CONTENTS FOR JANUARY-APRIL, 1959

TRISTAN DE LUNA AND OCHUSE
(PENSACOLA BAY), 1559 .........................Charles W. Arnade .... 201

THE FOUNDING OF PENSACOLA-
REASONS AND REALITY..............................Albert C. Manucy.... 223

SPANISH PENSACOLA, 1700-1763 ........William B. Griffen .... 242

PENSACOLA IN THE BRITISH PERIOD: SUMMARY
AND SIGNIFICANCE .....................................Cecil Johnson.... 263

PENSACOLA DURING THE SECOND SPANISH
PERIOD ..................................................... L. N. McAlister... 281

PANTON, LESLIE, AND COMPANY...................... J. A. Brown.... 328

ANTE-BELLUM PENSACOLA:
1821-1860 ............................................. Herbert J. Doherty.... 337

PENSACOLA IN THE WAR FOR
SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE......................Julien C. Yonge.... 357

BATTLE OF SANTA ROSA ISLAND..................... J. L. Larkin ... 372

PENSACOLA IN RETROSPECT:
1870-1890 ............................................ Occie Clubbs .... 377

RAILROADS OUT OF PENSACOLA,
1833-1883 ............................................. Charles W. Hildreth .... 397

NEWSPAPERS OF PENSACOLA,
1821-1900 ............................................ H. G. Davis, Jr.... 418

EARLY CHURCHES OF PENSACOLA ............ Lelia Abercrombie .. 446

CONTRIBUTORS ......................................................... 463

COPYRIGHT 1959
by the Florida Historical Society. Reentered as second class matter July 2, 1956
at the post office at Jacksonville, Florida, under the Act of August 21, 1912.
OFFICE OF PUBLICATION. CONVENTION PRESS, JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA
THE CONQUEST OF AMERICA by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century was a momentous event which had profound consequences in world history. Portugal was the leader of the age of exploration during the fifteenth century, but Spain became the principal contender in conquest during the next century. It was she who blazed the trail of European penetration in South, Central and North America. It was she who left the first European footprints on Florida’s soil. It was she who unfurled the first flag over Pensacola Bay, and it was she who planted the first cross, symbol of Christianity, on the shores of that Bay. Hence it was Spain and her soldiers who gave paternity to Pensacola history. To her and to them should go our thoughts during the celebration of the city’s four hundred years.

Spain was eminently equipped for the conquest of the new continent. She had been the crossroads of invasion since immemorial times. She was the most Roman of all the provinces, contributing greatly to the success of the Roman Empire. On her soil developed one of the most active Germanic kingdoms. While civilization after civilization succeeded each other on the peninsula, Spain slowly developed characteristics of her own, creating a nation made of the best and strongest elements of the transient nations. Catholicism provided the unifying force of the divergent historical elements. Finally the brilliant and dynamic Arab civilization swept over the peninsula, pushing the Christians into the mountains. From there they recovered their land at a snail-like pace. It took seven centuries until the Arabs abandoned the peninsula. War became the life of the peninsula and peace was abnormal. The battleline became the Spanish

(This article is not based on original research. Herbert Ingram Priestley in his The Luna Papers (DeLand, 1928), 2 vols., and his Tristrin de Luna (Glendale, 1936) has carefully compiled the original documents and sketched De Luna’s life. For further bibliographical data about the expedition consult Priestley’s footnotes in his two-volume work. Information about Priestley is available in Lesley Byrd Simpson, “Herbert Ingram Priestley, 1875-1944, “Hispanic American Historical Review, XXIV (1944), 2-3.)

[ 201 ]
frontier, an institution just as important as in United States history. There was eternal war against the Moors, but those men and women who prayed to Allah left a profound imprint upon Spain. The Spanish nation was recast in a Moorish mold, giving origin to a new character that was an amalgamation of Africa and Europe. At the crossroad between these two continents was finally created a nationality most appropriate and typical of its geographical location. It was a nation full of energy, ready to turn the page. She would now go in pursuit of conquest instead of having to serve as unwilling host to conquerors.

The page was turned in 1492, one of the most memorable years in world history. The last Arab soldier left Europe, and peace came to Spain. Many veterans, whose ancestors for ages had made a living of fighting along the frontier, became unemployed. Peace could bring a complete social and economic dislocation. But good luck was with Spain. This same year a little-known sailor by the name of Columbus opened up a new frontier across the ocean in the Indies, later known as America. The seven-century War of the Reconquest was continued after 1492 in America. Instead of the Moors the American Indian became the target. Strategy, institutions, veterans and their sons were channeled to America from the Moorish war. The Arabs had been a highly civilized people and Spanish war efforts against them recognized this and adjusted their policies accordingly. Therefore Spanish institutions had been created by the impact of a high civilization against another equal one. These same institutions, mode of behavior and veterans were used against the Americans. Consequently when the Indians were highly civilized as in Peru and Mexico the conquest was most successful. When the natives were in a more primitive stage the Spanish march was usually a failure. Florida is a typical case. The first intended settlement of Pensacola is an example per se.

With this in mind as an introduction to our story we must ask ourselves from the very beginning whether the various events of the conquest owe their failure or success to political, military and economic behavior or to the personality of a single man. Were the illustrious campaigns of Mexico and Peru due to the fact that Spanish colonial conquest encountered the most suitable
conditions for their men, armies and institutions? Or was it because of a Cortes and Pizarro? Was the failure of the conquest of Pensacola Bay due to completely unsuitable conditions? Or was it that Tristan de Luna was unequal in strength and personality to Pizarro or Cortes? There is no clear-cut answer. Men and circumstances both played a role in the final outcome. The conqueror, the place, the events in themselves, all contributed a share, but the shares were far from equal. De Luna, Pensacola Bay with its sparse and savage Indians, and the chronology of the story of the occupation: all are an integral part of the picture. All must be sketched to make the story complete.

On August 14, 1559, the story of Pensacola history began when the De Luna expedition reached the Bay. It was not the first effort to settle Florida and it was not the first time that Pensacola Bay saw Spaniards. Forty-six years of constant and heroic probing of Florida’s land and shore line had already passed. A quick survey of these events will focus the De Luna episode and Pensacola history within proper chronological context.

The first European to step on the shores of Florida remains unknown; he is lost in unrecorded history. With Juan Ponce de Leon begins the continuing line of our Florida history. It is conceivable, indeed very probable, that other Europeans had reached Florida before Ponce de Leon. But the gallant caballero from Leon is the historical father of Florida. In 1513 he sailed up our east coast, stepping ashore at an undetermined place in the neighborhood of the site of St. Augustine. He then turned around and followed the Florida coastline, ascending the more mysterious west coast. It remains unknown how far north Ponce de Leon sailed, but there is a possibility that he may have reached Pensacola Bay. If he did go that far, he did not step ashore.

Again we are left in the dark in determining who was the first European to step on the ground where the modern city of Pensacola stands. A safe guess is that he was a Spaniard. The two Miruelos, uncle and nephew, are said to have been the first to sail into Pensacola Bay, probably in 1516.

In 1519 the Spaniard, Alonso Alvarez de Pineda, in company of the younger Miruelo, sailed along the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico and located the mouth of the great Missis-
Among the conquistadores was a certain Panfilo de Narvaez who had made himself famous, or infamous, in Spanish America. Later he acquired great wealth in Cuba. Narvaez then left for Spain to petition for a kingdom, and the Crown gave him permission to try his luck in wild Florida. Panfilo de Narvaez took six hundred hardy colonists to Florida in 1528. His chief executive officer was the colorful Don Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca.

The Narvaez expedition landed on the Florida shore near Tampa Bay and claimed possession of all the vast lands of Florida. They then began their march into Florida in a northerly direction in search of the mystic Apalache, a land of great riches according to native rumors. The fleet went along the coast but lost the men who were marching overland, and returned to Mexico in dismay. The land expedition was a miserable failure and the majority had to be buried in the Florida sand.

In Apalache (today's north-central Florida) they did not find the promised riches, nor did they find their accompanying fleet. With rudely constructed boats made of Florida pines they embarked on the Gulf and were the first Europeans about whom we have exact records of entering the present Pensacola Bay. Here they ran into not too pleasant natives. From here, in almost interminable wandering, one after another of the Spaniards perished; but Cabeza de Vaca reached Mexico after crossing the whole American southwest; and his narrative is one of the world's greatest epics. The bay had definitely been discovered, but also had served as a grave for many courageous Spaniards.

The next one to try his luck in Florida was the valiant Spanish conqueror, Hernando de Soto. His friends said that “he was gentleman by all four descents.” In 1537 the King conferred on him the lands of Florida, covering twelve degrees of latitude. In May, 1539, he and his men landed on Florida soil along the west coast, in or near Tampa Bay. A few months later he too left for the intriguing interior, going first in the direction of the supposedly rich north Florida. The first long stop was in Anica Apalache, more or less where Tallahassee stands today, to winter over. A side expedition under Captain Maldonado in 1540
reached Pensacola and Maldonado was deeply impressed by the value of this spacious bay.

On his return to Anica Apalache, De Soto sent Maldonado back to Cuba to get more provisions and then return directly to Pensacola Bay where he would meet him. Maldonado sailed to Cuba and returned in late 1540 to Pensacola to rejoin his chief. He was not there and Maldonado waited in desperation for De Soto, who had gone north into Alabama, tempted by the rumors of much gold. Maldonado sailed all along the coast in search of his beloved superior, leaving letters posted on the trees. In 1541 and 1542 faithful Maldonado again returned with his boats to Pensacola Bay, hoping that De Soto would be there. But ambitious De Soto had died in the vastness of the North American continent and the waters of the great Mississippi had received his body. Captain Maldonado was the first European to stay for a lengthy period on the shores of Pensacola Bay. He might be considered Pensacola’s earliest resident.

Seventeen years passed after the failure of the De Soto expedition before another concerted effort was made to conquer and attempt to settle Florida. The popularity of Florida decreased with this latest effort. Survivors of the great De Soto thrust spoke of Florida as “a land full of bogs and poisonous fruits, barren, and the very worst country that is warmed by the sun.” Even so, the coast of Florida was not to be forgotten and semi-private adventurers, with or without the permission of the Crown, sailed along the Florida shoreline. Some victims of shipwrecks survived in Florida. It is quite possible that someone again entered the harbor of Pensacola. The records of these freelancers have vanished, or maybe were never written.

More important was the ever-increasing zeal of the religious friars to go to Florida in search of Indian souls. One of them, the Dominican, Fray Luis Cancer de Barbasto, together with Father Gregorio Beteta, wanted to conquer Florida by peaceful means. Cancer did not reach farther than the coast of Tampa Bay where the natives butchered him cruelly in 1549. Another, Father Andres de Olmos, was more earthly-minded and wished to conquer the souls of Florida by the sword. He was much interested in Pensacola Bay. He and Father Pedro Canillas thought that the bay was an ideal place from which to begin the conquest of Florida.
Neither friar made it to Florida, but their thinking was important in later policies. The Church fathers continued to exert their pressure for a quick settlement of Florida. In 1555 the powerful bishop of Cuba came out for the conquest of Florida. He thought that Florida native women could relieve the urgent need for females in Cuba to bolster the decreasing native population. These pleas plus the continual shipwrecks of Spanish vessels along both coasts of Florida and a possible threat of French, Dutch and Scottish colonization of Florida convinced the Crown of its importance.

By 1558 it had been decided that Florida again should be settled. The exact reasons for this action still remain somewhat cloudy. Two possibilities stand out. First there was the ever-present religious motive pressed by the various religious orders and agencies. The motherland with its separate regional tendencies had found Catholicism the best unifying force. It was the cement that held the diverse regions together; Catholicism was the single item that every Spaniard shared. Catholicism would also be the unifying force of the conquest. Again, it was shared by every conqueror. It was more than a mere religion; it was also political, social and economic in nature. The Church built up a tremendous hierarchy which most certainly wanted a voice in the conquest. It wanted the conquest to go on for several reasons. First, there was the genuine desire to save souls. Then it needed more souls for its ever-growing bureaucracy. And it was most reluctant to let the Protestant nations take away the souls of the Indians. Florida had Indians, and therefore the Church lobbied hard to extend again the conquest to Florida. It was unwilling to see that land lay untouched by them when it was so near Cuba and Mexico where Spanish rule had been deeply established.

The other motive was unquestionably lay in nature. There was a great awareness in Spain that other European nations such as France, Scotland and England would show an interest in America, and that they might concentrate their efforts on North America. Geographically Florida was an undetermined region stretching all the way from Newfoundland to the Keys. Along the western side no adequate definition was even given. Apparently it was to reach to where Mexico ended. Spain and the other nations had not yet adequate maps and were unaware
of the tremendous expanse of North America. But they were aware of the importance of the Florida peninsula that pointed like a sharp dagger into the very heart of the Caribbean Sea, the nerve center of the Spanish American empire. Any foreign outpost on the peninsula would endanger Spain’s hegemony. Furthermore, the sea route of the home-bound convoys of Spain with the valuable goods from America was parallel to the Florida east coast. It became vital to establish a Spanish outpost along this coast. The importance of the Gulf coast in Spanish eyes at this time remains doubtful. They knew of its closeness to the Mexican shores and had some vague ideas about a huge river network that emptied into the Gulf along this coast. But basically the Spaniards were more interested in the east coast.

In their various previous attempts to settle Florida and in the many probing expeditions the Spaniards had come to value two bays. Strangely enough they knew little about these bays and a sort of tradition began to develop about them. On the Gulf coast the bay of Ochuse, which was Pensacola Bay, was considered the best. We are still in the dark as to who was responsible for Ochuse’s reputation and who used this name first. Moreover, the Spaniards before 1559 were completely confused as to the difference between the bays which later became Mobile and Pensacola. Either they knew only one of them, or knew of both but used Ochuse to identify the two bays. Furthermore, Ochuse was also a river which emptied into the bay. Anyhow, Ochuse, often referred to as Ichuse, was considered the bay on the Gulf coast.

The second bay, now Port Royal, was called Santa Elena and was located on the Atlantic coast north of where Ponce de Leon had first touched land in 1513. Ochuse (Pensacola) on the Gulf coast and Santa Elena on the Atlantic commanded the imaginations of the lusty Spanish sailors of North American waters. Consequently, when Spain decided to occupy North America she directed her eyes toward these two places in the hope that they might become the cornerstones of the new colony.

The story of the yet greatest attempt to occupy Florida has its beginning on December 29, 1557. On this day, by a royal cedula that as always came from the King, the huge Spanish bureaucracy was told to settle Florida. King Philip ordered that La Florida “shall be settled and placed under orderly government,
both to the end that the natives thereof, who are without the light of faith, may be illuminated and taught, and that the Spaniards may be benefited and may become established.” The King instructed the Honorable Viceroy of New Spain (Mexico) “to give orders that the province of La Florida and the Punta de Santa Elena be settled.” The King made it very clear “that a strong settlement shall be made at the Punta de Santa Elena.” The Viceroy was ordered to name a governor for Florida “who shall seem suitable to you, one fearful of God, our Lord, and zealous in our service.” Another command was to include priests in the forthcoming expedition.

In summary, the responsibility for the conquest of Florida was put squarely on the Viceroy of Mexico. He was given all authority to fulfill the order and he had much leeway as to the particulars of the expedition. There were only two specific things he had to do. One was to send priests with the army into Florida, and second he was to establish the main Florida base at Santa Elena. In October of 1558 the governor of Florida was officially appointed by the executive of New Spain.

In 1550 Luis de Velasco had become the second viceroy of New Spain with his capital in Mexico. He was a man of great ability, ambition and ideas, and he was interested in Spanish expansion. In 1556 he came out for the occupation of Florida when other voices in Cuba were demanding it too. Therefore it was most appropriate that Velasco was charged with the responsibility of occupying Florida when the King issued his royal cedula in 1557. His first task would be to appoint a man in charge of the operation with the title of Governor of Florida. In this way the Viceroy would create a new conquistador who, if successful, might repeat the glories of a Cortes, Pizarro, Ponce de Leon and Hernando de Soto.

The conquistadors were the prime force in the conquest of America. Those who believe that history is made by leaders, see in the Spanish conqueror a good example of their hero-worship. The Spanish conquistador represents a necessary chapter in the history of the Americas. Florida became a field of action for them. The new governor of Florida would become a conquistador since his task was to occupy vacant land over which no Spanish flag waved and where previous conquerors had failed.

On October 30, 1558, Viceroy Velasco appointed Tristan de Luna y Arellano governor “of the people who are sent to
TRISTAN DE LUNA AND OCHUSE, 1559

Professor Priestley tells us that "the choice of Luna was apparently a wise one, judging by his experience, age, position and previous services." Tristan de Luna y Arellano came from an old-line Castilian family of long service to the Crown. He was an heir to a large fortune. Around 1530 we find that Tristan had left Castile and had marched off to America. He had as his "sailing companion" none other than Hernan Cortes who was returning to Mexico. Little is known of De Luna's activities in his first five years in America.

By 1535 Tristan was back in Spain, since in that year he returned to New Spain accompanying the first viceroy, the celebrated Antonio de Mendoza, who was his cousin. In Mexico we can safely assume that De Luna moved in the highest circles and was a man of importance. We learn that everyone in the city of Mexico "has esteemed and honored him for the character and goodness of his person." The fact that he did not remain in Spain indicates that he was satisfied with his progress in America. In 1545 he married a rich woman, and probably spent most of his time managing his properties. But apparently the life of a wealthy magnate was not entirely to his liking.

Five years before his marriage he had already joined an adventurous enterprise, the Coronado expedition into the wilds of western North America in search of the mystical seven cities of
Cibola. For two years he shared all the excitement, endurance, successes and failures of this expedition. Often he and his men were the first Europeans to see the many wonders of the American Southwest. His body showed great physical stamina and he was brave and enterprising. Although it was his first military adventure he rose rapidly to the rank of colonel and held most responsible commands. He belonged to the immediate staff of Coronado. One man who knew De Luna tells us that during the Coronado expedition he “was one of those who served best . . . placing his person in the greatest dangers to life, and being many times wounded with severe wounds from which he was at the point of death.”

He returned from the expedition a seasoned soldier of the conquest. Yet his health had been affected and in the next year he rested from the past two years’ exertion. In 1548 he rendered his second public service of which we have record. Many Indians of the Oaxaca area rebelled over long accumulated mistreatments. All peaceful measures by the Spanish authorities failed and the natives were ready to sack and slaughter. The Spanish settlers in the area retaliated cruelly under fear and a bloody racial war developed. Viceroy Antonio Mendoza called his friend, De Luna, and appointed him to suppress the rebellion. The millionaire equipped his own army and resolutely moved into Oaxaca. One contemporary correspondent tells us that he “at his own expense went to them with many soldiers and pacified them, executing justice, and left the said provinces and the Indians thereof pacified and quiet, as they have always been ever since.” De Luna stayed until 1551 in Oaxaca.

In the meanwhile a new viceroy had arrived, the venerable Velasco, and De Luna saw to it that his relations with the new executive were good, if not friendly and intimate. Therefore when the order came from Spain to occupy Florida, De Luna was the person to undertake this task. He had shown intelligence and temerity on the two occasions when he was in the Crown’s service. He had money to recruit his own army. The governor was indebted to him for the Oaxaca campaign. Furthermore, he was well liked and had no apparent enemies in high places. Besides, De Luna seemed to be most willing to invest his fortune in the Florida adventure and assume the governorship. The man was the right choice for the job.

Although De Luna’s official nomination is dated October,
1558, it seems evident that he was informally offered the job many months earlier and that he accepted it then. Even before the official nomination was signed, Velasco gave orders to the experienced sailor, Guido de las Bazares, to sail to the Gulf coast and to the Punta de Santa Elena to verify the bays that would serve as bases for the De Luna expedition. Bazares left Vera Cruz in September, 1558, and spent a long time along the Texas coast where he discovered new bays. Along the Mississippi Gulf coast he found no adequate bay. Sailing eastward along the coast he failed to identify the Mississippi River but entered Mobile Bay which he named the Bay of Filipina. Bazares liked the bay, with its surroundings full of trees and wild plants. It has to be said that there is some divergent opinion as to the location of this bay. Woodbury Lowery strongly believed, and made a good case, that this was Mobile Bay, while Bishop Shea assumed it to be Pensacola Bay. Bazares continued east in search of the mystical Santa Elena but bad weather forced him to return to Mexico. Apparently he by-passed Pensacola Bay. The Bazares expedition added little information and even increased the already existing confusion about the two talked-about bays on the Gulf and Atlantic coasts.

Accepted and approved as governor of Florida and Santa Elena, De Luna was officially inaugurated on All Saints Day, November 1, 1558. In the true sense of the word it was the ceremony by which De Luna took the oath and covenant of homage. Celebrated in the cathedral of Mexico City, it had all the aspects of a colorful medieval ceremony. Present were all the dignitaries of the large governmental apparatus led by the Viceroy and the royal judges of the high court. Present were all the gentlemen and ladies of the sumptuous society of the capital. And present were the powerful religious hierarchy in their colorful vestments, led by the archbishop. In a long discourse De Luna swore to fulfill his duty, bringing Florida under the Spanish banner, to settle it and protect the land and its inhabitants for His Majesty the King of Spain. Thus by November 1, 1558, Florida with its savage Indians again had a Spanish governor although no Spaniard was on its soil. Yet the march for Florida was on.

The months following the inauguration were spent in assembling and organizing the expedition. This was an arduous job
if compared with our modern means. De Luna gave his full attention to the task and the Viceroy himself dedicated many hours of his busy schedule. It seemed that he considered the expedition as most vital enterprise of his administration. The Dominicans would be part of the expedition. Seven sturdy friars were chosen under the leadership of Fray Pedro de Feria. Father Gregorio Beteta, was permitted to join the expedition. Father Barandalla, who turned out to be a troublemaker, was appointed secular priest. Whereas the Dominicans were to instruct and convert the natives, Barandalla was in charge of the religious duties of the Spanish settlers and soldiers.

The next task was to appoint military officers, either of the infantry or the cavalry. In selecting these men not so much attention was given to their military qualifications as to their ability to gather men and finance their units. De Luna found a host of good men, many of whom had distinguished records in various theaters of war. One of them, Captain Juan Jaramillo, had fought in Tunis and later had been on the Coronado expedition. Another captain was De Luna’s nephew, Cristobal Ramirez y Arellano, who recruited his men in Oaxaca. These captains, in search of men, crossed the whole viceroyalty. By March, 1559, about one hundred men had been gathered in Mexico City.

Then the soldiers of De Luna broke out in riot against the local administration. A soldier was arrested, apparently for disorderly conduct. His fellow soldiers, supported by their captains, went to his aid. Quick intervention by the Viceroy and De Luna stopped this disagreeable incident. Yet it showed that De Luna was assembling a rough and tough bunch. By the middle of April the De Luna army that had been assembled in Mexico was ready to march toward the coast. It had nearly two hundred cavalry soldiers and roughly three hundred infantrymen. Then there were the many civilians who had joined the force. Most of the soldiers had one or even two servants. Farmers, artisans, Indians, Negroes, honest married women, many with children, and others of dubious reputation rounded out the expedition. When they left the capital loaded with equipment and food, the Viceroy and the Archbishop were present and accompanied the caravan beyond the city limits. Early in May the expedition stopped to regroup in Tlaxcala. There they were joined by the Viceroy who had decided to make a last-minute inspection. Velasco, being a first-rate administrator, was not adverse to criti-
cizing some aspects of the expedition. He said that there were too many disreputable people among the civilian force. Also he was critical of the many servants that the armed forces had, and he was disturbed about the "dubious women" who had made their appearance. He asked De Luna to correct this situation.

Their port of embarkation was San Juan de Ulloa, which is today's Vera Cruz. By June 11, 1559, the expedition was ready to sail for Florida. Five hundred soldiers made up of "cavalry, arquebusiers, shield-bearers and crossbowmen" and one thousand civilians embarked in thirteen ships. Furthermore, 240 horses, "supplies of corn, biscuit, bacon, dried beef, cheese, oil, vinegar, wine, cattle for breeding were already on board," notes Herbert Priestley. Tools and weapons were also stored in the ships. Velasco, who had come to Vera Cruz to see the departure, gave a farewell address in which he requested "a speedy conquest for the glory of both Majesties, God and their King," and reminded the expeditionists not to mistreat the natives of Florida. After hearing Mass, the shouts of slaves and many prayers and the hoisting of the royal standard, the ships lifted their anchors and took to the sea in search of the bay of Ochuse.

The plan for the expedition was to occupy Ochuse Bay on the Gulf coast, which was thought to be easily accessible to Havana and Vera Cruz. A town was to be built there of 140 house-lots. One hundred lots were to be reserved for the families of the soldiers. The remaining forty would belong to the Church and the government. There would be a church, monastery and governor's residence which would be located on the square.

This then was the blueprint of the projected town. But this Gulf bay base was to be considered only the first step toward the ultimate goal which was Santa Elena on the Atlantic coast, to which he was supposed to move overland. It was thought that the distance from the one to the other was but 250 miles and that Santa Elena was easier to approach by land than by sea. Truly, the Spaniards had forgotten where the bay was. Furthermore, De Luna in his march to the east coast, was to go across land covered by De Soto and mystically identified as Coosa. This area, today's Alabama, was supposed to be a land full of riches; for precious stones, tasty fruits, nutritious grains, valuable metals and rich Indians made up the myth of Coosa.

The sailing to Florida was relatively smooth for those days.
Having favorable winds for seventeen days, they came within sixty miles of the Gulf coast near the mouth of the Mississippi. Contrary winds drove them back in a southwest direction as far as the reefs of Yucatan, but they were able to take a northeast course again, reaching the Florida coast at latitude 29°30’’. They stopped for water and wood and then continued west along the coast. They did not find Ochuse but entered Mobile Bay. De Luna knew that Ochuse was east and he was determined to locate it rather than disembarking at Mobile, which was Bazares’ Filipina Bay. Since about one hundred of the horses had died, the only serious misfortune of the journey, it was decided to disembark the surviving ones and transport them overland to Ochuse. The boats left Mobile on August 14 and on the same day sailed into Ochuse. It was “the vesper of the Ascension of the Queen of the Angels” and for this reason the bay was named Santa Maria Filipina.

The place where De Luna anchored was, according to his report, nine miles wide and the entrance through the bar was less than two miles in width. The fleet dropped its anchors by a reddish bluff “which divided the eastern side of the bay.” De Luna was enthusiastic about the place and he told the Crown that his seamen believed it to be “the best port in the Indies.” He wrote that the country “seems to be healthy. It is somewhat sandy, from which I judge that it will not yield much bread. There are pine trees, live oaks, and many other kinds of trees.” De Luna said little about the natives because there were very few of them and those who showed up were quite friendly. He identified them as “only a few fishermen.” In this respect De Luna was luckier than his predecessors such as Ponce de Leon, Narvaez, De Soto and Father Cancer who had to face savage Indians ready to butcher the intruders.

The first undertaking of the Spaniards was to choose a site for the first settlement. De Luna wrote to the King that “the site which has been selected for founding the town is no less good, for it is a high point of land which slopes down to the bay where the ships come to anchor.” In this way the town would “command a view of the anchorage.” And De Luna considered his chosen port safe from bad storms. On this spot the Governor intended to build the town so that “the eighty or one hundred persons who will remain here will be safe.” He told the King
that he expected to take the rest of the expedition “inland.” This was not because of restlessness or pressure to begin the march through Coosa but because the food supply in the bay area was very meager. But considering everything, the initial task had been a great success and the future looked bright.

De Luna sent a galleon back to Mexico to report news of the successful landing. The lay brother Bartolome Mateos was scheduled to go to Spain directly from Pensacola to recruit more colonists and priests. The Governor gave orders to the business manager, Luis Daza, to return to Mexico and collect more tools, weapons, ammunition, food and horses. Two scout parties were sent into the interior in search of food. One of them sailed up the (later) Escambia River. Both expeditions had friars with them and the fathers clashed sharply with the officers over the treatment of the Indians. This was the first serious disagreement among the expeditionaries since the departure from Mexico.

This controversy was the beginning of the end of happiness and good luck. The scouts failed to find sufficient food or large Indian villages. Searching vainly for something, they over-stayed their ordered time and ran short of provisions. De Luna became worried about the prolonged absence of his men. Furthermore, the business manager’s boat was lying in the harbor, waiting only for the scouts to return to inform him about the food situation. He hesitated to depart before their arrival as he needed their report to judge his food requisition to be presented in Mexico. Everyone was becoming somewhat tense and nervous. But before the scouts arrived with their bad news a catastrophe struck the main expedition.

On the night of August 19 a terrific storm blew from the sea for twenty-four hours and scattered the ships in all directions, sinking many of them. Father Padilla tells that one ship was lifted by the wind and carried “an arquebuse shot’s distance from the shores.” De Luna reported to the Viceroy that “all ships which were in this port went aground, save only one caravel and two barks. There was a great loss of seamen and passengers, both of their lives as well as their property.” The ships had not yet been unloaded and much of the reserve food, already scarce, went down with them. The ship on which Fray Mateos was ready to sail for Spain was also lost with all its occupants. De Luna sent an urgent message to Velasco, requesting aid. The Governor made it clear that his situation was so desperate that
he might be forced to abandon the bay and move with his men into the interior in search of provisions.

Soon the low spirits of the survivors were further strained when the two scouting expeditions returned empty-handed. De Luna immediately organized a new contingent made up of four companies of horses under the command of Sergeant Major Mateo del Sauz and De Luna’s nephew, Cristobal Ramirez y Arellano. Two sturdy Dominicans were assigned to this army. It was to penetrate even deeper into the hinterland in search of food. They penetrated deep into “a desolate and uninhabited wilderness” of today’s Alabama. Following the Alabama River they encountered an Indian village called Nanipacana. It was deserted since the Indians had taken to the woods, but contained some stores of food. Woodbury Lowery believed the place to be in today’s Monroe County of Alabama near the headwaters of the Escambia River. De Luna was informed of the happy find of food.

Back in Pensacola “the suffering from hunger was great.” Further explorations into the woods and along the rivers proved fruitless. In November two ships arrived with the business manager Daza, bringing some provisions but surely not enough to put the settlement on a going basis. The scouts in Alabama advised De Luna to shift his camp to Nanipacana. The Governor was not over-enthusiastic in giving up Pensacola without having established a permanent town. Yet the hoped-for reinforcements and additional provisions from Mexico failed to arrive. All this was aggravated by a heavy fever that struck De Luna and gave him delirious spells. He began to lose the confidence of his men, and the Spaniards in Alabama were wondering why the Governor hesitated to move north. Priestley described the sick De Luna as a “pathetic figure.” The misfortunes of the last months had weakened the Governor and made him easy prey to disease. But as De Luna’s biographer put it, “in spite of all disaster and ill will, he never swerved from his purpose to complete his mission, lacking perhaps only the adroitness or the easy conscience of a Cortes to bring his orders to execution.”

By February, 1560, it was decided in a council of war in which the head Dominican participated, to move to Nanipacana. The march into Alabama proved to be difficult, but 1500 people reached the interior village which was named Nanipacana de Santa Cruz. At Pensacola De Luna left a lieutenant together
with fifty soldiers and some Negro servants. The doings, plight and adventures of these men who stayed in Pensacola is not told to us in documents. A fair guess is that their status did not improve. As to the bulk of the expedition now in Alabama, their condition became even more desperate than on the Florida coast. The food was inadequate and by early spring of 1560 the colony again had its usual food shortage. A large military unit with two priests pushed farther into Coosa, maybe with the intention of blazing a trail to the Atlantic and finding food. Crisscrossing the interior of Alabama, the Coosa unit had all kinds of adventures and vicissitudes which are beyond the scope of this history. In the final end they accomplished nothing and only made enemies out of the natives. Furthermore, the strain of the march had weakened the nerves of the participants who began to quarrel. The constant moral sermons of the friars added little to the harmony of the group. When finally, after several months of wandering, they returned to Santa Cruz, they found the village empty and De Luna and his settlers had departed for the coast in desperation.

