, see also in Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 346-47. See two other letters of Miró to Bouligny, New Orleans, November 11, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11. Miró reprimanded Bouligny for not having carried out his orders of the previous summer. Bouligny, however, reminded Miró that he had approved the decision not to investigate Davenport in August. Bouligny to Miró, No. 110, November 30, 1785, AGI, PC, legajo 11.
69. Bouligny's investigation into John Ellis's misconduct and imprisonment of November 30, 1785, is in *ibid.*
70. Many of Bouligny's letters to Miró refer to the attempt to apprehend Gaillard: No. 118, December 5, No. 122, December 13, Nos. 125 and 126, December 15, Nos. 127 and 128, December 16, No. 130, December 20, 1785, *ibid.*; No. 132, January 4, No. 135, January 7, Nos. 140 and 141, January 13, and No. 148, February 10, 1786, *ibid.*, legajo 12.
71. Bouligny to Miró, No. 117, December 5, 1785, *ibid.*, legajo 11, with enclosures of Bouligny to Davenport, December 4, 1785, and Davenport to Bouligny, undated, in English. Miró gave his approval in [Miró] to Bouligny, December 22, 1785, *ibid.*, legajo 3B. Several persons who arrived with Davenport chose to remain; they were Colbertson, Juan Coleman, Nathani Lyte, and John and George Burrell. Bouligny to Miró, No. 124, December 17, 1785, *ibid.*, legajo 11.

The two commissioners left Natchez on December 11, as Boulogny concluded his investigation of Davenport's alleged seditious remarks of the previous July.<sup>72</sup> Seven persons testified that they had not heard any criminal outbursts that evening; only Richard Harrison reported that Davenport claimed that he could seize the fort with twenty men and had uttered disparaging remarks about Treviño. Alexander Moore, a Natchez merchant, added that these comments were constantly on Davenport's lips. Boulogny decided, however, that proof of Davenport's sedition was insufficient. Miró accepted Boulogny's judgment, especially as Davenport had already left Natchez.<sup>73</sup>

At the time Davenport and Christmas departed, Thomas Green made another effort to return to Natchez. Green had received a letter from Governor Elbert instructing the commissioners to remain quietly in Natchez until further orders arrived. Green came with four days' journey of Coles Creek before he learned of the commissioners' expulsion and departure for the Choctaws. Green attempted to overtake them but failed until he reached the Choctaws. Boulogny, who learned about all of this in January, briefly speculated about the commissioners' return but, of course, they did not.<sup>74</sup> With the departure of the last commissioners in December, Georgia ended efforts to create Bourbon County.

As 1786 began, the Spanish crisis on the Mississippi was subsiding rapidly. On January 5, Governor Miró learned that Congress had repudiated Georgia's establishment of Bourbon County and the appointment of the justices of the peace. He quickly notified Boulogny who received word before February 17. On that day the commandant proclaimed the news in Natchez which the residents accepted quietly. With the crisis over, Miró ordered

72. Boulogny to Miró, No. 123, December 13, 1785, *ibid.*

73. "Investigation of Davenport at Job Curry's House," Boulogny, December 4-6, enclosed in Boulogny to Miró, No. 119, December 6, 1785, *ibid.* Those testifying were Benjamin Balk, Samuel Gibson, Justo King, Richard Swize, Job Corris (Curry), Richard Harrison, Mr. More (Alexander Moore), Caleb King, and Gabriel Swize. Boulogny also received testimony from Treviño, Rodriguez, Minor, and Chacharet. *Ibid.*, December 6 and 7, 1785.

74. Boulogny to Miró, No. 142, January 14, 1785, *ibid.*, legajo 12. Davenport maintained contact with Natchez in the first few months after leaving; see his two letters of March 27 and May 22, 1786, in Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 350-52. Green also kept in touch with Natchez as is seen in his letter to Governor Edward Telfair of Georgia on July 10, 1786. *Ibid.*, 352-53.

Boulogny to turn command over to Lieutenant Colonel Grand-Pré and rejoin the regiment's headquarters in New Orleans.<sup>75</sup>

Of those involved in the Bourbon County episode, the fate of several of them is known. Gaillard, who fled from Natchez before being exiled, died in the Indian country sometime in 1786, although he had made an effort to return to Natchez. Upon learning of his passing, Miró expressed regret for his family which continued to live in the district. The other two members of the "Natchez three," Banks and Ellis, were still living in Natchez in 1792.<sup>76</sup> Davenport remained in the Indian nations after leaving Natchez, now an agent for the United States among the Chickasaws and Choctaws. There he died, murdered by the natives in 1787.<sup>77</sup> The tumultuous Green alone returned to Natchez after an absence of several years, no doubt swallowing his pride as he had advised his sons to leave the district in 1785 rather than take an oath of fidelity to the detestable Spaniards. The latter apparently forgave him his past sins and tolerated his eccentric behavior which did not improve in old age.<sup>78</sup>

For the Spaniards, the 1785 crisis produced several important results. For the remainder of his administration, Miró no longer gave credence to rumors of impending invasions. He never again issued an urgent appeal for military assistance from Cuba and Mexico as he had in 1785. He resorted instead to subtler means

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75. Boulogny to Miró, Nos. 157 and 158, February 17 and 18, 1786, AGI, PC, legajo 12. Miró praised the work of Boulogny in dealing with the Georgia commissioners; Miró to the Conde de Gálvez, No. 282, New Orleans, January 1, 1786, *ibid.*, legajo 3B. By his letter of December 30, 1785, Viceroy Gálvez informed Miró of Congress's resolution of October 13, 1785. MPA, SD. But Miró already had word of it, probably via Havana.
76. Miró to Carlos de Grand-Pré, Nos. 153 and 155, December 6 and 16, 1786, *ibid.* Gaillard attempted to return to Natchez if he was not molested; his wife Anne requested a letter to this effect from Miró, who apparently did not give it as the sentence of exile had been approved. See Grand-Pré to Miró, No. 26, Natchez, March 18, 1786, AGI, PC, legajo 12. Miró permitted Gaillard's son Isaac, who had run off with his father, to return to his family in Natchez provided he take an oath of fidelity. In 1792, Isaac lived in Homochitto in the Natchez district. Gillis, *Early Inhabitants of Natchez*, 13, 17-18.
77. Caroline Maude Burson, *The Stewardship of Don Esteban Miró, 1782-1792* (New Orleans, 1940), 61; Burnett, "Papers Relating to Bourbon County," 352; R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1954), 75. Davenport and his companions apparently were murdered sometime between March 19-July 23, 1787.
78. For Green's later activities in the Natchez district, see Jack D. L. Holmes, *Gayoso, The Life of a Spanish Governor in the Mississippi Valley, 1789-1799* (Baton Rouge, 1965), 187, 257.

to protect Spanish territory from the Americans, particularly those which did not require the expenditure of large sums of money. This, however, resulted in a general deterioration of Spanish defenses on the Mississippi, which the next governor, the Barón de Carondelet, attempted to rectify. The Spaniards also hung on to the east bank of the Mississippi, although they permitted Americans to settle in Natchez by 1788, and opened the Mississippi to Americans providing they paid duties.<sup>79</sup> As for a resolution to the dispute stemming from the different peace treaties of 1783, time favored the Americans. A decade later, by the Treaty of San Lorenzo of 1795, time ran out for the Spaniards and the United States gained through diplomacy the advantages stipulated in their peace agreement with Britain of 1783.<sup>80</sup>

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79. The only study of Miró's administration is still Burson, *The Stewardship of Miró*. See also Gilbert C. Din, "The Immigration Policy of Governor Esteban Miró in Spanish Louisiana," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXXIII (October 1969), 155-75. It should also be noted that the Conde de Gálvez, Gardoqui, and Miró alone dealt with the crisis, with Gálvez providing orders. The officials in Spain generally deferred to Gálvez's opinion.

80. Whitaker, *Spanish American Frontier*, 201-22; and Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty: A Study of America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800* (Baltimore, 1926; New Haven, rev. ed., 1960), *passim*.

## EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN SPANISH WEST FLORIDA, 1781-1821

by JACK D. L. HOLMES

**G**OVERNOR Vicente Folch y Juan opened his son Stephen's 1797 letter with eager hands. Due to the Anglo-Spanish war, communications to Pensacola had been delayed, and he was relieved to learn that both his sons were well. To his superior, Captain-General Conde de Santa Clara, at Havana, Governor Folch wrote, "The lack of opportunity which is generally true of these (frontier) places for providing the youth with an adequate education, has induced me to send my sons to London where they may learn English to perfection, such skill being of inestimable value in these provinces."<sup>1</sup>

If, as Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote, "all educated Americans, first or last, to go to Europe," then Folch's sons Martin and Stephen, obviously had an advantage shared by too few of the Spanish governor's contemporaries. Apparently, the boys were doing well, for the elder, Stephen, wrote, "it does not become me to speak in my own praise, nevertheless, I must say I think myself in the good graces of Mr. Desailly, [his teacher] I endeavour to push my Education as much as possible, I have lately been put in Virgil & hope to go thro it with satisfaction."<sup>2</sup> To a father whose own youth had been spent at military academies studying mathematics and engineering, such news was hardly welcome. He wrote back: "I am

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1. Folch to Santa Clara, Pensacola [blank] January 1798, Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba (hereinafter cited as AGI, PC), legajo 1501-A. On Folch, see Jack D. L. Holmes, "Three Early Memphis Commandants: Beauregard, DeVille DeGoutin, and Folch," *Papers of the West Tennessee Historical Society*, XVIII (1964), 14-26.
2. Stephen Folch to "Mama & Papa" (Vicente Folch and wife, née María de la Merced Bernardina Rodríguez-Junco), Hammersmith, September 14, 1797, AGI, PC, legajo 1501-A.

happy to see that you are already translating Virgil, but if your inclination calls you to a Military career, you must abandon the study of Latin & give all your application to Mathematics, which is the science most necessary to make a good officer."<sup>3</sup>

Folch's experience with his two sons may seem an exception to the general rule that educational opportunities in Spanish West Florida were strictly limited, but examination of documents, diaries, reports and other sources reveals that a variety of educational opportunities did exist. Parents could send their children to Europe or to academies in Philadelphia or Baltimore. Their daughters might attend the New Orleans Ursuline Convent School, a popular "finishing school" for the daughters of Louisiana creoles. Others might employ the services of a tutor either for groups of children or at one plantation at a time. Still other parents, short of funds, might apprentice their youngsters to craftsmen who would teach a trade along with the fundamentals of reading and writing.

West Florida came under Spanish sovereignty as a result of the campaigns of Bernardo de Gálvez against the British posts at Manchac and Baton Rouge in 1779, Mobile in 1780, and Pensacola in 1781. By the terms of the Treaty of Versailles (1783), England ceded East and West Florida to Spain.<sup>4</sup> The major settlements included in West Florida were Natchez, Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola. There were a few settlers also living along the Tensaw and lower Tombigbee rivers in present-day Alabama.

William Dunbar was a scientist living at Baton Rouge and Natchez before the American period. Educated in the intellectually-curious "Scottish Renaissance" of the eighteenth century, he was well grounded in mathematics, which he consistently regarded as the key to all problems.<sup>5</sup> When it came time for Dunbar to send his son William away to be educated, he selected John

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3. Vincente Folch y Juan to Stephen Folch, Pensacola, January 9, 1798, in *ibid.* Apparently both boys followed "Papa's" advice. They were officers in the Louisiana Infantry Regiment stationed in West Florida.
  4. *Tratado definitivo de Paz*. . . Versailles, September 3, 1783, copy printed at Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1783, an example of which is in the *Archivo General de la Nación (México, D.F.)*, *Reales Cédulas*, Vol. CXXVI, fols. 40-117, Article V refers to West Florida's cession.
  5. Jack D. L. Holmes, "Dunbar, William," pending publication in the *Mississippi Authors Project of the University Presses of Mississippi*, 1981; and Jack D. L. Holmes and Gilbert C. Din, "William Dunbar: Renaissance Man of the Old Southwest," pending 1981 publication in the *Journal of Mississippi History*. Holmes is writing a biography of Dunbar.

Vaughan's school in Philadelphia. The father wrote his son's future tutor: "This boy is to be placed under your protection: he is about 14 years of age & hast not enjoyed those advantages of education in this Country which he ought to possess at his years; he is however tollerably grounded in Arithmetic & book-keeping, and has acquitted a smattering in Mathematicks, geography, the use of the Globes, some little notion of Botany, and has read on various subjects, all this he would soon forget, & will only now assist him to begin those studies under better auspices, he is not deficient in natural talent and genius. My present view is to bestow upon him the education of a Gentleman and of a man of Science if he shall be found capable of acquiring it, & we will leave for hereafter the determination of the profession or business which he may ultimately pursue according to the future development of his genius and propensities."<sup>6</sup>

The elder Dunbar had referred to the lack of educational advantages available in Natchez. There were tutors, but sometimes they knew little more than their charges, as the harsh critic, Pierre-Louis Berquin-Duvallon, noted.<sup>7</sup> Still, Dunbar suggested in 1794 that his wife make an arrangement with Mrs. David Williams, who lived on a neighboring plantation. "I understand that our schoolmaster goes to Mrs. Williams'," he wrote, "Wou'd it not be good to make a bargain to send your Children for one month to Mrs. Williams' & let her send hers the next month to your house with the Master?" Dunbar felt such travel would be an additional benefit.<sup>8</sup>

The Natchez tutors were an interesting lot. John Arden filed suit in 1792 for sums due him for instructing the planters' children. In approving his petition, Governor Manuel Gayoso de Lemos argued that all personal labor was privileged, but that "education, being one of the things of most interest to the com-

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6. William Dunbar to John Vaughan, Natchez, May 2, 1808, in Mrs. Dunbar Rowland (Eron Rowland) (comp.), *Life, Letters and Papers of William Dunbar of Elgin, Morayshire, Scotland, and Natchez, Mississippi, Pioneer Scientist of the Southern United States* (Jackson, Mississippi, 1930), 361.

7. [Pierre-Louis Berquin-Duvallon], *Vue de la colonie espagnole du Mississippi (sic), ou des provinces de Louisiane et Floride Occidentale, en l'année 1802 . . .* (Paris, 1803), 294-95. He claimed that the planters picked up some "poor wretch" along the road and gave him room and board and a small fee "in exchange for which he offered the children all he knew— which was seldom much!"

8. William Dunbar to his wife (Dinah), New Orleans, May 5, 1794, Dunbar MSS., Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Z-114.1.

mon good, the salary of School Masters should be considered one of the most privileged." He also applied the moratorium on debts to others, but not to the teachers, who he believed should be paid for their efforts.<sup>9</sup>

Valentine Thomas Dalton was another Natchez teacher who tried to educate the frontier children. On November 12, 1792, he signed a contract with interim-commandant Carlos de Grand-Pré by which he promised to "dwell in the house of. . . Grand-Pré for three years, and during that time to teach all his children to speak and write the English language." Dalton expected the sum of \$100 per year plus his board and a bonus of 250 arpents of land on Cole's Creek. Apparently, the youngsters resisted his attempts, for on December 9, 1795, he admitted his defeat, that he was unable to teach them what they were supposed to learn. In this case, the contract was voided with no hard feelings.<sup>10</sup>

Learning-by-doing also characterized Natchez schooling. Patrick Taggart earned a reputation for mechanical skills which made him a useful member of the thirty-first parallel boundary commission. When he was not working as a deputy surveyor, Taggart's time was spent as a Natchez schoolteacher.<sup>11</sup> Thomas Gills was listed as a "maestro esculea" or schoolteacher, living on the Tombigbee River some eighteen leagues from Fort San Esteban de Tombachbé in 1795.<sup>12</sup> At Baton Rouge, Jean Frémont left his schoolhouse along with a good number of debts and fled to Norfolk, where he convinced an attractive lady to divorce her husband and marry him. Their future son, John Charles Frémont, is known as the Great Pathfinder of the West and one-time presidential candidate.<sup>13</sup> Stress among schoolteachers was handled in

9. Judicial records, file 1261, Docket 2892, box 65, March 26, 1792, in Caroline Maude Burson, *The Stewardship of Don Esteban Miró, 1782-1792* (New Orleans, 1940), 264. fn. 14.
10. May Wilson McBee (trans. and abstractor), *The Natchez Court Records, 1767-1805, Abstracts of Early Records* (Greenwood, Miss., and Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1953; reprint ed., Baltimore, 1979), 93.
11. Patrick Tegard (Taggart) to Thomas Freeman, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, May 1, 1802, Southern Boundary, U.S. and Spain, Andrew Ellicott Papers, National Archives (Washington, D.C.), Record Group 76, Vol. III. There is a certificate by Ellicott regarding Taggart's abilities on the same date in *ibid.* See also Jack D. L. Holmes, *Gayoso: the Life of a Spanish Governor in the Mississippi Valley, 1789-1799* (Baton Rouge, 1965), 129.
12. Brand book for St. Stephens, 1795, AGI, PC, legajo 222-B; Jack D. L. Holmes, "Notes on the Spanish Fort San Esteban de Tombeché," *The Alabama Review*, XVIII (October 1965), 281-90.
13. Bertram Wallace Korn, *The Early Jews of New Orleans* (Waltham, Mass., 1969), 105-06.

various ways. Mons. Saqué, a 103-year-old teacher across the Mississippi from West Florida, "had gotten drunk regularly every day for the past forty years."<sup>14</sup>

Pensacola was more of a military garrison than frontier farming settlement, and there was little educational opportunity available. Governor Folch sent his sons to England for their schooling, and enrolled his daughter in the Ursuline Convent School in New Orleans. From 1770, when Governor Alexander O'Reilly provided for the school's support, until 1803, when the United States acquired Louisiana, the Ursuline Convent School was a bit of culture in a land of rustic bayous and forests.<sup>15</sup>

Irene Folch arrived at the Ursuline school in 1796. For a time she stayed with the family of Captain Manuel de Lanzós, former commandant of Mobile, but after she had purchased necessary clothes she joined such students as the fiancée of Lieutenant Martín Palao y Pratz, who wanted his intended protected from seduction rather than to have her taught anything.<sup>16</sup> Another classmate of these girls, Feliciana, resisted being placed there. She was described as "a raging little demon who obeys no one, is indifferent to everything, is without shame, meddlesome, determined, deaf to reproaches as well as threats, and cannot be controlled by force."<sup>17</sup>

Apparently, there was no established primary schools for Pensacola or Mobile. Still, the settlers of these places were not considered ignorant. Andrew Jackson's wife Rachel commented in 1821 on the fact that the Pensacola people spoke Spanish and French, and some conversed in four or five languages.<sup>18</sup> Another

14. Pierre Clément de Laussat, *Memoirs of My Life . . .* translated by Sister Agnes-Josephine Pastwa, edited by Robert D. Bush (New Orleans, 1978), 68.