Things had gone from bad to worse in Santa Cruz. Not only was food short but disciplinary problems became acute. De Luna was blamed for the plight of the soldiers and expeditionaries. The Governor, tired and in ill health, failed to use tact and diplomacy to calm down the tempers of the men and women. He quarreled with his immediate officers. At one point he overruled the advice of his officers and proposed to move deep into Coosa. After many hours of quarreling, and seeing unanimous opposition, he gave up the idea. Instead he yielded to the desire of the people and staff officers to go back to the coast. De Luna’s popularity had reached its lowest point. Santa Cruz was evacuated at the end of June, 1560. A letter was left in an urn in case the Coosa party should return. The road from the Alabama River was one of hardship with many drowning in the midst of starvations. Heavily decimated, the expedition finally reached Pensacola, after an apparent lengthy stopover at Mobile Bay, having gained nothing from its march north.

The second stay at Pensacola was hardly better than the previous one. The Viceroy in Mexico had done his utmost to send food and reinforcements but without success. Only one ship made it to Pensacola, arriving about one week after De Luna had come south from Alabama. Its supply “brought scant
comfort for gnawing stomachs." The ship also brought a new royal order to immediately occupy Santa Elena on the Atlantic. The King had learned of a possible French threat and had decided that the Atlantic occupation was of prime urgency. De Luna, a strict disciplinarian, immediately laid plans for the fulfillment of the King's order, even though his men were dismayed. Two frigates and a small bark were dispatched on August 10, 1560, to the Atlantic coast to claim Santa Elena for the King of Spain. The three ships never made it into the Atlantic but had luck enough not to go down in the storms they encountered. Stripped and damaged, they sailed to the Mexican Gulf coast. The Viceroy in Mexico was very upset about this failure and blamed De Luna for a hastily done job. Further complications were in store.

All but two of the priests had left the expedition to return to Mexico either on business or for good. Two fathers who had gone into Coosa were still in Florida. Other people had also made it back to Cuba and Mexico. Strong complaints from these men about De Luna reached the Viceroy, who began to show some irritation with his friend's inability to dominate the situation. But Velasco was too experienced an administrator to take at full value the various complaints. He knew that the priests were always eager to challenge the civil authorities at the slightest provocation and he was aware that their complaints were unquestionably exaggerated. But as stated, the Viceroy realized that things were not going along well in Florida. He was not yet ready to intervene but rather made efforts to supply the expedition with more goods, a task that can be classified as a failure for bureaucratic and geographic reasons.

Indeed, affairs turned from bad to worse in Pensacola. During the winter of 1560 into the early months of 1561 the morale of the soldiers, officers, settlers and slaves completely collapsed. A grave mutiny broke out, the responsibility of which lay both with the men and the Governor. De Luna, growing weaker and more irritable, became obstinate and punctiliously demanding. His men were unable to understand the grave moral and physical suffering of the Governor and his iron determination to fulfill his duty and orders, even in the face of insurmountable obstacles.

Soon after De Luna had returned to Pensacola part of the men who had moved into Coosa in the company of the two
priests, returned to Santa Cruz and finding it empty, then descended to the coast. De Luna, encouraged by some reports from Coosa, decided to go with the whole expedition into that land. He was nearly unanimously opposed, including the two priests who had returned. Ordering the men to get ready for the march northeast he was disobeyed and mutiny broke out. He condemned some officers to death, but requested the royal scribner to legally record what had happened and permit appeal of the sentence to Mexico. By September, 1560, the Governor had lost complete control of his men and the dissatisfied men had dispatched messengers to the Viceroy which included the report of the scribner.

On January 30, 1561, Viceroy Velasco relieved De Luna of his command and requested him to go to Spain or come to Mexico “to give account to His Majesty of what has happened.” Angel de Villafane was appointed as the new governor. The Viceroy also ordered that some of the leaders of the mutiny be returned to Mexico “to investigate their disobedience.” Villafane had orders to go to Pensacola and evacuate most of the people to Havana where reinforcements were to be gathered for a new try to occupy Santa Elena on the Atlantic. Only a small contingent was to stay at Pensacola Bay to maintain Spanish sovereignty. Villafane left Mexico early in February, 1561, and did not arrive in Pensacola until the first week of April. Until that time De Luna was unaware of his demotion.

With the coming of the new year the delicate situation did not improve in Pensacola. Food was still very scarce and De Luna isolated himself from his men. The two Dominicans were sympathetic to the mutinous men and treated the Governor quite harshly. As time passed and tempers sharpened the Dominicans showed more and more antipathy toward De Luna. They assailed his uncompromising stand in not calling a staff meeting. The fathers and officers had hoped that in such a meeting they could clearly outvote the Governor and demand their retreat from Florida. De Luna, aware of his extreme minority position and determined to fulfill the royal orders, was unwilling to be maneuvered into a Junta de guerra. The issue came to a head on Sunday, March 7, 1561, when during Mass Father Domingo de la Anunciacion gave a sermon in which he requested the Governor to call a meeting. After Mass the two fathers stopped De Luna at the church door and urged him to follow their advice. De Luna refused and he was then heckled by officers and
soldiers who had witnessed the affair. The Governor and a few faithfuls left the scene instead of disciplining the mutineers, which was a show of weakness. Returning later for the evening service, Father Anunciacion requested De Luna to leave the church and told him that he was being barred from any religious service until he called a meeting. This was a gross abuse of power by the friars and was strictly against the Church’s rules. No single priest has the right of excommunication. Furthermore, the reasons cited against the Governor were of no concern to the priest. The right to call or not to call a war council or staff meeting lay within the sole jurisdiction of the Governor and was completely beyond the realm of the friars.

We know nothing of the subsequent events in Pensacola except that on Palm Sunday some kind of conciliation took place in the church. The Governor took communion and publicly asked “forgiveness as the aggressor and guilty one.” Father Padilla, the historian who relates to us the incident, says that De Luna shed tears and that afterward the rebellious officers came to embrace him. On Holy Tuesday Villafane, in the company of the famous Father Gregorio Beteta, arrived in Pensacola with the news of the Governor’s dismissal. De Luna took the grim news gracefully, and Villafane, a man of moderation, showed respect toward his predecessor and addressed him as “Your Lordship”.

During the first part of April, 1561, De Luna left Pensacola to start his journey to Spain via Havana. So came to a sad and inconclusive end the career of a conqueror. In Spain he elapsed into oblivion, scorned by the Crown which whisperingly held him responsible for the failure to settle Florida. The glamour of a Ponce de Leon dying from wounds inflicted by Florida Indians, of a De Soto being buried in the waters of the Mississippi, or of Cancer walking straight into death are not found in De Luna. He is a conqueror who failed.

His successor, Villafane, a man of distinguished record and proven courage, did not fare better than the millionaire conquistador De Luna. The end of the Pensacola adventure was approaching fast and Villafane could not stem the tide of defeat and misfortune. He began to put into effect the Viceroy’s instructions. He politely brushed aside the demands of some officers to trace an inland route to New Spain. On April 10, 1561, the new governor called his officers and men together and informed
them that he had been ordered to occupy Santa Elena. He or-
dered the men to take an oath of allegiance but made it clear
that none was compelled to go to the Atlantic. With the exception
of four men they all expressed the wish to participate in the new
venture. Villafane then ordered about sixty men under Captain
Diego de Biedma to remain at Pensacola Bay and hold it for the
King of Spain. All the other people, about two hundred in all,
were embarked in three vessels and carried to Havana for the
eventual journey to Santa Elena. Villafane soon departed from
Havana for his destination with three boats. He had only
seventy-five men with him, the others having deserted him in
Cuba. The expedition arrived safely and in good spirits at Santa
Elena, rediscovering the often-mentioned cape. Villafane took
possession of the place in the name of the King of Spain. On June
14, while Villafane was searching for a better harbor, a storm
of hurricane force arose and decimated the fragile expedition.
Having suffered severe damages, Villafane, happy to have saved
some lives and the ships, decided to give up the venture and re-
turned to New Spain in defeat. This was the end of the first
Pensacola expedition.

What occurred at Ochuse or Pensacola Bay after Villafane
left for the Atlantic remains completely unknown. It is said
that on his way back from Santa Elena with his damaged ship
Villafane stopped at Pensacola. Again we are in the dark as to
what happened. It is feasible to believe that Villafane picked up
the men there and brought the Spanish occupation of Pensacola
Bay to an end. If any men remained behind for whatever reason
they do not appear in the annals of history. We can be reason-
ably sure that by July, 1561, the story of the Pensacola expedi-
tion had terminated.

Thus another episode of the conquest of America ended.
This one did not culminate in victory or success. But it was the
accumulated experience from these probing expeditions which
laid the basis for better fortune. The tragic ending of the ven-
tures of Ponce de Leon, Narvaez, De Soto, Cancer, De Luna and
others finally resulted in the multiple victories of Menendez and
the permanent occupation of Florida.

Naturally the big question remains, what were the causes
for the failure of the Pensacola venture. No single answer is
acceptable. The elements of nature, geographical ignorance, in-
adequate planning, sheer bad luck, irresponsible participants due to a deficient recruiting policy, dispirited officers, haughty priests: all these were contributing factors. Blame must also rest with the Governor. To be sure he had the best of intentions and his past qualifications were outstanding. But during the Pensacola expedition he faltered in many ways. He showed a certain instability and stubbornness. This can be excused because of his physical disability. All these factors taken together blocked the road to success.

It remains that the De Luna expedition was a great epic in the conquest of North America. It was a vital chapter of Florida history and marked the beginning of the written history of Pensacola.
OCTOBER 1698. - Two rival expeditions - one French, the other Spanish - were sailing toward a pleasant harbor in the Gulf of Mexico. Neither of them knew about a third rival. But there it was, two little ships outbound from London, bringing Britons who coveted the same sunny southeastern province.

The Southeast, remember, was one of many frontiers where Europeans vied for commercial and colonial supremacy. Wealth lay in its forests, and the focus of the competition by the rivals was the Indian trade. Deerskins and slaves! Buckskins had a ready market in Europe; and the British trade in captive Indian slaves could be readily justified by either realist or idealist: ... it both serves to Lessen their numbers before the French can arm them, and it is a more Effectual way of Civilising and Instructing than all the Efforts used by the French Missionaries."  

This reasoning, however, tended to overlook the fact that most of the slaves were not French but Spanish Indians. Many were already Christian. As for firearms, Spanish policy kept such modern weapons strictly out of Indian hands.

Nevertheless, the rather back-handed British compliment to French zeal quoted above not only points out the intense rivalry between Briton and Frenchman; it shows how similar were their objectives. On the other hand, Spanish aims were quite different. Spain's interests lay with her more productive colonies far to the south. The Florida frontier had no mines of silver yielding tythes to the crown, nor yet any great cattle ranches nor broad plantations.

Neither did the Spanish Floridian find opportunity here. Mexico City paid his meager wage, and he was not encouraged

1. This summary is drawn largely from the following sources: W. E. Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States*, 1678-1702 (University of Texas, 1917); V. W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (University of Michigan Press, 1956); and A. P. Newton, *The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493-1688* (London 1933). The *Archivo de Indias* documents are translated from photocopies in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History (University of Florida).
The Founding of Pensacola

To strike out for himself. Is it surprising that the Floridano made no real attempt to outstrip his British and French rivals?

* * *

To Spain, in this second century of colonization, the Southeast was Florida, a great wilderness buffer that kept intruders away from the silver mines of Mexico and the homeward-bound shipping that flowed out of the Caribbean. Essentially this Florida was a defensive outpost for the viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico). It was therefore justifiably if reluctantly financed from the treasury in Mexico City. The government payroll provided about 300 jobs. With this staff the Florida governor was expected to keep enemies out of his territory, and thus forestall the use of convenient harbors by the sea wolves who fattened on Spanish merchantmen. Most of the Crown’s 200 or so soldiers were in garrison at St. Augustine. The others, in small detachments, manned scattered watch stations and blockhouses. Spanish patrols ranged the vast wilderness from Canaveral to St. Catherines Island, and westward to the Apalachicola River.

An even smaller company had the task of bringing the Indians to the Faith and into Spain’s allegiance - both of which, in the Spanish mind, meant the same thing. Skillful teaching by the Franciscan padres, backed by a handful of soldiers, was effective. And since Indians friendly to Spain would be unfriendly to her enemies, the Spanish Indian system was not only a means of controlling the natives politically, but a weapon to be used strategically in time of stress. It was a sensible system, morally justified, and economical of both men and money. Economy was welcome to a government whose energies were fully absorbed with European entanglements on one side of the Atlantic, and with complicated investments in tropical America on the other.

Hence, with fair control over the North American coast along the shipping route, and with Indian allies as a sort of defense-in-depth, Spain was willing to let the Gulf coast lie fallow.

* * *

To Great Britain, the Southeast was an open and inviting woodland. Pushing out from Charleston, the British traders went into the forests, building a thrifty business with the Indian
hunters. Wherever they went, they spread British ideas and influence and the good English gospel of mercantilism. These things were in direct conflict with the Spanish Indian system.

For from the Tennessee mountains all the way to the Gulf, scores of caravans marketed British woolens, hardware, firearms and trinkets in exchange for deerskins and slaves from the Indians. Carolina shipped out over 50,000 skins per year. The slaves (Indian captives taken during raids on enemy villages) were less plentiful than deer, but the market was even better. An Indian woman for fieldwork might bring 118 pounds on the auction block at Charleston or at markets in New England or the West Indies.

* * *

To France, the Southeast was the doorway to a new inland empire between the Canadian colonies and her newer footholds in the Caribbean.

In 1670, the very year of Charleston’s beginning, Spain recognized Britain’s ownership of Jamaica and the land northward from Charleston. If this was a reluctant admission of the facts of life, at least for the moment it officially cleared the atmosphere between the two nations. Similar clarity in French-Spanish relations was impossible. The interest of France in the Americas was obvious, but Spain could not be sure of the direction it would take.

What focussed attention on the Gulf coast was the scheme of a renegade Spaniard in France-Diego de Penalosa (who somehow eluded every effort to fetch him back to Spain). With more than casual interest, Louis XIV listened to Penalosa’s plan for conquering territory between Virginia and Mexico - land that was said to be fabulously rich in precious metals. Carlos II, to forestall French designs, considered opening the area to Spanish colonization, and called for a report on the matter in 1678. It was an official reawakening of interest in the Mississippi Valley and the Gulf crescent, neglected since the days of the conquistadores.

At this junction (1682), La Salle made the trip down the Mississippi to its mouth, claiming for France all the terrain drained by its waters. Louis liked La Salle’s suggestion that the land could be readily colonized and its Indians used to curb the Spanish advance, perhaps even to take over the nearby mines of Mexico.
The renegade’s scheme was tossed aside, and La Salle set out with 300 colonists. His navigator completely missed the Mississippi, and the colony ended up at Matagorda Bay in Texas, where Fort St. Louis was built early in 1685. One disaster after another struck; in 1687 La Salle was assassinated, and the settlement ended with the massacre of its people by the Indians.

Spain learned of Fort St. Louis purely by chance from a young Frenchman captured aboard a corsair vessel. The news was like a bolt from the blue. Nor was the blow softened by any inkling that the colony would soon disappear.

Where was this colony? The Frenchman did not know. But the Spanish maps showed only one river leading from The New France to the Gulf - a river that flowed into the “Bay of the Holy Spirit.” This had to be the place. And look, hombre! Only 120 leagues from Apalache, and 190 from Veracruz! Truly this was a threat to the fleets of the Indies and the Kingdom of New Spain.

So the little French colony spurred Spain into action. Between 1685 and 1690, eleven expeditions searched for the intruders. Finding them was not easy. In the first place, there was much confusion about the location of Espiritu Santo Bay, into which the great river was said to flow. Some believed it was the place called Tampa; others thought it was Mobile Bay, or even Pensacola. As for the Mississippi itself, even La Salle had failed to find it again; and the Spaniards probed it gingerly, seeming never to realize that the great muddy delta choked with the tangle of trees and driftwood marked the stream of De Soto and La Salle. Characteristically they called it Rio de la Palizada - River of the Palisade - and sailed on.

In the second place, La Salle’s colony was not where the investigators thought it was.

Florida’s Governor Salazar had built a little fort at Apalache Bay. From there in 1685-1686 the garrison marched against British traders who had penetrated as far as the Apalachicola River. While this action was taking place, a marine expedition had left Havana looking for La Salle’s fort. It explored the coast to beyond the Mississippi before a storm drove it out to sea and across to Veracruz. In the company was Juan Jordan de Reina, a well-known pilot who would help to build the Pensacola colony a few years later, Jordan’s journal mentions his visit to the village
of the "Panzacola" Indians on February 6, 1686.

A second search for the French was fruitless. So was the third (in which Marcos Delgado probed northwestward from Apalache for 100 leagues). The fourth, a naval expedition from Veracruz, meticulously examined the coast from Tampico as far as Pensacola Bay. They found a stranded French vessel in Matagorda Bay, but decided the region was obviously too swampy for human habitation. The colony they sought was just five miles away up Garcitas Greek!

Since the entire coast had been examined "with the utmost diligence," Carlos was assured that the French settlement was nothing more than an ugly rumor.

But in 1688 the search was renewed; Jean Gery, a supposed survivor, was captured; relics of the settlement turned up among the Texas Indians; and at last in 1689 the pitiful ruins were found . . . . More important, the Indians showed much interest in the Christian religion, so the final outcome convinced the officials in Mexico City that God had chosen this unusual way of leading the Spaniards to a hitherto unknown treasure of souls. A governor of the Texas area was forthwith appointed and the mission of San Francisco de los Texas was founded in 1690. Unfortunately the temper of the Indians soon forced the missionaries into flight, and the first Spanish occupation of Texas came to an end.

*    *    *

The home government of Spain had shown little interest in the Texas enterprise, perhaps because many officials considered the Gulf region - especially the Texas area - as utterly barren of inducement for any nation. Another reason, however, was the growth of plans for Pensacola Bay. Juan Jordan in 1686 had called it "the best bay I have ever seen in my life." But the credit for formally proposing a settlement here goes to Captain Andres de Pez, leader of three of the voyages made in search of the French. The suggestion was made in his memorial of 1689, and the viceroy thought enough of the idea to send him to Spain to "sell" the proposal in person.

The Pez plan, which in brief recommended moving St. Augustine to Pensacola Bay and blocking up St. Augustine harbor, was not received wholeheartedly in Spain, even though it was
conceded that the Pensacola harbor ought to be occupied to keep the French out, if for no other reason. However, when the matter came before the war council, the majority opinion was negative. Why should France - or Britain or Holland, for that matter - move into Pensacola Bay? They already had better bases in the West Indies.

Strangely enough, Carlos set aside his council’s decision and ordered the Pez plan carried out, except for the abandonment of St. Augustine. The council, still unenthusiastic, won a compromise. The King’s cedula of June 26, 1692, ordered another detailed examination of Pensacola Bay, and gave the viceroy authority to build defenses there if he thought it expedient.

The new exploration was by both land and sea. From Vera-cruz two vessels reached Pensacola harbor on April 7, 1693. As the pilots cautiously navigated the channel, the *Te Deum Laudamus* was sung, and Spanish possession of the bay was proclaimed in the name of the king. The leaders of this naval task force were Pez (now promoted to admiral) and Dr. Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora, chief cosmographer of New Spain and professor of mathematics at the Royal University of Mexico. Santa Maria harbor, so named because Tristan de Luna had entered it on St. Mary’s Day (August 14), was re-christened to compliment the viceroy, the Count of Galve: Bahia de Santa Maria *de Galve*.

Both Pez and Siguenza strongly recommended fortification and settlement. The report of the land expedition led from Apalache by Florida’s Governor Torres in midsummer of 1693 did likewise. As a result, Carlos issued the June 13, 1694, cedula ordering the viceroy to begin the occupation. But there was no follow-through. Money for the project was hard to find; Galve died in 1696, and nobody else seemed interested.

Then came the Peace of Ryswick. Louis XIV gave himself and his rivals a breathing space between wars. And with peace, Spanish apprehension returned. Early in 1698 came intelligence that four vessels were fitting out in France to transport colonists to the Gulf of Mexico, presumably to Pensacola Bay. The war council moved rapidly; and the king’s cedula of April 19, 1698, made the fortification of Pensacola Bay the most urgent business in the empire.

To ensure accomplishment, there were three prongs to the project. First, the new viceroy, the Count of Montezuma, was to
send as many men as possible to take immediate possession. Second, naval officer Martin de Aranguren Zavala, bound from Cadiz to Havana to check on galleons overdue from South America, was secretly instructed to go to Veracruz and reinforce the first expedition. Third, secret instructions were given to Juan Jordan (who was then in Spain) to go with Zavala as far as Havana. There he would requisition men, weapons, supplies and transportation, and dash on to Pensacola, to hold it until the main expedition came.

The cedula reached Mexico on July 14, 1698. Two experts were at once called in to plan the project. One was Siguenza, the scientist. The other was Andres de Arriola, prominent in the royal service for almost 25 years. Arriola had visited Pensacola Bay in 1695 while he was clearing the Gulf of a troublesome band of pirates. His plan for three ships and 200 men was decided upon for the Pensacola project, and Arriola himself was appointed commander.

For three months the port of Veracruz bustled with activity. The three ships had to be readied, each with a crew of 40 men. The 200 soldiers had to be recruited, along with 9 gunners, 3 priests, 3 surgeons, 12 carpenters, 6 masons, 4 smiths and the requisite helpers, making a total of 357. Men who had served in the Windward Squadron were ordered to enlist; beggars and convicts were pressed into service.

Meanwhile, Zavala and Jordan had reached Havana on October 13. The missing galleons from South America were accounted for, so Zavala continued on to Veracruz to join the Pensacola expedition. Jordan in turn presented his orders to the Havana authorities and collected two small vessels and 50 men.

Arriola sailed from Veracruz on October 15. Zavala, of course, was too late to join him. Jordan departed Havana November 6 and reached Pensacola Bay on November 17. Bad weather lengthened Arriola’s voyage, but he arrived at last on November 21, and debarked on the western shore of the bay. The engineer, Jaime Franck, laid out a fortification while the men built palmetto-thatched huts. Within a week a gun battery was in position.

Meanwhile, the French under Iberville had left Brest on October 24. On January 26, 1699, their colonizing expedition of five ships and about 200 men anchored off Pensacola Bay. Arriola refused to let the ships into the harbor. There were some
uneasy hours, but eventually the intruders went on their way. Pensacola belonged to Spain!

Iberville, who had kept in the background at Pensacola, leisurely took his expedition on to the Mississippi. Instead of stopping there or proceeding on to the La Salle site, he turned east again to make his settlement at Biloxi.

The third rival, after wintering in Carolina, reached the Gulf in midsummer of 1699. It was a British survey expedition. The Spaniards saw it at Apalache; the French found it 100 miles up the Mississippi. As was proper in the light of future events, Iberville had the pleasure of warning these subjects of His Britannic Majesty that they were trespassing upon French territory.

Pensacola had firmed Spain’s grip on strategic Florida. Yet the rebuff of the French did not change the course of empire. Biloxi, and later, Mobile and New Orleans, were to cancel the Spanish advantage. For with the beginning of a new century, new ways were to come.

* * *

Two letters describing the first dramatic days of the Pensacola settlement are translated below. The first is Arriola’s official report of the founding and his candid estimate of the general situation, written for the eyes of the king. The second is an unusually chatty letter by Engineer Franck to the secretary of the Council of the Indies.

Jaime Franck was an Austrian, perhaps best known for his work on Castillo de San Juan de Ulúa, a major harbor defense at Veracruz. The viceroy cited him as New Spain’s only competent engineer, and this circumstance probably explains why Franck’s wish to return to Spain was ignored. The assignment of the old fellow to the Florida mission, despite his aversion to frontier hardships, emphasizes the high priority of the Pensacola project. For us, his presence is fortuitous, because he used his adopted language vividly and intimately (if not always grammatically) and with a sardonic humor that is too revealing to be found often in official papers.

3. I am indebted to Luis Rafael Arana, Supervisory Historian at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, for review of the translations as well as for aid with details of Spanish army organization, a subject which is his specialty.
The Franck letter is a very human document. It spells out the reluctance with which the colonists, used to the lush warmth of the tropics, faced the rigors of a Florida winter; it hints that old salt beef and palmetto-thatched huts were poor substitutes for Veracruz civilization; and it discloses fears and misgivings in the minds of the leaders. Yet underlying the flow of words, as a stone channel guides a rushing stream, is the tough tenacity of purpose by which Spain had long ago perfected the colonizing skills that fathered hundreds of towns in Latin America.

* * *

Arriola’s Report on the Founding of Pensacola.

THE COLONEL DON ANDRES DE ARRIOLA REPORTS TO YOUR MAJESTY HE HAS OCCUPIED THE BAY OF SANTA MARIA DE GALVE AND IS FORTIFYING IT. Duplicate.

Sire:

By virtue of the royal dispatch from Your Majesty dated April 19 of this year, the Count of Montezuma, viceroy of New Spain, ordered me to leave that kingdom, vacating my office of high mayor in the town of Santa Fe de Guanajuato, and go to the port of Veracruz to fit out three frigates. I did so, trying to expedite their outfitting as much as possible. The viceroy honored me with the post of Colonel, Governor and Chief Officer in Charge of the said vessels, in recognition of my continuous services.

When everything was ready, I sailed on October 15 of this year. We carried all the war supplies, the tools for raising earthworks, twelve 8- and 10-pounder cannon (which were the largest I found in Veracruz), 200 infantrymen and everything else needed to construct a fortification of wood in a place where it cannot be built of lime and stone due to not having lime nor the materials to make it.

We had a lot of contrary weather on account of severe northers time and again, so I did not get into this bay until the 28th day of the voyage, or November 21. Once here, I found that Captain Juan Jordan de Reina had come in two days earlier on

---

4. *Maestro de Campo*: Since the “field master” was the equivalent of colonel in other European armies, we have substituted “colonel” here for clarity, although in Spain *coronel* did not become generalized until after 1702. See L. R. Arana, “Spanish Peninsular Infantry, 1672” (MS., 1958).
THE FOUNDING OF PENSACOLA
one of the two sloops he had set out with from the port of Havana. 5 The other one made it three days later.

After I anchored here, I disembarked the men, supplies and artillery at the mouth of the bay, along the western shore at the bluffs of Santo Tome. By the 6th day of arrival a battery of 18 cannon, including the 6 Captain Juan Jordan brought from Havana, had been emplaced controlling the channel. At the same time, huts were under construction as quarters for the infantry, and wood was cut and hauled for the fortification which meanwhile the military engineer, captain of horse 6 Don Jayme Franck, had marked out. The said fortification, which will be named San Carlos de Austria, perforce is being made a square, 100 varas 7 on each interior side, with four bastions.

Likewise being assembled is a tender with a 22-cubit keel. I brought her rib timbers prefabricated from the port of Veracruz, in order to explore the whole bay thoroughly with her as well as the rivers that empty into it, after she is finished. For although the other time I was in this place I examined most of

5. Jordan had arrived on November 17. (Dunn, 181.)
6. Capitan de caballos: The Spanish army did not have a corps of engineers until 1711. Prior to then, these specialists were usually given grades in the infantry or cavalry, whichever had the higher pay and precedence. Hence Franck as a cavalry captain drew a monthly salary of 550 reales; a foot captain, only 217 reales. Franck may have complained bitterly about life in Pensacola, but he was paid well to endure it. Unfortunately, his pay was probably months in arrears, since this was a usual condition in Spanish service at the period. Incidentally, as maestre de campo, Arriola’s pay was probably 773 reales per month. (These were reales de a ocho, which J. V. Haggard estimates as worth $1.70 in U. S. currency of 1936. No doubt the 1959 valuation would be well over $2.00.) See F. Barado, Museo Militar (Barcelona, c. 1883), II, 586 and III, 573; Conde de Clonard, Historia Organica de las Armas de Infanteria y Caballeria (Madrid 1853), IV, 472; J. V. Haggard, Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents (University of Texas, 1941), 107.

An “interior side” is one side of the square formed by the curtains, or long connecting walls of the fort. Since this is a geometrical term only, it does not mean that the open area inside the fort was 100 varas square, because this area would be reduced by the thickness of the parapets (in this work, about 12 feet per parapet), firing steps, the terrepleins (fighting decks), and of course any other structures needed inside the fort. The side is “interior” in relation to the “exterior side,” which is a geometrically straight line drawn from the point of one bastion to the point of its neighbor - about 145 varas in the case of Fort San Carlos.

Bastions are 4-sided salients jutting out from the main enclosure of the fort. They give the defenders visual control of adjacent walls and thus enable better defense.
this bay and the river named Jordan, I did not look at the one
called Jovenazo nor the Almirante, \(^8\) which are the largest.

I cannot fail to report to Your Majesty how this fortification
will be able to defend only the single site where we are located.
It cannot affect the entrance at the mouth of the bay, because
from one point to the other is a distance of 3,300 varas. \(^9\) Even
if another fortification were built on the point called Siguenza
(which is opposite this one), it would have little or no effect
on vessels that use the channel, since the channel is in the middle.
The fort which I tell Your Majesty it would be well to build on
the said point of Siguenza is impossible on any of that terrain.
Siguenza is a water-level island of shifting sand, all of it so marshy
and low that it cannot make any kind of fortification. Furthermore,
in the flood season it is all under water; and when the
southeast and south winds blow, the sea also overruns it.

The width of this bay, according to what I saw when I was
here before, from its mouth inside will measure about 10 leagues.
Thereby one can judge the circumference at 30 leagues. All I
have seen was sandy and low land.

Few natives are now in the neighborhood. On the occasion
I mentioned, I was with them and regaled them with some glass
beads and knives, which they esteem greatly. I remember they
had some skins - deer, bison, bear and marten, but not very
fine. At present they have not yet appeared. I blame it on the
bitter cold we are having. For that reason they must be gone back
into the interior or to the river mouths, which I will examine,
as I have said, as soon as the tender is finished. I will try to
entertain them with the beads, fabrics, knives and other presents
I bring. They were delivered to me for the purpose at the vice-
roy’s order, so these heathens may be brought to our holy faith
in this way and of course through the religious (who come in
these vessels this time as my responsibility).

To my thinking, this is the only motive Your Majesty can

\(^8\) The place names were given during the 1693 survey of Pensacola
Bay by Pez, Siguenza, Jordan et al. See Dunn, 158 ff. A. G. Barcia
in *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida* (Madrid
1723) gives interesting details from the Siguenza report; for trans-
lation, see A. Kerrigan, *Barcia’s Chronological History of the Con-
tinent of Florida* (University of Florida Press 1951), 335-341.

\(^9\) Arriola was telling the King that the bay mouth was almost two
miles across, while maximum range for cannon was hardly a mile.
Effective range was closer to 500 yards. See Manucy, *Artillery
Through the Ages* (Washington 1949), 34.
entertain for maintaining the fort at such high costs as have been incurred at various times. As to the objective of keeping the French out, which Your Majesty refers to in your royal cedula, if they intend to occupy the place, it cannot be prevented. Even if there were two forts (one on each of the points already mentioned), due to the width of the mouth of the bay and the shortness of the channel the vessels have to sail if they want to come inside, once they get through it they can anchor in the bay wherever they want; and nobody can stop them on account of the bay’s vast size.