15. O'Reilly's Regulation, New Orleans, February 23, 1770, as cited in *asientos* (pay sheets) of the Ursuline Nuns, AGI, PC, legajo 538-b. On the Ursuline Convent School, see Caroline Francis, "A Note on the Organization of the Oldest School for Girls in the Mississippi Valley," *Mississippi Valley Historical Association Proceedings*, VIII (1914-1915), 201-09; Heloise Hulse Cruzat, "The Ursulines of Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II (January 1919), 5-23; and Martin Luther Riley, "The Development of Education in Louisiana Prior to Statehood," *ibid.*, XIX (July 1936), 617-18.

16. Joseph Xavier Delfau de Pontalba to his wife (Jeanne Françoise LeBretton des Charmeaux), New Orleans, March 21, June 6, 25, and July 5, 1796, in Letter-diary of Pontalba, Tulane University Archives.

17. *Ibid.*, September 24, 1796, fol. 233.

18. Rachel Jackson to Mrs. Elizabeth Kingsley, Pensacola, July 23, 1821, in James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 3 vols. (New York, 1860), II, 605.

early arrival to American Pensacola, Samuel Myers, predicted that Pensacola would soon be the "seat of the Seminaries of learning."<sup>19</sup> Yet, despite this prediction, little was done during the Spanish period to support education.

Settlers urged Bishop Cirilo de Barcelona during his 1791 pastoral visit to send them a teacher for the "a-b-c's" and religious catechism.<sup>20</sup> Four years passed, and nothing had been done. Father Francisco Notario forwarded a renewed petition from Pensacola urging the crown to supply "a teacher of primary subjects for the teaching and Catholic education of their children, and to pay for the same because their small incomes do not permit them to do so."<sup>21</sup> This time, the petition brought royal attention to educational problems at Pensacola and the creation of a position for a schoolteacher at an annual salary of \$350, half what the New Orleans pedagogues earned.<sup>22</sup>

Time dragged on, and Pensacola still had no teacher. In 1804 the Spanish commissioners named to deliver Louisiana to the French, Marqués de Casa-Calvo and Manuel de Salcedo, wrote to Governor Folch at Pensacola that they had selected Fernando Ibáñez to serve as combination interpreter-schoolteacher.<sup>23</sup> Ibáñez was already teaching at the New Orleans Spanish School, which had been organized by Spain as a means of teaching the Spanish language in Louisiana by contract of July 17, 1771.<sup>24</sup> Ibáñez earned \$350 as an assistant under Father Ubaldo Delgado.<sup>25</sup> On May 29, 1805, he was named to head a Pensacola school with a

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19. Samuel Myers to Louisa Myers, Pensacola, May 29, 1821, Virginia Myers McBlair Papers, R. W. Woodward Library for Advanced Studies, Emory University, Special Collections.
  20. *Expediente* (dossier) on education in Pensacola, 1791-1805, AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 2531.
  21. Summary of petition, Pensacola, June 16, 1795, enclosed with decree of Council of Indies, in *ibid.*
  22. *Ibid.* The Council of the Indies also recommended on September 16, 1796, the creation of a school for Pensacola as requested: *Catálogo de los fondos cubanos del Archivo General de Indias*, Tomo I, Vol. II, *Consultas y decretos, 1784-1820*; Vol. XII, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Hispano-América*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1930), 203.
  23. Casa-Calvo and Salcedo to Folch, New Orleans, February 16, 1804, AGI, PC, legajo 70-B.
  24. Abraham P. Nasatir, "Government Employees in Spanish Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (October 1946), 984-85, 1020-21. On this school, see David K. Bjork, trans. and ed., "Documents Relating to the Establishment of Schools in Louisiana, 1771," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XI (March 1925), 561-69.
  25. *Acuerdo* (agreement) of Council of Indies, May 29, 1805, AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 2531.

\$700 annual stipend.<sup>26</sup> It does not appear that Ibáñez ever taught the children of Pensacola, however, or that he even visited the place.

For the sons of military officers there were several educational opportunities. Not only were the cadets expected to learn their military discipline, manual of arms, and tactics, but mathematics furnished a common discipline for them. It was Governor O'Reilly, who envisioned the cadet program and established rules of conduct for the commanders after the poor showing of Spain in the conflict with England during the Seven Years' War.<sup>27</sup> Commanders of the Louisiana and West Florida military regiment, which was the Louisiana Infantry Regiment created from the initial battalion brought by first governor Antonio de Ulloa in 1766, were required to supervise annual testing of the cadets and to make suitable reports.<sup>28</sup> On one occasion, however, Governor Gayoso reported that he was late in signing the grades due to the presence of Spain's enemies off the Louisiana coast, so that exams could not be given. Still, he added, what the cadets missed in their classrooms, they more than made up for in practical training aboard ships which served on various expeditions intended to block enemy movements against West Florida.<sup>29</sup>

The importance of mathematics in the military training program was emphasized by Governor Folch in a letter to his son in England. Carlos de Morant compiled a "text-book" on fractions which explained the signs and rules of arithmetic, and the various means by which fractions were added, subtracted, multiplied, and divided.<sup>30</sup> Since these cadets were intended to advance to

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26. Ibid.

27. O'Reilly's *Mémoire sur l'instruction des cadets*, Barcelona, May 25, 1767, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), MSS Espagnols. Vol. 363, fols. 242-45 (Esp. 423), cited in Jack D. L. Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity: The Louisiana Infantry Regiment and the Louisiana Militia Companies, 1766-1821* (Birmingham, Alabama, 1965), 77.

28. Ibid. Commanders of the cadets included Tomás de Acosta (1773-1774), Josef de la Peña (1774-1777), Francisco Paula Morales (1793), Ignacio Fernández de Velasco (1794-1795), Vicente Fernández de Texeiro, and Antonio de Soto y Vaillant. Service in teaching the cadets was considered a "recommendable service" entitled to entry on one's service record: Petition of Soto, Pensacola, April 13, 1799, and opinion of Governor Folch, San Carlos de Barrancas, April 17, 1799, both in AGI, PC, legajo 134-A.

29. Gayoso to Conde de Santa Clara, No. 139, New Orleans, May 20, 1798, *ibid.*, legajo 1501-A.

30. The textbooks signed at New Orleans, January 12, 1797, are in AGI, PC, legajo 223-B.

officer ranks and command the regiment in their turn, it may be seen their mathematical training was of considerable importance.<sup>31</sup>

One-time commander of Mobile, Pedro Joseph Favrot, went a step further in developing textbooks. To spend his time as commander of Fort San Phelipe de Placaminas below New Orleans, he compiled in 1798 a textbook with questions and answers concerning the “sciences” and mathematics, which he hoped would be useful to his son Luis, and, “if he is willing to apply himself,” Philogene, Luis’s less academically-oriented brother. According to one biographer, the textbook was quite sound in its pedagogy, containing “lucid questions and answers,” which enabled both youths to absorb sufficient information to stand them well in their subsequent careers. But, Favrot’s “textbook” went beyond the basics in math and science. He included sections on languages, drawing, dance, optics, physics, astronomy, geography, history, and “moral maxims.”<sup>32</sup>

If children could not afford formal instruction in New Orleans, from tutors, or the trip to foreign climes, there was another alternative. The children of the poor and middle class were able to learn to read while picking up the fundamentals of a trade through the system of apprenticeships common at the time. This system of “learning-while-doing” was most effective in the Natchez district during the colonial period.<sup>33</sup> James Smith apprenticed his son, Prestwood, age seven, to his (James’s) brother William for a fourteen-year period “to learn the art of silversmith.” William was obliged to give his nephew “two years of schooling and teach him the art of his calling.”<sup>34</sup>

Often such contracts provoked disputes, as in the case of Stephen Marble, who had been apprenticed to David Douglas in 1791 to “learn the trade of carpenter and, by agreement, was to be also taught to read and write.” Four years later, Stephen’s brother complained that the young apprentice was being used as a menial servant, “washing dishes and milking cows,” without having learned the rudiments of reading and writing or the trade.

31. Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity*, 77.

32. Helen Parkhurst, “Don Pedro Favrot, a Creole Pepys,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII (July 1945), 679-734; Burson, *Miró*, 263.

33. Riley, “Development of Education,” 619-20.

34. Apprentice agreement, July 9, 1794, in McBee, *Natchez Court Records*, 196.

Governor Gayoso called all parties to his office to investigate the charge. David Douglas argued that the charges were without merit. "It is true," he testified, "that I have not made him work much at the carpenter's trade," but he claimed the youth was too small and, because "children should be taught to read and write and afterwards put to work," he was living up to his end of the bargain. The commandant of Natchez called on schoolmaster Valentine Dalton to examine Stephen both in respect to his progress in the carpenter's trade and in reading and writing. Master carpenter John Scott joined Dalton in concluding that the youngster should continue with Douglas because he already had learned the basics of education and was now old enough to be taught the elements of carpentry. But before the case was decided, the youth was taken, in company with his brother, from Natchez to Big Black Creek out of the authorities' jurisdiction.<sup>35</sup>

Orphans were also used in such a way as to give them a basic education on the one hand, and utilize their labor on the other. Mary Higdon of Natchez took two orphans, Theophilus and Isaac Marble, both siblings of the would-be carpenter, Stephen, not yet in their teens, who were to be given an education "suitable to their station in life, and to keep them until they shall attain the age of 21 years," at which time they would receive "a complete suit of clothes and a horse and saddle."<sup>36</sup> Natchez teacher John Arden took another member of this family, seven-year-old Louisa Marble, to "educate as I would my daughter and to treat her as such until she is 18 at which time to give her a complete suit of clothes."<sup>37</sup> William Bishop took two-year-old Nancy Kidd with the same provision for giving her "a regular education and to maintain her decently until she is 16," with the customary "suit of clothes" given to her at the end of her apprenticeship.<sup>38</sup>

One of the most interesting examples of a leading planter taking responsibility for a young child's education is that of Stephen Minor agreeing to educate his nephew, the posthumous son of the filibuster Philip Nolan.<sup>39</sup> Minor was awarded guardianship of young Philip Nolan in 1810, when the child was barely nine years old. By terms of the court order Minor bound himself to guard

35. *Ibid.*, 219-21.

36. *Ibid.*, 150.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Contract, September 24, 1792, in *ibid.*

39. Holmes, *Gayoso*, 261.

the youth's property, person, and education.<sup>40</sup> Minor sent young Nolan, not yet a teenager, to Baltimore for his training in 1813. To J. C. Wederstrandt Minor wrote that he would do all in his power "to render [young Nolan's] situation as comfortable as possible, and to place him with such persons as I am sure will pay every attention to his morals and General deportment." Minor agreed to the boarding terms with a Baltimore family of \$232 per year, including \$20 for washing and \$12 for shoe black. Mr. Black's academy offered training in "reading, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, mathematics, geography with the use of globes and maps, algebra, English grammar, Latin and Greek languages," all at a cost of \$40 per year, plus \$40 per year extra for Latin and Greek; \$8 per quarter for French and Spanish; and \$5 a quarter for French alone.<sup>41</sup>

Minor occupied the former Gayoso residence of "Concord," but the property was soon purchased by Natchez planter Peter Walker, who sent his son to Philadelphia for his education.<sup>42</sup> Young John Walker was a friend of boundary commissioner Andrew Ellicott and visited that home frequently. He wrote his father in Natchez how his education was progressing. The letter is an almost timeless example of the young student away at college. "I still continue at the Academy," he wrote. "I have read as far as the third book of Euclid and am complete master of Spherics [*sic* for Spheres]. I am at present studying Astronomy. I have went through Navigation and Surveying. In a couple of weeks I shall begin Algebra. I am the first in the first class of a hundred and odd."<sup>43</sup> He described his hectic schedule at the academy: "I have to get up very early every morning and learn 4

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40. Mary Steere to Bernard Lintot, Baton Rouge, July 29, 1801, Stephen Minor Papers, Louisiana State University Archives; Natchez Court Records: Orphans' Book I, 149, 150, 152; Guardian Book, I (1802-1826), I, 57.

41. J. C. Wederstrandt to Major Stephen Minor, Baltimore, November 14, 1813, Minor Papers.

42. Peter Walker was an Adams County Court clerk in Natchez in 1802. An important planter during the Spanish dominion, he was a close friend of Stephen Minor, and one of his sons accompanied Minor on the 1798 boundary commission. Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *The Mississippi Territorial Archives, 1798-1803 (Executive Journals of Governor Winthrop Sargent and Governor William Charles Cole Claiborne)* (Nashville, 1905), 391; William Dunbar to Gayoso, Natchez, March 11, 1798, AGI, PC, legajo 215-A.

43. John Walker to "Dear Father" [Peter Walker], Philadelphia, September 27, 1800, Minor Papers.

propositions in Euclid's by brea(k)fast, go to the Academy at 8, return at 12 [dine until 2, when I return to classes], and out at 5." What free time he had in the evening he spent reading modern European history, for John Walker had resolved on a tour of Europe and a possible commission in the navy or merchant marine. He urged his father to send him money, as he was somewhat short of funds at school.<sup>44</sup>

When William Dunbar sent young William to the same town, he urged the boy's mentor not to lavish him with too much money. "An idea has been received here," he wrote, "that in the generality of American seminaries too much liberty is allowed & too much money given to be spent by the Students consistent with their best improvement & progress in education." As for the program of study which Dunbar expected to be established for his son, he wrote that "a moderate knowledge of Latin & Greek is essential to a general education; Mathematical knowledge I consider as a main pillar upon which a Superstructure may be raised of the various branches of Natural philosophy not omitting at the same time Gen.L. history and Belles lettres; Chemistry, NatL. history and Botany are not to be neglected in their proper season."<sup>45</sup> Dunbar also felt that "what may be called personal accomplishments" such as "dancing, fencing, drawing, music . . . french & Spanish languages ought also to have their share of attention." With such a program, Dunbar tempered his advice with the following: "You will please to exercise your own good judgement with respect to the times & seasons of instruction of the various branches & also how many may be taught at a time without overcharging the mind of the Pupil."<sup>46</sup>

These few examples of white educational opportunities do not address themselves to education provided to blacks and to Indians. They do show, however, that the legend of Spanish incompetence and illiteracy will not stand the test of careful examination. The high hopes for education in Spanish West Florida were seldom realized, it is true, but the opportunities were there for those who wished to take advantage of them.

44. *Ibid.* Young Walker added his description of the new Federal capital: "I went to the federal city where I saw the handsomest building I ever saw (.) the Capitol and president's house (,) two magnificent houses built on hewn stone (.) but the country is the poorest I ever saw, except the pine hills of Georgia.

45. Rowland, *Life of William Dunbar*, 361-63.

46. *Ibid.*

## BERNARD LINTOT: A CONNECTICUT YANKEE ON THE MISSISSIPPI, 1775-1805

by ROBIN FABEL

**D**ECIDING where one's allegiance lay and adhering to it in the era of the American Revolution was not always easy. Changing it was common but Bernard Lintot changed his an extraordinary number of times.<sup>1</sup> He was successively a citizen of the colony of Connecticut, a loyalist inhabitant of British West Florida, a subject of the king of Spain, a citizen of the state of Connecticut, and finally a founding member of the United States Mississippi territory. He represented unusual continuity. His was one of the very few of the old families of Mississippi to establish itself there during the period of British rule.

Lintot's origins are obscure. In the early 1760s he lived in premises on Wall Street, New York, where he traded in an amazing variety of goods, most of them imported from England. He sold mainly luxury items; jewelry, fine china and silverware, but also shoes, horse whips, brandy, and, occasionally, slaves. The amount of stock he carried suggests a high volume of business but in January 1765, he announced his intention of selling out and he auctioned off what then remained of it on April 14. Afterwards, he moved from Wall Street to a more obscure address near Oswego market. In August he showed public spirit by selling a consignment of medicines for the benefit of the asylum and the Magdalen charities.

In the early 1770s he lived in the Connecticut town of Branford, where he was a prosperous property owner. Nevertheless he

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1. The main source of information for Lintot's activities in New York and Florida is his petition to the General Assembly of Connecticut, January 16, 1784, in Connecticut Archives, Revolutionary War, 1763-1789 (unpublished manuscript material, Hartford, Conn.: Connecticut State Library), Series 1, vol. 27, 64-74 (hereinafter cited as Lintot's "Petition"), but additional New York material is in *New York Mercury*, March 5 and September 9, 1764 and January 21, April, and August 5, 1765.

had a large family and, like many another Connecticut parent, feared that if he stayed in the colony, he would be unable to provide adequately for his children.

The population of Connecticut was dense and increasing. Its soil was being worn out by incessant cropping and backward farming methods. It was difficult for a small farmer either to prosper or to acquire more acreage for himself. Much of the usable farm land was of unreachably high price or was held by absentees for rent or as a speculation. Benjamin Trumbull estimated that over 2,000 Connecticut men a year were leaving the colony in the decade before the Revolution in search of better economic opportunities elsewhere. Of these, something like 400 families migrated to West Florida under the auspices of the Company of Military Adventurers headed by General Phineas Lyman. The Adventurers was an organization composed primarily of New England veterans of the Seven Years War, hoping to benefit from the land bounty which they thought had been promised.

Lintot was not one of the Adventurers but, like them, his motives for emigration were economic, or so he alleged, and he may be believed because his subsequent career does not make considerations of adherence to the British crown a likely reason for his move from revolutionary Connecticut to loyalist West Florida. It is not difficult to accept that concern for the future of his seven children moved him.

According to a fellow Connecticut emigrant there was, in the early 1770s, "much talk about the goodness of the country near the Mississippi," and Lintot would have needed no special connection with West Floridians to know that there was an abundance of crown land available gratis or cheaply in the new British province.<sup>2</sup> The head of a household could obtain free from the colonial government 100 acres for himself, fifty acres for his wife, and an extra fifty acres for each member of his "family" – which meant not only offspring but also slaves and indentured servants. Additional acreage to round out a sizable plantation could be easily and inexpensively purchased from the government: the normal charge was five shillings, or just over one dollar, an acre.

In fact Lintot did have a contact who was knowledgeable about West Florida. He was a New Yorker, Dr. John Jones, whose

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2. Matthew Phelps, *Memoirs and Adventures* (Bennington, 1802), 14.

brothers, Evan and James, were prominent from at least 1765 in the trade, law, and government of West Florida. Dr. Jones urged the advantages of establishing an indigo plantation.<sup>3</sup> It was not bad advice. Thanks to the bounty of sixpence a pound offered by the king's ministers to aid the British woolen industry, indigo had proved a profitable crop, since it was first introduced to South Carolina in 1748, in areas where the climate and soil favored its growth. West Florida was one such area. On a small scale, indigo was grown there on the Amite and Comite rivers which ran in a north/south direction a few miles to the east of the Mississippi.<sup>4</sup> Both ran into the Iberville which was connected with Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain. Indigo was grown much more extensively on the other side of the Mississippi in the comparable but older colony of Louisiana.

Lintot was persuaded, and entered into communication with James and Evan Jones at Pensacola. In 1774 he sold his Connecticut farm on mortgage to Ralph Isaacs of Branford and in 1775 set sail for West Florida, arriving at Manchac on the Mississippi some time in the fall. Whether deliberately or by luck his timing was good, because unseasoned immigrants from cooler regions, who arrived earlier in the year, all too often succumbed to summer fevers and fluxes.

If any of British West Florida's few settlements, Pensacola, Mobile, Natchez, New Richmond (Baton Rouge), and Manchac, had a future, Lintot's choice was intelligent. Not only was there suitable plantation land at Manchac, but water communication with markets and sources of supply were then good and potentially excellent. Location on the Mississippi gave access southwards to New Orleans and northwards to the Illinois settlements. Because Manchac was also situated at the fork of the Mississippi and Iberville rivers the future seemed to promise the opening, by means of a canal or dredging, of a river route navigable by sizable vessels to the Gulf of Mexico by way of Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain. Had such a development ever occurred, Manchac might have replaced New Orleans as the major port on the Mississippi.<sup>5</sup> In 1765 a small fort had been built at Manchac on the

3. Lintot's "Petition," 64a.

4. Thomas Hutchins, *An Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West Florida* (Philadelphia, 1784; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1968), 61-62.

5. How and why it came to nothing is discussed in Douglas Stewart Brown,

orders of Governor George Johnstone, a great believer in Manchac's economic and strategic potential. To the chagrin of all those who wanted to attract settlers to the Mississippi, its garrison was withdrawn in 1768. Notwithstanding the lack of military protection, the township at Manchac thrived, so much so that the comptroller of customs at Pensacola urged the British government to establish a customs office there in 1771.<sup>6</sup>

It seemed sure that a major town would develop, not necessarily at the junction of the Iberville and the Mississippi, where it was swampy and where it had become obvious that the river could erode the banks unpredictably, but somewhere in the general area. In 1771 the West Floridian authorities planned a township on the Mississippi a few miles above the remains of Fort Bute which they hoped would be called Harwich. On November 2 alone, a dozen different inhabitants applied for waterside lots there, in each case using the familiar name Manchac in their petitions. These included Richard Carpenter, a Quaker from Rhode Island; George Castles, a New York ship's captain; Francois Pousset, the speaker of the West Florida Assembly, and several, like James Willing and David Williams, who already had plantations in the vicinity.<sup>7</sup> The development of Harwich depended on the cutting of a proposed canal between the Mississippi and the Iberville. The cut was never made, and in the end Harwich came to little, but the plan was far from dead when Lintot arrived in West Florida in 1775. As late as 1777 lots were being marked and a levee cleared at the site, and on February 4, 1778, a grand jury of the general sessions of the peace was convened at Harwich.<sup>8</sup> Lintot was one of the twenty-three principal planters and merchants of the Manchac district who sat on this jury.<sup>9</sup>

In 1775 another town, Dartmouth, was planned in the vicinity of Manchac, about twenty miles to the east of the fort's original

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"The Iberville Canal Projects: Its Relation to Anglo-French Commercial Rivalry in the Mississippi Valley, 1763-1775," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 32 (March 1946), 491-516. See also Margaret F. Dalrymple, *The Merchant of Manchac: The Letterbooks of John Fitzpatrick, 1768-1790* (Baton Rouge, 1978), 11-16.

6. J. A. Martin to the Lords of the Treasury, received July 17, 1771, Great Britain, Public Record Office (hereinafter cited as P.R.O.).

7. P.R.O., Colonial Office (hereinafter cited as C.O.), 5/630, Council Minutes, November 2, 1771.

8. C.O. 5/634, 454.

9. C.O. 5/580, 305.

location, at the fork of the Iberville and Amite rivers.<sup>10</sup> Like Harwich the name was intended as a compliment to the secretary of state for the American colonies who, in 1771, had been Baron Harwich and Earl of Hillsborough, but who, after 1772, was the Earl of Dartmouth. The new site was connected to Manchac by a good road suitable for carts which traders used nine months in the year. During the other three— May, June, and July— when the Mississippi was in flood, communication was easier because vessels drawing up to four feet could sail directly between the Mississippi and the Amite without the tedium of transshipping cargo. Once Dartmouth was established, surely, it must have been argued, those ten miles of the Iberville which were only intermittently sailable would be deepened to facilitate permanently water passage between the new town and the Mississippi. It should be noted that it was not only the British who saw great significance and potential in Manchac. Writing to the king of Spain in 1776, Don Francisco Bouligny described its commercial importance: “Boats leave New Orleans for Natchitoches, Pointe Coupée, Arkansas, and Illinois. In New Orleans they take something, but most of their cargo is taken from the floating stores, remote from the city, or at Manchac.” Bouligny seemed to imagine that Manchac was the lynch-pin of the whole colony of West Florida. “If no means are taken to prevent the development of that establishment it will absorb ours and will be a menace to the vast kingdom of Mexico.”<sup>11</sup> Thus the chances were that Lintot had chosen to situate himself in West Florida at a propitious time in a most favorable area.

On February 26, 1776, alleging that he had been obliged to leave Connecticut and seek asylum in Florida because of the revolutionary disturbances further north, he applied for a grant of land on the Amite River on the east side of Stuart’s Creek. It was probably no coincidence that the plantation of James Jones was also on the Amite. In addition to 100 acres for himself, Lintot could claim on family right 850 acres because with him he had his wife, seven children, seven black slaves, and two white indentured servants. Added to these 950 acres, he was also awarded 1,000 acres as a bounty for proven loyalism.<sup>12</sup> Once more he had

10. Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 15.

11. V. M. Scramuzza, “Gálveztown, A Spanish Settlement of Colonial Louisiana,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 13 (October 1930), 559.

12. C.O. 5/631, Council Minutes for February 26, 1776.

been fortunate in his timing, because this type of bonus had been available for only three months at the time of his application.

Lintot did not settle on the Amite. According to his own statement, he moved because the climate had destroyed his own and his family's health. Exactly ten months after his first petition, he asked for 950 acres on family right on the Ticksaw River, noting his loyalty to England, and stating that he was "well attached to His Majesty's government" and disapproved of the rebellion. His request was favorably received by the West Florida Council.<sup>13</sup>

Once more Lintot sought to change his residence, and again he was fortunate. In the summer of 1777 he had a plantation surveyed eleven miles east of the Mississippi. It was separated from the river by the huge 20,000 acre estate given to the former lieutenant governor of West Florida, Montfort Browne. Lintot's grant was level with the Milk (Browne's) Cliffs opposite Pointe Coupée, and it must have been very close to the Comite River. The formalities of this grant were completed on August 4, 1777. As usual, a number of not particularly relevant conditions were attached to it. Any gold and silver found on the land was reserved for the king, and Lintot was liable to pay an annual quitrent of a half-penny an acre every Michaelmas, the first payment falling due ten years after the initial grant.<sup>14</sup>

It is difficult to account for the West Florida Council's unusual indulgence to the indecisive Lintot. The reason was certainly not the influence of James Jones who was in bad odor for having absented himself without permission from council meetings after 1773.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps it was because he was the type of immigrant—prosperous and of large family—that Governor Chester wanted to encourage to settle in West Florida.

In spite of his several land grants, Lintot was still not content. Even while acquiring land in West Florida he was, according to his own account, trying every measure to return to Connecticut. To this end he removed his family to New Orleans in April 1777, but even after six months there he could not obtain a passage.<sup>16</sup> If he had wanted to return alone no doubt it might have been

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13. C.O. 5/634, 451.

14. C.O. 6/607, 376-78.

15. C.O. 5/593, 217.

16. Lintot's "Petition," 64b.

arranged. A great deal of shipping voyaged to and from New Orleans at that time, braving numerous privateers in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean. For example when, on the seventeenth of that same April, the Spanish governor of New Orleans, Bernardo de Gálvez, decided to seize all vessels with English-speaking crews, there were thirteen such boats on or off New Orleans, two of which were American. On his own Lintot might have shipped on an American vessel or, for greater safety, on one of the French or Spanish vessels frequenting New Orleans. From a Caribbean port, he could have boarded a ship flying the neutral flag of one of the Bourbon powers to take him to Connecticut. Lintot was not alone, however, and it is possible that no captain sailing dangerous waters was prepared to encumber his vessel with Lintot's wife and numerous children.

It is likely, however, that Lintot was not trying to leave New Orleans at all, but rather to take advantage of the lucrative trade opportunities available in the city at that tumultuous time. For in spite of Gálvez's seizure of British ships, and his expulsion of some British inhabitants from New Orleans, he was not consistent in his policy. British trading concerns like the firms of David Ross and John Campbell which had been allowed to operate before the April swoop were soon as active as before. One of the standard routes for illicit trade was between New Orleans and Manchac and evidently Lintot used it. For, although for the benefit of the Connecticut Assembly, he alleged that, after disappointment at New Orleans, he returned to Manchac "merely in quality of a planter," he is described in a legal document of February 5, 1778, as "now of Manchac, merchant."<sup>17</sup> Also if he was truly intending to return to Connecticut, his purchase at that same time of 200 acres on the Amite River seems rather strange.<sup>18</sup> Also surprising, if his story were true, was that he allowed himself to be elected to the West Florida legislative assembly later that year, although he never actually attended.<sup>19</sup>

A map of Manchac in 1772 shows it as scarcely justifying the name of village.<sup>20</sup> Other than John Fitzpatrick's warehouse, the

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17. Ibid.

18. C.O. 5/617, 203.

19. Robert R. Rea and Milo B. Howard, *The Minutes, Journals and Acts of the General Assembly of British West Florida* (University, Alabama, 1979), 293.

20. Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 197-99.

ruins of Fort Bute, and the old military hospital, there were only eight buildings of any sort, all of them small. It had grown considerably by the time that Lintot moved there in 1777, when William Bartram noted a few "large and commodious" buildings, in particular the warehouses of Swanson and Company, the Indian traders.<sup>21</sup> In Hukey's tavern would gather the principal inhabitants, William Swanson, the Monsanto brothers, Thomas Bentley, John Fitzpatrick, and the many travelers who stopped at Manchac.<sup>22</sup>

Lintot had only recently arrived at Manchac when Captain James Willing in February 1778, came down the Mississippi, terrorizing the British settlements on the east bank of the river.<sup>23</sup> Willing knew the area well. Before the Revolution he had owned a plantation in the Natchez district and a waterside lot at Manchac. In 1777 the Continental Congress authorized him to take an expedition down the Mississippi and to seize whatever British property was available.<sup>24</sup> Since this area had been stripped of its military garrison a decade before, Willing's tatterdemalion force, dressed in hunting smocks and armed with cutlasses, pistols, and rifles, was irresistible. Flight from Manchac was singularly easy since it was separated from Spanish Louisiana by a foot-bridge over the Iberville River. Nearly all the inhabitants fled there with their slaves. A party of Americans under Willings's lieutenant, John McIntyre, looted the houses at Manchac, drove off the cattle and set fire to a stock of 40,000 wooden staves. In the process they burned down the dwellings and outbuildings of Thomas Bentley.<sup>25</sup> Alone of Manchac's citizens, if his account is to be believed, Lintot stayed behind to welcome Willing and to provide him with accommodation. As a result Lintot's property was not molested.<sup>26</sup>

Then, in June 1778, the British authorities, in the wake of Willing's raid, sent a garrison of a hundred or so troops, mostly

21. Mark Van Doren, ed., *Travels of William Bartram* (New York, 1955), 341.

22. C.O. 5/631, Council Minutes for March 2, 1778.

23. Elizabeth Conover, "British West Florida's Mississippi Frontier during the American Revolution" (M.A. thesis, Auburn University, 1972), passim; Robert V. Haynes, *The Natchez District and the American Revolution* (Jackson, Mississippi, 1976), 58-72.

24. John W. Caughey, *Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783* (Berkeley, 1934; reprinted., Gretna, 1972), 102-05.

25. John Fitzpatrick to Thomas Bentley, August 1, 1780, quoted in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 359.