In my opinion, Sire, I do not surmise that the French intend to occupy a place so far from New Spain. M. de la Salle did not come to look for this bay, but for the River of the Palisade, which they named Colbert; and not finding it, he was lost on the Lake of San Bernardo. For the schemes of the French (even though the said coast is only for small vessels due to the lack of anchorage), I am persuaded that it is better for their purpose to carry on what M. de la Salle began by finding the mouth of the said river, because of the proximity of New Spain. Therefore I will reconnoiter most carefully before I return to Veracruz (if the weather lets me), my departure for this purpose being mid-February of the forthcoming year (if God wills) after having explored all the rivers which flow into this bay.

I will leave the fortification in defensible condition. So that it may be completely finished, the military engineer Don Jayme Frank will stay, in conformity with Your Majesty’s order. Also I will leave the responsibility for command of the infantry to my Sergeant-major, Don Francisco Martinez, and in his absence to Captain Juan Jordan de Reina, whom Your Majesty sent for this same purpose. In my opinion he is the most suitable person you can have in these kingdoms to stay in command of these men and the fort while Your Majesty is deciding on the course you consider the more desirable, leaving me responsible for reporting to Your Majesty at the first opportunity all I have accomplished in this exploration.

May God be with the royal Catholic person of Your Majesty, as Christianity has need. Bay of Santa Maria de Galve, December 1, 1698. 

Andres de Arriola [rubric]

[Andres de Arriola to the Crown. Pensacola, December 1, 1698. AI 61-6-22/6]
JAIME FRANCK, THE ENGINEER, DESCRIBES CONDITIONS IN THE NEW SETTLEMENT OF PENSACOLA, IN A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES. *

Sire:

In the attached I reported to your lordship on the arrival of the ships of France at this bay, how they were dismissed without coming in, and considerations for securing all this coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Now, in this letter I shall inform your lordship of the state in which I have my own fortification, and of matters concerning myself, now weary from age, troubles and work.

As to my fortification, I must tell your lordship I now have it all closed. With regard to the timberwork, it consists of pine logs cut into 9- and 10 - vara lengths, laid one upon the other, and nailed at regular intervals against stanchions a foot thick, set deeply into the sand. Properly nailed, they make a kind of wall that ought to hold the terreplein of sand, with which the entire work will be made. That it is not yet as high as it ought to be, is understood; for as I represented to His Majesty when we arrived, certain aspects of this bay proved to be quite different from what His Majesty supposed. Due to the very considerable imperfections of the terrain where the fort necessarily had to be located, it was resolved in war council to inform His Majesty of everything, and not to give the fort its full height and breadth until another order comes from His Majesty.

When the French ships appeared, I had not closed the fort at every point. It lacked quite a bit on the fronts opposite the one facing the sea and the one facing the camp. Because an emergency could happen - and did, I tried in the first place to put the said two fronts in the best possible condition.

On the front facing the sea, in order to arm its curtain right away with artillery against the bay entrance, seven pieces were placed in battery on the very day of their arrival. They occupied half of the said curtain. Seven more pieces were mounted on the mound in front of the other half of the curtain, because it still lacked its terreplein and parapet needed for a battery like the first half. Now at last it is completed also, and the second seven pieces are mounted in it. Although they cannot do

---

10. Franck used a phrase common in military construction: a work is "closed" when wall construction has been completed to the point of defensibility.

11. Terreplein: The raised horizontal surface in rear of the parapet. It was a "fighting deck." Minimum width, if cannon were to be mounted, was about 24 feet. Height is not indicated. Judging from Franck's comments on the sandy nature of the soil, he was in a dune where the earth was too light and dry to hold the 45-degree slope needed for standard earthwork construction. The use of a timber retaining wall, however, was not unconventional, and enabled him to make the outside walls of the fort vertical for better defense against assault.

12. Franck probably had in mind the reports of 1693, which had recommended (among other things) a fort on each point of the entrance to the bay, evidently without the realization that the channel was beyond range of either fort.

13. Curtain: The long wall connecting adjacent bastions; that is, the main wall of the fort.

* Jayme Franck to Martin de Sierra Alta, Secretary of the Council of the Indies, Pensacola February 19, 1699. AI 61-6-22/10
the job we want - not even if they were culverins of the longest range - they do generate some kind of respect.

I built the front facing the camp to look so good that the one who sees it could infer that the attack of it will be a bloody business. And that is how the envoy from the leader of the French squadron saw it; he perceived both it and our determination.

We made no case whatever of his boasts (almost threats) of their superior forces (twice repeated). We let them pass without response as if paying no attention, and I do not doubt he was fooled into believing

14. The culverin had an unusually thick tube and was several calibers longer than a cannon. A 16th century Spanish culverin was reported to have a point-blank range of almost a mile and a maximum range of 6,000 yards. (See Manucy, 34.) In other words, it could shoot as far as the famed French 75 of World War I. However, with any gun of 1698, a hit beyond half-mile range was pure luck.
that the parts opposite the two fronts he could see had the same defense and perfection. As the envoy thus found the fortification already closed, I also gained the respect with which he looked at the part of our artillery already mounted in it, and all the rest crowned with handarms, such as spontoons, lances and halberds.  

(This sight caused the man who came with the said envoy as his servant, carrying his cloak, to ask if there were also "savages" over there, for so they call the hunters of Santo Domingo, whose fierceness, courage and agility the French are not ignorant of; and he was told some 60 of them were picked in Santo Domingo.)

There was an advantage in having been able to close the fort and put our infantry in it out of sight. From their nakedness and very dark color they looked like legitimate charcoal makers - this because of the smoke from the pine fire with which they warm themselves day and night against the bitterly cold wind from the north or its collaterals. They look utterly worthless, without hats, shirts, hose nor shoes; how the waistcoat and the breeches will be it is easy to guess; and if there is any sword at all, it is broken or without a scabbard.

All this I write to your lordship without exaggeration, so that you may be in the know about the quality of this presidio, whereby the jails and junk shops of Mexico have been cleaned out. What is certain is that with the coming of summer, the majority will run away to escape present misery (which actually is extreme), either to return to their country, even though it is nearly 700 leagues away, or perhaps to enjoy the immoral freedom with which they know some Englishmen live among the neighboring Indians, marrying and unmarrying with their women as the fancy strikes them.

On the said occasion when these fellows happened to be inside the fort, some 40 stayed outside as the guard for the Colonel and the camp, and by their fine dress, good form and handling of their muskets, they showed they were Spaniards and soldiers. With this business we do all right and have the appearance of good military posture.

Since the Colonel has gone, which was the 2nd of this month, if the work on the fortification went at full speed before, it has gone just as fast

15. **Armas a mano: chuzos, lanzas y medias lunas:** Infantry polearms at this time consisted of the private's pike or half pike, the corporal's partizan, sergeant's halberd, and the espontoon for company officers, sergeant's halberd, and the espontoon for company officers. (See Arana, op. cit.) Franck's terminology is vague. By **chuzo** he may have meant either half pike or espontoon. **Lanza** was no doubt the pike, since pike was the name given the cavalry lance when it was adopted for infantry use. **Medias lunas** must signify the crescent-shaped blades of the halberd or the partizan.

16. The 60 men from Santo Domingo were of course a fiction, which Franck considered well justified under the circumstances. The French servant knew of the fierce Santo Domingans because the French during the 1660's had preempted northern Santo Domingo, and the Iberville expedition had stopped there enroute to Pensacola. France's grasp on Santa Domingo, the "cradle of Spanish culture in the New World," galled the Spaniards.

17. The text above and below makes clear that only two fronts had been built. Obviously it was impossible to "close" a 4-walled fort that had only two walls completed; so Franck is again saving that the envoy thought the fort defensible, and incidentally patting himself on the back for his own cleverness in making half a fort look like a whole
now, so in case the said ships return (as the marquis¹⁸ in his farewell letter gave us to understand they would), they may find us better prepared and in better defense. All the curtain facing the sea has been finished, and in addition part of a bastion next to it also terrepleined (or better to say, “sand-pleined”).¹⁹ Likewise completed is the badly-needed powder magazine. Although it was plenty of work, I built it under the sand, all from timber hewn here, without nails nor any iron except the ringbolt in the trapdoor, which, for lack of copper, is iron.²⁰ The structure is permanent and quite suitable for any similar place and situation. It will protect the powder equally well from water, dampness, and fire.

We must constantly fear fire, because as we are camping in open country despite the rigor of the winter (which is not a bit inferior to Madrid’s), our winter quarters consist of some “barracks” made of poles and palmetto thatch,²¹ now so dry they catch fire with any kind of spark. Several times it has happened, but the most violent and dangerous to us occurred a little before 3:00 a.m. last January 4, through the carelessness of some gamblers. Some soldiers’ barracks, the chapel, Jordan’s quarters (the captain of sea and war),²² and the provision magazine were consumed by the fire in less than a quarter hour. But as they burned so fast and a lot of sand was pitched upon what was left, to the accompaniment of my repeated shouts, the fire was smothered and most of what was inside was saved.

An unusual thing was that after the quarters of the said captain burned, out of that burning pile two big earthen jugs of grenade powder were pulled out, the stoppers of which were already burning. No less unusual and almost miraculous was the fact that the wind changed suddenly during the fire. Otherwise it is indeed certain the whole camp goes up in flames and we are left with much more misery than before.

What mostly causes me concern and fear of worse consequences was having heard during the heat and confusion of the fire some voices (and others also heard them) which said, “Hey boys, cheer up! One way or another the Lord will get us out of here!”

Nothing of mine was burned, but I was robbed aplenty. Because the fire was so close-less than six paces away - I ordered my luggage taken out of my hut. The many thieves among us seized the perfect occasion to practice their talents. And they continue practicing every day; punishment does no good for correction. So that your lordship may see what they have stolen from me up to now, though it will seem childish, yet I say it: 4 jugs of wine, 6 flasks of aguardiente, a jug of honey, and half of my salt meat. This from my mess alone. I am silent about the white

¹⁸. The Marquis de Chasteaumorant, French naval officer in command of the frigate convoying Iberville’s colony. Dunn, 185 ff.
¹⁹. Terraplenado, o por mejor decir arcnaplenado: This bit of etymological humor is based on the Latin origin of the term: Terra (earth) and Plenus (full).
²⁰. Iron was liable to strike a spark, so copper was the conventional metal for powder magazine hardware.
²¹. Ramaje y palmas.
²². Capitan de mar y guerra: The early Spanish military navy had no corps of officers who would both navigate and fight their ships. Sailors sailed, and soldiers did the fighting. The soldiers quartered aboard were infantrymen under an army captain, who also held command of the ship under the commission of capitan de mare y guerra. (See Barado, 62-634.) He was therefore not the equivalent of a captain of marines.
clothing and other things they also fished from me, but not about the
100 pesos I had in my case of papers, which they opened and profited
from on the occasion of the said fire.

Thus I can well say to your lordship that in all my life - and I now
have 60 years, most of them among armies and soldiers - I have never
been in such a sorry job, thrust into a wretched hut with the ever-present
danger of being set afire. Again they intended to burn the provision
magazine with a lighted matchcord in dry hay, and put it between the
palms and poles of its roof. But the wind was down at the time, and
by our good luck the night patrol passed by there and glimpsed the
flicker on the roof. The patrol pulled out the match with the hay already
ablaze and brought it all to the Colonel.

Next day he sounded the drum and made a proclamation. To who-
ever would reveal the author of such mischief, he would give a reward of
100 pesos; to a soldier, the liberty of returning home at the first oppor-
tunity; and to a convict, pardon for banishment and crime. But the effort
did not help at all. This happened two days before the arrival of the
French ships. With their coming, the Colonel thought to make the thief
faithful, so we would not have to guard against two enemies at once. The
day the Frenchmen began to sound the entrance and the two smaller
craft to approach the channel, we judged they were resolved to try it. So
in order to inspire everyone and to ready them for everything that
might happen, the Colonel pardoned the convicts. In all there were about
36, almost all big brutes and the most of them footpads by profession. To
the soldiers was given positive hope of being replaced without delay.
Thereupon all promised they would labor as Spaniards and as good
vassals of His Majesty; but as no hostility whatever occurred, there has
not been any occasion to watch them fulfill their promises.

Greater than the French advent is what I am suffering in this dis-
agreeable wilderness, with no regard for my advanced age, my known in-
firmities and my failing strength. . . . *

Bay of Santa Maria de Galve, February 19, 1699.

Your lordship, whose hands I kiss.
Your most humble servant.

Jayme Franck

23. The approach was made on the morning of January 29, the day after
Arriola had refused them permission to enter the bay. ("I have
express orders . . . to prevent the entrance of any foreign vessels
. . . I can frankly . . . assure Your Lordship . . . there is not
sufficient depth for [your vessels] . . .") As the boat party was seen
to be sounding the channel, Arriola sent an officer to order them
to retire. The leader of the sounding party was the notorious pirate
Laurent de Graaf, who had joined the French at Santo Domingo as
pilot and interpreter. Laurent replied to the order in good Spanish
and led his men back to the ships. After a council of war the
French decided to leave, and did so the next day. (See Dunn, 187-
189).

* The remainder of Franck's letter to the Secretary of the Council (several sheets)
is a detailed account of his sufferings and a plea to be relieved.
After more than a decade of explorations by Spain along the north and east shores of the Gulf of Mexico, a garrison has founded with all urgency at a bay called Pensacola* in the latter part of the year 1698 in an effort to keep other foreign powers, namely France and England, from obtaining a foothold in the region. These enemies of the Spanish dominions, so thought the Spaniards, would thus be obstructed from an area from which they could attack Spanish shipping and from which they would be able to penetrate and usurp portions of the northern Spanish colonies, principally Florida and the rich mining areas of New Spain. For the first two-score years of its existence, this bay with its garrison settlement was a much coveted prize for Spain’s rivals. Spain herself felt that such an outpost would give her command of the entire Mexican Gulf, although it was soon learned that other areas of the region could also be settled and fortified, as was done at Biloxi and Mobile by the French.

With the advent of Queen Ann’s War (known as the War of Spanish Succession in Europe: 1702-1713) and the unification afforded by alliance and the possession by both nations of Bourbon dynasties, much less rivalry obtained between the French and Spanish than between either country and the English. While the French continued to covet Pensacola for strategic and commercial reasons, originally thinking that the Mississippi River might empty there which would prove to be an outlet to the south for her Canadian colonies, some cooperation was exhibited with the Spanish on all levels. Indeed, local mutual assistance between Pensacola and the French settlements, particularly Mobile founded soon after Pensacola, was notable throughout the period, often saving the day for whichever colony might at the time be in need. As the years passed, following the close of Queen Ann’s War, French hostility increased, culminating in the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1719-1721) during which France twice captured the garrison settlement of Santa Maria de Galve.

* The name Pensacola, or Panzacola as the Spanish wrote it, came from a small Indian tribe that occupied the area (Swanton, 1952). Until the beginning of the 1720’s the Spaniards usually employed the phrase: Santa Maria de Galve, although the use of Panzacola was not unknown in these early years.
With the termination of this war in 1721, both Spain and France were well aware of their overestimation of the value of Pensacola; and England, with her emphasis on commerce and her general westward expansion, remained in effect the only contender for this area. At the same time, both Latin nations maintained their strong interest in constraining this expansion and labored to keep Pensacola out of British hands. The French returned to their previous practice of lending assistance to the Spanish presidio, while concentrating their energies more toward the west in the Louisiana colony in the area of the Mississippi. The Spaniards first attempted to scuttle the port by lowering the water level of the bay. When this ludicrous idea proved impossible, a small garrison was reestablished. In 1763 England finally had her way; winning the region, not by war but by treaty, only to lose it again after twenty years.

**The Settlement**

Once the establishment of the garrison settlement at Pensacola became permanent, it was confronted, as it was continually throughout its history, with such crucial problems as those of supplies and the maintenance and rehabilitation of fortifications; not to speak of the vicissitudes of storms, fires, and enemy Indian attacks. It proved to be a constant battle; indeed, the position of Pensacola was often slightly less than precarious. It was even more unfavorable than was that of Saint Augustine over on the east coast of the Province of Florida. * Saint Augustine had at least developed its own economy to some degree, with its tribute system through the mission chain in corn and other crops and some cattle raising, mainly in the Alachua and Apalache areas, although the latter were decimated in the year 1704 and never fully rehabilitated. Pensacola had virtually none of this, and it was situated on even less fertile soil than was Saint Augustine. It was, with little doubt, one of the most difficult of the posts in the Spanish system of frontier defenses.

At the root of many of Pensacola’s perennial problems were the climate, the configuration and infertility of the land, the quality of the personnel - often the majority of whom were convicts - and lastly the delays in subsidy shipments. To make it even

*While it is true that the entire area of North America north of New Spain was called Florida at one time, at this period administratively it was not a part of Florida: its garrison and subsidy were entirely separate from those of Saint Augustine and the Florida Province.*
worse, the presidio often did not even have an adequate vessel with which to communicate with its headquarters in New Spain, causing it to be almost entirely dependent upon the frequently sporadic arrival of ships from the home base. At times, the Pensacolans were forced to use French bottoms when it was necessary to send an urgent message to the New Spain officials.

Many of the Spaniards who served in the presidio reported the unfavorability of the climate and land of the surrounding area. The engineer Jaime Franck, one of the first, writing in June of 1700, remarked that these had been highly overrated and Pensacola would prove to be much too expensive. It would serve no other purpose than to waste the funds of the Royal Treasury, and to shorten the days of those unfortunate persons who would go to live in it. Furthermore, it would merely be of service to a greedy governor who would be in a position to pocket the money sent for salaries and for fortifications.

Two years later, Commander Don Francisco Martinez, complaining of the general conditions he was obliged to put up with, including the lack of defense, commented acidly on the “exorbitant expense” to the King of maintaining Pensacola and its subsidiary presidio, San Joseph. In 1714, the Viceroy, who had little use for Pensacola, wrote that this maintenance amounted to around 100,000 pesos annually, adding that, apart from the presidio’s lack of defensive value, its land was useless and it was constantly ravaged by sickness.

THE FORT

The wooden fort called San Carlos de Austria, a four-bastioned stockade with a parapet of sand fill, was a constant source of preoccupation. Statements from two men who knew the castillo in the beginning years provide both rather accurate prognostication of its subsequent history and excellent summary of the continual complaints that were to follow.

In June of 1700 when Franck was writing, the fort was already rotting, and its construction, which was still in process, was a task, in Franck’s opinion, that in effect would never be finished. The location of the fort was poor: it was dominated by the Barranca of Santo Tome and the strong winds constantly caused the sands to shift with detriment to the structure. Furthermore, it would be virtually useless for defense owing to the poor
quality of men employed to man the base. In any event, the available artillery in its location at that time was not sufficient to prevent enemy vessels from entering the bay. In December of 1702, the time of the English siege on Saint Augustine, with the fear that the hostilities might spread to Pensacola, Commander Don Francisco Martinez reported that the fort was hardly worth the name, consisting "solely of a quadrangle of logs which would serve only as a stopping-over place for the enemy."

The wide entrance into the bay posed a serious problem of defense, a problem that was never fully solved. It was frequently requested that at least a small fortification be put up at Punta de Siguenza in order to be able to better cover the area with the available fire power. This was a task, however, that was not effectuated until the latter part of 1718 and San Carlos remained almost the sole defensive structure of Pensacola until destroyed after its second capture by the French.

In 1712, Governor Salinas Varona asked that San Carlos itself be moved across the bay to Santa Rosa Island. Apart from the usual advantages to general defense, he also pointed out the advantage in water supply. On the mainland water holes could not be made in the sand near the shore because of the unceasing encroachments of the sea, a situation that reduced the supply the greater part of the year for San Carlos to that provided by one cistern. On the island there were eight small creeks of fresh water and sea-shore water holes could easily be sunk.

Although the fort was in constant disrepair, the vicissitudes undergone by the other buildings of the presidio were even worse. Fires were forever ravaging the structures. One of the worst conflagrations was that of November 23, 1704, in which the royal buildings, warehouses, guard house, and bread ovens were burned. The powder magazine was the only thing that escaped. Both the French at Mobile and the Viceroy of New Spain sent relief after this tragedy. One of the principal reasons for such disasters was the use of flimsy roofing material, palm thatch, which soon became dry and completely inflammable. Again, when enemy Anglophile Indians attacked in 1707, all buildings outside the fort were destroyed.

Sustenance

The garrison was supplied almost entirely from New Spain and shortages in provisions were frequent because of delays in
the shipments. At times, the ships bearing the needed victuals and munitions would be destroyed by storms and treacherous reefs. Not all provisions came from New Spain. Often the French settlement of Mobile, or some other, would furnish the presidio with enough to tide it over until the arrival of the subsidy ship, an arrangement that worked to the benefit of all concerned since as likely as not the French were the needy party when the Pensacola larders were relatively well stocked, and reciprocation was the procedure.

Occasionally supplies would come from other sources, as in the year 1700 when Saint Augustine sent some extra corn that it could spare, and in 1702 when the Pensacolans recurred to Apalache for the same product.

There was an attempt, however, to produce some foodstuffs locally. Jaime Franck in his report of June 4, 1700, complained of the sterility of the soil, as it consisted only of sand and some pine groves and would not produce either corn or wheat. For two consecutive years a field was sown in a large section of the forest that had been cleared away. Even with daily care and irrigation by some of the Indians and convicts, only a few radishes, cauliflower, melons, and squash were harvested. Nor was there a single fruit tree in the area, such as those found in New Spain or Apalache. Attempts to raise crops, nevertheless, were continued. In a plea for supplies from Salinas Varona, on July 15, 1713, it was stated that the need for food had been increased with the loss of the crops during the preceding two years.

Animal husbandry was also practiced to some slight extent. In the first decade after the founding reference to sheep raising is made and immediately preceding the end of the first Spanish occupation cattle come into the picture. Governor Don Miguel Roman de Castilla in the spring of 1761 reported that there were three haciendas (plantations) in the area which already had over fifteen head of cattle and that other (unstated) products of the soil had begun to be produced. These, he felt, within two to three years would afford enough meat to supply the entire presidio of Pensacola, possibly somewhat of an overstatement. The haciendas, San Antonio, La Luz, and Santisima Soledad, respectively seven, three, and two leagues distance from Pensacola, were destroyed together with the Indian towns of Punta Rasa and Escambe during the Talapoosa uprising of that same year.
Thus the settlement proved to be a continual drain on the Royal Treasury. The only economic return of the area was that of furnishing ships’ masts for the Spanish navy. The supply ships from New Spain the greater part of the time would return to their home port with cargoes of tree trunks.

**Garrison**

In the early years, the garrison was reported to consist of a total of 220 places (not all of which were necessarily filled). Don Francisco Martinez, in 1702, described this number as comprising one hundred and fifty infantrymen in two companies, twenty artillerymen and sailors, and fifty convicts for labor. The next year, Don Andres de Arriola advised that there were one hundred and ninety-three men to man the Pensacola base. However, another governor in 1708, Don Sebastian de Moscoso, during a period of intense Indian hostilities, reported that there were only a little over one hundred, many who did not have sufficient equipment, some not even swords. In 1713, two hundred and twelve places in the presidio were said to be filled, but these included twenty-five women.

These figures are fairly representative of the military population throughout the entire period. However, they do not indicate the total of the able-bodied defenders of the post as many men were constantly off from duty because of sickness, many died owing either to malnutrition or to enemy attacks, and others were captured by Indians, usually allies of the English. These conditions caused many men to desert; others merely rebelled, occasionally incited by their officers.

From the time of the founding, it was customary to recruit convicts for duty in Pensacola, either as soldiers or as laborers, and this situation was often one of the sharpest of the many thorns in the sides of her commanders. Arriola wrote in 1702 that because of this most of the men did not deserve to hold military posts. Two years earlier, Franck had written that the run of the men at Pensacola were not only a discredit to the Royal Arms, but that they were the greatest enemies of the Crown. The desertion rate was extremely high. However, because of the bad name of Pensacola in New Spain, it was virtually impossible to recruit volunteers.

In the early years, the plan was apparently to hold down these convicts, troops, or laborers, with regular infantry taken
from the armada. Later, even this practice was for the most part abandoned.

_Civilians_

Apart from the military population, there were non-military persons such as religious personnel and the aforementioned laborers. The latter, both convict and Indian, included such occupations as carpenters and blacksmiths. In 1704, three Franciscan chaplains were reported; in 1713, there was only one, a Frenchman who spoke very poor Spanish. In the early portion of the period the hospital was manned by the medico-friars of the order of San Juan de Dios, but apparently by 1713 there was not even one of these men left at the base to perform this valuable and needed service.

An interesting aspect of the history and growth of Pensacola at this time is that of the female population. When the presidio was first founded it consisted strictly of soldiers and convict labor. In the spring of 1704, Arriola found there four Spanish families, plus Tabaza, Chacato, and a few Apalachino Indians, who had come to Pensacola, driven from their homes in Apalache. Seemingly, there were no other women than those included in the above groups. Two years previously this had almost certainly been the case as he had implored the Viceroy to send women to the presidio owing to the unhealthiness of a large group of men without female companionship. This request was subsequently turned down for moral reasons on the grounds that one evil could not rectify another. By 1713, as referred to above, there were at least twenty-five women in the presidio, as these were listed as receiving subsidy. While the growth of their numbers is not continuous, over one hundred women were reported in August of the year 1760 by Governor Don Miguel Roman de Castilla during Indian hostilities. This is about the same number as given for the evacuation in 1763.

_An Informative Letter_

A letter, written less than two years after the founding of the presidio by a Captain of Infantry, Don Phelipe Serrano y Perea, recapitulates many of the background conditions there:
Sir,

It is not unknown that a person while lacking both the opportunity and energy to meet his obligations should recognize his indebtedness with the desire to satisfy them. Thus, Your Lordship, . . . while bearing in mind the wretchedness of this retreat and exile that the Senor Count of Montezuma, Viceroy of New Spain, has granted me in remuneration of my misfortunes. . . .

There was the principal reason why I was issued a special Royal Decree with a recommendation for one of the vacant positions in the Windward Fleet, and a second Decree conceding me compensation for the entire time I was held prisoner in France until the moment I was reinstated in the said Fleet . . . . When the occasion arose for the vacancy, I was obliged to accept duty in the austere solitude of the presidio of Santa Maria de Galve, alias Panzacola, as commander of one of the two infantry companies.

These companies are composed of troops of convicts and villainous men, who are such, as much because of their crimes as because of their character. There is no reason why this situation, which is not of my doing, should be to my detriment, and especially, when the French population is so proximate that we are only twenty-five leagues from it . . . . .

Not of less moment and consequence is the manner in which we here are supplied. At best, our daily ration has been eight ounces of bread, or corn, and another eight of meat, without any kind of vegetable or other sustenance than salt water to season it. At the time of payment of salaries, the two reals stipulated in the regulation of the amount of daily rations are stricken off completely without either having been eaten or drunk up. This, Sir, is not the worst. This amount is even reduced to the point of not granting it, as has happened during the starvations that this post has undergone from the time of its establishment; and, it has always been in need of this miserable ration. This has forced us to nourish ourselves with bitter acorns and tree roots which has been the source of so much sickness and death and has caused the entire kingdom of New Spain to hold this place in horror: it was first necessary to settle it in all its sterility, and now it has been consumately parched by the terror occasioned from the delayed measures for supplying it, plus worse provisioins that are sent with full knowledge that we have no other recourse in this wilderness.

Recourse was found only on one occasion, and among the very savages that inhabit it, which was not a little luck, at the beginning when we were obliged to gratify them in order to win their friendship and to instruct them in the Christian faith. The latter has been carried out with ease by our French neighbors by buying the Indians with gifts which we Spaniards did not have and for which reason we have never seen the aborigines again. Goodness knows that at the present we need their friendship, and it is solicited with all earnestness so that they will support us in the present situation, especially since the troops are stirred up and keep us ever watchful and vigilant. The latter, since they are convicts, are the greatest enemies we have here. If now, at the beginning, we are so close to the end, in what condition will we be afterwards?

All of these causes and reasons, Sir, force me to recur to the great commiseration of Your Lordship in order that, while you are reminded of my past misfortunes and of my deplorable remuneration for them in this wretchedness, I can prevail again upon the powerful protection of Your Lordship in order to free myself from this ruin. There is no just excuse to continue in this peril while being aware of the risk, moreover, when my grief is only increased by finding myself neither in the position nor place to be able to keep up my obligations to my mother and unmarried sisters. . . .

I place the matter of the relief from my position here in the hands of Your Lordship, as my Lord and as the person from whom I have
received so much and from whom I hope to receive more. Consequently, I feel at liberty to tell Your Lordship that my request is only to leave this exile with a good record for the purpose of continuing in the Royal Service in the Windward Fleet, whether it be a post granted by the authority of His Majesty or one with only the salary of a captain at half-pay . . . .

For this purpose I am remitting to Your Lordship the attached certification from the commander who at present governs this presidio as there are no Royal Treasury Officials. Thus, it will be evident that I am continuing to serve the position of Captain without a single supplement.

Of the positions of officers I must inform Your Lordship. Their creation by the Senor Viceroy was fruitless. The staff officers are a remarkable endproduct from whose income of Mexican monies an entire infantry regiment could be maintained besides the garrison. Moreover, these officers are scarcely in token possession of their positions, as in no way can they claim to serve any purpose for the defense of the presidio. The garrison was maintained previously at the order of the Chief Commander and his assistants. . . .

This is the extent of what I have to report to Your Lordship in compliance with my duty. May God protect Your Lordship the many years that He can, that I wish and deem necessary.

Santa Maria de Galve, October 24, 1700

My Dear Sir

Your Most Humble servant at your obedience

[signed] Don Phelipe Serrano y Perea

[rubric]

Senor Don Martin de Sierralta, My Lord.

During the early years after the founding Sergeant General Don Andres de Arriola was tireless in his work to build and maintain the presidio. On one of his many visits to the base to deliver the subsidy, after making some preliminary measurements, he called a meeting of the military officers to decide the question of a new fortification on Santa Rosa Island to complement the defenses of the fort San Carlos on the mainland. At this time, July 1701, he had with him his engineer officer, Don Juan de Siscara. The fortification was in effect decided upon by the officers with the exception of Siscara, who dissented.

This seems to be one of the many times Siscara disagreed with the practical Arriola who had little respect for the opinions of his engineer. The latter reported that a certain type of stone suitable for construction purposes was abundant in the area. Arriola, after inspecting it, stated that it was nothing more than “sand mixed with some clay” that disintegrated on contact with water.

On December 16, 1701, the Frenchman Iberville arrived in Pensacola on his way to settle and fortify Mobile Bay some twelve leagues to the west. With an exchange of notes, Sergeant Major Martinez, the officer left in command during Arriola’s many absences, requested that Iberville desist from carrying out the orders he carried from his government. The latter refused, stating
that the interests of his Crown were also those of the Spanish government. He did lend one of his ships to the Spaniards in order that they could advise the Viceroy in New Spain and receive instructions.

The presidio was, during this period, slowly being built up in the face of many setbacks. In 1701, Arriola had a hospital established and staffed it with two surgeon-friars whom he had brought with him from Veracruz, while repairing some of the batteries and rebuilding the guard house that had been damaged in the fire. The hospital was put up none too soon as the next year a severe epidemic broke out among the men on the voyage to the settlement in June. The sickness spread to the presidio, decimating the men. One of the friar-surgeons, Fray Joseph de Salazar, wrote of Arriola during the epidemic, stating that the latter on seeing the great lack of facilities for so many sick purchased a house of boards from one of the soldiers for additional hospital space. By the time of this writing, all the medicine was gone and the only cure possible was that of divine intervention. Salazar implored the Viceroy to send medicine, sheets, and pillows.

Such were the fortunes of Santa Maria de Galve during the first years. In 1707, the presidio was plagued with the very common maladies of short rations, faulty equipment, and sick, underpaid, underfed, and rebellious troops. On August 12, some twenty to thirty enemy Indians moved in on the outskirts of the camp outside of the fort and began to burn houses that belonged to friendly Ocataze Indians. A few of these were taken prisoners, including women and children. While the enemy was sacking some of the dwellings, Sergeant Major and Interim Governor Don Sebastian de Moscoso had one of the artillery pieces fired. In the confusion of the flight of the enemy, a sailor and an Indian captured previously at an outlying guard station, together with some of the Ocataze Indians, managed to escape to the castillo. The alert was sounded for the remainder of the night and the next day inspection patrols were sent out, but the enemy was not located.

The succeeding day ten men, including three convicts, disappeared while out a little distance from the fort washing clothes. On the third day following, a troop of some three hundred Indians attacked the castillo and put the garrison to battle for a period of three hours. Twenty-four hours later the enemy hit again, utilizing the standing buildings for cover while firing and sacking
the houses. Eventually they retired, taking with them the four horses that belonged to the presidio, plus clothing and other movables filched from the dwellings.

Shots were again exchanged with the Indians on the 18th and more enemy appeared on the scene carrying an English flag which they placed on one of the houses within sight of the fort. Moscoso again caused an artillery piece to be fired, an event that only excited the enemy and intensified the battle until nightfall. The Indians then set fire to the camp outside the castillo which was reduced to ashes.

On the 19th the camp site was inspected for salvage during which time the harrassing natives managed to take one prisoner, following this up with a like capture the next day. With this last episode the assault let up, although rumor had it during the month of September that the enemy was returning. On this account, eight Apalachinos fled the presidio, and the next month a number of persons, Spanish and Indian, were captured while out some distance from the protection of the fort where they would go to bathe and to wash clothes.

Then, on the 27th of November, there appeared in front of the castillo an Indian band, including some forty horses, accompanied by several Englishmen. The Spaniards were sent a demand for complete surrender, which they emphatically refused. Around dusk the stockade was besieged by the English and their some two hundred Indian allies. The battle pitch increased with the onset of darkness, the strongest point of the offense being placed at the barranca of the sea side. This attack lasted the rest of the night.

The succeeding day the same two Englishmen, who had gone to the fort the day before, reappeared with the same message which in turn elicited a similar response on the part of the Spaniards. Moscoso, with the intention of fighting it out, then put himself to the task of making a thorough inspection of his defenses. The most appalling thing was the few able-bodied troops he had at his disposal: many men died in the preceding few months and the majority of those remaining were suffering from one kind of malady or another. He issued a plea to the non-combatant convicts to take up arms to assist the military, offering them their freedom when hostilities were over. They gave their assent and were distributed arms. During the afternoon a few
shots were exchanged, killing one Spaniard; three more were wounded that evening.

On November 29, a few skirmishes took place, and on the 30th one of the men captured the previous month while out cutting wood returned with a message from the English to the effect that the latter were giving up the fight.

One week later, Monsieur de Bienville arrived from Mobile with over one-hundred reinforcements, tardy but not unwelcome. This was the last relatively large scale Indian attack reported for some time, although minor skirmishes did occur, and occasionally men would disappear. On June 3, 1708, Moscoso recounted that he had not undergone another actual attack, but a few roving bands had been sighted and one ensign, who later escaped, had been captured in March while hunting with some Indians, plus two convicts who disappeared the same day.

These hostilities loom large in the local history of Pensacola. During the year 1712, the governor Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona reported that the presidio had been besieged by Indians, once in March which lasted the greater part of the month, when the French governor at Mobile offered his assistance with supplies, arms, and munitions. Enemy Indians attacked at least twice again but, fortunately, had not made another appearance by January of the following year.

At this time, 1713, Salinas was still short subordinate officials to assist him. There was no Sergeant Major, a post second in rank only to the governor. One commanding officer had been captured in the company of twenty-four soldiers and convicts who were out on a wood-cutting detail. Three of these men, in addition to a friar, were killed. This loss made the defense of Pensacola almost impossible. Moreover, the remaining lesser officials were worse than the soldiers they commanded; they constantly incited the men, oftentimes to request the impossible.

As he and other governors before him had done, Salinas Varona in the spring of 1717 renewed his plea for a small fortification at Punta de Siguencia, French activity in the Gulf region was increasing and an unidentified ship had arrived at Pensacola and had indulged in some reconnaissance. This would not have been possible with the oft-requested defense work on the tip of Santa Rosa Island. He also urged that more Spanish vassals be settled in the area.
Salinas’ fear of French encroachments was not ill-founded. A year later, on May 12, 1718, the French occupied St. Joseph’s Bay. In the same year they founded New Orleans. Then on May 13, 1719, a French force from Mobile captured the small battery at Punta de Siguencia on Santa Rosa Island that had been established only a few months before. An officer with some soldiers dispatched from San Carlos that day were also taken prisoners. On the following day the Spaniards on the mainland could descry three ships bearing French flags which began to fire on the fort. The ensuing battle lasted about three hours but the Iberians, under a new commander, Don Juan Pedro Matamoros de Isla, could not resist the French forces and were obliged to capitulate. It was then that the Spaniards received their first notice of the war between France and Spain that had broken out in Europe in January.

News of the loss of the fort, and with it Pensacola, was received by the Viceroy on June 29 from Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona, who had been recently transferred to the governorship of St. Joseph’s Bay, and preparations were immediately begun to ready an expedition to retake the base. In the early part of July, fifteen ships sailed from Havana under the command of Don Alfonso Carrascosa de la Torre, on an expedition in the Royal Service. Soon after departure, this force captured two French frigates on their way to Havana to deposit the governor, officers, and troops of the captured Pensacola. Carrascosa then returned to Havana where it was decided to change his fleet’s original destination to Pensacola. He sailed July 19, his forces augmented by the extra assistance sent by the Viceroy. He had with him some 1,200 troops, including one hundred and fifty men from the Pensacola garrison.

This expedition arrived in Pensacola on August 14, 1719. The day was calm and Carrascosa entered the bay, disembarking one hundred men at Punta de Siguencia. He then proceeded to surround the castillo of San Carlos and the ships anchored in the bay. As the Spaniards commenced firing, the enemy abandoned its two frigates, scuttling them by fire. One was saved, although the flames consumed the other, and the some one hundred and twenty men who escaped from the vessels retired to the castillo, thereby augmenting that garrison. Artillery fire continued until
six o’clock that evening. Carrascosa demanded capitulation, conceding the French until ten o’clock the next morning to decide. They gave up, and Don Juan Pedro Matamoros was back in the governorship. The captured French garrison numbered three hundred and fifty, of which forty deserted to the Spanish. The remainder were sent to Havana.

But the French were soon to retake the presidio, and not to relinquish actual possession until late in 1722 when they returned it to Spain as part of the articles of peace of the War of the Quadruple Alliance.

_Punta de Siguenza_

Don Alejandro Wauchope was chosen to repossess Pensacola this second time. He departed from San Juan de Ulua, New Spain, on November 10, 1722, with three ships: a frigate, a packet-boat, and a sloop, arriving at his destination on the 25th. The next day, Wauchope went ashore where he encountered the French Infantry Lieutenant, Jean Baptiste Rebue and the seventeen soldiers under his command, plus the only shelter left that also doubled as the fortification, a miserable hut. Here Wauchope received official possession of Pensacola, including the artillery, munitions, and other military supplies.

He carried with him the ridiculous orders mentioned above to determine the feasibility of making a cut across Santa Rosa Island which would drain and thereby lower the water level of the bay sufficiently to close off the entrance to large vessels of war. If this were not practicable, a fort was to be constructed at Punta de Siguenza, to be manned by one hundred and fifty men, comprising infantry and artillery. The garrison of San Joseph was to be transferred to the new Pensacola.

Wauchope in studying the defense possibilities of Punta de Siguenza, found it completely useless to fortify as it was “a low spot of extremely loose sand, full of marshes and besides, on digging to a depth of two palms, water is encountered that issues forth as a spring.” Not only this: in foul weather the sea washed completely over the location. A fort could feasibly be built farther from the shore but this would render it virtually useless for defense. He picked a spot, about one-half a mile from the site originally planned for the castillo, and which enjoyed the protection of the first trees of the island. The best fortification would
be a quadrangular fort with a total of forty-eight cannon, one-half to be 18-pounders and the remainder 12-pounders, manned by three hundred places, rather than the one hundred and fifty carried in his orders. Investigation was also made regarding possible materials for construction since the sand was too loose to support such heavy materials as tabby, brick, or stone. Moreover, stone, if used, would have to be brought in from Havana. Wood, felt Wauchope, would be satisfactory as it was to be found in relative abundance and of such quality that it would endure for years, wet or dry, above or below ground.

He also recommended another fort, opposite Punta de Siguenza on the mainland but not at the location of the old San Carlos because the latter had been dominated by sand dunes and the sea had undermined it. The site he suggested, situated on the dune named “El Almirante” (one of those that had dominated the old fort) would afford a great advantage in warding off any enemy ship that might attempt the entrance of the bay.

Wauchope sent his ships to the Bay of San Joseph to fetch the garrison there, which returned with Captain Pedro Primo de Rivera and sixty soldiers, plus artillery, supplies, cables, and bark. A few days earlier, a French launch had arrived at the presidio to transport the troops of the previous owners to their own territory.

Despite recent hostilities, relationships with the French were again quite excellent. But by this date Wauchope had received orders from the Viceroy for the Spanish to cease intercourse with their Gallic neighbors for fear of the illicit trade that might (in all probability, would) take place. He later confirmed these orders in a plea to keep the presidio well supplied, stating that the entire French policy was “to introduce trade under any pretext and to return home with the proceeds.” He emphasized the necessity to keep adequate food on hand, since many times in the past Pensacola “would have been abandoned had it not been for French aid.”

In January, two sloops, sent from New Spain, arrived in Pensacola with four months’ supplies for two hundred men and four salary payments, sufficient to include the men from San Joseph. In early February, he decided to depart, taking with him eighty-four persons, including men, women, and children, of the
people left over from St. Joseph’s. Twenty eight more persons were left for the frigate to transport later to Veracruz. Wauchope set sail for the latter port on February 13.

The Settlement on Santa Rosa Island

Alejandro Wauchope had arrived in Pensacola on November 25, 1722. By February 13 of the following year the new settlement planned on Santa Rosa Island had begun to take shape. At this time it was reported that there had already been built a warehouse forty feet long, twenty feet wide, and twenty feet high from cedar boards and nails from Veracruz; a powder box made of the same material fifteen feet long, ten wide, and five high, covered with hides; a paymaster’s office of the material from Veracruz, twenty feet long, nine wide, and nine high; two barracks, each forty feet long, eighteen wide, and eight high, constructed of the same material except for the roofs which were brought in from San Joseph; a house for Captain Pedro Primo de Rivera, twenty feet long, ten wide, and ten high, made of boards from San Joseph and nails from Veracruz; a powder magazine ten feet long, eight wide, and eight tall, constructed of boards from San Joseph; twenty-four small buildings built also of San Joseph material, roofed with bark, for the dwellings of the workmen, convicts, and other persons of the populace; eight large houses for the top officers; a cook oven for bread; and a look-out of thirty-seven cubits in height, built between two trees with steps leading up to it. Such was the shape that the new Pensacola was taking at Punta de Siguenza where so often before it had been requested to put up at least a small defensive work.

Thus the Pensacola on Santa Rosa Island remained until the year 1752 when on November 3 it was almost entirely destroyed by a severe hurricane. Little is known of its history during these long years. No doubt the day-by-day story was similar in its broad outlines to that which has been reviewed to this point. Following this storm, some of the inhabitants moved to the blockhouse of San Miguel which stood several miles up the bay from the old fort of San Carlos; the rest remained on Santa Rosa where they threw up another blockhouse some little distance from the site of the old Punta de Siguenza.
PENSACOLA ON SANTA ROSA ISLAND. A.D. 1743. Drawn by Dom Serres.

View from the north. 1. Fort. 2. Church. 3. Governor's house.
4. Commandant's house. 5. A well. 6 A bungo.)
Then, in the early part of 1757, a new governor, Don Miguel Roman de Castilla y Lugo, after a shipwreck on the French island of Massacre, arrived and took over the place of San Miguel which was to become the new presidio of Pensacola.

On August 26 word was received from Monsieur de Bell, the French commander at Mobile, that the pagan Talapoosa Indians were moving up to attack Pensacola and Santa de Apalache, irate over the killing of one of their caci the latter place. Pensacola did not yet have a stockade the Santa Rosa garrison had been moved to the mainland; the effective troops were greatly reduced by disease, and there was little powder and few fire-arms - the warehouse possessed a scant thirty extra flints. With this news, a number of defensive measures were taken.

Since there was no adequate fort when Roman de Castilla arrived, he had given orders for a stockade to be erected. This had not yet been carried out, although wood was being cut some eight leagues away. While waiting for the lumber to arrive, Roman ordered set up three batteries for which he readied eleven swivel guns and fourteen cannons, mounted on almost unserviceable carriages, dispersing five advanced batteries of two cannon each on the perimeter. The troops numbered one hundred and fifty men, including sergeants, corporals, and sailors, and twenty-five civilians.

He wrote the French commander at Mobile to send thirty to forty Indians to join the natives of Escambe in an attempt to obstruct the enemy at a place called Xarea. He also asked for an armourer to come and repair the Spanish arms. The French denied the request for the Indians, stating that they did not wish to offend the other indigenous nations involved.

A portion of the lumber for the stockade arrived and the area for a fort with four semi-bastions was marked out, comprising within its confines a church, warehouse, barracks, hospital, houses, and a few other buildings. The two sides of the fort that protected the east and the north were finished at one hundred and thirty-three varas and one hundred and ninety two varas * respectively.

In September, the Franciscan missionary from the pueblo of Punta Rasa arrived, accompanied by some of the Indians of his

*Approximately 33 inches.
flock, with the report that a large body of the enemy was on its way to Pensacola. On the 18th, word was received from Apalache that the Talapoosas were laying siege to that place. Aid was requested and Roman replied with a shipment of food.

Andres Escudero, a trusted Indian cacique who had been sent to the Talapoosas, returned on October 10 with the report that this enemy had changed its mind about attacking Pensacola. Roman, who considered the Indians highly untrustworthy, decided that work on the stockade must be continued immediately. This was finished by the 15th with the exception of the section that fronted on the sea.

In April, 1758, over one-hundred Talapoosas and Apiscas came to Pensacola to affirm the peace. Together these two groups elected Escudero as the Governor General of their newly formed provinces, Roman assenting as he felt that the arrangement would offer good control of these new subjects. Some of the caciques were granted the Spanish title of *Capitan de Guerra*; the head chief was given that of *Capitan Comandante*.

Roman de Castilla on April 18 commented on his own satisfaction with this peace settlement. The Talapoosa tribe was one of the most feared on the continent; they occupied the area between the French at Mobile and the Spanish territory to the east, constituting a wedge to the north. In effect, he reported to the Viceroy, now that such a fierce nation had allied itself with the Spanish cause, the latter’s relations with the French and English would be greatly improved. Roman exhorted his superior to augment supplies as, in order to maintain peace, it would be necessary to make proper and adequate distribution of gifts, corn, and chile. It was, however, not a year later when Roman complained that the lack of provisions at Pensacola with which to favor the Indians made the continuance of the peace extremely difficult. The fort, no longer on the island, could easily be reached by the Indians should they decide to go on the warpath.

Peace did reign, nevertheless, for the following three years. During this time, according to Roman, Spanish jurisdiction was extended to over thirty leagues from Pensacola, aggregating two Indian pueblos to the Spanish government which were located in such favorable areas that they would easily serve as buffers against heathen Indians. Three haciendas were developed, and the pueblos of Punta Rasa and Escambe made good progress.

Then, on February 2, 1761, the Alibama Indians hit the town of Punta Rasa with a surprise attack. Three soldiers, a
woman, and one small girl were killed. On the 9th the light cavalry unit stationed at Escambe was also attacked. From this point the enemy moved on to Pensacola, destroying the haciendas and burning the dwellings and towns of the Spanish Indian allies. Seven persons were lost, including four workers and one soldier, murdered practically in plain sight of the presidio; movement was restricted to an area a cannon shot away from the fort.

The uprising was general. A message was sent to the Tala-poosas but by May no answer had been received. There were barely one hundred and twenty men in garrison at Pensacola, most of these useless, and it had been necessary to call back from Punta Rasa twenty artillerymen and forty-three cavalrymen, only nineteen of the latter who were properly outfitted. The Indians from Escambe and Punta Rasa were moved in to the castillo, but only some twenty-five men were able-bodied enough to be pressed into service. The cavalry was employed to escort the inhabitants to a nearby creek for water and to patrol the area immediately adjacent to the castillo; there were scarcely enough men left to man the four semi-bastions and the artillery, leaving the curtains almost defenseless. It almost goes without saying that all kinds of supplies and munitions were short.

Roman managed to get the wives of some of the officers out of the presidio to Havana and other places and lamented the fact that he had no other safe place to put the over one hundred remaining women with a like number of children. To make matters worse, on August 12 of the previous year, Pensacola had been struck by a severe hurricane that damaged or destroyed almost all the buildings of the presidio; the populace was living in extreme discomfort.

Roman de Castilla also felt that the most effective defense of the presidio was hampered by the system prevailing at that time regarding the infantry and cavalry. He had objected strongly to the reform introduced in 1757 to reduce the two hundred man garrison by fifty men and with this number to form a light cavalry unit.

A new governor, Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, was commissioned in 1761 to go to Pensacola to put down the Indian uprising begun earlier that year. He took possession on October 21. The place was in shambles. The troops had been practically unquartered as the barracks had had no roofs since the hurricane of the previous year; there had been many Indian hostilities; and the men under the previous command had sometimes been mistreated.
One other charge concerning a practice current throughout the period and much of the Spanish Indies was that of illicit trade. Roman had indulged in this type of activity. Indeed, soon after Ortiz arrived a ship from the English house of William Walton in New York arrived at the presidio to trade, expecting to find, apparently, the two persons with whom they had dealt with one time previously, Governor Don Miguel Roman and the Paymaster, Don Juan de Ituarte. Ortiz seized the ship and held it in custody. At the time Ortiz was writing, there were fourteen small stores, privately owned and with slight stocks, but with excessive prices. Roman, it was known, had also possessed a store of his own from which he dispensed goods, drinks, and comestibles.

For the next two-year period, under the governorship of Ortiz Parrilla, the Pensacolans endeavored to rebuild and to develop the presidio. When the British took over in 1763, after the sign-of the Treaty of Paris, they were quite unimpressed. The fort was in poor condition, possessing forty-four pieces of artillery of miscellaneous sizes, and the woods had been allowed to grow too close to the structure, a potential impediment to adequate defense. Since the 1761 attacks, the Indian pueblo of Punta Rasa had remained within the confines of the presidio. Almost all the buildings encountered by the English had been built during Ortiz’ term.

Upon consumating the transfer to the British, and with some delay owing to efforts to obtain enough transports, Ortiz sailed from the presidio with somewhat less than eight hundred evacuees, including over one hundred Christian Indians, plus their movable effects. A few of the people went to Havana; the majority departed for Veracruz where they arrived in September of 1763.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


I am indebted to the Saint Augustine Historical Society for a portion of the research time for this article.
PENSACOLA IN THE BRITISH PERIOD:
SUMMARY AND SIGNIFICANCE
by CECIL JOHNSON

THE DOCUMENTED story of Pensacola in the British period has already been written by competent historians and much of it has been published in this Quarterly. The purpose of this writer is not to do again a job that has already been well done; rather, this is a brief account of British Pensacola with significant aspects of its history while it was the capital of the short-lived and ill-fated English royal province of West Florida; and this with a minimum of documentation and other scholarly impediments to the layman's enjoyment of reading.

West Florida came into existence as a political entity through provisions of the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763. This famous document reveals plans of the British ministry to deal with some of the problems which confronted it at the conclusion of the Seven Years War. The most prolific writer on British Pensacola (and West Florida) is C. N. Howard who has published the following articles in the Florida Historical Quarterly: "The Military Occupation of British West Florida," XVII (1938-39), 181-197; "Governor Johnstone in West Florida," ibid., pp. 281-303; "Colonial Pensacola: The British Period," XIX (1940-1941), 109-127, 246-269, 368-398. In the Louisiana Historical Quarterly, he has published, "The Interval of Military Government & West Florida," XXI (1938), 18-30; and in the Journal of Southern History, "Some Economic Aspects of British West Florida, 1763-1768," VI 1940, 201-221. Finally there is his valuable monograph, The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1947).

Additional articles in the Florida Historical Quarterly are W. H. Siebert, "The Spaniards Evacuate Pensacola in 1763," XI (1932-33), 48-57; and George C. Osborn, "Major-General John Campbell in West Florida," XXVII (1948-49), 311-339. In the Mississippi Valley Historical Review are found two articles by Clarence Edwin Carter: "Some Aspects of British Administration in West Florida," I (1914-15), 364-375, and "The Beginnings of British West Florida," IV (1917-18), 314-341. John W. Caughhey, Bernado de Galvez in Louisiana, (Berkeley, 1934), is a full length biography of the conquerer of West Florida; it contains a good account of the siege of Pensacola based largely on Spanish documents. Another book of an earlier vintage deserves mention: Richard L. Campbell, Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida (Cleveland, 1892), devotes considerable attention to Pensacola and gives many interesting touches. There are other valuable books and articles relating to West Florida, too numerous to mention here. The volume mentioned below has a bibliography that was reasonably complete at the time of publication. In preparing this article the writer has leaned heavily - sentences, paragraphs, pages - on his British West Florida, 1763-1783 (New Haven, 1943).
of the French and Indian War and the diplomatic negotiations which followed. Among these problems were, the need for quieting the Indians and reassuring them in regard to their lands, demands of colonists for new areas of settlement, and the administration and defense of the imperial domain which had been so recently wrested from France and Spain.

West Florida was only one of four colonies created by the proclamation. It included territory which had formerly belonged to Spanish Florida and to French Louisiana and some which Georgia might have claimed under the Charter of 1732. It was composed of the southern halves of the present states of Alabama and Mississippi, the southeastern fraction of Louisiana, and the northwestern portion of Florida. Its boundaries were: the Gulf of Mexico on the south, Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas, the Iberville River and the Mississippi River to the thirty-first parallel of north latitude on the west; this parallel on the north; and the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola rivers on the east. The northern boundary was subsequently raised to a line drawn due east from the confluence of the Yazoo and Mississippi rivers, or approximately to thirty-two degrees and twenty-eight minutes, north latitude. The province was roughly rectangular in shape, Spanish Pensacola and French Mobile were the only settlements of any significance, though Biloxi had in an earlier period been of some importance.

The government of West Florida was prescribed in a general way by the Proclamation of 1763, and in great detail by the royal commission and instructions issued each civil governor. This proclamation with the commission and instructions has been aptly characterized by one writer as the constitution of West Florida. Here it is sufficient to say that the government, generally speaking, was that of the usual royal or crown colony with an executive composed of a governor, lieutenant governor, and council appointed from England; a bicameral legislature of which the council was the upper house and an elected assembly, the lower; and a judiciary headed by a royally appointed chief justice which borrowed its characteristic parts and procedures from the mother country. In one respect, however, West Florida differed from the usual royal colony: the civil establishment was supported by an annual appropriation from Parliament. This grant, made necessary by the frontier character of the
colony and its sparse population, made the governor independent of the legislature but did not prevent the quarrels between the executive and the assembly which so frequently occurred in the English colonies.

This then was the colony of British West Florida of which Pensacola was to serve as capital.

The story of the Spanish evacuation of Pensacola is told in the correspondence between its governor, Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, and his superior, Lieutenant General Count De Ricla, commandant in Cuba. 2 The entire population of Pensacola at this time was less than eight hundred souls including three small detachments of soldiers and their dependents, more than a hundred convicts, a similar number of Catholic Indians, a small group of officials and their families, and slightly more than a hundred citizens or civilians, only seventeen of whom were listed as adult males. In the late summer and early fall of 1763, this entire group, with the exception of Don Carlos Ricardos who remained to look after the cargo of a vessel which had gone aground, was transported at government expense presumably to Veracruz or Havana. Most of their real property had been disposed of to British subjects.

Meanwhile the British military occupation of Pensacola had taken place. Under orders from Major General William Keppel at Havana, Lieutenant Colonel Augustin Prevost arrived at Pensacola on August 6 with the third battalion of the Royal American Regiment. Governor Parrilla, acting on orders already received from Count De Ricla, immediately surrendered the post to Prevost and pushed plans for the evacuation and departure of his garrison, an operation which was delayed by lack of transports and the necessity of loading numerous stores.

The accounts which British officers gave of Pensacola were far from flattering. The town consisted of about one hundred huts. According to Prevost, “The country from the insufferable laziness of the Spaniards remains still uncultivated, the woods are close to the village, and a few hawltry [paltry] gardens show the only improvements. The climate is not healthy, the soil around the village though sandy is able to produce vegetables; further back the country is good and capable of improvement -

but years and a number of industrious settlers can only make a change on the face of the colony. Stock they have none, being entirely supplied from Mobile. . . . Game is extremely plenty in the woods and the sea supplies quantities of fish of different sorts and kinds.” Major William Forbes, who arrived with the 35th Regiment on November 30, commented on the dilapidation of the fort, the inadequacy of the barracks composed of “bark huts without any sort of fire places or windows, void of every necessary utensil.” Both officers spoke feelingly of the unpleasant necessity of supplying visiting Indians with food and presents.

A modern writer has thus pictured Pensacola and its harbor at the beginning of the British period:

Pensacola in 1763 was a small village consisting of about one hundred huts encircled by a stockade. It was situated on the northern shore of a very large harbor approximately ten miles from the sea. The entrance of the harbor was somewhat difficult of navigation for inexperienced pilots because the long island of Santa Rosa formed a breakwater across the mouth of the harbor scarcely four fathoms deep, at the extreme western end. This channel twisted like the bend of the letter S. Bayous and lagoons with sand-barred mouths lay on either side of the bay. Upon the point of Santa Rosa on the eastern shore of the harbor’s entrance was a small square stockaded fort with two guns in it, which the Spaniards had maintained rather as a signal than as an actual defense.  

The military administration was brought to an end in the fall of 1764 by Governor George Johnstone who arrived in Pensacola on October 21. This first civil governor of West Florida was a Scotchman. Though less than thirty-five years of age, he had already acquired a reputation for vigor and gallantry through service in the Royal Navy in which he had attained the rank of post captain by 1762. However, various duels and brawls in which he had been involved gave him a name for contentiousness and controversy which must have been considerably enlarged as a result of his actions in West Florida. On his return to England after his recall in 1767, he served for many years in Parliament where he was regarded as something of an authority on American affairs. In 1778 he was a member of

the Carlisle Commission in its fruitless efforts to conciliate the colonies. In characteristic fashion he became involved in a controversy which caused the Continental Congress to adopt a caustic declaration refusing to deal further with him. Such was the man who would institute civil government in the new British colony.

Johnstone set about his duties with energy and dispatch. He took the numerous required oaths at the first meeting of his council on November 24, and administered the required oaths to the councilors. He commissioned a number of local civil officers either on his own authority as governor or by virtue of warrants from England under the sign manual and signet.

He issued a blanket commission appointing all members of the council, and nineteen other residents justices of the peace. These officers were empowered to bind persons over by imprisonment or bond to keep the peace. Two of them acting together, one of whom must belong to a select group known as the “quorum,” might try offenses against the laws of England and the province; but when the life of a man was involved, the case was to be referred to a higher tribunal. A short time later a commission was issued establishing a general court of pleas to meet quarterly in Pensacola with procedure modeled after that of English courts. A vice-admiralty court was set up to deal with maritime cases.

The question of land in Pensacola presented a problem. The Spaniards on departing had sold their holdings to several Britishers described as speculators. The governor and council refused to recognize the titles thus obtained though some consideration was given to these claims. Elias Durnford, provincial surveyor, was directed to draw up a plan for the town of Pensacola. He subsequently brought in a diagram which, after reserving certain sections for official purposes, divided the remainder of the land into lots eighty by one hundred and sixty feet, to each of which was attached a garden lot bordering on the rivulet which flowed by the north side of the town. The council prescribed the conditions under which the lots should be granted. An annual quit-rent of six English pence was levied on each town lot. Each grantee must enclose his plot with a five-foot fence within eigh-

teen months and must build within two years a tenantable house, not smaller than fifteen by thirty feet with at least one brick chimney. We will not assume that these conditions were usually met. A council minute gives an interesting suggestion as to the kind of house sometimes erected: “Read a petition from David Dewary praying for said lot No. 31. Granted said petition, he engaging to His Excellency and the Honorable Council to raise a house upon it by tomorrow night.”

For the purpose of receiving grants, petitioners were divided into five groups. The first was composed of those who were entitled to preference because of claims of purchase from the Spanish. Fourteen persons in this group were granted a total of twenty-six lots. In the second class were the holders of official positions. To the five in this group, a total of six lots was granted. In the third category were those whom the council thought most able to improve their grants. Fifteen members of this group received nineteen lots. Membership in the fourth and fifth classes was also determined on the basis of ability to improve the land, the most impecunious being placed in the latter class. There were sixty-two grantees and an equal number of lots in the fourth class, and fifty-six grantees and fifty-five lots in the fifth.

Governor Johnstone interested himself in the intriguing activity of persuading the inhabitants of southern Louisiana, who were thought to be unhappy over the prospect of Spanish rule, to immigrate to West Florida. Soon after his arrival in Pensacola, he sent Lieutenant Alexander Maclellan to New Orleans to encourage this project. Though Maclellan sent back an optimistic report, the movement never reached large proportions, probably because of the unexpected mildness of the Spanish administration.

Johnstone’s active mind envisaged a waterway from the Gulf of Mexico to the Mississippi by way of the Rigolets, Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas and the Iberville River. Such a route would by-pass New Orleans and be under English control. Though the project was widely discussed and actually attempted, it was doomed to failure by the fact that the Iberville was not a true river but an effluent of the Mississippi with water too shallow for navigation except when the Mississippi was high.
The governor had great responsibilities in regard to the Indians with whom he was to maintain friendly relations, set up trade arrangements, and negotiate for cessions of land for white settlement. In early 1764 he held a formal congress with the Choctaws and Chickasaws at Mobile, and in May and June he held a similar meeting with the Creeks in Pensacola. This tribe, with its Upper and Lower divisions, contained an estimated 3,600 fighting men.

Johnstone was aided in his negotiations by John Stuart, British Indian Superintendent for the southern district of North America, and Sir William Barnaby of the Royal Navy who happened to be in Pensacola at the time. The most influential chief present was The Mortar, on whom the English were anxious to make a good impression. The proceedings were conducted with great formality. The Mortar had requested that the governor and superintendent meet him and his warriors at the gate of the town but they, perhaps not completely convinced of the pacific nature of his intentions, sent word that it was their “constant custom to receive Indians in the council chamber under the great king’s picture.” The Indians, therefore, came into the town and were greeted by a discharge of great guns. They gave Johnstone and Stuart each a white wing as an emblem of peace and friendship from the whole nation. “Sir William Barnaby, the Governor and Superintendent were saluted with and fanned by eagle’s tails.”