26. Lintot's "Petition," 64e.

German mercenaries, to Manchac.<sup>27</sup> They turned the one undamaged house in the village into quarters and helped themselves to the stock and provisions that Willing had spared. Lintot and his family were ousted and compelled to live in a cowshed which at times was entirely surrounded by water. They were not the only ones in Manchac displaced, notwithstanding the "marks of esteem and friendship" shown to Willing; loyal John Fitzpatrick and his wife were also moved out of their house by the soldiers.<sup>28</sup>

William Dutton, a Pensacola merchant who served as commissary for the Manchac garrison, was quartered in Lintot's house together with several officers. Some three months later Dutton died, and Captain William Barker, commander of the detachment, asked Lintot to take over an important part of Dutton's job, the allocation of rations to the troops. In return he would be able to draw provisions for himself and his family from the military ration store. To save his family from starvation, according to his later explanation, Lintot accepted.<sup>29</sup> He continued to perform this service until Manchac was captured by the Spanish troops under Gálvez on September 7, 1779.

Unlike the rest of the garrison, Lintot did not become a prisoner of war and was permitted to stay on at Manchac.<sup>30</sup> This evidence of recognition of civilian status was later to be of importance to him. Then despite Spanish indulgence Lintot decided to leave Manchac. He seems first to have gone to his plantation at Ticksaw, and then to have returned briefly to Manchac.<sup>31</sup> On September 14, 1780, he was in Pensacola.<sup>32</sup> Next he bought a plantation on the Acadian coast of Louisiana (the Mississippi shore between Manchac and New Orleans) some time before December 1780, from Dr. Samuel Flowers, a former Philadelphian now living in West Florida.<sup>33</sup> Lintot seemed to be confirming his

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27. Haynes, *The Natchez District*, 88, 119.

28. Fitzpatrick to John Miller, June 9, 1778, quoted in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 294.

29. Lintot's "Petition," 64f.

30. Nevertheless, although he did not mention it in his petition, Lintot was placed on parole by Gálvez on July 13, 1780. Caughy, *Bernardo de Gálvez*, 162, fn. 50.

31. Fitzpatrick to Lintot, July 16, 1780, quoted in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 356.

32. C.O. 5/580, 305.

33. Fitzpatrick to Daniel Hicky, December 9, 1780, quoted in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 362. Flowers had arrived in West Florida in January 1775, and had acquired joint ownership with Stephan Watts of

desire to be a Spanish subject. Gálvez had been magnanimous in his treatment of settlers in those parts of West Florida that he captured in 1779. Those who chose to remain had to take an oath of loyalty to the Spanish king on Sunday, October 11, 1779, and would thus become Spanish subjects. Those reluctant to take the oath would have eight months in which to dispose of their property. They would then be offered passage to any English port they selected. Since property in the western sections of West Florida was all but unsaleable, undoubtedly there were some inhabitants who elected to become Spanish subjects only because the alternative was economic ruin. Since Lintot still retained some capital he was not one of those willing to leave Florida.<sup>34</sup>

Lintot was shocked to learn when he returned to the United States in November 1783, that all his property in Connecticut had been declared forfeit and had been confiscated by the state. Acting on what Lintot considered the malicious charge of a certain Mr. Bay, whose identity is unknown but who may have been connected with the prominent West Floridian, Elihu Hall Bay, that he had assisted the enemies of the United States, the selectmen of Branford had initiated a prosecution *in absentia* of Bernard Lintot in October 1781. The legal process was characteristically slow, but on January 10, 1783, a county court at New Haven had ruled that Lintot's Connecticut property should be confiscated.

Lintot quickly petitioned the Connecticut assembly to reverse the decision. He noted that he had punctually paid all the required taxes on his property and that the judgment had been made after signature of the provisional Anglo/American treaty ending the Revolutionary War. He refuted the charge of disloyalty and claimed that he had never committed himself to the British cause during the conflict. He presented an array of testimony to support this contention, including a document designed to show that the Spanish no longer considered him a British subject. It was a certificate of August 23, 1783, from Don Estevan Miró, the civil and military governor of Louisiana, recognizing Lintot as an old inhabitant and giving him permission to come and go in Louisiana, and New Orleans in particular, as he pleased. A second document sought to show that Lintot had re-

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a plantation with sixty-four slaves. C.O. 5/631, Council Minutes for October 1, 1777.

34. C.O. 5/635, 69.

mained unwillingly on British soil once the Revolution began. John Jennings, a Philadelphia merchant, testified on December 12, 1783, that he was in New Orleans in the summer of 1777 when the Lintots lived there. They had left, alleged Jennings, only because Governor Gálvez had expelled all the English from the city; the Lintots moved to British Manchac because they could not obtain passage to New England. Jennings probably knew Lintot well; they both served on the Harwich grand jury which met in February 1778.<sup>36</sup> When Jennings left Louisiana in June 1783, Lintot was living on his Acadian coast plantation.

Lintot also persuaded Captain Thomas McIntyre who, as a lieutenant under James Willing, had helped despoil Manchac, to write on his behalf. The officer testified that he had been twice in New Orleans between April 1778, and December 1782, and had never heard that Lintot was opposed to the United States. Another deposition was from Dr. John Jones whose testimony was calculated to remove suspicion that Lintot had emigrated to West Florida to avoid involvement in the Revolution. According to Jones, from 1773 he had advised Lintot to make the move for the sake of his children. Samuel Strether asserted that in 1776, while he was living in Pensacola, the Lintots had arrived from the Amite River trying to secure passage back to New England. Failing that, they had sold their personal effects and had gone on to New Orleans in the hope of finding better luck there. Chronologically Strether's testimony might seem misplaced, but Lintot apparently preferred to arrange his supporting documents according to the social rank of the authors, and Strether was a young and struggling goldsmith.

In spite of social considerations perhaps the most persuasive of all his supporting documents were two mass petitions from the inhabitants of Lintot's old hometown Branford, one with 206 names on it and the other with over 100. They described Lintot as "a very honest, humane, moral and worthy citizen," and argued that his estates should never have been confiscated.

Actually this bundle of testimony, although undoubted proof of Lintot's energy and organizing ability, did not fully substantiate what he was trying to prove. The certificate from Miró, for example, was merely a kind of passport according Lintot the same

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35. C.O. 5/580, 311.

treatment that the Spanish authorities allowed all inhabitants, even those who had been strongly pro-British, provided, as few did, that they stayed on in Florida accepting Spanish rule.<sup>36</sup> Captain McIntyre's statement was a weak endorsement of Lintot's patriotism. Also John Jennings's testimony that Lintot had been compelled to leave New Orleans after Gálvez's expulsion order in 1777 is suspect, in that Englishmen willing to accept Spanish authority were allowed to stay on and many did. Jennings also, perhaps unintentionally, dented Lintot's story that he had welcomed Willing. Jennings claimed that all inhabitants of Manchac had crossed over to Spanish territory at Willing's approach, "not one remaining." Both his testimony and that of Strether, the other witness to swear that the Lintots were anxious to leave West Florida in 1776 and 1777, varied with the petitions for land grants made by Lintot at the time. A condition for these claims was residence in the province. Naturally Lintot did not mention these grants to the assemblymen, and probably they never learned of them. Finally in their list of Lintot's virtues, the inhabitants of Branford had not included patriotism or enthusiasm for revolutionary principles. In another year, the assemblymen might have made much of these deficiencies.

Once again Lintot was lucky in his timing. His petition was lodged after wartime passions had somewhat cooled and after signature of a peace treaty in which Congress had accepted the principle that Loyalist property should be restored. Lintot's application with its supporting documents was submitted on January 16, 1784, and within the month the Connecticut General Assembly had granted his request.<sup>37</sup>

Instead of celebrating his triumph by settling in Branford, Lintot returned to the Mississippi area to yet another plantation. In the Spanish census of the Natchez district of 1792 Bernard Lintot was listed, together with Samuel Flowers with whom he had once had business dealings, as an inhabitant of the Santa

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36. Cf. Fitzpatrick's comment in 1785: "The five English that still remain in the country are treated with great indulgence and civility by the government." Fitzpatrick to John Stephenson, May 23, 1785, quoted in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 418. William Dunbar was one of those five whose inclusion on James Willing's list suggest that, at the very least, he was not known for pro-Americanism. Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, *Life, Letters and Papers of William Dunbar* (Jackson, Mississippi, 1930), 60.

37. Lintot's "Petition," 64g.

Catalina beat.<sup>38</sup> He was one of the more prominent citizens of the Natchez district, and later when Governor Gayoso projected a cabildo for Natchez, he nominated Lintot as one of its five members. This plan, however, never became a reality.<sup>39</sup>

Following the Treaty of San Lorenzo of October 27, 1795, Spain recognized the thirty-first parallel of latitude to the Chattahoochee River as the southern boundary of the United States. Thus the inhabitants of the Natchez district, including the region around St. Catherine's Creek, would become citizens of the Republic. The inhabitants seem to have shown little interest in effecting this transition until the arrival in June 1797 of Andrew Ellicott, the surveyor commissioned by the United States to run the national boundary line. Shortly afterwards, in the face of growing mob activity, responsible citizens elected, on June 20, a committee of safety to preserve order.<sup>40</sup> Bernard Lintot was a member of the committee, together with Anthony "Hutchins, Cato West, Gabriel Benoist, and William Ratliff. On June 22, the committee submitted a series of demands "to restore tranquility" to Governor Gayoso, who accepted them.<sup>41</sup> These secured during the transition period prior to full United States rule respect for Spanish law in general. It also guaranteed the right of the Natchez inhabitants to elect their own magistrates, to be tried locally, and to exemption from service in the Spanish militia.

The committee, having completed its work, dissolved. Shortly afterwards Gayoso was replaced by Stephen Minor who served as acting governor.<sup>42</sup> Born in Pennsylvania, Minor had emigrated

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38. Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, 5 vols. (Jackson, Mississippi, 1916-1925), I, 426-27.

39. Jack D. L. Holmes, *Gayoso: The Life of a Spanish Governor in the Mississippi Valley, 1789-1799* (Baton Rouge, 1965), 49-50.

40. Andrew Ellicott, *The Journal of Andrew Ellicott* (Philadelphia, 1803; reprinted., Chicago, 1962), 114-16.

41. The growing unrest centered around an itinerant Baptist preacher (Barton Hannon) who, having been soundly thrashed in an argument with a group of Catholics in the St. Catherine's Creek area, vowed revenge. Taking his threats of violence toward the Catholics to Governor Gayoso, he demanded that either the governor take action or he would. So Gayoso, fearing a threat to the public peace, ordered Hannon imprisoned. This so outraged the citizens of the Natchez district that they threatened to storm the fort where Hannon was being held. The incident was averted when the citizens learned that explosives were being shipped into the fort. See Holmes, *Gayoso*, 190-95.

42. J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State*, 2 vols. (Jackson, Mississippi, 1888), I, 161-71.

to New Orleans. He served as an officer in the Spanish army at Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola, and then Gálvez appointed him an assistant in the Natchez district in 1781.<sup>43</sup> There he took as his second wife Bernard Lintot's daughter Catherine, who had been born in Connecticut in 1770. She bore Minor five children. He had purchased Governor Gayoso's mansion, Concord, and there the family lived in princely style.

Catherine's older brother, William, married Grace Mansfield of Connecticut and became a successful planter in Adams County, Mississippi. Another of the Lintot girls, Frances, married Philip Nolan, one of the more colorful characters on the frontier. Nolan was agent for General James Wilkinson dealing in tobacco at New Orleans, but he was best known for his several expeditions into Texas where he caught and tamed wild horses. He sold some of them as remounts to the Spanish army, and disposed of others illegally. Daniel Clark thought him "formed for enterprises of which the rest of mankind are incapable," but his promise was never fulfilled because, after revocation of his horse-trading license, he was shot and killed by a force of Spanish troops sent to arrest him in 1801. He had married two years before and a son was born after his death.<sup>44</sup> Another of the Lintot sisters, Sarah, married Hubert Rowell.<sup>45</sup>

Before his death in 1805, Bernard Lintot's name appeared in several documents concerning the early years of the Mississippi territory.<sup>46</sup> In 1800 he signed a petition to the United States Congress asking that Mississippi not be advanced to the second stage of territorial government. The following year he was one of forty citizens who signed a tribute to their departing governor, Winthrop Sargent, and in 1802 he joined in a testimonial to the efficiency of Colonel Steele, secretary to the territory. Also in 1802, after a reorganization of the court system in Mississippi, the governor chose Lintot to be a justice of the peace, but he declined the honor. In 1803 he became treasurer of Adams County, Mis-

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43. Stanley C. Arthur, ed., *Confidential Dispatches of Gálvez, 1777-1780* (Baton Rouge, 1937), 115.

44. Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. (New York, 1927-1936), XIII, 543-44.

45. Stanley C. Arthur, ed., *Archives of the Spanish Government of West Florida, 1782-1810*, 19 vols. (New Orleans, 1937), X, 103.

46. *American State Papers*, Class 8 Public Lands, 8 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), I, 784.

Mississippi, the first permanent post in government he is known to have held.<sup>47</sup>

Bernard Lintot is a difficult man to fathom. Unlike his neighbor, John Fitzpatrick, he left no correspondence. From other evidence one may conclude that he was shrewd, restless, humane, physically tough, and adaptable. Many pioneers had these qualities and perished or failed. Why Lintot survived and prospered enough to provide a rare living link between British Florida and the Mississippi territory of the United States deserves examination. That he had a nose for the prevailing wind is debatable for if it were truly keen he would not have left New England. What is sure is that he had the knack of evoking governmental benevolence, no matter who was in power, perhaps because he lacked ambition for office. Prosperous taxpayers with exclusively private ambitions are sometimes welcome to governments. That he changed his allegiance repeatedly is true, but since, in doing so, being powerless, he harmed nobody; the term turncoat, if applied to Lintot, loses much of its pejorative force. He was probably simply more concerned about family than flags. Although the evidence for his motives is fragmentary, the fact that his petition for the restoration of his Connecticut property has survived, enables us to know almost as much about his life in West Florida as about those few contemporaries in the area; John Fitzpatrick, William Dunbar, and Matthew Phelps who left posterity much more extensive records. If the motive for his travels was, as he asserted, to seek better opportunities for his children, it must have been a source of satisfaction to him that before he died at least some of his family had found and taken them.

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47. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States: The Territory of Mississippi, 1798-1817*, 28 vols. (Washington, 1937), V, 117, 123, 249, 254.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Florida's Politics and Government.* Edited by Manning J. Dauer. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1980. xiv, 528 pp. List of contributors, foreword, introduction, photos, tables, maps, appendices, index, \$10.00.)

This is a remarkable book. Who would have guessed that thirty contributors could produce a manuscript that possessed any degree of unity, coherence, and readability? That it could be achieved is due to the skill and wide experience in Florida politics and government of the general editor, Manning J. Dauer, and his associates. The project was well conceived in the first place, and the contributors carefully chosen for the roles they were to play. They come from college and university faculties and from positions in state government and administration. The result is a readable, useful, and usable study of all aspects of the subject.

The editor considers politics and government to be functions of a people, their history, their economy, their interests and their needs. This is more than a description of the structure and function of state government. It is also an explanation of how it developed and how it works. The book is written for the lay reader and the college student. It should prove especially useful to the millions of people who have made Florida their adopted state and need some background to understand its politics and government and participate more effectively as citizens. Governor Bob Graham in a foreword points out that Florida does differ from the other states. He argues that the solution of problems by unified action at the national level has not and cannot work effectively in all areas. Only state government can be aware of these differences and is in a position to cope with them. If the Reagan presidency can reverse the trend toward centralization at the national level, Florida may well have an opportunity to demonstrate what can be done. This book delineates Florida's problems and the response to them at the state level.

Very importantly, the Florida of today is a product of the post World War II years. We make much of St. Augustine as the first permanent white settlement in the country, but in fact Florida is one of the last states to develop. The twenty-seventh state became

twenty-seventh in population in the census of 1940, with just under 2,000,000 residents. In just forty years it has reached eighth place and has 9,000,000 inhabitants. The majority of these people have moved into Florida from other states and about one-half million are from Cuba. The growth of government agencies and services needed to assimilate these people and to meet their needs accounts for the rapid change and growth in state government and the character of Florida politics.

Florida is a southern state. It was third after South Carolina in secession from the Union in 1861, and the defeat in that effort to establish a new nation left lasting scars on its people. It is, however, equally significant that Florida moved rapidly away from her sister southern states, and has been increasingly non-southern since 1865. The first indication of a new future for Florida was the abandonment of cotton growing by the end of the nineteenth century and the transfer of attention to cattle, citrus, winter vegetable growing, forest industries, and tourism. And the center of population and development moved down the peninsula into South Florida. No state has made greater strides in so short a time in the protection and preservation of the natural environment. This is due partly to the geographical and geological nature of such areas as the Kissimmee River-Lake Okeechobee-Everglades drainage basin. Florida's greatest asset has been, and still is, its climate and natural environment. Clean air, clean water, clean soil mean more to Floridians, and they have done more to maintain them.