Notwithstanding these friendly gestures the meeting was not signally successful. The Indians were almost insolent in their demands for presents, they objected to some of the proposals for regulating trade and they were very miserly in the land they agreed to give up. However, a better note was sounded when The Mortar and three other leaders of the Upper Creeks were made Great Medal Chiefs, and three leaders of the Lower Creeks were given Small Medals as evidence of their friendly attitude toward the English. It is well to point out here that Johnstone’s relations with the Creeks were not good and his eventual recall came in part because he was alleged to have started unauthorized hostilities with these Indians.

One of the principal endeavors of Johnstone was to tap the lucrative Spanish trade. Pensacola with its fine harbor and proximity to Spanish settlements in Mexico, Central America,
A PLAN of the FORT at PENSACOLA.
and the West Indies was very favorably located for distributing to the Spanish, articles of British manufacture and receiving in return silver, gold, and valuable tropical raw materials which would not compete with products of the English colonies.

Such a commerce in British bottoms was legal from the standpoint of the English navigation laws but was illegal under the Spanish laws and consequently extremely hazardous. When the trade was carried on in Spanish ships, though such a practice was contrary to both Spanish and English trade laws, it was less risky for the English; and inasmuch as it was in perfect accord with two cardinal tenets of mercantilism: namely, that of disposing of goods of British manufacture, and that of obtaining desirable raw materials, it was thought that the enforcement of the English laws might be relaxed.

The officers of the navy, however, were not inclined to allow this trade. On several occasions they turned back Spanish ships which were said to be anxious to exchange Spanish dollars for English goods. The scarcity of hard money in the province rendered these actions especially grievous. Though Johnstone put the matter emphatically before the home authorities, he was not able to get a sanction for this commerce and Pensacola never became the emporium that some of the merchants and officials had hoped and expected.

Pensacola, as the seat of government, was the scene for the meeting of the West Florida assembly the first session of which convened, in response to a summons by Governor Johnstone, on November 3, 1766. This body, as already suggested, contained an upper house which was composed of the governor’s council and a lower house whose members were chosen by the electors of Pensacola, nearby Campbell Town, and Mobile. Though small in numbers, the lower house regarded itself as a miniature House of Commons; with an elected speaker and carefully worked out rules of order, it had a high sense of its dignity and importance. Johnstone’s relations with the assembly were good but some of his successors were to encounter the recalcitrance which was found in many of the colonial legislatures of the period.

Not a little of Johnstone’s time and energy were consumed in fruitless and seemingly unnecessary quarrels with officers of the West Florida Military establishment. The frontier conditions of the province with the proximity of the Spanish and Indians
made strong garrisons essential to its welfare and development. The sparsity of population and its concentration in Pensacola and Mobile, the seats of military posts, made inevitable some conflict between the civil and the military unless the governor were a man of tact and diplomacy. These were two qualities in which Johnstone seemed to be entirely lacking. He was bellicose and litigious by nature and determined that not one of the governor's prerogatives, as set forth in the formal phrases of his commission or as construed from a broad interpretation of this document, should be infringed upon.

It may have been that his background as a naval officer was a factor in his controversies with the military. Be that as it may, he quarreled violently with Captain Robert Mackinen, Major Robert Farmar, Captain Andrew Simpson, Lieutenant Colonel Ralph Walsh and others over such matters as command of the garrison, the keys of the fort, sentinels at the governor's house and respect due the governor, who should entertain a visiting Indian chief, or on what day the king's birthday should be celebrated. Twice Johnstone summoned military detachments from Mobile to strengthen his hand in Pensacola and on one occasion, amid scenes of great confusion, he himself executed a warrant for the arrest of the commander of the Pensacola garrison.

A sidelight on Johnstone's attitude is given in a biting comment from a letter written by an officer to General Thomas Gage, Commander-in-Chief for North America. Concerning the governor he remarked, "When madmen are sent out, it would be a proper precaution to send keepers and chains with them." The official records contain literally hundreds of documents which relate to these controversies. These unhappy disputes also served to divide the civil population into antagonistic groups and to cause a breach between Johnstone and the chief justice and the attorney general, both of whom the governor suspended from office.

On February 19, 1767, Lord Shelburne, British Secretary of State, wrote Johnstone that the king, dissatisfied with his handling of Indian affairs and with the spirit of disunion which had afflicted West Florida, had ordered his recall. The governor, however, had already left the colony on January 9, on the strength of a six months' leave of absence. The good results which might have come from Johnstone's administration were largely dissipated by the dissensions to which he was a party.
The three and a half year period following the departure of the first civil governor was characterized by confusion and uncertainty for Pensacola and for West Florida. It saw the violent death of a governor, the humiliating recall of a lieutenant governor, a dramatic duel, and a contest between the executive and the legislature.

Lieutenant Governor Montfort Browne, on whom the government now devolved, is an interesting colonial character about whom enough has not been written. Fugitive references reveal a career which included participation in the French and Indian War as a subaltern, speculation in western lands, an administration as governor of the Bahamas after he left West Florida, time spent as a prisoner of war when these islands were taken over by the Americans, and subsequent service in the British Army. Though he had been in West Florida for some time, he had associated himself with the elements opposed to Johnstone. He was not familiar with the routine of administration in the colony when he assumed the government. His position was weakened by the knowledge that his tenure was temporary and would come to an end with the arrival of John Eliot who was appointed governor early in 1767. Despite a brief period of constructive endeavor which included efforts to quiet the Indians and to foster the Spanish trade, and a trip to the western part of the province, he soon found himself at odds with Major Robert Farmar, the commander at Mobile, over the possession of land, in a dispute with the assembly over salaries which the members voted themselves, and the subject of a memorial to the home government which charged him with various irregularities including misappropriation of provincial funds. The situation was aggravated by unexpected delay in the arrival of the new governor.

When Eliot finally reached Pensacola, two years after his appointment, he undertook an examination of Browne’s accounts. The interruption of this investigation is best described in a letter of Browne to Lord Hillsborough, his superior in England:

“This inquiry continued through several days during which time His Excellency frequently expressed his surprise at the malice and iniquity with which it [the charge against him] was supported, but the intervention of a most unforeseen and melancholy circumstance deprived me of the happy opportunity I had
SO long and ardently wished for and [deprived] the world of His Excellency, who on the second of May hanged himself in his study. I had had the honor of dining and spending the preceding day with him when he seemed cheerful and composed and showed me the utmost politeness."

This tragic event threw Pensacola into great confusion. Browne reassumed the government despite some opposition and proceeded to purge the council of his enemies. Elias Durnford, provincial surveyor and member of the council, who was on the point of going to England under authority of a leave of absence, carried an account of the condition of affairs to Hillsborough. Browne says he regarded Durnford as his friend, and sent Hillsborough a letter by him.

What account Durnford gave of the situation we do not know, but we do know that when he returned to Pensacola he brought with him a commission for himself as lieutenant governor, a recall for Browne and instructions to investigate Browne’s conduct. Browne was naturally humiliated over his recall and enraged over what he considered to be the duplicity of his friend. Durnford’s investigation resulted in the accusation that Browne had furnished his family and Negroes with supplies which should have been used as Indian presents. Browne on his part charged that Durnford would not allow access to records needed for his defense. Matters came to a crisis with a duel between Browne and one of Durnford’s adherents. An eyewitness gave a graphic but laconic account of the affair: “Phillips Comyn maketh oath and sayeth that about seven o’clock this morning Montfort Browne and Evan Jones did go out with firearms as far as Gage Hill, where said Evan Jones cocked his pistol which missed fire, and said Montfort Browne did then fire at said Evan Jones and shot him through the body so that his life is despaired of.” 5 Browne surrendered himself to the authorities. He was at first held without bail but was later released on the basis of a somewhat dubious writ of habeas corpus. When it was seen that Jones was on the way to recovery, Browne was allowed to embark for England. Pensacola must have been rocked by the exciting events recounted above.

5. I am not sure of the source of this colorful affidavit. It may have come from materials in the Florida State Historical Society collections which the late James Alexander Robertson generously allowed me to use. For an equally vivid account, see Florida Historical Quarterly, XIX, 265.
The arrival of Governor Peter Chester in August of 1770 brought to a conclusion the Durnford administration and marked the establishment of a government which was to continue throughout the remainder of the history of the colony. Little is known of Chester before or after his governorship in West Florida. His eleven year regime saw the development of a great interest in the fertile lands in the western part of the colony and something of a shift in interest from Pensacola to the Mississippi; there were even suggestions that the seat of government be moved to the Mississippi or that the western part of the colony be erected into a separate province. Though the agitation against British policies which was found in the Atlantic seaboard colonies during this period was scarcely felt in West Florida, the designation of the colony in 1775 as a refuge for loyalists resulted in the coming in of a great many refugees from the older settlements in the East. Most of these people moved into the area west of Mobile, but they had to come or send to Pensacola for their land grants. The westward development was given a severe jolt by the Willing raid of 1778 which had been authorized by the Commerce Committee of the Continental Congress. This expedition coming down the Ohio from Fort Pitt resulted in much irresponsible plundering along the Mississippi particularly at Natchez and at Manchac. It gave the people of West Florida their first real taste of the Revolution. The second was not long in coming.

Convinced by their victory at Saratoga that the Americans had a good chance to win, France had come into the Revolutionary War on their side in 1778. The close diplomatic relationship which had existed for many decades between France and Spain made it probable that Spain would follow her traditional ally into the struggle. It was not until a year later, however, by the Treaty of Aranjuez, that terms were agreed upon and Spain in alliance with France went to war with England in the hope of regaining Gibraltar and recovering Florida. Even then Spain did not enter into an alliance with the emerging United States. War between the mother countries would be the signal for hostilities to break out between British Florida and Spanish Louisiana. This contingency had been considered and prepared for by the home and colonial authorities of both countries. The

6. Manchac was a small settlement at the point where the Iberville flowed out of the Mississippi.
news of the outbreak of war, however, reached the dynamic, able, young governor of Louisiana, Bernardo Galvez, before it reached the British authorities in West Florida and Galvez was in a position to exploit it. Almost immediately Galvez’ forces took possession of the English settlements along the Mississippi and compelled the surrender of military detachments which had recently been sent to Natchez and Manchac. The following
year, 1780, he laid siege to and captured Mobile. Then he turned his eyes toward Pensacola.

Meanwhile preparations were being made for the defense of the West Florida capital. After the Willing raid Chester summoned the assembly in what unhappily proved to be an abortive session because of a wrangle which developed over the question of representation for Mobile; he authorized the raising of a provincial troop of twenty-five officers and 250 men; he appealed to General Dalling, governor of Jamaica, and Admiral Sir Peter Parker of the Jamaica naval station for aid. The British government, impressed by the defenseless condition of the province and the imminence of war with Spain, began large scale defense activities. By the latter part of 1778 Brigadier General John Campbell was on his way from New York to Pensacola with a force of about 1,200 men including 475 Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists and 750 German mercenaries from the principality of Waldeck. After touching at Jamaica, he reached Pensacola on January 17, 1779. He had orders to establish a military hold on the Mississippi and to put the province in an effective posture of defense. These orders he was attempting under great difficulties to execute when the rupture between England and Spain occurred with results which have already been recounted.

After his success at Mobile, “Galvez prepared to capture Pensacola and complete the conquest of the province by using Mobile as a base and obtaining aid from Havana. The English prepared for a final stand; friendly Indians were summoned to Pensacola; naval and military reinforcements were sent from Jamaica. Spanish authorities at Havana made at least two gestures toward an attack on Pensacola but were deterred by timidity and by reports of British ships of war in the vicinity. In August Galvez himself went to Havana and after numerous junta de guerra a formidable expedition sailed on October 16 for the West Florida capital. But Pensacola was saved for the time being by a hurricane which scattered the fleet and necessitated the temporary abandonment of the project. In January, 1781, Campbell sent a force overland to make a counter-attack on Mobile, but the expedition was repulsed with heavy losses. An additional negative effect, from the English point of view, was the fact that this incident served to strengthen Galvez’ hand in
his endeavor to convince the officials at Havana of the necessity of bringing Pensacola under Spanish control.”

“During the winter of 1780-81 Galvez had reassembled and reorganized his expedition and on the last day of February the small armada set sail from Havana. Ten days later the fleet arrived before the Pensacola harbor and after a brief delay a landing was effected. This maneuver was the more easily accomplished because of the inadequacy of the harbor defenses and the lack of naval protection. Soon reenforcements of 2,300 men arrived from Mobile and New Orleans, and on April 19 a combined Spanish and French squadron with another 2,300 appeared unexpectedly. Galvez now had more than 7,000 men under his command and besieged the town by land and by sea. Campbell had a force of about 2,500, including about a thousand Indians, with which to oppose him. Despite this disparity in numbers the British put up a stubborn resistance and the issue was long in doubt; but the explosion, on May 8, of an English powder magazine, resulted in the surrender of the town and garrison on the following day. It was agreed by the two commanders and Governor Chester that the British soldiers should be transported to some part of North America where the British were still in control and that the ultimate fate of the province should be left to the respective courts.” Thus ended the British control of Pensacola a little less than eighteen years after it had been established. 7

In conclusion may I offer a few comments which may help to summarize and interpret the history of Pensacola in the British period.

Pensacola was the capital of West Florida which was just as surely a part of the British colonial picture as any one of the so-called “original” thirteen colonies.

As capital, Pensacola was the scene for the transaction of the official business of the colony. Here the assembly met, the governor’s council held most of its meetings, the principal courts functioned; and through the office of the provincial secretary in

---

7. Caughey, Bernardo de Galvez contains a full account based on Spanish documents while George C. Osborn “Major-General John Campbell in West Florida,” gives the British view. The quoted paragraphs are from my British West Florida, 1763-1783. 216-18.
Pensacola all land grants had to pass after they were authorized by the governor and council.

In addition to being the seat of civil government, Pensacola was usually the military headquarters for the southern district of North America and the residence of the brigadier general in command. The literally thousands of letters and documents originating in Pensacola, now preserved in the British Headquarters Papers in the Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Michigan, and in the collections of Colonial Williamsburg, attest to the military importance of the town.

Pensacola was significant in the management of Indian affairs and was the site of important Indian congresses. In addition to the one described, others were held by Durnford and Chester. John Stuart, Indian Superintendent for the southern district, was sometimes in Pensacola and a member of the governor’s council.

The conquest of West Florida culminating in the fall of Pensacola is one of the neglected aspects of the Revolution. It may be characterized as a significant example of the importance of Spanish participation and as a part of the general decline in British fortunes which came to a climax with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown only a few months after the surrender of Campbell at Pensacola.

Finally, the Spanish conquest of Pensacola had important effects on the peace arrangements set up at the end of the Revolution. Had Spain not been in military possession of West Florida, this province, and East Florida, would probably have remained under British sovereignty. It was comparatively easy for the United States in the course of thirty-five years to detach all Florida from third-rate Spain. With the Floridas under British control, the story might well have been different. Indeed, the new republic would have found itself within the jaws of a strong vise, British Canada and British Florida; and in this situation its destiny might not have been quite so manifest.

Let no one say, therefore, that British Pensacola was unimportant, and its history inconsequential to the United States.
On the first day of January, 1777, an event in New Orleans was to have important consequences for the history of Pensacola: Bernardo de Galvez formally assumed the governorship of Louisiana. Galvez was typical of the colonial officials who were appointed during that Indian Summer of Spanish Imperial history, the reign of Charles III. A career officer in the royal armies, he had already distinguished himself in several theaters: first in Portugal, then in Mexico against the Indians on the northern frontier where, under his famous uncle Jose de Galvez, he displayed those traits of energy, initiative, and leadership which characterized his subsequent career. During the next few years he served in the French army for training purposes and in 1776 was ordered to New Orleans as commander of the garrison and subsequently promoted to the governorship of the colony while still less than thirty years of age.

Galvez assumed his new office at a critical time. The inhabitants of the thirteen English North American colonies had declared their independence. Spain was definitely anti-English, and the defense of Louisiana, bordering as it did on British West Florida and the English posts on the east bank of the Mississippi, would be a serious problem. Galvez, therefore, devoted himself to strengthening the fixed defenses of the colony and to augmenting its military forces. Galvez also took the precautionary step of sending the adjutant major of New Orleans, Jacinto Panis, to Pensacola. Although ostensibly his mission was to secure guarantees of Louisiana’s rights as a neutral in the war, his secret instructions were to observe the state of defenses of the capital of British West Florida.

Galvez’ measures were very shortly justified. Declaration of war reached New Orleans in July, 1779, and Galvez immediately convoked a council of war which decided that Spanish efforts should be concentrated on the defense of New Orleans. Galvez, however, differed; he felt that the English should be attacked before they had an opportunity to concentrate their forces, and
that the first efforts should be directed against their posts on the Mississippi. In September he struck against Manchac which was taken by assault, and Baton Rouge surrendered to a Spanish expedition, a capitulation which included the British post at Natchez farther up the river. Thus, in a short time, Galvez drove the British from the lower Mississippi. Also, to forestall British counter-operations from Canada, a successful raid was launched against the British post at St. Joseph on Lake Michigan.

With the Mississippi secure, Galvez turned his attention to a more ambitious project, the reduction of the British strongholds at Mobile and Pensacola and the occupation of West Florida. It was decided that Mobile should be the first objective and Galvez turned to Cuba for reinforcements and secured some 567 men. With these forces plus 754 troops from Louisiana, Galvez attacked Fort Charlotte. On March 12, after a two weeks siege, the fort surrendered and Mobile reverted to Spanish possession.

The first attempts against Pensacola were frustrated by the reluctance of Cuban authorities to provide reinforcements, by the timidity of subordinate commanders, and by a hurricane which between October 18 and October 23, 1780, destroyed one entire expedition. Galvez, however, refused to give up and in February, 1781, he was ready to strike again. On the twenty-eighth he departed for his objective with a convoy carrying 1315 men made available to him by the captain general of Cuba. At the same time he ordered his lieutenants in New Orleans and Mobile to rendezvous with him at Pensacola with all the men they could spare from their respective garrisons. On March 9, the convoy anchored off Santa Rosa Island.

The defenses confronting the Spanish were Fort George and Fort Barrancas. The strongest of the two, Fort George, was 1200 yards north of the old Spanish plaza. Built by Governor Chester in 1772, it was a double stockade with the space between filled with sand. Within the fort were the barracks of the garrison, powder magazines, and the governor’s council chamber. Also there were two outworks, the Redoubt of the Prince of Wales, some 300 yards northwest of the main fort and the Redoubt of

the Queen, still 300 yards farther up the hill. Both were defended by strong artillery emplacements.

Fort Barrancas was situated some seven miles southwest of the town and was a small, square structure of fascines backed by earth and surrounded by a ditch. It was served by eleven guns including five thirty-two pounders. Fort George and Fort Barrancas were garrisoned by some 1200-1300 troops under the command of Brigadier General John Campbell who was also the governor of Pensacola.  

The first task that confronted Galvez was forcing an entrance into the bay. This was a difficult and dangerous undertaking because of the bar which blocked the passage, the guns of Fort Barrancas, and two British frigates in the harbor. During the night of March 9th-10th, the Spanish established batteries on Santa Rosa Island and Point Siguenza, forcing the British warships to withdraw, and the army was landed on the island. Early on the morning of the tenth an attempt was made to force the entrance, but immediately the flagship, the San Ramon, ran aground. However, on the eighteenth and nineteenth the effort was renewed and Galvez in person led the entire fleet, less the San Ramon, into the harbor despite heavy fire from Barrancas.

Within a week after forcing the entrance to the bay reinforcements were on hand. Nine hundred men arrived from Mobile and on the next day the expedition from New Orleans appeared bringing 1200 men. These increments along with the original force from Havana placed nearly 3500 men under his command.

Action slowed after the spectacular preliminaries to the siege. Fort George was too strong to be taken by direct assault except at the expense of prohibitive casualties. Over a month was devoted to reconnaissance of British positions, the establishment of fortified camps on the lagoon just west of the town, and to working the lines north and west to within artillery range of the fort and its outworks. These operations were undertaken in the face of almost constant harassment from Indian allies of the British.

The captain general of Cuba, fearing that several English frigates sighted off the coast of the island were on their way to

---

Pensacola to raise the siege, dispatched a fleet to reinforce Galvez. The 3675 men that it carried raised the strength of the Spanish forces to over 7000 men.

The Spanish lines gradually crept closer to the British defenses. About a third of a mile northwest was constructed a strong point of earth and timber almost as large as Fort George itself.
Galvez named this installation San Bernardo after his patron saint. Within it were installed a battery of six twenty-four pounder guns and three thirteen-inch mortars. On May 2, the guns opened fire on the redoubts of the Prince of Wales and the Queen while the mortars ranged on Fort George and its lines. The British vigorously returned the fire.

Meanwhile engineers continued the trench north and then west and began the placement of another battery. Heavy fire was directed against this by the British which was followed by an infantry charge of such strength that the Spanish were forced to fall back on Bernardo. The advanced battery was soon recovered and, after repairs were effected, began a lively bombardment of the Queen’s redoubt.

The constant bombardment soon created a critical situation within the British lines. The garrison of Fort George was badly outnumbered by the attackers and the men were required to man its posts with scarcely any relief. Then, on May 8, a Spanish shot found the powder magazine in the Queen’s Redoubt. Gage Hill was shaken by a tremendous explosion which almost completely demolished the position and killed eighty-five of the defenders. Spanish light infantry immediately moved forward to the smoking ruins and cannon and mortars were installed which opened fire on the Prince of Wales redoubt.

With the loss of the advanced position, the British situation became desperate. It was obvious that the Prince of Wales redoubt could not sustain the heavy fire that it was receiving much longer and when it fell Fort George, itself, would be untenable. On the eighth, General Campbell requested a truce to discuss terms of capitulation. This request was granted by Galvez on April 10. By the terms of the agreement, the British surrendered all of West Florida. The civilian inhabitants of Pensacola, were given the option of remaining in West Florida or of departing after a reasonable length of time allowed to settle their affairs.

In the course of the fighting, the British suffered the following casualties: Officers killed, three; officers wounded, two; enlisted men killed, one hundred and twenty-five; enlisted men wounded, seventy; deserters, twenty-four. The Spanish losses were ten officers killed and five wounded, and eighty-four soldiers
killed and one hundred and eighty wounded. Some 1113 English prisoners were surrendered to the Spanish plus an impressive inventory of arms and supplies. Galvez departed on June 4, leaving Pensacola under the command of Arturo O’Neill, a post which the latter held for twelve years.

Thus, after an eighteen year lapse, Pensacola passed again into the hands of its founders. The author of the victory, Bernardo de Galvez, was amply rewarded for his campaign in the Floridas. He was promoted to lieutenant general, made captain general of Louisiana and West Florida and subsequently of Cuba, enabled as the Conde de Galvez, and as the royal order read, “to perpetuate for your posterity the memory of the heroic action in which you alone forced the entrance to the bay, you may place on the crest on your coat of arms the brig Galveztown with the motto, ‘Yo Solo’.” Finally, as a climax to his meteoric career, in 1784 he was made viceroy of New Spain, the highest office in Spanish America. His rule was well received and he attained widespread popularity. However, success was to be brief. In the fall of the same year he was stricken with fever and, on November 30, he died at the age of thirty-eight.

The military successes of Galvez were confirmed at the peace table. In 1783, as part of the series of settlements terminating the War of the American Revolution, England agreed that Spain should retain West Florida and that East Florida should be ceded to its former owner.

---

3. The principal sources for the Spanish operations against Pensacola are Franciscode Miranda, “Diario de lo mas particular ocurrido desde el dia de nuestra salida del Puerto de la Habana,” Archivo del General Miranda, I, 141-147; Francisco de Miranda, Diario de lo ocurrido, en la escuadra, y tropas, que . . . salieron de la Havana . . ., para socorrer al exercito espanol, que atacaba la plaza de Pansacola . . . , ibid., I, 150-179 (trans. by Donald E. Worcester as “Miranda’s Diary of the Siege of Pensacola, 1781,” Florida Historical Quarterly, XIX [1951], 163-196); “A Journal of the Seige [sic.] of Pensacola West Florida 1781,” Archivo del General Miranda, I, 179-181 (probably written by Robert Farmer, one of the officers of the English garrison); Bernardo de Galvez, Diario de las operaciones . . . contra la plaza de Pensacola . . . (Mexico, 1781) (trans. as “Diary of the Operations of the Expedition against the Place of Pensacola . . .,” Louisiana Historical Quarterly, I [1917-18], 44-84). See also Caughey, Bernardo de Galvez, Chap. XII; Faye, “British and Spanish Fortifications;” Frederick Cubberly, “Fort George (St. Michael), Pensacola,” Florida Historical Quarterly, VI (1928), 220-234.

4. Caughey, Bernardo de Galvez, Chap. XIV.
With the capture of Mobile and Pensacola, West Florida was reincorporated into the Spanish colonial system, and Pensacola was reestablished as its capital. Technically the region was annexed to the province of Louisiana, and Bernardo de Galvez and his successors exercised over it both civil and military authority in their capacities as governor and captain general. Arturo O’Neill and the military commandants who followed him exercised the many of the functions of governor and were subordinate financial officers under the direction of the intendant (chief of financial affairs) in New Orleans. In both civil and military matters, however, they frequently by-passed New Orleans to deal directly with Havana. 7

**PENSACOLA IN 1783**

At the opening of the Second Spanish Dominion, Pensacola was hardly an impressive settlement. It was bounded on three sides by a wilderness. To the east the nearest settlement was St. Marks, on the west Mobile. Overland communication with them consisted only of poorly marked trails. On the north, hundreds of miles of Indian country intervened between it and the nearest Anglo-American settlements. Pensacola’s connection with the outside world was by the sea. Its harbor provided sufficient depth for the largest vessels but those drawing more than twenty feet experienced difficulty in crossing the bar at the entrance. The water near the town itself was shoal for some distance from shore and since no adequate wharfs existed, vessels generally had to be unloaded by lighter. The harbor presented another problem. It was infested with worms which could destroy a vessel’s bottom completely in a few months. 8

The town itself preserved the physical appearance it had acquired during British domination. It occupied a strip of territory about a mile along the bayfront and extending inland a quarter of a mile. On the north it was bounded by a swamp and on either side it was pinched out by two small streams which rose under Gage Hill. 9 During the British occupation it had been laid out in

---

PENSACOLA DURING THE SECOND SPANISH PERIOD
blocks some 400 by 250 feet, each of which was divided into twelve lots. Few of these were built on. The streets defining the lots ran north-south and east-west and were approximately ninety and sixty feet in width respectively. They were all unpaved; their surface was the sand of the locality. The houses, some two hundred in number, were all built of wood and most of them were of one story with porches facing the street. Many were surrounded by wooden fences. In the center of the town was a large plaza, some thirty acres in area, facing the bay. In the middle of the plaza was a stockade of cypress stakes some ten feet high. This was flanked by stronghouses of pine planks on each corner which were joined to the stockade. Within the enclosure the principal buildings were the house of the governor, the barracks for the garrison, and several storehouses.  

The population of Pensacola excluding the garrison was under 300. Most of the inhabitants were Canary Islanders and French creoles. The former British residents had almost without exception declined the option of remaining and had been evacuated after the surrender. The entire population was either directly or indirectly dependent on the government establishment for support. The brisk trade in lumber, naval stores, skins, and indigo developed by the British and which had yielded some $500,000 a year, almost ceased with the return of the Spanish. The British plantations in the outlying areas were abandoned. The only agriculture consisted of truck vegetables produced in small private gardens in the town and on a few plots outside the limits which were cultivated by Canary Islanders. 

Inasmuch as Pensacola was primarily a military garrison, it enjoyed no municipal government. Whatever civil administration that was required was provided by the commandant and his staff. In matters of justice the commandant exercised what amounted to police court jurisdiction and served more as an arbiter of disputes

10. Inclosure to O’Neill to Galvez, August 20, 1784, Lockey Papers; John Lee Williams, A View of West Florida (Philadelphia, 1827), pp. 74-75.


than as a judge. Major suits were referred to the governor of Louisiana. Cases involving special *fueros* (privileged jurisdictions) such as those of the clergy were sent to Havana where the captain general determined competence and referred them to the proper court. By and large, however, civil administration received little attention from the commandant. Indeed there was little to administer. His chief role was that of a military commander and he was almost exclusively concerned with matters such as fortifications, conditions of the garrison, military intelligence, and Indian affairs.  

The fortifications of Pensacola consisted of works taken over from the British, Ft. George was renamed Fort San Miguel, the Prince of Wales battery became Fort Sombrero, and the Queen’s Redoubt was rechristened Fort San Bernardo. All were in a dilapidated condition. In 1784 O’Neill reported that being of wood they were subject to continuous decomposition. In regard to the fortifications at the entrance to the bay, O’Neill reported that Fort Barrancas, renamed San Carlos de Barrancas, was in equally poor condition. The commandant was of the opinion that the fort would have to be entirely rebuilt. The small battery of San Antonio which had been installed below San Carlos was in good condition but without the fort to support it, it was virtually useless.

The garrison of Pensacola totalled 795 men drawn from the regular regiments of the King, the Prince, Spain, and Havana. After the peace treaty of 1783, however, these units departed and one battalion of the infantry Regiment of Louisiana was assigned to garrison West Florida. Most of the battalion was stationed in Pensacola but it also provided smaller garrisons for Mobile and St. Marks. The battalion had an authorized strength of some 460 men, but from the beginning it displayed an ailment which was chronic with Spanish military units in America. Death, sickness, and desertion left it understrength and there were never enough replacements to fill the vacancies.

15. Inclosure to O’Neill to Luis de Unzaga, February 15, 1783, Lockey Papers.
16. Josef de Ezpeleta to Estevan Miro, Havana, July 22, 1788, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 151A. Material from this source will be cited hereinafter as AGI:PC.
With the re-establishment of Spanish government the Roman Catholic Church returned to Pensacola. West Florida fell within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the diocese of Santiago de Cuba but immediate supervision of church affairs was delegated to Father Cyril de Barcelona, vicar of the Bishop of Santiago for Louisiana and West Florida. After the British surrender, Father Cyril sent Father Pedro de Velez of the Capuchin order, to serve as pastor of the old Spanish parish of St. Michael in Pensacola. The church, however, experienced a difficult time in reestablishing itself. Government officials were too preoccupied with military and administrative matters - and too short of funds - to provide the support that was traditional in Spanish church-state relationships. It even proved impossible to construct a church and Father Velez had to make do with an old warehouse which he converted for purposes of worship.  

* * *

II. PENSACOLA AND THE SPANISH-AMERICAN FRONTIER, 1781-1795

The history of Pensacola and West Florida during the second Spanish period is intimately bound up with their role in the Spanish-American frontier question. When Spain returned to Pensacola after the War of the American Revolution, she was faced with a situation considerably more delicate than that which had existed in 1763. The region had always been a frontier, an "Outpost of Empire", held not so much because of its intrinsic value but rather to protect more valuable possessions in the Caribbean and Mexico. For defense of this outpost Spain had relied on the hundreds of miles of wilderness that separated West Florida from the closest threat, the Anglo-American colonies to the north and east, and on control of the southern Indians through fortified posts and Catholic missions. This complex of intervening wilderness, presidio, and frontier had been the basis of Spanish frontier defense since the Conquest.