Because of the rapid growth and the large number of newcomers, Florida politics has become fragmented; politics are personal, almost local in character. Traditionally Democratic, the state has recently been moving more toward two-party politics and a more stable political organization. With four new members in the national House of Representatives as a result of the 1980 census figures, Florida will play an even more important role in national affairs and politics in the future.

A vote of thanks is due to all those who were part of this enterprise. The editor and his collaborators worked without fees or royalties. The University Presses of Florida made the book available at less than one half the going price for such a volume.

*Florida's Aviation History: The First 100 Years.* By Warren J. Brown. (Largo, FL: Aero-Medical Consultants, Inc., 1980. vi, 246 pp. Dedication, acknowledgments, introduction, photos, bibliography, index. \$4.95.)

From the earliest days up to the present, Florida has had more than its share of aviation activity, including the setting of world records and other exciting historical events constituting internationally significant milestones. Yet, surprisingly, available books on Florida aviation history are few indeed.

Warren Brown has done an excellent researching job, and has acquired photographs from a variety of sources, aided by his intense interest and personal knowledge of the subject. A licensed pilot who gets around the state extensively in his own plane, he has friends in all phases of aviation who are willing to share their knowledge, historical contacts, and sources with him.

By profession he is a medical doctor in family practice and a civilian flight surgeon. Yet he exhibited remarkable organizational talent in completing in his leisure time this major writing task. He has two non-fiction books to his credit, along with several booklets and many published articles.

Related throughout the book are a number of Florida's claims to aviation greatness: the world's first wireless message sent from plane to ground was at Palm Beach in 1911; the first airplane to span the nation eastward landed at Jacksonville Beach in 1912; one of Glenn Curtiss's earliest flying schools was established at Miami Beach in 1912; the world's first commercial airline (heavier-than-air) was the St. Petersburg-Tampa Airboat Line in 1914; the navy established Naval Air Station Pensacola as its permanent aviation training site in 1914; four transcontinental speed records were set between San Diego and Jacksonville Beach between 1919 and 1930, including one by Lieutenant Jimmy Doolittle (later a general and World War II hero); three world non-refueling endurance records were set at Jacksonville Beach between 1928 and 1931; the All-American Air Maneuvers were staged each year in Miami from 1929 through 1940; and the only accredited aviation oriented university in the western world has been located at Daytona Beach since 1965.

A truly exhaustive history of Florida aviation would fill several volumes. Dr. Brown has compacted his writing to the most

essential facts, and has selectively chosen the more interesting and colorful events, both to heighten reader interest and to limit the size of his book. He treats his historical data well, although the contemporary scene is handled a bit sketchily. Over 100 excellent photographs are included, many of which have not been previously published.

An aviation history so eventful, and covering such a large geographical area, poses a problem of arrangement. Should the entire book be arranged simply in chronological order of happenings, or chronological within several major geographical areas, or, alternatively, chronologically within several subject classifications (i.e. airlines, private flying, military, government involvement)? The author's solution was to give appropriate weight to the advantages of each arrangement scheme, allowing a compromise meld to result that is quite logical. As further organizational aids, chapter titles are descriptive, and a good index is provided.

Colorful and accurate facts and figures are included. His bibliography is extensive. Dr. Brown has written his book in a popular informal, appealing, and easily digestible style. No aviation enthusiast or lover of Florida lore will want to be without it.

*Jacksonville, Florida*

JOHN P. INGLE, JR.

*Florida Archaeology.* By Jerald T. Milanich and Charles H. Fairbanks. (New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1980. 290 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, tables, maps, illustrations, references, index. \$19.50.)

"We decided to write the book as an introduction to the archaeology of Florida— an overview that would appeal not only to students but also to the many people who are not professional archaeologists yet are interested in the state's archaeology." Statements much like this one can be found in the introduction to many archeological works. But, archeological writing which achieves this elusive balance is far more rare than the introductory promises would lead one to expect. In part, it is a matter of writing skills, or rather, the lack of such skills. Mostly, it is the nature of archeological data and the differing data needs of different audiences.

This volume delivers on its introductory promises because it is written to take advantage of that vast middle ground between the detailed information needs of the professional archeologist and the more general approach required to interest other audiences. The book contains plenty of detail. The detail is used to support the archeological interpretations and is not presented as an end product. It is not necessary to memorize artifact types and time sequences in order to understand the points being made. The authors note: "We have only mentioned briefly, or relegated to figures and tables, detailed information on such things as potsherds, which, although certainly important as a tool to the archaeologist, actually played only a small part in behavioral systems." It is this last term, "behavioral systems," which indicates how this book is different from earlier, more synthetic treatments of Florida archeology. Archeological sites and materials are seen as the patterned remains of past behavioral systems. Description takes a back seat to explanation and, where possible, the answers to the "why" questions take precedence over the "what" questions. The adaptation of past peoples, through time and space, to Florida's varying environments is the organizing principle followed in this volume. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that the authors' theoretical orientation is cultural ecological. This has resulted in a presentation which is both logical and useful.

The book opens with two introductory chapters which help to set the scene. The first includes a brief history of archeology in Florida; the second is an overview of the various natural and cultural Florida environments. The natural environment is discussed in terms of the resources available to past human population; the cultural in terms of the past populations distributions through time and space. This is accomplished by outlining archeologically-defined culture stages and culture areas. While neither chapter will satisfy the expert, they provide basic information needed to deal with what follows in this study. The next eight chapters follow the temporal-geographic structuring established in chapter two. Each, from three to ten, covers a time period or developmental state. Some chapters, like three and nine, deal with adaptive patterns during a specific time period in Florida. Others discuss the specific adaptive patterns which developed in a particular environment during a given time period.

There is material of particular interest to the historian: the

Indians of the historic period, and the Seminole. Anyone seeking a summary or synopsis of Florida prehistory or the prehistory of a particular region of the area can secure it.

In this reviewer's opinion, this is the best book now available on Florida archeology. It is well-written, well-organized, and complete. The professional archeologist and historian will find it an excellent summary or overview of Florida archeology. For the nonprofessional it is an excellent introduction to the topic.

*University of South Florida*

STEPHEN J. GLUCKMAN

*The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence.* Edited by John C. Dann. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980. xxvi, 446 pp. Illustration credits, foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, chronology of events, illustrations, index. \$20.00.)

In this final volume of the Clements Library Bicentennial Studies, John C. Dann presents narratives from seventy-nine pension applications of Revolutionary War veterans, filed in response to the Pension Act of 1832. Earlier pension legislation had been limited to members of the Continental service whose war records were on file, but this act applied to every veteran of the Revolutionary War, including those serving in state militias, naval or border patrols, Indian companies, espionage units, on privateers, and in independent companies formed to fight local loyalists. Since war records were not always available even for state militia, a veteran, to qualify for a pension under the act of 1832, had to provide in his application the time and place of his war service, the names of units and officers, and the engagements in which he participated. The application, whether written out by the veteran himself, which was seldom the case, or recorded by a pension agent or clerk from his oral account, usually took the form of a narrative sworn to in a court of law.

The editor has sifted through the entire collection of some 80,000 applications (found in Record Group 15 of Veteran Administration Records, and also available from the National Archives on microfilm) and selected seventy-nine of them for their historical significance, literary value, and geographical spread,

giving preference to the longer narratives which "tell a story." These narratives are organized according to the military campaigns in which the applicants claim to have participated— "New England at Arms," "War Around Manhattan," "Countering Burgoyne," "New Jersey Mobilizes," "The Philadelphia Theater," "War in the Carolinas," and "Virginia to Yorktown"— reinforcing the myth that the preponderance of military activity in the Revolution was in the northern states. The narratives themselves vary in interest. Since this reviewer found the earlier narratives in the volume generally less interesting than those included later on, specifically in "The Philadelphia Theater," "The War in the Carolinas," and "The Indian Frontier," the reader is advised to approach the narratives selectively rather than in the order presented. By modernizing the spelling and punctuation the editor has removed some of the flavor of the narratives but made them far easier to read. The brief notes introducing the narratives identify the applicant, note any obvious errors in the account, and satisfy the reader's curiosity whether a pension was awarded as the result of the application.

These narratives provide a wealth of material and, if used with discretion, form an important body of source materials. The sub-title of the volume, "Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence," is somewhat misleading, however, since they are not reliable sources for a study of the conduct of the campaigns of the War; they are reminiscences of seventy- to eighty-year-old men recorded some fifty years after the events. But they do serve to alert students of the Revolutionary War and the decades following that conflict of the mass of demographic materials contained in the complete files of applications for pensions. They also provide the reader with a new understanding of what Revolutionary life was like for the ordinary citizen called up at intervals for military service.

*The Revolution Remembered* is a handsome book, edited with an eye to the general reader. Contributing to its over-all value are the illustrations of prints and portraits from the Revolutionary period which themselves provide an important collection of historical material.

*Correspondence of James K. Polk. Volume V, 1839-1841.* Edited by Wayne Cutler, Earl J. Smith and Carese M. Parker, assoc. eds. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1979. xlii, 836 pp. Preface, symbols, chronology, notes, index. \$20.00.)

This volume begins with the last weeks of Polk's term as speaker of the House of Representatives in 1839, and ends with his defeat in the campaign for reelection as governor of Tennessee. In between, Polk was elected for a term as governor in 1839, and William Henry Harrison carried Tennessee in the presidential campaign of 1840. Polk and his Democratic friends were greatly humiliated by their failure to carry Tennessee for Martin Van Buren in the presidential election of 1836 and by the election of Newton Cannon, the Whig candidate, as governor. Their question was why did it happen and how could similar Democratic defeats be prevented in future campaigns. Polk and his correspondents agreed that Tennessee voters had been deceived by Hugh Lawson White, John Bell, and others, and if shown the error of their way they would return to their former Democratic allegiance. The Democrats failed to realize the great popularity of White and the fact that the influence of Andrew Jackson was no longer a major factor in Tennessee politics.

Before leaving Washington in the spring of 1839, Polk announced his candidacy for governor of Tennessee, and his friends began campaigning. Polk preserved few copies of his own letters, so most of the information as to his plans and activities must be gathered from the contents of replies from friends. They thought it best for Polk to canvass the entire state and at every opportunity to meet Whig Governor Cannon on the platform. The correspondence reveals the details of this canvass.

Polk won by a small margin, but the Democrats considered it a great victory. Tennessee had been redeemed. Polk's allies began immediately to urge him to seek the vice presidency in 1840. There were many letters of Congratulation from throughout the nation, mostly former congressional colleagues. They also urged that he seek the vice presidency. President Van Buren had not been popular in Tennessee and Vice President Richard M. Johnson was even less so. No doubt Van Buren would be renominated should a national convention be held, but Johnson might be replaced by someone of broader appeal. Polk's friends set to work

in earnest, contacting supporters in many states. But it soon developed that in several places, including the important state of Virginia, there was endorsement for Polk but strong opposition to a convention. Polk's friends had to shift tactics; without these states he could not be nominated. They now urged that the convention make no nomination for vice president, leaving to each state the privilege of supporting the candidate of its choice. The plan worked, as is revealed in letters published in this volume.

Although the strategy worked, the campaign which followed was a failure. Many former Tennessee Democrats who had supported White rather than Van Buren in 1836, refused to endorse Van Buren in 1840. Harrison carried Tennessee. Polk and his friends attributed the defeat to lack of organization and a poor press. Indeed, the Democratic press in Tennessee was a problem. The more important papers had supported White in 1836, and had refused to return to the Democratic fold. A lack of money and editorial talent prevented the establishment of a powerful new paper.

But Polk was soon off and running again. During the presidential campaign he announced his candidacy for reelection as governor in 1841. This time he would thoroughly canvass the state, and surely the voters would listen to reason. But as his friends reported, the voters showed less interest in a discussion of issues than in the antics of Whig candidate "Lean Jimmy" Jones. They had tasted the log cabin and hard cider style of campaigning and liked it. Polk lost.

The letters in this volume do not give us much of Polk himself; too few are his own correspondence. They deal with political issues, but there is little on economic or domestic matters. Even the letters exchanged between Polk and his wife while he was campaigning are almost purely political. Personal business is limited to a few items from plantation overseers, which were previously published by Bassett.

However, regardless of what the letters do or do not reveal, the new editors of this series have continued the high standard of excellence begun by Herbert Weaver and his associates.

*Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South.* By Dickson D. Bruce, Jr. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970. x, 322 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, world view, notes, bibliography, index. \$16.95.)

In this provocative book Professor Bruce attempts to set southern beliefs about violence in a cultural context. He notes that violence "evoked some deep and often discordant themes in the culture of greater effect than even race or slavery could do." Furthermore, there was "the overwhelming acceptance of violence by almost everyone in the society" (p. 6). Bruce agrees that violence was due to numerous factors, but especially passion, described as "the wellspring of human action" and serving as "a central focus in the morality of everyday life." But what of excessive passion? Southerners, whose religious heritage reinforced their pessimistic view of life in the world, did not trust themselves to keep their passion under control and were even less sure of others.

Pessimism, surviving in the South at a time when the North and Europe were adopting new points of view about society, was strongly reinforced by the region's own history, its static society, and slavery. Believing in the fragility of human relations, upper class Southerners were devoted to order, stability, discipline, and correct deportment.

Using contemporary sources, the author describes Southerners' attitudes as illustrated in their duels, child rearing, militarism, oratory, hunting, slave discipline, and fiction. For upper-class folk the duel was "a drama in which two contending moral forces, passion and restraint, occupied center stage" (p. 13). Skill in shooting or injuring an opponent was secondary; revenge had no place. Satisfaction was the purpose, and "satisfaction came as one proved his ability to behave as a principal should; and as he made his opponent take the same risk" (p. 38).

Whereas gentlemen were expected to deport themselves in such a way as to minimize violence and to use the duel only as a last resort, plain folk accepted violence as a normal means of settling disputes. In frontier towns such as Houston, where nearly all males were armed, assaults and murders over trivial disputes were common.

Bruce says that "much of the region's reputation for violence—

indeed, probably all of it— came from the fact that slavery not only survived but even thrived in the South” (p. 114). However, the slaveowners’ chief goal was a well-ordered plantation where the whip was to be rarely used. To him violence was secondary. Ex-slaves had a different recollection of the system. They remembered that violence was primary, that punishment was often capricious, and that domination, not order, was the chief goal.

In practice the South was probably no more militaristic than other regions of the country, although the southern orator, with frequent references to the glories of the Revolution, would lead one to believe differently. Southern writers, such as Simms, emphasized violence in their stories. So did the “southwestern humanists.” But their violence consisted mainly of good-natured frontier brawls. The author concludes that “the veneer of manners and sociability Southerners cultivated was feared to be dangerously thin protection from the inner man whose passions and cruelties were likely to break out at any moment” (pp. 239-40). This is a theme that Poe exploited more fully than any other writer; that is, that passion could become so obsessive as to overcome all restraint and control.

This book is heavy reading at times, but the author’s insights are worth it, though doubtless some of his views will be challenged. Especially rewarding are his chapters on dueling and slavery. However, did the views toward violence by plain-folk and frontiersmen in the South differ from their counterparts in other regions? What of the hunters and, except for Poe, the writers? Were their views toward violence unique? Was southern child rearing and oratory different? The author fails to give us comparisons. Nevertheless, this is a good psychological study of Southerners’ attitudes toward violence.

*Clemson University*

ERNEST M. LANDER, JR.

*New Masters: Northern Planters During the Civil War and Reconstruction.* By Lawrence N. Powell. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1980. xiv, 253 pp. Preface, epilogue, appendix, tables, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$15.00.)

This book is an important addition to Reconstruction literature, being the first thorough monographic study of Northerners who bought, leased, or otherwise acquired interests in southern plantations during and just after the Civil War. It is based upon a study of 524 Northerners of this category, all of whom were involved with cotton plantations. It does not include any discussion of those who became involved in sugar planting.

The actual text amounts to only 155 pages. A statistical appendix uses twenty pages, extensive footnotes account for fifty-one pages, and a useful bibliographical essay occupies twelve pages. The research is excellent. The author made use of manuscript collections from at least twenty-three depositories, plus all the appropriate official documents, travel accounts, and memoirs. He is obviously familiar with the secondary works applying to the period under discussion. Not only is this work significant in itself; it can also serve as an initial guide to others wishing to do research in the same or related areas.