In 1783 an entirely new situation existed. During the twenty years of British rule in Florida, a constant stream of American frontiersmen had crossed the eastern mountains and drifted down

17. Curley, Church and State, pp. 54-58.
the tributaries of the Ohio and the Mississippi and also southward and westward from the older settlements in Georgia. This frontier population in 1785 has been estimated at 75,000 persons. The American frontiersmen were a fertile, dynamic, and aggressive lot. They were intensely individualistic, physically tough and hardy, and resentful of all authority, including that of their own government. Their basic values and interests, summed up by one authority as insistence on municipal self-government, devotion to Protestant fundamentalism, and land hunger, were at odds with everything that Spain stood for in the Floridas.

The threat of the American frontiersmen was complemented by the attitude of far-sighted men in Washington. To them the existence of a strip of territory barring the United States from the Gulf of Mexico was an abomination. The Gulf was the “natural” boundary of the new republic. Also, a question of security was involved. The Floridas in hostile hands might constitute a springboard for operations against the United States. Moreover, the control of the Gulf, itself, was regarded as essential for American security and to achieve such control the United States must have ports on its shores. Finally, the principle outlets for the trade of the old American West were rivers which flowed southward through Spanish territory to the sea. Expansionists had no doubt that the Floridas and Louisiana should and would be theirs. 19 The sentiments of both frontiersmen and statesmen was aptly summed up by Josiah Quincy: “We want West Florida. Our western brethren will have West Florida. By G- we will take West Florida . . . .” 20

For Spain it was obvious that military defense alone could not hold West Florida and Louisiana against the tide of American frontiersmen and the acquisitive policy of their government. As the Spanish minister Godoy put it, “You can’t lock up an open field”. 21

18. For a description of the Spanish-American frontier after the American Revolution see Whitaker, Spanish-American Frontier, Chapters I and II.
19. American designs on the Floridas are well treated in Julius W. Pratt, Expansionists of 1812 (New York, 1949), Chapter II.
Therefore, diplomacy, intrigue, and various other special measures were used to halt the Americans. In retrospect, the most amazing of these was the encouragement of American immigration into Louisiana and the Floridas by providing for equal commercial privileges, free land grants, and religious toleration for all Americans who wished to settle in Spanish territory. The reasoning behind this step was simple. One of the weaknesses of the Spanish provinces was underpopulation. The Spanish themselves did not have the resources to settle them. Therefore, why not try to make Spaniards out of Americans? What is difficult to understand is the naivete of such a policy. When Thomas Jefferson heard of the proposal he referred to it as "settling the Goths at the gates of Rome" and gleefully wrote, "I wish a hundred thousand of our inhabitants would accept the invitation. It will be the means of delivering to us peacefully what may otherwise cost us a war."  

Events were to prove him correct.

Pensacola was more directly involved in still another aspect of frontier defense, the control of the Indian nations which inhabited the wilderness intervening between it and the American settlements. These nations were the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks, altogether numbering about 45,000. If these tribes could be brought under Spanish influence they might be made to constitute an effective barrier against the American frontiersmen. Even before the cessation of hostilities, Spanish officials in Louisiana and the Floridas began the creation of a series of Indian buffer states. By making the Indians dependent on her as the principal outlet for their furs and as the source of blankets, powder, mirrors, and other trade goods that they required, they could be used for political and strategic purposes.  

Alexander McGillivray

Spain soon found an effective instrument for the achievement of this objective in the person of Alexander McGillivray, the son of Lachlan McGillivray, a loyalist who had been active in the Indian trade before the Revolution, and a mestizo woman, half French and half Creek Indian. After the Revolution and his

23. The best discussion of the Spanish-American frontier question is the above cited Whitaker, Spanish-American Frontier.
father’s retirement to Scotland, Alexander took over what re-
mained of the family interests in the old Southwest and estab-
lished himself on the Coosa River near present-day Montgomery,
Alabama. Here on broad, fertile acres he lived the life of a south-
ern planter. He had been well-educated, he dressed like a white
man, he lived in a white man’s house, he was a Mason, and he
offered liberal hospitality to all who passed his way. The lady who
presided over his establishment, however, was an Indian squaw
of the Creek nation and she was by no means the only squaw
in his life. Indeed his profligate existence—he drank heavily in
addition to other excesses—undermined his health and he died
in Pensacola in February, 1794, still a young man. Here he was
buried in the beautiful garden of his friend and protector, Wil-
liam Panton.

McGillivray, because of the losses his father had sustained
during the Revolution was hostile to the Americans and he pos-
sessed great influence among the Indian nations as heir to his
father’s position and because of his wife’s connection. The Span-
ish quickly realized his value and in 1784 made him commissary
or commissioner to the Indians. Through McGillivray’s good
offices a series of treaties were negotiated which laid the founda-
tions of Spain’s Indian policy on the Florida frontier. The first
of these were held with the Creeks in Pensacola. It opened on
May 30, 1784 with imposing ceremonies. To emphasize the im-
portance of the occasion not only O’Neill but Governor Estevan
Miro of Louisiana and the intendant, Navarro, were present. Gifts
for the Indians were provided, mutual compliments exchanged,
and a treaty of alliance and commerce was signed. O’Neill and
Miro then proceeded to Mobile where similar congresses were
held with the Chickasaws and Choctaws. By the terms of the
several treaties, the southern Indian tribes, except for the Cher-
okees, agreed to acknowledge the protectorate of Spain, to sell
their furs only to the Spanish or their agents, and to exclude from
their territories all traders except those licensed by Spanish
authorities. 24

One serious problem existed in connection with implementing
the new Indian program. Spain’s traditional mercantile policy
rigidly excluded all participation of foreigners in her American

24. For the career of Alexander McGillivray see John W. Caughey, Mc-
Gillivray of the Creeks (Norman, Oklahoma, 1938).
trade. Commerce had to be carried on in Spanish bottoms and American markets were reserved for Spanish merchants. However, the Indians were accustomed to British goods and, moreover, Spanish industry was unable to supply the merchandise needed in sufficient volume or at the prices to which the Indians were accustomed. The Spanish had to turn to British Indian traders. The most important of these was William Panton of the house of Panton, Leslie and Company. Pensacola soon became Panton’s residence and the headquarters of the firm. 25 (For a full account of the operations of this firm see Panton, Leslie, and Company in this issue of Florida Historical Quarterly.)

In the conduct of Indian affairs, Pensacola was a focal point. The governor was directly responsible for relations with the adjacent Creek nations and, inasmuch as Mobile fell within his jurisdiction, with the Chickasaws and Choctaws whose territory lay in the hinterland beyond Mobile. Moreover, as we saw above, Pensacola became the headquarters of the Panton, Leslie Company, the principle agent of Spanish Indian policy. Indeed, until the early nineteenth century when other problems arose, considerations of Indian policy dominated Pensacola. Its principle economic activity was the Indian trade. In a sense, every government official was part of the Indian service and governors and commandants had to spend much of their time on Indian affairs. Distinguished Indian visitors were common and had to be met with protocol and dignity. A familiar sight on the streets was the visiting redman arrived for trade, pow-wow, or simply to inspect the unfathomable world of the white man. 26

In the conduct of frontier defense, Spain operated from a position of weakness. Geography, population, and economic factors all favored the Americans. Also, after the death of Charles III in 1788, Spanish imperial decay resumed. As a result of these factors and increasing involvement in European wars, Spain was forced to seek a frontier settlement with the United States. In 1795 the Treaty of San Lorenzo was negotiated which provided for the establishment of the northern boundary of West Florida at about its present location and marked the abandon-

ment of Spanish claims to territory north of that line. The treaty marked the first step in the withdrawal of Spain from the Floridas. After that her position in Europe and America continued to deteriorate. Requests from her overseas possessions for troops, money, and fortifications went unheeded. Colonial officials were left largely to their own resources and, in the case of the commandant of Pensacola, these were few indeed.

**WILLIAM AUGUSTUS BOWLES**

A graphic illustration of the waning of Spanish imperial power is illustrated in the inability to deal vigorously with a challenge which arose within the boundaries of Florida, itself: that is, the invasions of William Augustus Bowles.

Bowles, one of the most colorful figures in Florida’s past, first appeared on the scene as an ensign in the regiment of Maryland loyalists which formed part of the garrison of Pensacola during the Spanish attack in 1781. After the fall of the city, Bowles, then a young lad of fifteen, remained in Florida and went to live among the Creeks. He adopted their customs, learned their language, married the daughter of one of their chiefs, and through this connection became a chief in his own right. In 1785, Bowles fell in with a British trading firm in Nassau, Miller and Bonamy, which was interested in breaking into Panton, Leslie’s monopoly of the Indian trade in Florida. Bowles, in 1788, was sent to Florida with the mission of securing the cooperation of his friend, Alexander McGillivray, in reestablishing trade between Nassau and the Creeks in Florida.

Bowles soon evolved a project much broader in scope: nothing less than a creation of a new Indian nation to be carved out of territory then claimed by both the United States and Spain. The nucleus of the state was to be the Creeks and the Seminoles, but subsequently the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws were to be incorporated. Bowles’ first important step in this direction was an attempt to secure British aid. In 1790, accompanied by several Creek and Cherokee Indians, he made his way to London where he represented himself and his companions as an official delegation from the “United Nation of the Creeks and Cherokees,” and sought from the British government recognition of the Indian
State, a commercial treaty, and a military alliance. Bowles arrived a little too late to secure the most favorable atmosphere for negotiations since a break between England and Spain over the Nootka Sound controversy had been averted. He was, however, feted by British society and treated cordially by the government, possibly because he was regarded as a useful tool should England and Spain fall out again. Indeed he was partially successful in that all vessels flying the flag of the Creek and Cherokee Nation were granted access to free ports in the British West Indies.

Upon his return to Florida in the autumn of 1791, Bowles took definite steps to implement his scheme. He arranged for his supporters to elect him “Director of Affairs” of the Creek and Cherokee Nation, and addressed a memorial to the Spanish government demanding recognition of the new state and its right to establish free ports within its territory. In return Bowles offered friendship and an alliance between Spain and the United Nation of the Creeks and Cherokees. The Spanish government, of course, regarded Bowles as a dangerous troublemaker and this opinion was confirmed by his seizure of Panton’s store at St. Marks in January, 1792. However, they were unable to apprehend him, and his downfall was only accomplished by treachery. Baron Carondelet, the governor of Louisiana, invited the Director of Affairs to New Orleans to discuss the proposed treaty. Here Bowles was summarily arrested and the first phase of his imperial design came to an abrupt and rather ignominious end.

During the next five years Bowles, as a Spanish prisoner, was shuttled from New Orleans to Havana, from Havana to Madrid, and from Madrid to Manila. Despite his record he was treated with courtesy and on occasions with deference, apparently because Spain recognized his influence among the Florida Indians and hoped to win his allegiance. Such treatment is in itself a commentary on the essentially defensive character of Spain’s policy in the Floridas. It is likely that at the height of Spanish power in the New World, Bowles would have been summarily executed. Bowles accepted his courteous treatment as his due and then, while being transferred from the Philippines back to Madrid, he escaped in the British African colony of Sierra Leone. Here he was able to convince the governor that he was an important agent of British policy in America and was sent on to England.

Apparently unchastened by his captivity, Bowles returned to Florida in 1799, determined to go ahead with his plans for an Indian nation. A temporary headquarters was established on the
Ochlockonee River and here a congress of Seminoles and Lower Creeks elected him “Director General” of the “State of Muskogee,” as the nation was now to be called. Mikasuke, a Seminole village near Tallahassee, was designated as the national capital and a national flag was designated. The motto “God Save the State of Muskogee” was adopted.

Bowles’ principle concern, however, was his relations with Spain and the United States. In April, 1800, Muskogee declared war on Spain.

An army was formed consisting of Seminole warriors of the Tallahassee region and leavened by some of Bowles’ white associates and a number of Negroes and mulattoes who had deserted from Spanish garrisons at St. Augustine and Pensacola. He personally led his army against St. Marks and forced the surrender of the post, but five days later a Spanish relief expedition forced Bowles to withdraw. The Director General also attempted to carry the war against Spain to the sea by forming a small navy. This force consisted of several vessels armed as privateers and in 1801 was launched against the enemy. Although its efforts were limited to the seizure of Spanish shipping, in this field of activity it experienced some success and caused Spanish authorities annoyance and embarrassment.

A raid was launched against his headquarters on the Ochlockonee River which failed, a reward of 4500 pesos was posted for his capture, and intrigues against him were conducted by Spanish agents among the Indian tribes. Yet it is significant that his downfall was accomplished not so much by Spain as by the American Indian agent, Benjamin Hawkins. In May, 1803, a general congress of Seminoles, Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws was held in American territory. It was anticipated that Bowles would attempt to promote his plans among the Indians, and careful plans for his arrest were laid by Hawkins and his friends among the Indians. He was seized by the Hawkins faction, placed in chains, and subsequently delivered to Governor Folch in Pensacola. On this occasion there was no spectacular escape. From Pensacola Bowles was taken to Havana and three years later died in a cell in Morro Castle.  

27. This account is abstracted from the author’s “William Augustus Bowles and the State of Muskogee,” a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society in March, 1954. The paper was based largely on transcripts of manuscripts from Spanish archives now in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
Upon reacquisition of Pensacola, Spanish officials had high hopes of maintaining and expanding the prosperity that the British had achieved during their occupation. However, their expectations were disappointed. Several factors worked against the development of the town. It was remote from the major centers of Spanish settlement in the New World, access was difficult, and it was situated on a wild, and possibly dangerous frontier. Moreover, government officials were so preoccupied with matters of defense that they could devote little time and few resources to internal development. These conditions discouraged immigration from other Spanish colonies, and the garrison character of the town with its shortage of marriageable women inhibited natural increase. Nor did American immigrants come to the district to the same extent as they did to Mobile, Natchez, and Baton Rouge. This was probably also due to its inaccessability and to the fact that the richer soils along the Mississippi, the Alabama, and the Tombigbee offered greater attractions.

Nevertheless, between 1783 and 1803 the town grew, but rather sporadically. In 1788 the civilian population was still only 265, but in 1791 it had increased to 572. Of the latter total 292 were white Catholics, mostly Spanish and French creoles, and 114 Negro Catholics. The rest were white Protestants of British and American origin. Then, when Spain went to war in March, 1793, a number of inhabitants, apparently fearing an attack on the town, departed reducing the population to 400. By 1796 it had recovered to 673, and in 1803 the French traveler, Paul Alliot, reported a population of 1000.

During the same period some changes occurred in the physical appearance of the town. Early in the administration of Governor Vicente Folch (1795-1811) a section of land was detached from the central plaza, making Government Street its northern bound-

29. Curley, Church and State, p. 68.
30. Ibid., p. 137.
32. Curley, Church and State, p. 258.
ary, and was subdivided into lots and sold at public auction. However, in 1806, Intendant Morales refused to confirm the titles thus rendering subtitles acquired through resale invalid. This situation laid the foundation for much future litigation. In general, the aspect of Pensacola was not impressive. The houses were still of wood with the exception of William Panton’s which was a three story brick mansion and by far the most impressive edifice in the area. In 1791 the traveler, John Pope, wrote that while under the British flag Pensacola was well kept up, at the time of his visit a large part of the town was in ruinous condition. This impression was confirmed by later visitors.

The economic life of Pensacola revolved around the arrival and disbursement of the situado and the activities of the Panton, Leslie Company. The company’s operations were concerned primarily with the Indian trade, particularly deer skins, in return for which the natives received powder, ammunition, salt, blankets, and other trade goods. However, Panton, Leslie also engaged in other financial activities. It furnished the garrison with meat and other provisions which it obtained cheaply from the Indians, it acquired land from the Indians in payment for old debts, acted as chief banker to the governor and other white inhabitants and engaged in general commerce although this was illegal. When the fur trade fell off as a result of the westward movement of game, the versatile traders began to experiment with growing cotton and in 1802 imported a gin to encourage production of the commodity. Panton’s Indian trade is described by Pope. On the hill back of town, he wrote, Panton’s store was located. Here came the Indians of the Upper and Lower Creek nations where they were “uniformly imposed on.” The Indians traded their deerskins at fourteen pence sterling per pound for salt at nine shillings sterling per bushel. Panton brought the salt in his own bottoms from his own mines on Providence Island at an average expense of about three pence a bushel. “I think,” Pope concludes, “his Goods at Mobile, Pensacola, and St. Marks are generally

36. A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North-America; the Spanish Dominions on the River Mississippi, and the Floridas (New York, 1792), pp. 43-46.
vended at about Five Hundred per Cent of their prime Cost.” Perhaps Pope may have been overestimating the profits but evidence indicates that the company was engaged in a profitable business. In 1804 its assets were listed at 396,800 pesos.  
Some indication of the trade of Pensacola is given in the following lists of imports and exports:

**IMPORTS AT PENSACOLA AND MOBILE, 1797**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bricks</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kettles, copper</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limburg, pieces</td>
<td>354 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linsey, pieces</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shingles, large</td>
<td>26,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shingles, small</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermilion, pounds</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine, Bordeaux, in casks</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine, Bordeaux, in boxes</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IMPORTS AT PENSACOLA, MOBILE AND ST. MARKS, 1798**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bricks</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee, pounds</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limburg, bales</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linsey, bales</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linsey, sacks</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing cards, dozens</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt, barrels</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Window glass, boxes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine, Bordeaux, casks</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine, Bordeaux, boxes</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine, white, barrels</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine, white, pipes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine, Port, hogshead</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39. These tables are reproduced from Whitaker, *Commercial Documents*, pp. 256-257.
EXPORTS AT PENSACOLA, 1797

Cotton, pounds ................................................................. 696
Cowhides ........................................................................... 162
Logwood, pounds ................................................................. 24,328
Skins: beaver, pounds ......................................................... 712
Skins: deer, pounds ......................................................... $211,223^{1/2}$
Skins: fox, pounds .............................................................. 174
Skins: otter, pounds ............................................................ 698
Skins: rat, pounds ............................................................... 540
Skins: wild cat, pounds ...................................................... 77
Skins: wolf, pounds ............................................................. 6

The tables do not include, however, one commodity which Alliot mentions in his report of 1803; that is, a yellow earth which was exported to New Orleans where it was used to coat and decorate houses. Alliot gives the impression that this was an important export. Were it not for the production of this material, he states, hardly ten ships would visit Pensacola a year.  

When Spain went to war in 1793, the fortifications of the town became an important consideration. Baron Carondelet, the governor of Louisiana, visited Pensacola in 1794 and made recommendations which were not carried out. However, in 1796 Spain again went to war, this time against England, and the battery of San Antonio was strengthened and assumed much the same form that in a great part it preserves today, and a stockade was hurriedly raised on the cliffs of Barrancas. Thus, by the opening of the nineteenth century, the entrance to the bay was protected by three installations.  

THE CHURCH

Meanwhile, the church in Pensacola continued to experience difficulties arising from lack of funds, the difficulty of obtaining and keeping priests, and the indifference and even the opposition of the military authorities. In 1785 a second priest, Father Esteban Valorio, was assigned to Pensacola as chaplain of the troops and had to take over the spiritual care of both St. Michael’s parish and the troops of the garrison. The condition of the

church is illuminated by the ecclesiastical visit of Father Cyril de Barcelona in 1791. The place of worship was still the old converted warehouse but it was found to be decently ornamented. The inhabitants of the city, however, were very lax in their religious observances. On Easter of the previous year only seven parishioners had received Holy Communion. Witnesses, however, testified to Father Valorio’s zeal and disinterested service. One of the most serious shortcomings of the parish was the lack of a school. On the request of the parishioners, Father Cyril agreed to use all his influence to have one established.

Unfortunately, the visit produced no real improvement in Pensacola’s religious life. The shortage of priests continued. Since he was only allowed to say one mass a day, some four hundred of his people failed to fulfill their religious obligations. To remedy the situation Father Vivac was dispatched to Pensacola to occupy the old position of pastor’s assistant and chaplain to the troops. Another problem arose, however, in the fact that Father Valorio could not speak English and his Anglo-American parishioners chose to forego his ministrations. For this reason he was replaced in 1793 by Father Lennon, an Irish priest who spoke English. Father Valorio had begged for a new church. In 1793 he reported that the warehouse was in shabby condition. When he proposed to raise funds by establishing a pew-rent, he was forbidden to do so by Governor Enrique White. Even with the population increase that occurred toward the end of the century it proved to be impossible to secure a proper church building, and petitions for a school produced no results. 42

Despite its rustic, frontier character, Pensacola, according to travelers who visited the town around the turn of the century, must have been a pleasant place. Without exception they speak of the salubrious climate. In 1803 Paul Alliot asserted that the town was so healthy that the inhabitants were almost never sick and lived to advanced ages. “Physicians make not fortune there,” he asserted, “as it is by no means rare to find old gentlemen of eighty or ninety.” 43 Commandant O’Neill remarked to John Pope that he had not once been sick during his entire residence there and that all Pensacolans enjoyed uninterrupted good health except for the garrison. Too much spirits, bad wine, highly seasoned

42. Curley, Church and State, pp. 86-87, 137-140, 237-239, 269.
meats, and venery undermined the physical condition of the soldiers. 44

Although imported goods were extremely expensive, the area, itself, provided a supply of basic foodstuffs. Beef raised by the Indians was plentiful, local gardens produced an abundance of truck vegetables, and the sea yielded a rich harvest of fish, lobsters, crabs and oysters. Pope remarked that there were all kinds of perennial fruits in quantity except for apples. 45

Social and business life was relaxed and easy going. Alliot stated that lawsuits were not common and that litigants defended themselves. “Lawyers, solicitors, and bailiffs who gnaw and destroy the fortunes of families are not to be seen as in France,” he wrote. 46 With no schools, a healthy climate, and the absence of litigation, Pensacola appears to have offered few opportunities for professional men! Social diversions are described by John McQueen: “The inhabitants are half French and they you know will dance and be merry anywhere; so altho the society is but small we generally of a Sunday evening have a kick up at some of their houses, but they take great care at the same time, that it should not lead them to expence, for they give you no kind of refreshment, but cold watter, to wash down their dirty talk, for they have totally banished delicacy from their conversations. -But they certainly surpass the English in dancing which they really do well . . . .” 47

There was, however, one dissenting opinion from the generally favorable impressions of visitors. “This country,” wrote Andrew Ellicott in June, 1799, “is hot both day and night, and cursed with poverty, and muskittoes: - The inhabitants of the town have to import earth to make their gardens with. What Bartram has described as Paradise appears to be like a purgatory, but somewhat worse! A Principality would not induce me to stay in it one hour longer than I could possibly avoid it. - If it had not been for pride I would certainly have run away from it six months ago. It might do for a place of Banishment.” Nevertheless, he was forced to admit that Pensacola was remarkably healthy and the bay a beautiful body of water which produced an abundance of fine

44. Pope, Tour, p. 44.
45. Ibid., pp. 43-44.
47. The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to his Family . . . (Columbia, S. C., 1943), p. 33.
seafood. "The harbor," he said, "is justly considered one of the best on the whole coast." 48

* * *

IV. PENSACOLA AND THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

At about the turn of the century, Spain's involvement in European affairs produced developments which had a profound influence on Pensacola. These had to do with the transfer of Louisiana. By and large, Spain had discovered that the province was a liability. Its upkeep was costly and it threatened constantly to involve her in war with the United States. Ever since 1795 she had been willing to dispose of it - to a friendly nation, of course. The opportunity presented itself with the Spanish-French alliance and the rise of Napoleon. Napoleon dreamed of recreating a French Empire in America and was willing to make certain territorial concessions in Europe to Spain. The Spanish were willing. If France took over Louisiana, she, not Spain would have to bear the burden of checking American expansion. On this basis of mutual interest arrangements were made in 1800 for the transfer. However, as far as Spain was concerned, the arrangement miscarried badly. Napoleon, faced with a renewal of his struggle with England, decided he needed cash more than an American empire and sold the province to the United States in 1803 without consulting his Spanish ally. The latter assumed title only twenty days after Spanish officials in New Orleans delivered the city to the French.

The immediate effect on Pensacola of the Spanish disposal of Louisiana was stimulating. Formerly dependent on New Orleans, it now became a province in its own right. In effect it inherited the position of New Orleans. The commandant took over the title and functions formerly exercised by the governor of Louisiana and West Florida, and a good part of the governmental establishment was transferred from New Orleans to the new capital. In recognition of his new status, the governor of West Florida was provided with an auditor de guerra, a trained legal officer, to assist in handling civil and criminal cases, and he was allowed a secretary. The latter was chosen from among the subalterns of

the garrison and was paid a salary of 250 pesos annually. 49
Also, the rest of the Regiment of Louisiana which had been stationed in New Orleans and in posts along the Mississippi was transferred to West Florida. 50 It must be noted, however, that even with the arrival of these reinforcements the garrison of Pensacola was hardly an effective fighting force. It remained consistently understrength, and discipline and morale were poor. Governors were unanimous in their warnings that they could not defend the town in case of any real attack. 51

During the first decade of the nineteenth century there also occurred a general loosening of trade restrictions as they applied to Pensacola. In 1804 Governor Vincente Folch legalized the general commerce with the colonists in which the Panton, Leslie Company had been engaged for some time. At the same time the company’s monopoly was substantially modified. In 1804 Folch abolished the duty of six percent on shipments from New Orleans to West Florida under the Spanish flag and, although illegal, he opened trade between Pensacola and the Americans in New Orleans. He, himself, contracted for 1500 barrels of contraband flour. Finally, in 1806, on the advice of the intendant, he threw open the commerce of West Florida to all neutral nations including the United States. The fact of the matter was that Spain and the Panton, Leslie Company, which depended on England and her Caribbean colonies for goods, could no longer supply adequately the government and the inhabitants of Pensacola. Trade fell more and more into the hands of the Americans. 52

The transfer of the government from New Orleans to Pensacola and a greater freedom of trade encouraged the internal development of the town. In 1810 the population was in the neighborhood of 1000 souls and growing. The physical appearance of Pensacola is described in a newspaper article which appeared in the St. Louis Gazette in September of the same year. There were three streets running east and west, and five north and south. The former were from 3528 to 3630 feet in length and the latter from 1320 to 1485 feet. The widest were about ninety

51. Folch to the Marques de Someruelos, February 21, 1805, AGI:PC, legajo 1573; Mauricio de Zuniga to Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, February 3, 1813, AGI:PC, legajo 1797.
BANHIA DE PANZACOLA.

PENSACOLA, 1813. V. S. PINTADO.
feet but some were only about half that width. On the main street which paralleled the bay there were about eighty houses. These were fairly evenly distributed with many lots unbuilt upon giving the town an airy appearance. The other two parallel streets were less populous, one of them having about seventy dwellings and the other about sixty. As was the case earlier, all except Panton’s house (occupied by John Forbes since Panton’s death in 1802), were of wood, generally one story high, and with porches facing on the street. There were no public buildings which merited the particular attention of the writer except for a large, capacious two story structure which formerly was the residence of the British governor and which in 1810 was being used as a barracks, and the warehouse which still served as a church. Also, there was a small rotunda for public balls and adjacent to it were rooms used for gambling, a diversion which was very popular in Pensacola.

There was no public market. In fact, there was no regular supply of food except for beef, seafood, and truck vegetables grown in private gardens. There were two licensed butchers, one for the civilian population and the other for the troops. These usually purchased their beeves in herds which were driven over from the American settlements on the Mobile, the Tombigbee, and the Alabama. Live hogs were occasionally brought in from the Tombigbee and some even came from as far away as western Tennessee.

Most of the population still depended directly or indirectly on the government establishment. There were a large number of stores in view of the size of the town. Stocks, exclusive of groceries, were purchased from American merchants in New Orleans. American homespun cotton, for example, was available in Pensacola shops. In addition to the regular mercantile establishments, Negro women peddled goods from baskets which they carried about the streets. The artisan population was small. There were a few carpenters and one or two tailors, but no printers, potters, tinsmiths, coppersmiths, watchmakers, hatters, or saddlers and probably no silversmiths, blacksmiths, or bootmakers. For most manufactured goods, Pensacola still had to depend on imports. There was one small tavern kept by an American, and visitors were occasionally admitted into private homes on the same terms as in public houses.
Two small industries had been established. About sixteen miles from town on a branch of the Escambia were two sawmills which produced pine boards. These were owned in part by Governor Folch and sold most of their output to Veracruz and New Orleans. On the opposite side of the bay from town was a brickyard which produced not only bricks but excellent paving tile.  

During the next three years Pensacola continued to grow. The census of June 13, 1813 shows that the population had reached a peak of 3,063, most of whom were French creoles, Scots, and Irish. The next year the town underwent some significant physical changes. The gardens which had formerly brightened the environs were cut into lots and sold at auction, but none of them were improved. Some of the streets within the town were blocked by constructing houses on them or shutting them off as building lots. The plaza, also, was partially subdivided leaving only two public squares named Ferdinand and Isabella respectively. Each was 500 by 300 feet. New streets were laid out to meet the “general confusion,” some thirty, some forty, and some sixty feet in width. They still maintained their natural surface and in strong winds the inhabitants were treated to clouds of dust and sand.

Despite the growth of the town, the parish of St. Michael continued to have a difficult time. In 1807 Father James Coleman, an Irish priest, served as pastor and also as vicar for the Bishop in the Floridas. Also, three other priests served the district as chaplains with the garrison. However, the poverty of the parish, the uncooperativeness of government officials, and the presence of many Protestant Americans made Pensacola unpopular, and turnover was rapid. Moreover, the parish was still using the old warehouse for worship, and no school had been built. The health of the church was further undermined by dissensions with the government as in the case of Father Jose Santiago Vives, a chaplain of the Regiment of Louisiana. According to the charges against him, Father Vives consorted with the lowest classes, was indiscreet in his speech, attacked verbally all persons of French descent or sympathies, and was careless in the performance of his ministry. As a result, he was expelled by the governor in 1810.

---

54. Williams, View of West Florida, p. 75.
Although partially vindicated in Havana he never returned to Pensacola. Finally, the retrocession of Louisiana to France had created problems of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which left the parish of St. Michael without proper direction.

The transfer of the government to Pensacola added some tone to the social life of the town. The wife of the governor was the focal point of society and the wives of subordinate officials were her satellites. As with women everywhere and always, style was a topic which received important consideration. In Pensacola feminine attire followed the French fashion. Dresses were without trains and had short sleeves, and, as Claude Robin put it, “Suggest the form without emphasizing it. . . .” They were, he added,
particularly appropriate to a country where the summers were long and hot. By and large, however, social life remained informal and democratic and amusements were limited. Robin found that a billiard table was the general rendezvous of male society and around it everyone gathered from the governor to the lowest workman. Here, he observed, "the shoemaker is seen in as good society as the soldier of the highest rank, . . . equality reigns, not that which descends to the coarse manners of the people, but that which elevates the man of the people to the more civil manners of society . . . one does not see there either the gossip or the wise man; one plays there and one drinks there, punch or other refreshments; one talks there, but only to talk."  

V. A TIME OF TROUBLES: REBELLION, ANDREW JACKSON, AND THE FILIBUSTERS

Although the status of Pensacola was indirectly raised by the Louisiana Purchase, its strategic position continued to deteriorate. The Americans were brought much closer on the west and even within Spanish territory trouble was brewing. In the Baton Rouge and Mobile districts most of the population was American and these settlers possessed standing grievances against restrictions on self-government, land speculation, and religious freedom.

Unrest reached a climax in the West Florida Rebellion and it created considerable alarm in Pensacola. Not only was the isolation and vulnerability of the province increased, but subversion and rebellion threatened to spread east of the Pearl. In August, Governor Folch received secret intelligence that the American inhabitants of Mobile were planning to rise against the Spanish authorities in October at the latest. Folch felt that his circumstances were so desperate that unless help arrived he would be unable to succor Mobile or, for that matter, hold Pensacola in case that city was threatened. These sentiments he communicated to the captain general in Havana along with a plan to salvage something from the situation. Briefly, his proposal was to enter into negotiations with the United States for the establishment of a definitive boundary between Louisiana and Texas. Pending the outcome of the negotiations, West Florida was to be placed in

57. As quoted in Dovell, Florida, I, 160.
deposit with the United States. If the boundary could be established along a line satisfactory to Spain, Florida would then be ceded to the United States; if not, it would revert to Spain. 61

When this plan brought no response, Folch, on his own initiative, offered to turn West Florida over to the United States if help did not arrive before January 1, 1811. Folch’s offer, of course, fell in line with the ambitions of the American government. President Madison secured from Congress an appropriation of $100,000 and the authority to use the armed forces of the country to occupy both East and West Florida if delivered by the Spanish or to prevent the occupation of these territories by a third power. George Mathews, former governor of Georgia, and Colonel McKee, Indian agent, were dispatched to Pensacola to open negotiations with Folch. However, when they arrived in March, 1811, they found that Folch had changed his mind and was determined to hold what was left of the Floridas for the Spanish crown. 62

In the meantime, the governor was faced with the threat of subversion within his own garrison. Excited by developments in Spain and inflamed by liberal proclamations issuing from the Spanish juntas, a group of officers led by Captain Rafael Croelher formed a society to discuss political questions. The society, however, soon turned from political discussion to political action, following the course pursued by many of their brothers-in-arms in other parts of Spanish America. Their objectives are not quite clear. They, themselves, maintained that they were dissatisfied with Folch’s passive stand in response to the threat to West Florida and wished to force him to adopt more positive measures. There is also a suspicion that they actually hoped to depose the governor and establish some sort of junta of self-government - in the name of Ferdinand VII, of course. At any rate, Folch charged them with attempting to undermine and subvert his authority.

Matters came to a head on October 24, 1810. On that day rumors began circulating in Pensacola to the effect that a force of some 2000 men composed of rebels from Baton Rouge and a number of French vagabonds were assembled near Mobile with the purpose of seizing that city and Pensacola and massacring the

---

60. The West Florida Rebellion and the events associated with it are ably treated in Isaac J. Cox, *The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813*. (Baltimore, 1918).
61. Folch to Someruelos, August 13, 1810, AGI:PC, legajo 1575.
inhabitants. These reports aroused deep consternation among the inhabitants of the capital who demanded that Folch take some action. Folch attributed the rumors to the dissident officers and asserted that they tried to cause the people to rise against the government by telling them that they could not rely on an official who, in the face of such a threat, took no steps for the defense of the city. On the basis of his own intelligence reports, Folch discounted the reports. However, the governor convoked a military council, not so much to consider defense measures, as to reassure the people. This step together with a public proclamation discrediting the rumors served to quiet the disturbance. The officers’ conspiracy was broken up by transferring the leaders to other stations.  

Events in Spain continued to be reflected in Pensacola. In 1812 a liberal constitution was adopted in the mother country which provided for municipal self-government for all communities within the empire which had 1000 or more citizens. Although there was some argument as to whether or not the town qualified as a municipality, it was authorized to elect four regidores (councilmen), an alcalde (an official who combined the functions of mayor and justice of the peace), and a sindico-procurador (town delegate). Vincente Ordozgoity, a leading merchant, was chosen as alcalde. The innovation proved to be a lively source of dispute since both the governor and the alcalde claimed that they should exercise all civil functions within the town limits. In 1814, however, the new constitution was abrogated and Pensacola reverted to its status as a military garrison.

With the outbreak of the War of 1812, Pensacola faced another crisis. Although Spain was officially neutral in the struggle, she was allied with Britain in the Peninsular War and the United States feared that the British might use Florida as a base for operations against her southern frontier. On the other hand, what posed a threat might also be considered as an opportunity: that is, a justification for the achievement of a long standing ambition, the annexation of the Floridas. Indeed there was little doubt in the minds of southern frontiersmen that this was the main objective of the war.

63. Folch to Someruelos, October 26, 1810, AGI:PC, legajo 1575; idem. to idem., October 29, ibid.
American operations against the Floridas began before the outbreak of hostilities with Britain. It will be remembered that shortly after the West Florida Rebellion, President Madison had asserted the claim of the United States to West Florida as far east as the Perdido but had only occupied the territory to the Pearl. Early in the Spring of 1812, General James Wilkinson, commanding the American forces in New Orleans, was ordered to complete the occupation of the region claimed. Wilkinson moved against Mobile in April and on the fifteenth of that month the helpless Spanish commander surrendered the town without bloodshed. Shortly thereafter the territory between the Pearl and the Perdido was incorporated into the Mississippi Territory. Thus the western boundary of Spanish Florida was pushed to within a few miles of Pensacola.

In the meantime American apprehensions of British intervention in Florida proved to be justified. Even before the outbreak of the war British agents were active, stirring up unrest among the southern Indians and with some success. A faction of the Upper Creeks, alarmed by American encroachments on their lands, became increasingly hostile. This element was known as the Redsticks. In the summer of 1813 a large party of the dissidents visited Pensacola, obtained a large quantity of ammunition, and announced their intention of attacking the Americans. In August the Redsticks went on the warpath, precipitating what is known as the Creek War. Hostilities opened with a series of setbacks for the Americans. However, in the winter of 1813-1814 General Andrew Jackson, commanding a combined force of regulars and militia, took the field and administered a decisive defeat to the Indians in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in March, 1814. By the terms of the treaty imposed by Jackson, the Indians lost two-thirds of their lands in Georgia and Alabama. As a result, the buffer zone that the Spanish had tried to create on their northern frontier was virtually eliminated and Spanish influence in West Florida was reduced for all practical purposes to Pensacola and St. Marks.

In Jackson's mind the Indian campaign was simply a preliminary operation. In many ways he epitomized the western attitude. He had no doubt about his ultimate objective; that was Florida. Indeed he assured his Tennessee militiamen when they

mobilized that West Florida was to be their theater of operations. Shortly after his victory over the Redsticks he had written to the Secretary of War: “Query . . . Will the government say to me, . . . ‘proceed to - [obviously Pensacola] and reduce it.’ If so I promise the War in the South has a speedy termination and the British influence forever cut off from the Indians in that quarter.” While in Creek country negotiating the Indian treaty, he sent John Garden, a woodsman and captain of a scout company, to Pensacola. Garden carried a letter from the general to Governor Manrique demanding the surrender of three fugitive chiefs and an explanation of British proceedings in Spanish territory. “Disagreeable consequences” were hinted at in case of an unfavorable reply. Garden’s interview with the governor was brief. Manrique regarded Jackson’s message as impertinent, refused to withdraw Spanish protection from the Indian chiefs, and would not acknowledge the existence of the British activities against which Jackson was protesting.

Shortly thereafter General Jackson received further aggravation. In August, 1814, two English men of war appeared in Pensacola Bay and put ashore a force of 200 marines under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Edward Nicholls and Captain George Woodbine. The Spanish commander offered no resistance. Indeed he cooperated with the British and allowed them to occupy the fortifications that guarded the city. Those installations which had deteriorated badly, particularly Fort San Miguel, were partially repaired by the newcomers. Colonel Nicholls began to enlist Indians who were supplied with British arms and drilled in the streets of the town. Proclamations were issued denouncing the Americans, and Nicholls even attempted to form an alliance with the Louisiana pirate, Jean Laffite - with no success it should be added.

Although Jackson had received no reply to his “Query,” this was too much for him to bear. At Pierce Stockade in Alabama he gathered a force of about 3000 men, 700 of whom were regulars, and on November 2, 1814, he set out for Pensacola. On the sixth he appeared before the town. Major Pierce of the Forty-Ninth Infantry was dispatched under a flag of truce to demand that the British depart and that Forts Barrancas, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa be garrisoned by United States troops until “Spain could preserve unimpaired her neutral character.” The flag, how-
ever, was fired upon and Jackson prepared to attack. The British
and Spanish had planned their defense to meet an attack from
the west along the wide white beach since the eastern approach
was narrow and difficult of access. Jackson, therefore, decided
to attack from the east. About an hour before dawn on the
seventh, he led his army from camp and began quietly to circle
the town, leaving five hundred men to created a diversion from
the west. By the time that sunrise had revealed Jackson’s approach,
it was too late to change defensive dispositions, but the defenders
posted a battery at the head of a street, and garden walls on the
east side of the town were manned by infantry. When Jackson
gave the signal for the assault, the American forces moved in
three columns, one on the beach and two above it. Against ar-
tillery fire from the battery and small arms volleys from the
defenders, Jackson’s troops fought their way into town, clearing
garden walls and rooftops as they advanced. Jackson, who was
directing the assault in person, was informed that Commandant
Manrique, old and infirm, was frantically scurrying about with a
white flag trying to find him. Arrangements were made for the
two to meet at the Government House and here the surrender
of Pensacola was arranged. In the meantime, the British forces
had withdrawn to their ships and to Fort San Carlos. The Spanish
displayed such bad faith and procrastinated so long in surrender-
ing Fort San Miguel that Jackson had to delay an attack on San
Carlos until the following morning. When he arrived on the
eighth he was too late. The British fleet had dropped down the
bay, picked up the defenders of San Carlos, and sailed away. Be-
fore they departed they destroyed the battery of Santa Rosa by
fire, demolished the fort of San Carlos and the adjoining hamlet,
and spiked the guns of the battery of San Antonio.

Jackson would undoubtedly have liked to hold Pensacola, but
without the approval of his government and, inasmuch as the
British had been driven off and the Spanish taught a lesson, he
evacuated the town. Before departing however, he informed
Governor Manrique that his actions had been undertaken only to
preserve Spanish neutrality and reproached him for his bad
faith.  66

66. The account of Jackson’s invasion of Florida in 1814 is based on
Marquis James, The Life of Andrew Jackson (New York, 1938),
Chapters IX-XI.
The events of 1814 reversed the development of Pensacola that followed the Louisiana Purchase. The British with Jackson’s help had literally destroyed the fortifications of the town, and the garrison, which in 1816 was composed of the remnants of the Regiment of Louisiana plus a handful of Negro and mulatto troops, was largely ineffective. As it became more and more obvious that Spain could not hold Pensacola or protect its citizens, trade fell off and many inhabitants emigrated. By 1816 the population had fallen to 500 and in May, 1818, it reached a low of 400.  

Although Pensacola enjoyed a brief period of peace after the departure of Jackson, its tranquility was soon interrupted from another direction. The revolutionary governments of Latin America turned to the sea in their war against Spain and commissioned privateers to attack Spanish shipping and Spanish settlements in royalist hands. To these quasi-official privateers were added adventurers of many nations who seized upon the Spanish-American revolutions as an excuse to raid and loot with only the loosest authority or none at all. Collectively the sea raiders were known as filibusters.

In 1816, Spanish intelligence agents reported that there were serious prospects of a filibuster attack on Pensacola. Various motives were attributed for their interest in the town: seizure of arms to be used by the Spanish-American revolutionists, occupation as a base for operations against royalist Mexico, acquisition with the object of subsequent sale to the United States for two or three million dollars. Such reports were accompanied by rumors that the filibusters were acting with the knowledge and even the approval of the United States. The names most frequently associated with such plots were Francisco Xavier Mina, a Spanish liberal who had cast his lot with the insurgents, and Luis Aury, a privateer in the service of the Mexican revolutionary government.

Repeated rumors and reports naturally alarmed the inhabitants of Pensacola who were quite aware of the defenseless state of their town. They were soon provided with some grounds for their apprehension. On December 8, 1816, there appeared off Fort San Carlos the privateer Independencia commanded by Job Northrup.

Although the vessel was commissioned by the Mexican insurgents it was flying the American flag. Northrup, concealing his real identity, informed the pilot sent out to meet him that he was an American captain carrying dispatches from New Orleans to Jose Masot, the governor of Pensacola. Masot, however, was suspicious of the visitor and ordered Francisco de Ballestre, who commanded at San Carlos, to send an officer to establish the identity of the visitor. Ballestre detailed Lieutenant Juan Balguerra for the mission. Upon boarding the vessel, Balguerra and the men who accompanied him were seized by Northrup. The filibusters then dispatched what amounted to a ransom note to Masot. After informing him of the fact that he was sailing with a commission from the Mexican government, Northrup assured him that he had no hostile intentions against the Spanish. But, he continued, if $50,000 were not delivered to him as a contribution for the Mexican government within twenty-four hours, Balguerra and fourteen other prisoners would be dealt with harshly. Furthermore, he threatened to report any recalcitrance on the part of Masot to the commander of his squadron [which did not exist]. If the ransom was not forthcoming, Pensacola would be seized and sacked.

Masot was not intimidated by Northrup’s allusion to his “squadron,” and convened a council of war to discuss the demands. The decision was to reinforce San Carlos with twenty-five men and not to pay one maravedi to the filibusters. Masot’s answer to Northrup was couched in derisive tones. The facts of the situation were announced in a “Proclamation to the People” which called the militia to arms and expressed the patriotic sentiment that “they would not turn their backs to the enemy.” Convinced that his bluff had been called, the privateer captain freed the prisoners unharmed and sailed away with empty hands.

Although Northrup’s extortion plan failed, the filibuster threat to Pensacola continued. Indeed, there are some grounds for believing that the Independencia had been sent to reconnoiter the town preparatory to a real attack. Spanish agents in New Orleans reported that Mina was preparing an expedition of between 1000 and 1400 men at Galveston for an assault on the capital of West Florida in January, 1817. Other evidence indicates that there was some substance to the reports. These alarms caused Masot to take extraordinary defense measures. Orders were issued to strengthen
San Carlos; all able-bodied men between sixteen and sixty not already enrolled in the militia were to be enlisted, armed, and drilled; all male slaves capable of bearing arms or performing labor were to be registered; horses, oxen, boats, and carts were to be requisitioned; a committee of vigilance was to be organized and a proclamation of the governor to the “Loyal Sons and Daughters and Valorous citizens of West Florida” was issued. The proclamation warned against traitors, assured the people of protection in case of attack, and exhorted them to contribute supplies for the defense of the town. In conclusion, it asked the men to “encourage their families, to fill them with confidence and assurances, and to make them say with me: ‘Long live the King and long live the inhabitants of West Florida.’ ” At the same time that local defenses were being readied, urgent appeals for help were dispatched to the captain general in Havana.

The dreaded filibuster attack did not materialize in January, but reports of hostile preparations continued to come in for several months. In the meantime, the city remained tense and alert. However, events were working in favor of Pensacola. The filibusters could not agree among themselves or with their financial backers about the details of the operation, and the plot against the town was abandoned. However, Florida was not spared entirely. Later in the year Aury and another adventurer, Gregor MacGregor raised the Mexican flag over Amelia Island and managed to maintain themselves there for three months. 68

While the threat of the filibusters hung over Pensacola, pressure from the United States for the cession of the Floridas continued. Shortly after the Northrup incident an exchange of notes took place between the Spanish minister in Washington, Luis de Onis, and Monroe which disclosed that Spain was willing to cede Florida - but only if the United States would yield its claims to all lands west of the Mississippi. Discussions proceeded on this basis for over a year without producing results.

Diplomatic negotiations were conducted against a background of alarums and excursions along the southern frontier. The principal source of trouble was the continued activities of British agents among the Florida and Georgia Indians. After departing

Pensacola, Colonel Nicholls and Captain Woodbine built a fort at Prospect Bluff on the Apalachicola which was a continuous source of trouble and incited the Indians and renegade Negroes against the Americans. As a result of these activities, in 1818 General Jackson was again ordered into Florida, and in a lightning campaign the Indians were chastised and two English agents, Armbrister and Arbuthnot were captured and summarily executed.

Back in American territory, Jackson received word that hostile savages were being sheltered by the governor of Pensacola. This was all the excuse he needed. On May 7, 1818, he left Fort Gadsden and after a forced march of 275 miles appeared before the capital of West Florida on May 22. The next day Governor Masot protested to Jackson vigorously and demanded that the Americans withdraw. If not, they would be expelled by force—a rather futile threat since the invaders outnumbered the garrison by more than four to one. The protest was merely a gesture, however. On the same day Masot retired to San Carlos leaving the town guarded by a few troops under the command of Luis Piernas, and in the evening Jackson occupied Pensacola and the remains of Fort San Miguel without bloodshed.

Jackson sent a dispatch to Masot demanding that Pensacola and San Carlos be surrendered and garrisoned by American troops until Spain could furnish some guarantee for the security of the frontier. Masot referred the general to Piernas who, of course, was powerless to act. Jackson then sent a second summons to the governor and when this was refused, marched to Fort San Carlos. On the evening of May 25, Jackson again called upon Masot to surrender, pointing out that resistance was futile and would only cost the lives of many brave men. When the third summons was rejected, the fort was invested and American batteries were installed within four hundred yards of it. The Spanish opened fire on the American positions and the fire was returned with vigor, but before the action could develop Governor Masot decided that his honor and that of his king had been preserved. A white flag was raised in the fort, a truce was signed, and the next day articles of capitulation were drawn up. By their terms it was agreed that the Spanish garrison should march out with full honors of war and that the troops should be transported to Cuba.
During the next five days Jackson completely overturned Spanish rule in Pensacola. Announcing that the United States in the interests of its own defense was compelled to seize those parts of Florida in which Spanish authority could not be maintained, he deposed the governor, seized and signed for royal property in the town and its environs, and declared United States revenue laws in force. American military government was established and American garrisons installed in the fortifications. A proclamation guaranteed protection of public and private property, freedom of worship, and freedom of trade. Then after arranging for the evacuation of the Spanish garrison, staff, and governor, Jackson departed Florida, leaving it to the diplomats to disentangle the situation he had created.

The situation did indeed need untangling. Although Spain, under the Treaty of San Lorenzo, was responsible for the conduct of her Indians, Jackson had acted in a very high-handed manner, seizing Spanish property, killing Spanish citizens, and summarily executing subjects of the British crown. In Washington, Minister Onis approached the Secretary of State in the middle of the night. “In the name of the King, my master,” he declaimed, “I demand a prompt restitution of St. Marks, Pensacola, and Barrancas, and all other places wrested by General Jackson from the Crown of Spain. I demand . . . indemnity for all injuries and losses, and the punishment of the general.” For three days the president’s cabinet met from noon to five to consider the case of General Andrew Jackson. Should his actions be supported or repudiated? A compromise was finally effected. The president refused either to punish or censure the general. It was agreed, however, that the posts taken from Spain should be restored. In the meantime, negotiations for the cession of the Floridas should be reopened. 69

On February 4, 1819, mariscal de campo Juan Maria Echevarria, commissioned to receive Pensacola from the Americans, arrived in the port accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel Jose de Callava, the new governor, and a garrison of twenty-four officers and four hundred and eighty-three enlisted men from several Spanish line regiments. The official transfer was made four days later. All suspected, however, that the return of Spain was only temporary. Pensacola and the Floridas would pass to the United

States. The question was only when and under what circumstances.

VI. PENSACOLA ON THE EVE OF AMERICAN RULE

It is appropriate to conclude with a description of Pensacola just before it passed into American possession. Between 1814 and 1820 the physical appearance of the city had changed little except, perhaps, that it was a little more dilapidated. The public buildings were in poor shape, and religious services continued to be held in the old warehouse. The streets were still of sand, but in some places brick sidewalks had been laid. Although Governor Callava made some attempt to repair Fort San Carlos, the fortifi-

cations of the town were largely in ruins and were completely inadequate to repel a determined attack. 71

The population had increased somewhat from the low of 1818, and the census of 1820 showed 713 inhabitants. Of this total 451 were white and 259 colored. In terms of origin, 370 were native born and of these only seven were over forty years old; that is, old enough to have been living in the town before the end of the British period. Thus, the population of Pensacola had been almost entirely replaced since 1781. Of the rest, ninety-eight were born in Spain or in Spanish-America, sixteen in continental European countries other than Spain, five in Great Britain and her colonies, twelve in the United States, eighteen in Africa, five in the Indian nations, seventeen in Mobile, five in Baton Rouge, and one hundred and fifty-five in Louisiana. Thus, the single largest national or cultural element was the French creoles.

The following table gives the occupational breakdown of the population. The letter “W” indicates white, “C” colored.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 barbers (1 W, 1 C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 billiard parlor keepers (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 surgeon (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 innkeeper (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 gunsmith (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 cigar makers (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masons (C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 carpenters (7 W, 10 C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 shoemakers (7 W, 15 C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 fishermen (10 W, 3 C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 bakers (6 W, 2 C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tailors (3 W, 2 C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 blacksmiths (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pastrymaker (C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 tripe seller (C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 port captain (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 sailors (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wagoners (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 forest rangers (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 cattlemen (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 cowboy (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sacristan (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 interpreter (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 carpenters (7 W, 10 C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 silversmiths (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 grocers (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 shopkeepers (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 farmers (26 W, 2 C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 “employees” (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 laundresses (1 W, 27 C, 1 India</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pastry cook (C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dressmaker (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 seamstresses (6 W, 23 C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 seamstresses (6 W, 23 C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 peddlers (C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All white women except for one farmer, one laundress, six seamstresses, and one dressmaker included above gave their occupation as housewife. There is some question about the legitimacy of the occupation of the fifty colored laundresses and seamstresses. Most of them probably had less respectable means of support. Indeed, the census reveals rather widespread irregularities in

relations between the sexes. Out of 379 persons whose parentage could be identified, 101 were illegitimate, and there were thirty-nine mothers of illegitimate children. Also there were eight childless women living openly with men who were not their husbands. In general, the census reveals a high proportion of persons engaged in trade or service in comparison to the few engaged in direct production. This disproportion strongly indicates the garrison character of the town.  

In addition to the population of Pensacola itself, some 380 white Americans and seventy-three Negroes, probably all slaves, lived along the Escambia River some five to eighteen leagues from Pensacola. These cultivated some 1100 of land on which they raised rice, corn, beans, tobacco, and cotton. In addition, they owned 1577 head of cattle and 1160 hogs. Governor Callava had reservations about their presence. Not being Spanish subjects and being beyond the jurisdiction of their own government, they were a lawless lot. They had taken the best land and they were increasing in number so rapidly that the governor feared a repetition of the West Florida Rebellion in his district. On the other hand, he admitted that they served a useful function. They furnished Pensacola with a quantity of necessary food items at reasonable prices, and he was of the opinion that within a year they could supply the whole town, thus eliminating its dependence on imports.  

Not long after the return of the Spanish, Pensacola had another brief taste of municipal government. In 1820 a military uprising in Spain forced Ferdinand VII to restore the constitution of 1812. As before, the town did not have the population to qualify as a municipality, but a number of inhabitants held that under certain provisions of the constitution it might be considered a special case. Governor Callava was uncertain and requested an opinion from his auditor de guerra, Nicholas Santos Suarez. The latter handed down the unusual decision that the town could not legally be constituted a municipality but it could have an alcalde. The governor, therefore, called an election and on June 15, 1820, Jose Noriega won the office.

73. Callava to Cagigal, November 20, 1920, AGI:PC, legajo 1944.
Hardly had Noriega been installed when he renewed the jurisdictional dispute which had characterized Pensacola’s first experiment with self-government. The alcalde laid claim to all functions of government not purely military and demanded custody of the public records. Callava refused. As before, both parties appealed to higher authority, in this case to Havana. Here it was ruled that the town could neither qualify as a municipality nor was it entitled to an alcalde. Before the decision could be enforced however, word arrived of the cession of West Florida to the United States, and when Andrew Jackson arrived to assume
the governorship of the territory he found the functions of civil
government claimed by both Callava and Noriega, neither of whom
had any clear idea of the limits of his authority.  

_Social Life_

The social life of Pensacola remained easy-going and simple. John Lee Williams who visited the town shortly after the final
American occupation, described the people as temperate, quiet,
and rather indolent. They were affectionate and friendly to each
other and kind to their slaves. Business of any kind rarely in-
terfered with the even tenor of their ways. Amusements were few.
The most distinctive was the often described patgoe. The patgoe
was a wooden bird fixed on a pole which was carried through the
city by a slave on festive occasions. As it was presented to the
ladies, they made an offering of a piece of ribbon of any length
or color. These contributions were attached to the bird which
eventually became decked with the most colorful plumage. Later
the creation was displayed at a set time and place and the fair
patrons assembled around it. They were generally accompanied
by their beaux who came armed with fowling pieces. The young
men then took turns shooting at the bird, and the first who suc-
cceeded in “killing” it was proclaimed King. The patgoe became
his and he presented it to his favorite lady who, of course, became
Queen. There was a catch to it, however, the winning marks-
man was expected to pay all the expenses of the next ball over
which he and his queen reigned.

Dancing was universally popular as were card parties and de-
votees made no distinction as to the day of the week on which
they pursued their pleasure.  

When Rachel Jackson accompanied
her husband to Pensacola in 1821, her puritanical standards
were particularly shocked by the loose observance of the Lord’s
Day. Rachel complained vigorously against the places of business
which stayed open on Sunday and protested that dancing and
fiddling took the greater part of the Sabbath.  

Her attitude,
perhaps foreshadowed the change from the Latin to the Anglo-
Saxon atmosphere which was soon to prevail in Pensacola.

---

75. Williams, _View of West Florida_, pp. 77-79.
THE NORTH AMERICAN peace settlement of 1783 confirmed the Spanish in their reconquest of Pensacola and returned His Catholic Majesty’s banner to the bastions of the Castillo de San Marcos at St. Augustine; however, it did not end - but rather intensified - the struggle for the allegiance and trade of the 45,000 Indians on the Florida frontier. A new and dynamic United States, surging to the Mississippi, and from its Bahamas outpost a covetous England, intrigued with the savages to turn the Spanish out, and failing that, to divert to their own nationals and treasuries a part at least of the considerable trade of the Creek and Cherokee - and to a lesser extent - Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian nations.

The Indian trade of the southern frontier, though fraught with uncertainty for both investor and participant, was early an important aspect of southern commerce. With the restoration of peace, this trade beckoned ever more promisingly to those ready to risk life and fortune in its pursuit. The trader and trading post were the principal government link with the native, and the contact once joined revolutionized the Indian’s economic life. His deterioration to utter dependence upon the trader for flints, guns, ammunition and rum rapidly impaired the distinct Indian culture and whatever native industry he might have possessed. To acquire the necessary skins to trade for European products, the Indian hunted his traditional game preserve to extinction and succeeded only in making his precarious state more dependent than ever upon the white man’s trade and bounty.

On this fluid southern frontier many traders and trading houses were to contend for a share of the Indian trade, but few lasted long enough to inscribe more than their names in the area’s records. One group, however, consisting of Scotch merchants William Panton, John Leslie and Thomas Forbes, due to their business sagaciousness and the role circumstance seemingly thrust upon them, became the trading colossus of the late eighteenth century southern frontier. Together with their wily al-
PANTON, LESLIE COMPANY

ly, vociferous yet “silent” partner, Creek Chieftain Alexander McGillivray, Panton, Leslie, and Company (as the Scots were known in the Floridas after 1783) provided the stabilizing base upon which the Spanish built their Florida Indian policy. Without the influence of Panton over the half-breed McGillivray and the latter over the Creeks, it is doubtful if renewed Spanish rule could have been maintained in the Floridas.

Immigrating to South Carolina in the decade preceding the American Revolution, this rather remarkable group of Scots secured land grants and found their way, though separately, into the Carolina-Georgia-northern Florida Indian trade. Later family tradition supposed Panton, Leslie and Forbes organized and operated as a unit before the Revolution, but no mention of them as a business group seems to appear in Carolina-Georgia pre-Revolutionary newspapers. Leslie was in the firm of Alexander and Leslie, and Panton acted as the lesser member of the trading house of Moore and Panton in Savannah, Georgia.

During this same period, Panton acquired an interest (possibly through debts owed to Moore and Panton) in the Georgia-Florida trading operations of James Spalding. Spalding, who had also come out in the 1760’s, was established at St. Simon’s Island, Georgia, trading southward into eastern Florida. Here he had two main trading posts about fifty miles apart on the west bank of the St. Johns River: the “lower store” being situated near present day Palatka; and the “upper store” at Astor in Lake County. Two lesser stores were opened at a later date at Alachua and at Talahasochte on the Suwannee River.

Family tradition and some authorities have held Panton constructed a wharf in Pensacola, at the request of General Gage, as early as 1774, and was trading there at the time of Spanish reoccupation. However, he was not listed by the Spanish as among the inhabitants in 1781; nor does his name appear in official British West Florida records of the time. Perhaps Panton, himself, settled the point when in a letter dated 1797, he made reference to a “Residence of Twelve Years” in Pensacola.

To the Indian a major annoyance of the Revolution had been the disruption of their trade with the whites. Perceiving the British would withdraw from the Alabama-Georgia Indian country following their defeat, McGillivray and several of the
other Creek leaders in January 1783 sought out Governor Tonyn in St. Augustine. To him they presented a petition that the British establish a trading post at St. Marks on the Wakulla River. Still in British territory, this post would reduce by half the distance the Creeks would otherwise be required to travel for British trade.

Naturally, McGillivray and the Creeks wanted the post to be operated by Panton, Leslie and Forbes, who during the later stages of the war had been entrusted with the distribution of military supplies as well as present buying for Britain’s Creek and Cherokee allies. With characteristic effectiveness the Scots had seen to it that the Indians were better armed and supplied than ever before. In presenting new military equipment to the warriors Panton personally made a point of telling them the weapons were to be used to kill Americans! As a reward for Panton’s war contribution, Governor Tonyn licensed the post to him and it was placed in operation the following year.

On July 12, 1784, Great Britain evacuated East Florida. To maintain renewed rule in both Floridas, Spain needed the support of the Indians, many of which lived in the Spanish-American boundary area between the thirty-first parallel and the Tennessee River. The price for this friendship and support was trade, and preferably in high quality British manufactures to which the Indians had grown accustomed. If Spain could not supply this trade, there were land-hungry, trade-hungry Americans eager to fill the void.

Few of the Spanish officials understood the politics of the Indian trade better than Governor Arturo O’Neill of Pensacola, who even before the return of East Florida, declared:

I wrote some time ago to the intendant at Havana to send goods, and likewise to the intendant at New Orleans to arrange the trade in skins with the Indians before the enemy, on account of this failure and by means of his trade, should attract them to his side; but up to the present I have had no reply from Havana, and the intendant of New Orleans replies I should look to Havana as His Excellency Bernard de Galvez directed me to do. At present all the Indians are in the greatest harmony with us and we shall easily keep their friendship by means of trade, or the purchase of skins. If this is not put into practice immediately, I foresee that the result may be that they will become our enemies. . . .
In East Florida Governor Zespedes on his own initiative permitted Panton to continue operation of the small trading post at St. Marks. A short time later, administration for the post passed to the government of Pensacola with the transfer of the east boundary of West Florida from the Apalachicola River to the Suwannee. Through negotiations with the Indians in 1784 and 1785, the Spaniards obtained permission to regarrison the fort, and two years later a small detachment was finally assigned. This garrison had the dual mission of protecting the Panton store and preventing illicit trade in the Creek country.