An introductory chapter discusses the wartime decision of the United States government to lease abandoned plantations and the growth in the North of the belief that a combination of Yankee industriousness and good management with free black labor could make cotton plantations far more productive than they had been before the war. The second chapter is largely a description of the men who accepted this assumption and ventured into cotton planting. It is noteworthy that very few of them had any previous farming experience of any kind. Basically they believed that their superiority in the direction of free labor would enable them to earn huge profits. The author emphasizes the fact that, although there was some humanitarianism motivating these men, they were primarily moved by confidence that they could make large amounts of money in a few years.

Powell delves fairly deeply into the attitudes of Southerners toward these newcomers. In the early stages, Northerners with capital to invest were welcomed with open arms. Apparently, too,

many Southerners agreed that northern men could manage freedmen better than someone who had been accustomed to working slaves. Some who could have secured capital elsewhere gladly accepted Yankees as partners. By and large, social relations between these carpetbagger planters and their neighbors were cordial in 1865 and 1866, but this did not last. In many cases Southerners resented the way Northerners disregarded racial etiquette, sometimes even going so far as to call a freedman "mister." The beginning of Radical Reconstruction added tension, because most of the Yankee planters were Republicans. Finally, when natural disasters in 1866 and 1867, and a precipitous drop in cotton prices in the latter year brought heavy losses rather than the high profits that both Northerner and Southerner had expected, amity came to an end.

Perhaps the most interesting section of the book relates the experience of these Northerners with the freedmen. Whether they were idealists who hoped to make the former slaves into industrious wage earners while making themselves rich, or whether they were interested only in getting rich, and confident that their superior managerial ability would enable them to use black labor to do so, they were soon reduced to despair. The freedmen used every trick they had learned as slaves to avoid work, to keep from being over-worked, or to show their displeasure over some matter of which their employer might be totally unaware. They feigned illness, ran away, broke tools, abused animals, and now and then asserted themselves officiously just to assure themselves that they were really free. Perhaps most annoying of all, they supplemented their diet by helping themselves to poultry, livestock, and anything they could steal from the smokehouse. As their northern ideas and experience proved unequal to the task of dealing with the freedmen, most of the immigrant planters began to accept fully the racial ideas of their southern neighbors.

The author's style is occasionally pedestrian, but this is more than compensated for by wonderful quotations from the northern planters and their neighbors. One might complain mildly that the type is a bit small for hard-worked eyes. But these are minor points. This book should be a part of every collection dealing with the Reconstruction period of American history.

*Reconstruction and Redemption in the South*. Edited by Otto H. Olsen. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980. v, 250 pp. Introduction, notes, notes on contributors, index. \$17.50.)

This collection of studies, one for each of six secession states, is an important indication of a changing direction in Reconstruction historiography. Paradoxically, its authors write political history of the old-fashioned variety, as free of the new methodologies of quantification and behavioral analysis as from the old racial biases of the Dunningites. They do so with the editor's unqualified assertion of the centrality of political history to the South's Reconstruction experience. This in itself presents a noteworthy variant from the present concentration of scholarship upon the black experience and the agrarian economy of the post-emancipation South.

Even more striking is the less explicit but unmistakable shift of focus from North to South in seeking explanation for the ultimate failure of the Radical Reconstruction program. The assumption of northern responsibility for conditions in the post-war South, an orthodoxy that has survived all revisionisms, is not frontally repudiated; echoes remain. Yet the possibility of Reconstruction's success is equated with the fortunes of southern Republicanism. Both the unity of the volume and its fresh direction grow out of two questions it addresses: Why did Republicanism fail to establish itself as a viable, accepted, major contestant for power in the postwar South? Did southern Republicanism ever stand a chance? Answers are sought not beyond, but below, the Mason-Dixon line.

With the exception of the editor, each author published in the 1970s a monographic study of recognized quality that dealt with Reconstruction politics in the state about which he writes: Jerrell H. Shofner for Florida, Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins for Alabama, William C. Harris for Mississippi, Jack P. Maddex for Virginia, and Joe Gray Taylor for Louisiana. The editor is no less an expert on North Carolina. Their collective intimate knowledge gives the volume an authority that could not have been attained by any one scholar. On occasion it encumbers the analysis and impedes the reader with highly condensed narrative. This is not

the case with Taylor's essay on Louisiana. Its virtue in this respect renders his analytical judgments more incisive but less convincing. Olsen's North Carolina chapter is the most successful in balancing detailed narrative and generalization.

The value and usefulness of the volume rests as much upon the one as the other. On the complex Reconstruction politics of a majority of the ex-Confederate states it offers an impressive introduction to the novice, a convenient refresher to the veteran. On the relation of southern politics to what many historians view as the great missed opportunity of the nation's past, it presents a wide range of insights. The editor's twelve page introduction is unusually felicitous— a discerning comment on past and present Reconstruction historiography, and a shower of queries to challenge future research and interpretation. There is no claim to having found definitive answers. On the question of whether southern Republicanism might have succeeded, the editor reports the authors as divided. The reader is left to discover for himself the extent and nature of their differences.

The weight of judgment appeared to this reviewer predominantly negative. Only Maddex for Virginia indicates a strong possibility for success. Taylor "is convinced that there was never a chance" (p. 217); and most surprisingly, Olsen who faults North Carolinian Republican leaders for their orthodoxy, reasonableness, and efforts to persuade nonetheless concludes: "Admitting these Republican weaknesses, however, it is not clear that a promising alternative existed" (p. 196). Shofner believes that no solution for southern postwar problems was possible "without basic changes in the social attitudes of nearly all southern whites" (p. 42). Harris and Wiggins might be read as leaning toward a verdict of "possible," and they agree in their identification of the decisive problem requiring solution. Sarah Wiggins has formulated it effectively: "How to create a biracial political party without driving away white constituents" (p. 51). Neither historian tries very hard to convince the reader that the dilemma could have been resolved.

In his introduction, the editor raises the question of whether the role of racism was causal or tactical. On the basis of these studies he could have answered with assurance: "It was both." With less certainty he might have hazarded the judgment that

white racism alone would not have been able to cripple southern Republicanism.

*Hunter College and Graduate School, CUNY*

LAWANDA COX

*Nineteenth-Century Southern Literature.* By J. V. Ridgely. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980. x, 128 pp. Editor's preface, prologue, epilogue, bibliographical note, index. \$9.95.)

In the minds of many there has always been something special about southern writers. Perhaps it was the very South they wrote about, a remnant captured and sealed in time and space like a bee in amber, suffused with a strongly defined sense of place—Faulkner with his Yoknapatawpha, Eudora Welty with her Morgana.

Yet, as Flannery O'Connor, one of the most perceptive of southern writers understood: "The longer you look at an object, the more of the world you see in it." Even as the writers looked and saw, the scene before them was changing. The Old South lost its rural, small-town quality; the aristocracy, the unwavering concept of blood and family strength, the traditions of feudality were crumbling before their eyes.

The "Agrarians"—Tate, Davidson, Ransome, and company—took their stand and scattered. Only three remain: Andrew Lytle, Lyle Lanier, and the best-known, Robert Penn Warren of *All The King's Men* and Guthrie, Kentucky, currently living in Connecticut. James Agee praised famous men and moved to New York City to work for *Fortune Magazine*. Even Thomas Wolfe, the Asheville one, who described the South as "the dark, ruined Helen of my blood," came to regard himself as a Northerner. And he recognized that "there was something wounded in the South . . . something twisted, dark, and full of pain." In an odd convolution it was what Faulkner identified as "the problem of the human heart in conflict with itself."

Nevertheless there is no denying the unique flowering of what has been called the "Southern Renaissance" of at least the first half of the twentieth century, the impressive outpouring of more novelists, poets, essayists, critics, and other writers than would be possible to enumerate here. To discover what literary influences

fertilized the soil and sowed the seeds for such germination, one turns with considerable expectation to Professor Ridgely's *Nineteenth-century Southern Literature*.

With the exception of Edgar Allen Poe and Mark Twain, whom some may be surprised to think of as southern, and Sidney Lanier, the authors of nineteenth-century southern literature are not exactly household words. Their works have not survived and come down to us in the twentieth century in the same way that *Gone With The Wind* will no doubt proceed into the twenty-first. But John Pendleton Kennedy, Thomas Nelson Page, William Gilmore Simms, and George Tucker were writing in the general period of the devastation that gave Margaret Mitchell her material. They chose, understandably, to turn their backs on the disaster of the Civil War and the collapse of the Confederacy. Except for Jefferson Davis's ultimate defense of the southern cause, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, the others closed their eyes. Who can blame them? Their hearts and their spirits were broken.

This is over-simplification, of course. The "unwritten war" has already been blamed for enough. But what *were* those nineteenth-century writers doing? Apparently they were turning out Gothic novels, Southern Gothic, that is. In a restorative, releasing reflection of the Romantic movement in Britain and on the Continent, they sentimentalized the past in "historical fiction," and glossed over the present as best they could with inevitable nostalgia and yearning. Only the local-color, vernacular authors like Twain and Joel Chandler Harris seemed concerned with reality.

This does not give us the right to dismiss as frivolous Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* (the "first plantation novel . . . written by a man who had no financial stake in an agrarian system"), Simms's *Guy Rivers*, Tucker's *The Valley of Shenandoah* (although Ridgely acknowledges it as "rather tedious"), or Page's *In Ole Virginia*. To keep the dialect intact, "Virginie" would have been more appropriate. Ridgely has written whole books upon Simms and Kennedy, so obviously he does not consider them insignificant. The ladies, apparently, were not penning much.

Suffice it to say here that these books and others like them were what the Southern Renaissance writers had read or at least knew about. They had paved the burnt brick road that led to esteem, fame, and a salable commodity. Whether the "myth of the idyllic

plantation" has, as has been suggested, "had an extraordinary pervasiveness in the American consciousness," will perhaps always be debated in the glass menageries of our minds.

In any case, we should certainly be exceedingly grateful to Ridgely for opening a window that many of us have been curious to peer through. The book is concisely and appealingly written, fastidiously annotated, attractively presented, and a worthy addition to The University Press of Kentucky's scholarly New Perspectives on the South series, not to mention the libraries of all who are concerned with the special literary flowering that seemed only able to be nourished by the loamy fertile soil of the South.

*Winter Park, Florida*

MAJORY BARTLETT SANGER

*Southern Writers and the New South Movement, 1865-1913.* By Wayne Mixon. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980. x, 169 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, select bibliography, index. \$13.00.)

Immediately after the Civil War the South found itself in a dilemma with regard to industrialization. If, as many Southerners believed, it was the North's more industrialized economy that had enabled it to defeat the more agrarian South, should not the South emulate the North and industrialize itself? With its cheap labor and plentiful natural resources it seemed that all the South needed was a large supply of capital— which had to come from the North.

In this study of twelve southern writers Wayne Mixon shows how this debate over industrialization split southern writers into two camps: those favoring it and those opposing it. Even those who supported it had second thoughts as they saw the evil effects of trying to redo the South to fit the northern mold. For in transforming the agrarian South to a more "modern" region, proponents of the New South were also destroying much good from the antebellum days, especially a way of life that stressed the quality of life over the mad pursuit of material goods.

With summaries of novels and frequent quotes from poems, Professor Mixon points out the struggle that writers such as Paul Hamilton Hayne, John Esten Cooke, and Thomas Nelson Page

were going through. While some authors wanted to emulate the industrial prowess of the North, others believed that the New South could be achieved through the diversification of agriculture, that there should be less dependence on the staple-crop economy of King Cotton. These writers believed that sectional reconciliation and racial harmony (at least its semblance) were essential for the New Order. A number of these writers hoped that the New South could eclectically emulate the best parts of northern values, while avoiding crass materialism and still retain the admirable qualities of the Old South: idealized southern women, chivalrous gentlemen, and a family life centered in the model mansion. Mixon uses the term "Plantation Tradition" to describe the authors' trait of blending in the best of the antebellum South with the materialism of the New South.

Other writers, like Sidney Lanier, opposed the New Order and championed self-sufficient farming as a means of reviving the South. While he had little influence on contemporary southern leaders, the Nashville Agrarians fifty years later would revive Lanier's ideas: "a farm is not a place to grow wealthy; it is a place to grow corn" (p. 72). Joel Chandler Harris and Mark Twain also stressed self-sufficient farms and idyllic towns. Occasionally writers such as George W. Cable took on the issue of racism, accusing his fellow Southerners of ignoring the plight of the black as they pursued economic gains. Although he loved the South dearly, he also believed that Southerners wore blinders when it came to social ills. Other writers, such as Ellen Glasgow, criticized the immoralities of the New Order and its reliance on the sentimental legend of the Lost Cause.

For the modern reader the five-page epilogue may be the most fascinating, as Professor Mixon shows how the Southern Literary Renaissance of the 1920s continued the fight against industrialization. William Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe, and the Agrarians were to continue the criticism of the New Order, pointing out in their fiction how much was being lost by the spreading of cotton mills and coke furnaces. If nothing else, several of the twelve writers presented in this book set the stage for southern writers of this century to look more critically on the postbellum South and all the evils that industrialization was causing.

This is a well-written, well-researched book, although at times it lapses into a dissertationese style that become ponderous.

It treats a difficult question (how should the postbellum South resume its rightful place in society?) by showing how different authors argued different sides of the question and how the same author could have opposing views. One can argue that some of the authors chosen (John Esten Cooke, Thomas Dixon, Jr., and Will N. Harben) were not influential enough to treat along with writers Sidney Lanier and Joel Chandler Harris, but their presence does add a dimension and a slightly different perspective. It also helps to point out how formerly popular and influential writers have not fared well, at least in terms of good literature.

*University of Florida*

KEVIN M. MCCARTHY

*A Southern Renaissance: The Cultural Awakening of the American South, 1930-1955.* By Richard H. King. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. xi, 350 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$15.95.)

In the preface to this work, Richard King relates that in an interview for a graduate fellowship, one of his interrogators asked him to indicate the leading southern historian. To the surprise of his questioner, his answer was William Faulkner. As the director of a recent master's thesis, entitled "William Faulkner, Historian," in which one of my students favorably compared Faulkner with the likes of Cash, Woodward, Simkins, Phillips, *et al.*, I confess that I share King's attraction to Faulkner. This may keep me from reviewing this work objectively.

Strictly speaking this volume is not a work of history but rather a work of literary criticism, addressing itself to facets of the great explosion of southern literature from 1930 to 1955. King devotes attention to Will Percy, Allen Tate, W. J. Cash, Lillian Smith, James Agee, Robert Penn Warren, V. O. Key, C. Vann Woodward, and of course the greatest of the greats—William Faulkner. King believes that the Southern Renaissance occurred when the writers and intellectuals of the South "engaged in an attempt to come to terms not only with the inherited values of the Southern tradition but also with a certain way of perceiving and dealing with the past." He believes these Renaissance writers sought to understand what he calls the "Southern family ro-

mance." In ten well-written, well balanced, and well-critiqued chapters, King traces the attempts of these writers and intellectuals to come to grips with this tradition of the southern family romance. Receiving attention are subjects such as white southern racism, southern politics, and the varieties of historical consciousness at work in southern culture in the 1930s and 1940s. Finally, he believes this period witnessed an emerging self-consciousness in southern culture which progressively demystified and rejected the southern tradition.

I can quarrel with neither King's pro-Faulknerian bias nor his thesis of the demystification of the southern tradition. Some of our colleagues may feel that he could have chosen an altered list of writers and intellectuals around which to build his case, but I frankly like his choices. The biographical sketches of his subjects are pithy and perceptive. There is just the right amount of personal information balanced with critiques of intellectual stances and progressions. Not only has King familiarized himself with those he writes about but also he has given much attention to their writings, their stands, and their places in the Renaissance. Unfortunately, King has included only one woman and has neglected to include any blacks at all, but to have done so would have meant at least another and possibly two more books. Perhaps these are on his future agenda.

*New Mexico State University*

MONROE BILLINGTON

*Oscar W. Underwood: A Political Biography.* By Evans C. Johnson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980. xvi, 480 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$27.50.)

Evans Johnson's doctoral dissertation on Oscar Underwood has been widely used for some years by historians interested in the South's Progressive era. Louisiana State University Press has performed a service by publishing the revised dissertation in its Southern Biography Series. Although updated and somewhat altered in form and substance, the published version is very much similar to the original dissertation.

Underwood was a man of mediocre ability and limited

oratorical skills who mastered parliamentary tactics and single issues (notably, the complex tariff question). These skills, together with tireless work and loyal support from like-minded conservatives, allowed him to become the first man after Henry Clay to be elected to the leadership of his party in both houses of Congress, and the first deep South candidate to make a serious race for a presidential nomination after the Civil War.

The congressman's legislative career was not brilliant, but he did make contributions. Beginning his career with some progressive positions, he drifted steadily to the right. During most of his career, he represented the Big Mule— planter coalition which generally dominated Alabama's politics and kept it elitist and conservative. In Congress he specialized in complicated tariff questions and tried to assist his constituency, especially by development of Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals. On most social issues— prohibition, woman suffrage, labor issues— he voted conservatively.

The biography is sympathetic to Underwood, but certainly not adoring. Johnson points to the congressman's inconsistencies and compromises. He summarizes Underwood as a man who distrusted the masses and became a representative of elitist Bourbon Alabama politics, a man out of step with the unsophisticated and more "liberal" Alabama electorate.

In many ways he reminds me of Florida's Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, who incidentally supported his Senate colleague for the presidency against Woodrow Wilson in Florida's 1912 Democratic primary. Both men, conservatives by temperament, began their careers in fairly liberal times, then gradually came to represent special interests and develop single issue expertise (Fletcher on rural credits and maritime policy, Underwood on tariffs). Fletcher was more resilient and flexible and somewhat more comfortable with his party's occasional flirtations with liberal causes. Both supported private development of Muscle Shoals facilities in order to produce cheap fertilizers for farmers. Underwood ran well in Florida in the 1912 Democratic presidential primary, partly due to Fletcher's enthusiastic support, but lost badly in 1924.

Like Fletcher, Underwood occasionally descended to demagoguery on the Negro question when campaigning against more liberal opponents, but generally he took the highroad and stuck

to issues. Like Fletcher, also, he tended to be theologically liberal in a time when the South's white masses combined theological intolerance (anti-Catholic, prohibitionist, Ku Klux Klan-style enforcement of morality) with economic and political reforms.

The biography is meticulous and detailed, almost to a fault. I found the chapters on Underwood's various political campaigns and Muscle Shoals to be interesting and thorough. The intricacies of the tariff controversy, and discussions of Underwood's position on virtually every issue before Congress, I found episodic and tedious.

Occasionally, irrelevancies appear which do not move the narrative ahead. For instance, Johnson mentions an incident when Underwood's car struck a child while he was campaigning in Maine (p. 406). The incident is unrelated to the paragraph or the chapter and is extraneous. Such problems make the biography difficult reading, but the student of southern history should not ignore it. It is a thorough, workmanlike piece of scholarship, the most complete study we shall have concerning a pivotal figure in the important years between Populism and the New Deal.

Auburn University

WAYNE FLYNT

*The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People.* By Karen Blu. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980. xv, 276 pp. Preface, acknowledgements, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.50, cloth; \$6.95, paper.)

The Lumbee of Robeson County North Carolina, are legally Indians but lack the normal accouterments of Indianness (a native language, cultural base, and tribal status). For over 100 years they have struggled to gain recognition as Indians in the face of opposition from whites and from other Native American groups and have gradually succeeded. *The Lumbee Problem* is a history of that struggle, a description of the Lumbee collective identity, and an analysis of the meaning of that identity. The author, an anthropologist at New York University, addresses the question: "If the Lumbee lack the traditional mechanisms for holding themselves together— formal organization, explicit mem-

bership criteria, distinctive cultural paraphernalia— then what does hold them together” (p. 2)? Professor Blu’s answer to that question is “their shared ideas about themselves as a people.”

While there are many versions of Lumbee origins, the account generally accepted among the Lumbee themselves is one suggesting they are descendants of east coast natives who intermarried with the sixteenth-century European settlers of Raleigh’s Roanoke Island community. However, when they were first identified historically, during the 1700s, the ancestors of today’s Lumbee were English-speaking farmers who had no recollection of such roots. Because of a mixture of physical traits, the Lumbee of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were treated by whites as mulattoes and included with blacks in a general non-white social category.

The Lumbee resisted this designation, and in 1885 were given legal recognition as “Croatan Indians” by the North Carolina General Assembly. Then, in 1956, Congress awarded similar recognition to the group as “Lumbee” Indians, but excluded them from federal benefits for Indians, an exclusion the Lumbee are currently contesting.

The author questions the viability of “ethnicity” as a cross-culturally significant category and stresses the importance of the Lumbee’s conception of themselves as a distinctive people. That distinctiveness is founded in “their own traditional conviction that they were descended from Indians” (p. 202), and defined vis-à-vis their perceptions of area blacks and whites. The Lumbee are Indians primarily because of the way they have chosen to view themselves as a people, and though their symbols of collective identity are often confusing and ambiguous, and their common history unarticulated, there is a fundamental continuity to that identity. Though this experience in some ways defies analysis, it is a real one and cannot be ignored if one is to understand the Lumbee, their persistent claims to Indian status, and their refusal to be assimilated.

The book is an important and well-written comment on ethnicity and a timely contribution to the meager literature on the Lumbee. The only fault that I find in the book, and this is not a major one, is the location of the final and strongest chapter. This insightful analysis of ethnicity as a social scientific concept I believe would be more appropriate at the beginning of the book.

*The Lumbee Problem* is a must for any historian interested in Native America or fascinated by the mechanics of group identity. Also, from a heuristic perspective, the book would make excellent supplementary reading in a college course on American Indian history, an option facilitated by the volume's very reasonable price.

*Middle Tennessee State University*

KENDALL BLANCHARD

*Fort Gibson: Terminal on the Trail of Tears.* By Brad Agnew. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980. xi, 274 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, maps, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$14.95.)

Brad Agnew has used Fort Gibson as the focal point to detail the clash of cultures that occurred in the years 1817-1841 on the Arkansas frontier and in the Indian Territory. The Army's mission during these years was to bring peace and order to the frontier. Dr. Agnew documents and describes the military's role as it painfully and with numerous frustrations sought to keep the Cherokees and their allies, who had voluntarily emigrated to the trans-Mississippi, from destroying the Osages.

Efforts to quell the Osage-Cherokee rivalry compelled the Army first to reinforce its force on the Arkansas frontier at Fort Smith and then, in 1824, to establish Fort Gibson. After inauguration of Andrew Jackson as president and implementation of the forced removal policy, the Fort Gibson soldiers focused time and energy on keeping the plains Indians and immigrating redmen from turning the region into a battleground. Blood feuds between pro- and anti-treaty factions of the immigrating Indians, particularly the Cherokees, acerbated by a struggle for political power between the Western and Eastern Cherokees racked the Cherokee Nation in late 1830s and compounded the soldiers' mission. As if this were not enough, the military had to enforce the Indian Intercourse Act of 1822 against the whites and evict squatters from the Indians' lands, which frequently brought forth a storm of abuse from politicians and newspaper editors.

The central figure of the Fort Gibson drama is Brigadier General Matthew Arbuckle, and the author treats him with un-

derstanding and sympathy from his arrival on the Arkansas frontier in February 1822 until 1841. Arbuckle was intimately involved in efforts to implement the government's Indian removal policy. Never commanding more than a few understrength battalions and responsible for a vast region, Arbuckle met the challenge by a skillful application of the "carrot and stick." He did not lead men into battle, nor did he undertake punitive raids on Indian villages. His role in history, however, is certainly more significant than many better-known soldiers who made their reputations as fighters and campaigners.

Dr. Agnew introduces us to other giants, both Indian and white, who played vital Indian Territory roles in these years. Among other Army officers encountered are Colonel Henry Dodge, and Lieutenants Lucius B. Northrop and Jefferson Davis of the United States Dragoons; Cherokee leaders— John Ross, Stand Watie, William Webber, and John Jolly; Osage chiefs— Clermont, Tally, and Mad Buffalo; Indian traders— Nathaniel Pryor and Auguste Pierre Chouteau; missionary William F. Vaill; and Indian commissioners— Monford Stokes, Henry Ellsworth, and John F. Schermerhorn.

Sam Houston's Fort Gibson years are detailed with no punches pulled, for as the author writes, Houston's "three years among the Indians added no luster to his reputation. They were years of disappointment and failure in which the worst side of Houston's character was exposed."

Dr. Agnew, through meticulous research and thought-provoking evaluations, brings a new dimension to this phase of the justly and much criticized Indian removal policy. The soldiers of Fort Gibson and its dependent posts do not come through to the reader, however, as aggressive racists, a role assigned to them with increasing frequency in recent years, as more and more historians and writers echo the theme tolled by Helen Hunt Jackson in her *A Century of Dishonor*. Utilizing an impressive number of primary and secondary sources, Agnew, through a case study, reinforces Father Francis Paul Prucha's thesis that the military blunted "the sharp edges of conflict as two races with diverse cultures met on the frontier."

The author is to be commended for his extensive and critical employment of primary documents found in the National Archives, as well as newspapers, particularly the *Arkansas Gazette*

and *The Army and Navy Chronicle*. These items, frequently overlooked or given slight consideration by the popular historian and journalist, provide the grist for a well-organized and well-written treatment of a phase of our history that will be of interest to many readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

*National Park Service*  
Washington, D.C.

EDWARD C. BEARSS

*The United States and the Caribbean, 1900-1970*. By Lester D. Langley. (Athens: The University of Georgia-Press, 1980. ix, 324 pp. Preface, prelude, a vision of empire, maps, epilogue, the end of empire, bibliographical essay, notes, index. \$22.00.)

This book is a continuation of a previous study written by Professor Langley (*Struggle for The American Mediterranean: United States-European Rivalry in The Gulf-Caribbean, 1776-1904*). It is a survey of political, diplomatic, economic, and some cultural relations between the United States and the various Caribbean and Central American states. His perspective is primarily from the United States. Chapters are divided primarily by presidencies reflecting North American political eras. The book takes the story of American involvement in the Caribbean from the administration of President McKinley down to the start of Richard Nixon's.

While the book is primarily a narrative account of the major issues, the author argues that the United States had, in effect, an empire and a sphere of influence important to its international affairs. Questions of security and economics always seemed to dominate American actions in the Caribbean, and by the late 1960s concern for Castro-styled revolutions became a specific and paramount issue. Langley documents the failure of American policy to establish military security and political tranquility in the area. He attributes this failure to North American assumptions of cultural inferiority of the Caribbean population, insulting those who viewed the United States as an alien society. He concludes by stating that criticisms of Hispanic culture, not always seriously respecting local political aspirations while all the time

desiring political and economic stability, characterized North American policy toward the region.

While his case was stated most strongly at the end of the text rather than as part and parcel of each chapter, the author clearly suggests that Caribbean affairs captured a significant portion of American diplomatic concern throughout most of the twentieth century (with the possible exception of World Wars I and II). One has only to think of Castro and Cuba, or the United States intervention in Santo Domingo in the 1960s, and even earlier about constant military interventions during the years prior to the New Deal and its Good Neighbor Policy to realize that the area has always been of considerable concern to the American government. Langley does not make the mistake of many other diplomatic historians of considering the area being studied as the center of all attention because he carefully balances the value of the Caribbean against other diplomatic concerns.

The book is based on secondary sources rather than on his primary research and thus serves as a convenient summary of what other historians have learned about United States-Caribbean relations. The author provides an excellent bibliographic survey which is complete and informative. His writing style is engaging and clear. If there is a criticism to be made it is that he might have devoted more attention to the period 1945-1960 (as compared to the coverage given the 1960s) especially since so much research has yet to be done on this era.

Langley's volume is a useful introduction to the subject which conveniently brings together much that we already knew but would otherwise have had to find in a number of other monographs. This book will thus be a welcome addition to any collection on American diplomatic history.

*New York City, New York*

JAMES W. CORTADA

## BOOK NOTES

Allen Morris's *Florida Handbook* deserves the great popularity it receives whenever a new edition is published. The older volumes continue to serve as important reference guides. The 1981-1982 *Florida Handbook* is available. It was printed by Peninsular Publishing Company, Box 5078, Tallahassee, Florida 32301. The price is \$11.95. It contains much information, particularly about the political structure of state government. The duties and responsibilities of the governor, the cabinet officers, the legislature, and the judiciary are included. There are also short articles dealing with local government, climate, taxes, population, and a score of other topics. There is a listing of the executive department agencies, and the State Constitution, as revised in 1968 and subsequently amended, is included. Articles on Tallahassee, the Governor's Mansion, Florida during the Civil War, the discovery and exploration of Florida, rivers and steamboats, the Everglades, and museums are included. "Some Eventful Years" lists historical happenings from the sixteenth century to the present. There are also many photographs, charts, and tables which add to the style of the book. The index to the State Constitution and to the volume itself makes the *Florida Handbook* a most valuable research guide.

Charlton W. Tebeau, professor emeritus of the University of Miami, has updated his *A History of Florida*. A paperback edition has been published by the University of Miami Press. Dr. Tebeau brings his history into the 1970s covering Governor Askew's two terms and the Bob Graham administration to the 1979 legislative session. Many of the topic areas have been rewritten, including taxes, environmental protection, educational growth, industrial development, and the impact that racial and ethnic groups (particularly blacks and Cubans) have had on Florida in recent years. An important addition is the information in the first chapter on Indians. The bibliography reflects recently published books and articles, and the index has been expanded. *A History of Florida* is the best one-volume history of the state available. The paperback edition sells for \$16.95.

*Siege! Spain and Britain: Battle of Pensacola; March 9-May 8, 1781* is a collection of essays by Jesse Earle Bowden, Allan Gantzhorn, Alfred B. Thomas, Sandra Johnson, Norman Simons, Woodward B. Skinner, Dorothy Brown, Leora Sutton, and Dicey Villar Bowman. Edited by Virginia Parks, *Siege!* was published by the Pensacola Historical Society to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Spanish victory over the British in Pensacola in 1781. The essays provide a contemporary perspective of Pensacola, and essays on the British in that city on Bernardo de Gálvez, Major General John Campbell (commanding officer of the British forces in Pensacola), Gálvez's campaigns (1779-1780), Pensacola's fortifications, the 1781 siege of Pensacola, ethnic groups and their influence on Pensacola's history, and a roster of people living in Pensacola and the vicinity in the 1780s whose descendants still reside in the area. The suggested readings, index, illustrations, and the colorful cover make this a valuable and attractive volume. Order from the Pensacola Historical Society, Seville Square, Pensacola, 32501; the price is \$5.00.

*Like I Saw It* are the recollections and memories of Angus McKenzie Laird of Tallahassee. He recounts his childhood at Laird Side Camp (the turpentine facility which his father managed), and his years as an involved student and as a member of the faculty of the University of Florida. Laird played an active role in campus affairs as a debater, editor of the campus newspaper, the *Alligator*, and as a member of the Kappa Sigma social fraternity. Student political parties on the Gainesville campus during the 1920s, the organization of Florida Blue Key, and other important and intriguing events in the history of the University are described in Dr. Laird's book. Autographed copies of *Like I Saw It* sell for \$12.00, and it may be ordered from Saint Andrews Press, 507 Plantation Road, Tallahassee, 32303.

The Saint Johns-Oklawaha Rivers Trading Company is continuing its publications of facsimiles, pamphlets, monographs, and brochures for its *Historic Byways of Florida* series. One of these is *Florida: Beauties of the East Coast*, a collection of photographs with text by Mrs. H. K. Ingram. It was published in St. Augustine in 1893 by the Jacksonville, St. Augustine, & Indian

River Railway to promote the rail system that Henry Flagler was developing from Jacksonville south to Miami. Jacksonville, St. Augustine, Ormond-By-The-Sea, Titusville, Rockledge, Eau Gallie, and Melbourne are some of the communities described. The photographs are of some of the luxurious hotels built by Flagler. There are also pictures of some of the tourist attractions that appealed to northern visitors to Florida. Another facsimile that has been reprinted is *A Souvenir of the City of DeLand, Florida*, a collection of contemporary photographs and advertisements. It was published in 1902 by the city of DeLand "for the purpose of presenting to the notice of our Northern Friends the advantages and beauties of our city and its surroundings." The advertisements are intriguing. The Electric Light and Ice Company advertised arc or incandescent electric lights, pure ice, and cold storage. Pure aerated milk delivered twice daily, artistic and sanitary plumbing, boot, shoe, and harness repairing, hotels (rates two to three dollars per day), groceries, photography, clothing, tailoring, fertilizer, lumber, and the services of doctors and attorneys were also advertised. The facilities of John B. Stetson University and its schools of liberal arts, law, technology, business, art, and music are described, together with the Heath Museum and the collection of eighty stuffed Florida birds in the Museum. A small plat map of DeLand is included. These pamphlets may be ordered from the Saint Johns-Oklawaha Rivers Trading Company, Box 3503, DeLand, 32720; and the price is \$5.95 for each of the reprints.

*History of the Greenville Missionary Baptist Church, 1849-1979* is by Edwin B. Browning, Sr., who for many years was the resident historian of Madison County. Known first as Shiloh, the name of the church was later changed to its present designation. It has had at least four sites. Extant church minutes date to October 1910, but according to oral tradition the church began on May 7, 1849. There is a list of charter members and the early deacons. The organizing minister was Elder S. C. Craft who helped organize the Florida State Baptist Convention in 1854. Mr. Browning's history notes the important role the church has played in the religious and social life of the community for many years. Copies may be ordered from Greenville Baptist Church, Greenville, Florida 32331.

*The Spanish Censuses of Pensacola, 1784-1820: A Genealogical Guide to Spanish Pensacola* was compiled by William S. Coker and G. Douglas Inglis. The indexes are by Polly Coker. This is the third volume in the Spanish Borderlands series being published by the Perdido Bay Press, Route 2, Box 323, Pensacola, 32506. The text contains all known Spanish censuses of Pensacola from 1784 to 1820, including the names from the *Santa Visita* of 1791 and the confirmation lists of 1798. Strength reports for Fort San Marcos de Apalache are also listed. There is an introduction for each census and information about individuals whose names are listed in the census records. The list of Pensacola settlers, 1781-1821 (appendix B), provides valuable information, as do the "Guides to Genealogical Research for Pensacola and Escambia County." There is both an index to the introductions, a name index and a bibliography. The paperback sells for \$20.00.

*The Siege of Pensacola, 1781: A Bibliography*, by James A. Servies, has been published as Library Publications Number 12 by the John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida. Prepaid orders of \$4.00 per copy may be sent to the John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola 32504.

*Gainesville Women of Vision* is an anthology collected and edited by Gussie Rudderman. It includes contributions by outstanding Gainesville women who comment on their lives, families, social and economic activities, and their involvement in a variety of civic activities. Many of the women have also added their own philosophies of life. Important is the information relating to the history of the Gainesville community and its institutions— clubs, churches, and the political, social, environmental, and philanthropical organizations in which the women of Gainesville have been involved over the years. *Gainesville Women of Vision* may be ordered from its author, 6601 S.W. 35th Way, Gainesville, 32601. It sells for \$10.00.

*Older People in Florida '80-81* is the most recent Statistical Abstract published by the Center for Gerontological Studies, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida.

John Craft and Carter C. Osterbind are the editors. It provides data and information about people older than sixty-five living in this state. Of all fifty states and the District of Columbia, Florida has the largest percentage (17.6) of older persons in the population. Both the numbers and percentages have increased steadily since 1950. In some counties the growth has been dramatic, and it has created a variety of problems relating to housing, health care, transportation, recreation, and employment. In Pinellas County in 1979, more than one-third of the population was older than sixty years. The situation is similar in Palm Beach, Broward, Brevard, Dade, Sarasota, and other counties, particularly in central and south Florida. *Older People in Florida* provides information on income, housing, vital statistics and health, employment, transportation, social insurance, and welfare, quality of life, and health, education and cultural services. Published by the University Presses of Florida, University of Florida, Gainesville, the Abstract sells for \$11.50.

*The Island of Ortega-A History* is a pamphlet written by Dena Snodgrass who notes how often and to what degree the St. Johns River has affected the history of Ortega island from the earliest time to the present. The first residents of Ortega were the Indians – the late Archaic and the Timucua. Then the Creeks, or the Seminoles as they became known, lived in the area until the Second Seminole War. William Bartram described the Ortega forests as he saw them in April 1774, but he did not mention Abraham Jones who had received the property as a grant from British Governor James Grant four years earlier. Daniel McGirt lived on the island with his family in the 1780s, and then it became the property of Don Juan McQueen. He developed it as San Juan Nepomuceno Plantation. John Houstoun McIntosh of St. Marys, Georgia, was the next owner. It was he who changed the name in honor of Josef de Ortega, judge advocate of East Florida, who had negotiated approval of the sale from McQueen. Over the years Ortega has continued to play an active role in the history of Jacksonville and the St. Johns River. Once a bridge was completed, as it was in 1908, the island could be opened for extensive development. Ortega is recognized as one of the most beautiful of Jacksonville's residential areas. *The Island of Ortega* may be

ordered from Ortega School, 4010 Baltic Avenue, Jacksonville, Florida 32210. It sells for \$1.50, plus 50¢ for handling.

“New History” has been much in vogue the past two decades. This procedure involves students in research projects using primary source material which might (and in fact often does) exist outside the traditional history classroom and/or library. But “New History” is not new at all, according to Thomas J. Schleretch in his introduction to *Artifacts and The American Past*. This is a recent publication of the American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, Tennessee. The author notes the many places that students may go seeking the answer to their research questions besides manuscripts and books. Photographs, road maps, craftsmen’s tools, domestic residences and city neighborhoods provide answers to historical inquiries, and can be utilized as learning tools. Schleretch suggests ways to explore and teach history outside the traditional classroom experience; historical photography, mail-order catalogs, historic house museums, museum villages, the 1876 Centennial, plants and natural material culture, and regional studies are some of the suggestions. He acknowledges his reliance as a teacher on what he calls “above-ground archeology,” and urges all who are interested in discovering their heritage to examine family albums, bibles, and genealogies; to look at the “built-in environment of their own homes and localities;” and to record oral histories and childhood and parental memories. The price for AASLH members is \$10.50; for nonmembers, \$13.95.

## HISTORY NEWS

### *1982 Annual Meeting*

The eightieth meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held in Fort Lauderdale, on May 6-8, 1982. Betty D. Smith, 119 Epsala Road, Sanford, Florida 32771; Ada Coates Williams, 333 South Indian River Drive, Fort Pierce, Florida 33450; and Dr. Jane Dysart, Faculty of History, University of West Florida, Pensacola, Florida 32504, are program chairs. They invite anyone interested in reading a paper to correspond with them immediately. The theme of the meeting will be women and the history of their activities in Florida. Dan Hobby of the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society will be in charge of local arrangements. Local and area historical societies and preservation groups will serve as host organizations. The Florida Historical Confederation will hold a workshop in conjunction with the annual meeting. The Bahia Mar Hotel will be the convention hotel.

### *Awards*

Dr. Thomas Graham, Flagler College, St. Augustine, received the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1980-1981 for his article, "Charles H. Jones: Florida's Gilded Age Editor-Politician." It appeared in the July 1980 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The prize is given annually for the best article appearing in the *Quarterly*, and is presented at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. The judges for this year's award were Dr. David Colburn, University of Florida; Robert L. Hall, Tallahassee; and Paul Camp, Florida Historical Society, Tampa. The prize was made possible by an endowment established by Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville.

*Land Into Water-Water Into Land, A History of Water Management in Florida*, published by the University Presses of Florida, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida, was selected as the best book published in 1980 on a Florida subject. Its author, Dr. Nelson M. Blake of Deerfield Beach, Florida, received the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award. The judges were Dr. Paul S. George, Miami; John W. Griffin, St. Augustine; and Dr.

Julia F. Smith, Georgia Southern College, Statesboro, Georgia. The award memorializes Professor Patrick, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and secretary of the Florida Historical Society.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award for 1980 was presented to Ben East, Holly, Michigan, for his book *Danger In The Air*, published by Crestwood House. The award honors Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, emeritus professor, University of Miami, editor of *Tequesta*, and former president of the Florida Historical Society. It is given annually to the author of the best book for young readers on a Florida subject. The judges were Georgine J. Mickler, Chuluota, Florida; Linda K. Williams, Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami; and Pat Wickman, Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

#### *Wentworth Foundation Grant*

A check for \$1,000 was received by the Florida Historical Society from William M. Goza, former president of the Society, on behalf of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., at the annual meeting of the Society in St. Petersburg. These annual gifts from the Foundation are designated for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Foundation has provided grants to many Florida historical, anthropological, and cultural organizations, the Florida State Museum, and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. It supports the project of calendaring the Spanish documents and manuscripts in the P. K. Yonge Library, and has provided scholarships for undergraduate and graduate students at a number of Florida colleges and universities.

#### *Announcements and Activities*

The Department of History, University of Florida, announces additional course offerings and an enrichment of its program in public history. The department currently offers within its master's degree a specialization in the field, and a minor in public history is available to doctoral students. The program has been expanded to include courses in historic preservation, historical archeology, historical editing and editorial management, and public administration. These courses will be added to a field of offerings which

includes courses in museum management and oral history. The department has also added a practicum in public history, in cooperation with Historic St. Augustine, the Florida State Museum (located on the University campus), and the Florida Center for the Study of Folklife at White Springs, Florida. Interested students are requested to write Dr. A. M. Burns III, Department of History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida 32611, for further information.

Federally-funded historic preservation grants have been awarded in recent weeks to L'Unione Italiana, Inc., of Tampa for repair and restoration of the "Italian Union" in the Ybor City historic district; to the East Hillsborough Historical Society, Plant City, to repair and rehabilitate areas of Plant City High School; for the protection of an Indian mound in Putnam County; to continue restoration of Old St. Luke's Hospital in Jacksonville; and to the University of Tampa for the renovation of Plant Park.

Marian B. Godown, Prudy Taylor Board, and Anna Rogers Pack of Fort Myers have compiled a self-guided tour of the historic area of Fort Myers. The pamphlet, *Yesterday & Today* includes a map and sketches of the buildings. The thirty-eight structures on the tour include commercial and public properties, schools, and a number of private residences. Some of the buildings, including the Murphy-Burroughs Home and the Heitman Building, date to the nineteenth century. The Indian Fort Building is likely even more ancient. The pamphlet was illustrated by Eleanor Brooks Mobely.

The Tampa Historical Society and the Ybor City Rotary Club unveiled a plaque at ceremonies on June 13, 1981, at the corner of Platt and Tampa streets. It commemorates the life of Captain Joseph Fry, first native son of Tampa, who was born in 1826.

The Historical Society of Palm Beach County has acquired the Paul Hutchens Boca Raton Collection which includes oral history interviews with early pioneers, pictures, documents, and materials relating to Addison Mizner's Boca Raton activities. The Mizner material is being added to the Society's large collection of Mizner's architectural drawings and papers.

The Jacksonville Beaches Area Historical Society dedicated the Florida East Coast House at Pablo Historic Park on April 5. Congressman Charles E. Bennett was the speaker. The house has been restored to its original condition and is furnished in the period. The Florida East Coast House was originally listed on FEC records as Number 93, and was the first manufactured or pre-fabricated house in the area. The house is located near the Mayport Depot also at Pablo Historic Park. Jean Haden McCormick, BAHS founder and president, was named 1981 Citizen of the Year by the Jacksonville Beach Chamber of Commerce for her leadership in the establishment of Pablo Historic Park.

The Peace River Valley Historical Society held its annual Florida History Award banquet on May 3, in Wauchula, Florida. It recognized and honored Dr. Charles T. Thrift, former president of the Florida Historical Society and former president of Florida Southern College, for his distinguished service to Florida history.

*New River News*, the quarterly publication of the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, is soliciting articles on the history of Fort Lauderdale and its environs. Articles should be 1,500 to 3,000 words in length, conform to scholarly standards, and appeal to a general audience. Send manuscripts to Rodney E. Dillon, Jr., Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, Box 14043, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33302.

*The Chronicler* is the publication of the Cape Coral Historical Society. The spring 1981 issue includes an article, "A Mound Key Childhood," by Betsy Zeiss, editor of the Society's quarterly journal.

The Florida Aviation Historical Society announces that the fortieth anniversary of the flight by General James H. Doolittle over Tokyo (April 18, 1942) will be held in St. Petersburg, Florida, April 15-17, 1982. J. Paul Finley is president of the Florida Aviation Historical Society. Warren J. Brown, historian for the Society, also announces plans to sponsor the publication of regional aviation history books. Work is underway on the history of aviation in Jacksonville, Orlando, and St. Petersburg.

Gary B. Nash of the University of Southern California at Los Angeles delivered the annual Rembert W. Patrick Lectures at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, on April 2, 1981. His subjects were "Red, White and Black: The Confrontation of Cultures in Colonial America" and "Forging Freedom: The Emancipation Experience in the North, 1775-1820." The Patrick Lectures memorialize Professor Patrick, former chairman of the Department of History, University of Florida, and editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Members of the Florida Historical Society are invited to join the Southern Historical Association and to receive its publication *The Journal of Southern History*. The Association, organized in 1934, promotes interest in researching southern history, the collecting and preserving of the South's historical records, and the encouragement of state and local historical societies in the South. The Association holds its annual meetings in November. The dues are \$15, payable on a calendar year basis. Dues may be sent to Dr. Bennett H. Wall, Department of History, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia 30602. Dr. Todd L. Savitt, Department of History, University of Florida, Gainesville, is the Florida representative on the membership committee.

The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies invites the submission of articles for the annual SEASECS scholarly publication award. The award, a cash prize of \$150, is given for the best essay on an eighteenth-century subject published in a scholarly journal, annual, or collection of essays during the academic year 1980-1981, by a member of SEASECS or by a person living or working in the SEASECS area (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee). The inter-disciplinary appeal of the essay will be considered, but it is not the sole determining factor in the award. Individuals may submit their own publications or those of others. To be considered, any essay nominated must be submitted in triplicate, postmarked no later than November 1, 1981, and forwarded to the chairman of the 1981 award committee, Professor Jane Perry-Camp, School of Music, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida 32306. The joint winners

of the 1980 award were Thomas E. Kaiser, University of Arkansas, and Robert M. Weir, University of South Carolina.

The 1980 Richard H. Collins Award for the best article in the *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* was received by George Wright, University of Texas, for "The NAACP and Residential Segregation in Louisville, Kentucky, 1914-1917," which appeared in the winter 1980 issue.

The United States Army Military History Institute sponsors an advanced research program in military history. Individuals selected to work as "advanced research project associates" receive a \$500 grant to cover expenses while conducting research and writing at the Institute. Deadline for submission of applications is January 1, 1982. Request a form from Benjamin Franklin Cooling, assistant director for Historical Services, Department of the Army, United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013.

#### *Obituaries*

Margaret L. Chapman, a native of North Carolina, died in Tampa on March 28, 1981. She had lived in Tampa since December 1962. She had been a member of the library staff at Florida State University and director of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida before being placed in charge of Special Collections at the University of South Florida. She received her degrees from Greensboro College, Greensboro, North Carolina, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Miss Chapman was an active member of the Florida Historical Society, serving on the board of directors and on a number of committees over the years. She was also a contributor to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. When the Florida Historical Society moved the organization and its research library to the University of South Florida, Miss Chapman supervised the transfer and served as secretary for a number of years. She was responsible for obtaining for the University of South Florida the papers of Governor LeRoy Collins and Congressman Sam Gibbons. Through her efforts the Florida Historical Society also acquired important books, documents, and manuscripts.

Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus, the founder of the School of Inter-American Studies (now the Center for Latin American Studies) at the University of Florida, died in North Miami Beach on January 27, 1981. Before coming to the University of Florida, Dr. Wilgus had taught at the University of South Carolina and George Washington University. He was the founder of the United State Office of Education Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association and was the author, co-author, compiler, and editor of dozens of reference books on Latin America, including a twenty-three volume historical dictionary on Latin American Republics. His final work, *Latin America: A Guide To Illustrations*, will be published this year. While at the University of Florida, Dr. Wilgus supported the acquisition of documents and manuscripts dealing with Florida history for the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. He was also associated with historical projects in St. Augustine.

# **G**REAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . .

1981

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|-----------------|--|------------------|
| Aug. 31-Sept. 4 | Society of American Archivists                   | Berkeley, CA     |
| Sept. 14-17     | American Association for State and Local History | Williamsburg, VA |
| Sept. 24-27     | Oral History Association Workshop and Colloquium | Burlington, VT   |
| Sept. 30-Oct. 4 | National Trust for Historic Preservation         | New Orleans, LA  |
| Nov. 6-8        | Southern Jewish Historical Society               | Mobile, AL       |
| Nov. 11-14      | Southern Historical Association                  | Louisville, KY   |
| Nov. 12-14      | Southeastern Archeological Conference            | Asheville, NC    |
| Dec. 4-5        | Southeastern Borderlands Association Conference  | Atlanta, GA      |
| Dec. 28-31      | American Historical Association                  | Los Angeles, CA  |

1982

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|---------|---|---------------------|
| May 6-7 | Florida Historical Confederation        | Fort Lauderdale, FL |
| May 7-8 | FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—80th MEETING | Fort Lauderdale, FL |

**THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY**  
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856  
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902  
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$15; family membership is \$20; a contributing membership is \$50. In addition, a student membership is \$10, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Paul Eugen Camp, Executive Secretary, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed also to Mr. Camp.