To penetrate further into West Florida, Panton utilized the same tactics as those successfully employed in originally gaining the St. Marks outlet. He prevailed upon McGillivray, and through him the other chieftains, to lobby for a Panton monopoly in Pensacola in 1784. Armed with a petition and supported by a Creek delegation, McGillivray pleaded the Panton cause before a not-unsympathetic Governor O’Neill - but with limited success. The House of Panton gained admittance to Pensacola pending final crown decision, but immediate official support for a Panton monopoly in the west was not the governor’s to give.

For a time, another English trading house, James Mather and Arthur Struther of Mobile, thwarted a Panton monopoly. In 1789 this company went under and the last serious threat to Panton, Leslie and Company was removed. Panton had gradually won out in the favor of the West Florida and Louisiana officials. He had scored heavily with Governor O’Neill at the time of the 1784 Indian Congress in Pensacola by rushing supplies and presents from the St. Marks store when those promised by Mather and Struther did not arrive in time. Panton’s prompt action saved the Pensacola officials from acute embarrassment and the Congress from calamitous collapse.

Panton moved the headquarters of the House to Pensacola because of a developing four to one dollar volume of trade there over St. Augustine.

Religious qualifications were not imposed on the traders, but subsequent disputes arose as to whether the Protestant partners should study Catholicism with an eye to eventual conversion.
Another condition of the Panton, Leslie monopoly was the "... indispensable circumstances of taking the oath of fidelity and obedience [to the Spanish Crown] which they have promised." Panton temporized, and after nine months urging submitted a modified form of the oath to Governor O’Neill. O’Neill forwarded it to Gov. Miro, of Louisiana, requesting to be informed whether Panton’s format was suitable, since it was not “arranged according to what the royal order provides.” It appears O’Neill never received an answer, and out of the resulting confusion grew the story that Panton had never taken the oath.

While the Scots maintained cordial relations with the various governors, quarrels and misunderstandings were frequent with subordinate officials, and especially so after Panton officially succeeded Mather in the west. His annoyance with the presumptuousness of petty commercial officials and their cumbersome ordinances moved Panton on one occasion to exclaim that as an English subject he was bound only by English law! As late as 1799, Panton continued to view his trade as assisting the Indians to “retain their attachment to the English Nation.” This attitude was not lost upon the lesser Spanish, who groused about the profits the Protestant plucked from what they rightly felt should have been their Indian trading plum.

By 1797 custom officials were complaining, that since 1787, when Panton had obtained an exemption from the 6% duty under the trade cedula of 1782, “it has never been possible to ascertain what he Imports and Exports.” Over the years they directed a number of representations to Havana regarding Panton’s alleged and actual violations of the monopoly, for the crafty Scot was not above turning an extra dollar in contraband trade with the civilian population whenever the opportunity availed. These protestations generally went for naught, as such was the nature of Spain’s Indian trade dilemma, that as late as 1800, the Marquis de Caso Clavo, writing to the home government from Louisiana in justification of the Panton monopoly, confessed, “Replacing Panton [is] a project that since January, 1777, has been thought of ... but never has a house presented itself who would or could take charge of this trade.”
Complete in its monopoly after 1789, the House of Panton experienced rapid growth and extensive profits in the next several years, and Spain's influence among the frontier Indians through the Panton-McGillivray combine reached its zenith. Virtual rulers of the frontier, Panton and McGillivray complemented each other neatly; yet, this was not an alliance built solely upon a political-economic need. They were fast friends in a friendship with its antecedents in the joint adversities Panton and the senior McGillivray had suffered at the hands of the Georgia patriots during the American Revolution. Upon the chief's death, Panton wrote to the father:

Your son was a man I esteemed greatly-I was perfectly convinced that our regard for each other was mutual-It so happened that we had an interest in serving each other which first brought us together, and the longer we were acquainted the stronger was our friendship.

I found him deserted by the British without pay, without money, without friends and without property, saving a few negroes, and he and his nation threatened with destruction by the Georgians, unless they agreed to cede them the better part of their Country-I had the good fortune to point out a mode by which he could save them all, and it succeeded beyond expectation-

The influence of McGillivray and Panton over the frontier Indians was so vital to Spain and so frustrating to the Georgia settlers, that the State of Georgia offered in vain to return the confiscated property of Panton and McGillivray's father if the Indian trader and the Creek leader would desert the Spanish service. To McGillivray, never a wealthy man, the temptation must have been considerable, for his father's confiscated estate was reportedly valued at between 25,000 pounds and 30,000 pounds. In 1797, summing up what he considered to be his own and the firm's service to Spain, Panton declared:

If it had not been for us, who kept the Indians from Joining with the American Banditti . . . there was nothing to have hindered them from appearing at the Gates of St. Augustine and Pensacola, and if the French party in Kentucky had been sure of not being opposed by the Indian tribes the fate of these Provinces would Have been decided long enough before peace was made with France; during twelve years that we have been Here peace with these Savages has been preserved
& their depredations restrained, more owing to our exertions and moderate fair Trade that We allowed Them than to any other means, while during the greatest part of that time the Frontiers of America has been deluged with Blood:-

Finally, to all this must be added Panton’s reputation for unswerving fairness in his dealings with the redman. Creeks and Cherokees openly expressed their confidence in Panton in calling upon him to act as mediator in disputes over stolen horses, and losers in good faith accepted his judgments in lieu of inflaming the frontier in tribal warfare. The Spanish governors, too, came increasingly to rely on him in such matters; yet, the significance of his role as a peacemaker has never been fully recognized. In one instance answering the Baron de Carondelet, of the Louisiana government, Panton wrote in regard to his handling of the Indians:

I thank you for your friendly confidence, which be satis-
fied I will never abuse . . . I should have gone to the Indian Nation long ago altho’ my bodily infirmity renders that jour-
ney more painfull to me than it used to be. . . . But I did what was nearly equal to it I sent expresses to every part of the Nation, with letters to my friends using such language & reasoning as I knew would have most effect to dissuade the Indians from committing any further depredations on those Colonies, & I am happy to find that my arguments has had some effect—A part of the horses are already returned, & other Stolen property is on its way to Pensacola, I have had a visit from three of the Principal Chiefs of the Upper Townes, & the Mad Dog of the Tuckabatches is now in my house who shall not depart without receiving his lesson—And if I find that a journey is absolutely requisite in order to procure peace neither bodily infirmity nor the inclemency of the season shall prevent me from undertaking it. . . .

Supported in part by its own capital, the firm had extensive credits, sometimes in excess of $80,000, available through its London underwriters. At the height of the firm’s expansion and influence, Panton, from the Pensacola headquarters, directed partners and associates in London, Nassau, Havana, St. Augustine, New Orleans and Mobile, and maintained agents at outlying posts on the St. Johns River, at the aforementioned St. Marks, at Prospect Bluff on the Apalachicola River and at Chickasaw Bluff on the Mississippi. Pack trains carrying Panton goods penetrated along Indian trails even into the country beyond the
Tennessee River. To supply this sprawling trade empire, the House operated fifteen ocean going vessels, as well as numerous smaller ones, and at the Pensacola nerve-center, fifteen clerks were employed to process an estimated $50,000 worth of stock kept on hand for traders and Indians.

The unexpected death of the irreplaceable McGillivray in 1793 was but the first of many vicissitudes the Company was to face in the deteriorating Spanish power position on the Florida frontier. The Treaty of San Lorenzo two years later, setting the Florida boundary at the 31st parallel, removed totally from Spanish jurisdiction Indians who owed the Company staggering debts of $60,000 at St. Augustine and $140,000 at Pensacola. Another $200,000 was on the books for supplies advanced to the increasingly improverished Florida Spanish governments. Panton, perceiving these debts if uncollectable could ruin the firm, offered without success to return the monopoly to the crown for the $400,000 outstanding, and to remain in the Spanish service until he had trained a Spanish successor.

Other discouraging events cut heavily into the Company's profits. William Bowles, an adventurer in the pay of British merchants in the Bahamas, twice in a five year period, attempted to break the House's monopoly in the Creek country by looting the Prospect Bluff store. Bowles was captured shortly after the second attack, but the firm sustained damages of $28,000 in the two raids.

Spain's alliance with England against France from 1793-1795 subjected the Company's vessels to seizure by French warships and privateers. Losses were great, and in one instance interception of an inbound Panton vessel meant 60,000 lbs. of outgoing skins were left on the docks without means of shipment. Later, Spain's break with England placed Panton under suspicion in both countries. After much difficulty and negotiation, he managed to continue the indispensable flow of Indian trade supplies from England by bringing them into the Floridas in neutral American bottoms. If all this were not enough, nature seemed to conspire against the Scots. In one year alone losses of cargo from worms reached $15,000.

By 1801 Panton's health had failed, and he died at sea on February 26th of that year, while enroute from Pensacola to Nassau in search of a helpful climate. After Panton's death, the
House reorganized as John Forbes and Company with John and Thomas Forbes as the senior partners. Among the junior partners, each of whom had an interest only in the particular branch to which he belonged, were Panton’s nephew, James Innerarity, and Philip Yonge. John Innerarity, who held a clerkship in the West Florida branch from 1802, was admitted to partnership in 1812. Upon the retirement of John Forbes in 1817, he, together with his brother James guided the destinies of the Company until its final dissolution nearly a quarter of a century later.

Panton’s death terminated the effectiveness of the firm as an instrument of Spanish Indian policy; the advancing Americans and changing business conditions slowly destroyed its monopoly. The succeeding partners occupied themselves primarily with attempts to collect back debts and claims, and to protect the Company’s extensive properties. Land ceded to the firm for Indian debts totaled 1,200,000 acres, most of it pine barrens, and Spain later settled 1,500,000 arpents of adjoining lands on the House to compensate for other losses.

As American annexation of the Floridas became increasingly apparent, the House considered various schemes - such as one of the Innerarity brothers obtaining American citizenship in advance or the settling of sturdy highland Scots on the lands - to prevent the otherwise inevitable “squatting” by the onrushing Georgia and Alabama frontiersmen. And lastly, as though to repudiate all that Panton had stood for, the firm dispatched a lobbyist to the American capitol with instructions to present the partners as “mere merchants” and not as successors to the once proud Pensacola and St. Augustine trading house that had served as the basic instrument of Spanish Indian policy in the Floridas.

The above account is based upon the records and correspondence of the members of the Company, as preserved by their descendants in two collections known as the Greenslade and Cruzat Papers, and in the materials gathered over a period of years by Elizabeth Howard West. All of these papers are reposited in the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.
The morning sun over Pensacola on July 17, 1821, shone on a scene of historic pageantry not since repeated in Florida’s history. During the early hours of that day a full company of Spanish troops, dismounted dragoons of the regiment of Tarragona who were elegantly clad and equipped, paraded in the plaza before the Government House. A few miles away, through the flat piney woods, came elements of the Fourth United States Infantry and Fourth United States Artillery regiments with flags flying and band playing. At their heads rode the gaunt gray figure of Andrew Jackson. After almost two months of tedious, irksome, and so far as Jackson was concerned unnecessarily time-consuming negotiations, the surrender by Spain of the province of West Florida to the United States was about to be consummated. At half-past six, Jackson and a few of his staff entered the city and took breakfast with Mrs. Jackson who was already established in a house near the plaza. At about eight o’clock a battalion of the Fourth Infantry and a company of the Fourth Artillery were drawn up by Colonel George M. Brooke opposite the Spanish troops on the plaza, which is still the plaza today. After the two bodies of troops had saluted each other, Brooke detached four companies of infantry under Major James E. Dinkins to take possession of Fort Barrancas nine miles away.

Promptly at ten o’clock the stiff, spare figure of Jackson emerged from his house followed by aides, a secretary, and interpreters. With grave dignity the little group crossed the plaza between rows of saluting Spanish and American soldiers and entered the Government House. While Jackson and Spanish Governor Jose Callava signed the transfer document within, outside at the gate the Spanish guard was ceremonially replaced with a guard of United States soldiers. Shortly thereafter Jackson and Callava moved out into the plaza where the Spanish colors were lowered and the stars and stripes were raised as the Fourth Infantry band played the “Star Spangled Banner” and salutes were fired by the artillery company, and Pensacola was American! The next day the Spanish garrison sailed away to Havana, except
for thirty-six officers who were allowed to remain six months longer. Former Governor Callava was among those remaining. 1

As the first American governor, Jackson may have looked upon his new capital city with some misgivings, for it was not a very impressive place. It was situated about ten miles from the entrance to Pensacola Bay and extended about a mile along its shore and less than half a mile back from the shore on a dry sandy plain. Fresh water was provided by several springs located at its rear and flowing into the bay at each end of the town. The buildings, generally speaking, were in a state of disrepair. To Rachel Jackson, they looked “old as time,” and Henry M. Brackenridge thought that they were in an advanced state of decay despite much patching, painting, and whitewashing. The streets were a deep white sand, “nearly as white as flour” it seemed to Rachel Jackson, and the frequent summer rains and the heavy traffic of the throngs of newcomers turned them into quagmires.

The government buildings were in as bad shape as private dwellings. Jackson reported the Government House to be in “a

1. Niles’ Weekly Register, August 25, 1821.
ruinous state,” propped up with unhewn timbers and unsafe for habitation. Brackenridge referred to it as a wretched frame building but noted that it was surrounded by good fruit and sour orange trees. Barracks built during the British regime had neither windows nor roofs and the troops had to be quartered in what Jackson characterized as “filthy” blockhouses and in a hospital in only slightly better shape. Despite its location on a fine harbor, the port facilities of the city were virtually non-existent. Only one nearly ruined pontoon wharf was in existence and most shipping was unloaded by lighters. This was corrected before too long and by 1829 a thousand foot wharf was in use.  

**ORGANIZING THE GOVERNMENT**

Jackson, nonetheless, lost no time in establishing a governmental system which he sought to make a combination of traditional Spanish institutions and American practice. He appointed Henry M. Brackenridge alcalde of Pensacola, and seized upon the fact that the city had once had a cabildo as sufficient precedent for ordaining a mayor and city council. George Bowie was appointed the first mayor, but was succeeded in October by Colonel John Miller. The first council included William Barnett, Henry Michelet, John Innerarity, and John Brosnaham. A board of health, headed by John D. Voorhees, and a county court, presided over by David Shannon, were also created. Justices of the peace included E. B. Foster, John Garnier, N. Shackelford, and Cary Nicholas.

Jackson also issued proclamations defining the powers of the city authorities and creating the county of Escambia from all of the territory of Florida west of the Suwannee River. Though never precisely defined, Jackson’s powers as provisional governor were vast and, considering all things, were rather temperately exercised by him. They partook of the powers of the former Spanish officials and of the first provisional governor of Louisiana, and apparently embraced legislative, executive, and judicial powers, but Jackson complained that he was a “little at a loss” to know precisely what they were.  

---


During August of 1821 the notorious Vidal case which had international repercussions arose in Pensacola. Mercedes Vidal, the natural heir of a Spanish military auditor, Nicholas Maria Vidal, went to Alcalde Brackenridge to secure the enforcement of a decree by the last Spanish governor which had ordered an ac-
counting by the executors of the estate. Papers of the late Vidal which were needed for the proof of the case were not among those surrendered by the Spanish officials, but had been retained with military papers which were to be removed. On hearing these facts Jackson ordered the papers delivered up, maintaining that, dealing with private property, they were not properly military papers. Jackson’s order for their delivery was brought to Callava while he was dining in a large company at the residence of Colonel Brooke. Brooke prevailed upon the officers to withdraw without further embarrassment to his guest, but Jackson subsequently sent a detachment of troops to Callava’s home where the former governor was routed from bed and brought into the presence of an impatient, hot, tired, and annoyed Andrew Jackson. There a scene of wild confusion took place in which Jackson demanded that Callava deliver up the papers or be held in contempt of the authority which he wielded under the provisional regime. For several hours Callava refused, maintaining that he had a privileged position as commissioner for the transfer. Unmoved, Jackson committed Callava to the local jail for the night and seized the papers.

The jailing of Callava also led Jackson into conflict with the federal judge in Pensacola, Eligius Fromentin. Fromentin was persuaded by the friends of Callava to issue a writ of habeas corpus, despite the fact that the only federal laws which had been extended to Florida were those dealing with the revenue and the regulation of the slave trade. Jackson promptly set aside the writ and severely lectured Fromentin for interfering with his authority. Though Fromentin fancied that Jackson might appropriate to himself the powers of the Spanish Grand Inquisitor and burn him at the stake, the President and the Secretary of State both upheld Jackson’s action. Jackson later heard the Vidal case himself and handed down judgment in favor of the Vidal heirs. Upon his release, Callava proceeded to Washington where he stirred up the Spanish minister and the political enemies of Jackson to a storm of protest. Due largely to the efforts of Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, however, Jackson’s conduct in Florida was justified, and later attempts to get Congressional censure of his acts met with failure.  

By September, of 1821 Jackson was tiring of Pensacola and concluded that his obligation to receive the territory and reorganize the government had been fulfilled. In September he informed the authorities in Washington of his determination to retire, and during the first week of October his departure took place. During his absence George Walton, the Secretary of West Florida, was to exercise the gubernatorial powers in that region. The interim regime under Walton was terminated in March, 1822, when Congress created a government for the territory. Under the act of March 30 it was to consist of a governor, a secretary, and a legislature, all appointed by the President. Judicial power was vested in two Superior Courts and such inferior courts as the territorial Legislative Council might create. Florida was to be represented in Congress by a non-voting delegate in the House of Representatives, to be elected as the Legislative Council might determine.

Pensacola was the temporary capital of the new territory and the first regular territorial governor was William P. DuVal of Virginia, who had been federal judge for East Florida. George Walton was named Secretary of Florida and the West Florida federal court at Pensacola was presided over by Henry M. Brackenridge.

Soon after the departure of Jackson from Pensacola the throngs of adventurers, opportunists, and office-seekers who had crowded into the little town at the time of the transfer began to drift away. Two weeks after Jackson left, Secretary Walton wrote that the population, which had approached 4,000 at the time of the transfer, was rapidly decreasing. At this time the commercial importance of Pensacola was slight and economic opportunities were restricted. In addition, the cost of living was said to be higher than that at New Orleans or Washington, and many of the amenities of civilization were lacking. For instance, the Pensacola Floridian reported more than a year after the transfer that there was still not a minister of the gospel in all of Florida.

As the seat of the territorial government, the city of Pensacola was to be host to the first session of the Legislative Council on June 10, 1822. Due to the extreme difficulties of travel in Florida, however, a quorum of the Council was not present in Pensacola.
until July 22. When the quorum had assembled, however, the Council organized and selected James Bronaugh as presiding officer. Bronaugh was an army surgeon who had been Jackson’s personal physician. In the Council a contest developed between Bronaugh and Richard K. Call, a Pensacola lawyer and former aide-de-camp to Jackson, centering around the post of delegate to Congress. The major business of the Council was concerned with governmental organization, including the procedures for the selection of the Congressional delegate. Bronaugh and Call each sought to get the Council to approve suffrage qualifications which each felt would benefit himself and disadvantage the other. Ultimately, by breaking a tie vote, Bronaugh secured suffrage laws which he thought would be to his advantage.

**YELLOW FEVER**

The deliberations of the Council were abruptly terminated, however, during the week of August 10-17 by the appearance of an epidemic of the dreaded scourge, yellow fever. To escape the disease the Council adjourned first to the home of one of its members, Don Juan de la Rua, at Gull Point and later to the ranch of Don Manuel Gonzales, some fifteen miles from the city. Despite these moves, members of the Council were struck down with the disease and James Bronaugh died of it on September 2. Shortly thereafter Joseph Coppinger Connor, the clerk of the Council, also died. Edmund Law was then chosen president and the Council named Joseph M. Hernandez of St. Augustine as delegate to Congress and provisions were made for the popular election of a delegate to the Eighteenth Congress in 1823. The Council adjourned on September 18. 5

The ravages of the 1822 yellow fever epidemic were quite severe. In what was probably a pessimistic exaggeration, Governor DuVal wrote that “almost all the American population of Pensacola have died.” It is true, however, that after the epidemic the population was estimated to be only 1,000 to 1,250. Former Governor Jackson was shocked to hear of the death of his friend Bronaugh and of the tragedy of this visitation to Pensacola. He attributed the appearance of the disease to the fact that the

5. The first session of the Legislative Council is discussed in some detail in this author’s “Andrew Jackson’s Cronies in Florida Territorial Politics,” *ibid.*, XXXIV (July, 1955), 3-29.
“police was lax.” He used the term “police” as a military man does to mean “to make clean.” He wrote: “Pensacola is a healthy place with a proper police, and the present catastrophe is no evidence to my mind of the contrary. I have the prosperity of the Floridas much at heart, and its late dreadful visitation has filled my heart with woe.” 6

ROAD BUILDING

Among other things the first Legislative Council concerned itself with projects for internal improvements and petitioned Congress for such programs, including roads, canals, and a navy yard at Pensacola. Road building received the most immediate attention since this was one of the most pressing needs of the territory. Under the Spanish regime many existing roads had fallen into disuse and had virtually disappeared. An army engineer, Daniel E. Burch, in 1823 made estimates of the costs of a road to St. Augustine, and surveyed possible routes which might expedite travel between Pensacola and Blakely, Alabama, located on Mobile Bay. He estimated that the army might build a highway to St. Augustine for slightly less than $19,000. Modern day highway contractors might be startled to learn that the itemized estimate contained an entry of $924 for whisky! In 1824 Congress authorized the opening of a road to St. Augustine and appropriated $20,000 for that purpose. In 1825, 1827, 1828, 1829, and 1830 additional appropriations were made for this highway. All of these were small sums, probably for maintenance, except for the 1830 appropriation which was $33,000 for opening a Pensacola to St. Augustine road. This would seem to indicate that the road needed rebuilding by this date.

In addition to the life-line route connecting the two principal cities of Florida, the people of Pensacola were concerned about their connections with Alabama. Three main routes were followed: a carriage road which ran to a ferry across the Perdido River twenty-one miles from Pensacola and from that point to an intersection with the Blakely to Claiborne, Alabama, road fourteen miles above Blakely; a trail which ran to a ferry a few miles below the carriage road and from that point directly to Blakely; and a

trail which crossed the Perdido River at an even more southerly point and proceeded to Blakely. The distances involved were seventy, fifty-three, and sixty-five miles respectively.

Two other thoroughfares, connecting Pensacola and Barrancas, were also objects of concern. One, not properly a road, was a route along the beach which crossed two bayous at their mouths. The distance to Barrancas this way was seven miles, but it could be negotiated only on horseback at low tide. The other route was a wagon road which headed one bayou and crossed the other on a bridge. This route was fifteen miles in length. Despite continued exertions and expenditures of money, the whole road system remained in a crude state and was not capable of supporting a heavy volume of commerce. 7

Unlike the ports of Apalachicola and New Orleans, Pensacola also lacked an important major waterway draining an extensive back country. For a decade or so after Florida became American, canal projects were projected in a variety of different locations. One of the most feasible plans was to connect Pensacola with Mobile Bay, but others were also entertained: to connect Pensacola with New Orleans, with the Apalachicola River, and even with the Atlantic Ocean by means of a cross-peninsula canal. None of these projects ever materialized, however, and by the mid-thirties the people of Pensacola were looking to the new steam railway as a possible substitute for a canal or river.

THE PROSPEROUS THIRTIES

The 1830’s were a period of rising prosperity after the withering years of the twenties. One of the earliest marks of increased commercial activity in Florida as elsewhere was the chartering in 1831 of the Bank of Pensacola. In the same year construction was begun on Fort Pickens and Fort McRee under the direction of Captain William H. Chase of the army engineers. With this stimulation, prosperity approached a peak in 1834 and local business interests optimistically projected a railroad line from Pensacola to Columbus, Georgia. Northern capital, however, had to be raised to get serious work started and New York and Philadelphia businessmen were soon enlisted. Ambitious

schemes were then set in motion to enlarge the capitalization of the Bank of Pensacola with the support of the territorial government, to engage in speculative real estate operations, and to construct a railroad.

In 1835 the charter of the bank was amended to increase its capitalization by $500,000 and to authorize its purchase of stock in the newly chartered Alabama, Georgia, and Florida Railway Company. The bank was authorized to float a bond issue to the amount of its increased capitalization and the territorial government guaranteed the principal and interest of the bonds. In return the territory took liens on the capital stock of the bank, its railroad stock, and any other property which it owned. The promoters of this plan organized the Pensacola Land Company to handle their real estate operations, and the Pensacola Association to float the bond issue. Control of the bank of Pensacola was placed in the hands of the Pensacola Association through their purchase of a large block of the newly authorized bank stock. In December, 1835, the bonds were sold at face value to Biddle, Jaudon, and Chauncey who ultimately marketed them in England.

Actual construction on the railroad was begun in 1836, though the terminus was changed from Columbus to Montgomery, Alabama. The lands at the Pensacola terminus were acquired by the Pensacola Land Company and an entire new city was laid out east of the old one. The first public sale of lots was held in January, 1837, and about one-half million dollars worth were sold. A second sale in May was much less successful, with only about $35,000 worth of land being taken. 8

The financial panic which swept the country in 1837, however, made a shambles of these optimistic beginnings. The Bank of Pensacola was forced to close its doors on June 5 and soon after the land company failed and construction on the railroad ceased, never to start again. No rail had been laid on the road, with the exception of a few hundred yards, and for generations the abandoned graded roadbed stood as a monument to these ill-fated beginnings. The bonds which had been sold abroad by the bank could not be paid and the foreign owners pressed the territorial government for payment in the 1840’s. The hard-

---

8. There is a detailed discussion of the boom of the 1830’s in Dorothy Dodd, “The New City of Pensacola, 1835-1837,” Florida Historical Quarterly, IX (April, 1931), 224.
pressed government was in little better shape than the bank and sought to evade its responsibility. Governor Richard K. Call suggested that the bondholders must first prosecute the individual stockholders of the bank into insolvency before the territory could assume responsibility, but this hopeless task was never undertaken. In 1842 the Legislative Council formally repudiated the bonds.

Another railroad venture involving Pensacola was launched in 1853 when the legislature chartered the Pensacola and Georgia railroad to build to the Florida-Georgia line, with a branch to Tallahassee. Edward C. Cabell was president of this road, which soon abandoned its plans to build to Pensacola and concentrated on connecting Quincy and Lake City. In 1856 the Alabama and Florida Railroad got under way under the presidency of Benjamin D. Wright. Wright was soon succeeded by W. H. Chase, however, and in April ground was broken on the road, which was to connect at the Alabama line with another road building south from Montgomery. By 1860 this road offered travelers a line from Pensacola to Pollard, Alabama, where connections were available to Mobile and other points. 9

MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN PENSACOLA

More important to Pensacola’s prosperity in the territorial period than roads, canals, or railroads were army and navy installations. In 1821 Colonel John R. Fenwick was in command of the Southern frontier, which included Florida, though actual command of the occupation troops in Pensacola seems to have been exercised by Colonel Duncan L. Clinch and Colonel George M. Brooke. Late in 1823, however, Brooke was transferred to Tampa Bay and Fenwick to Norfolk, Virginia, leaving about one company of infantry in Pensacola under Clinch. Clinch remained in this post until his transfer to Tampa Bay in 1829. The quarters for the troops were about as makeshift as Jackson reported them in 1821 until the building of Fort Pickens over a decade later.

More important than the army installations was the navy yard which they were designed to protect. The advantages of Pensacola's...
cola Bay as a site for a naval depot were appreciated long before the acquisition of the area by the United States. From the very first the American occupiers of the territory pressed upon Congress the desirability of such an installation. Along with recommendations for other internal improvements, the first session of the Florida Legislative Council sent a memorial to the President asking for a naval depot at Pensacola. In the next year Congress appropriated $6,000 for a lighthouse and in 1825 an act was approved which authorized the establishment of a navy yard and depot at some place on the Gulf coast of Florida. Meanwhile naval vessels cruising in the West Indies were instructed to use Pensacola as a supply base rather than Thompson’s Island (Key West).

On October 25, 1825, the commission to select a site for the navy yard arrived in Pensacola and were lavishly entertained by the citizens. The commission, consisting of Captains William Bainbridge, Lewis Warrington, and James Biddle, spent several days examining the vicinity and made their departure after a great banquet presided over by Henry M. Brackenridge which undoubtedly favorably impressed them with the hospitality of Pensacolians. On December 2 the Secretary of the Navy reported that Pensacola had been selected as the site for the proposed installation. Within two weeks Joseph M. White, the Congressional delegate from Florida, had proposed that the Secretary of War furnish Congress with information about the feasibility of fortifying the entrance to Pensacola Bay.

By the end of 1826 plans for a navy yard had been laid out and some $40,000 expended toward its construction under the supervision of Captain Warrington, who became the first commandant of the yard. For years, however, the Pensacola navy yard was only grudgingly provided for and by the start of 1830 little progress had been made. Excuses were offered which emphasized the distance of the project from Washington and the difficulties of starting “from scratch.” Meanwhile, for fortifications at Pensacola, Congress appropriated over $100,000 in 1828 and 1829. During the administration of President John Quincy Adams another project related to the navy yard was initiated near Pensacola. This was the establishment of a live-oak plantation on Santa Rosa Peninsula—an experiment designed to provide a re-

serve supply of timbers to be used in the construction of ships of war. By 1833 this experimental plantation covered, 225 acres and included over 60,000 trees. The Secretary of the Navy expressed some doubts about the scheme, saying that many of the trees appeared to be dwarfed and that the soil might be too poor, but he recommended continuing the experiment.  

Many complaints were made about the inadequacies of the navy yard during the 1830’s. It was noted that there was no hospital or other building large enough to care for all of the sick brought into the base, that the two highest classes of vessels, including the Constellation, could not ordinarily get into the bay because of the shallowness of its entrance, and that barracks for marines were non-existent. Gradually through the late thirties Congress made appropriations to remedy such shortcomings, but as late as 1842 it was reported that the navy yard still had no dock, only a temporary wharf costing scarcely $1,000. Though the Senate had approved a resolution as early as 1836 inquiring into the expediency of a dry dock at the navy yard, a board was not appointed to determine whether a dry dock was practical there until 1844, and not until 1850 was the first dry dock actually launched. In 1842 David Levy, the Congressional delegate, got a resolution approved inquiring into the neglect of the navy yard, and the next year he angrily charged on the floor of the House of Representatives that one-third of the money appropriated for the Pensacola navy yard had been spent on others. It was as United States Senator from Florida that Levy, now David L. Yulee, ultimately offered in 1847 the bill which produced the dry dock at the Pensacola yard.

The incomplete condition of the Pensacola navy yard is perhaps a reason why the area was not a major base of operations during the Mexican War (1846-1848). Though activity at the military installations did quicken and bring a flurry of business activity among local merchants, the war was one which was not generally popular in Florida and the people of Pensacola do not seem to have been more concerned than their fellow Floridians. One reason for their lack of war fever was probably the recent burden of Florida’s own Indian War (1835-1842), though it had not directly touched Pensacola. The closest the Indian War

11. Ibid., December 28, 1833.
had come to Pensacola was an attack made by hostile Creeks on a settlement near Black Water, about thirty miles from Pensacola, in 1837.

By 1849 the construction of the dry dock had gotten under way with an appropriation of almost one million dollars, and other needed improvements were being made. Transportation from the city to the growing navy yard was provided by a small steamboat which took a little over thirty minutes for the trip. As described in the *Pensacola Gazette* and in *Niles’ National Register*, the grounds of the naval station were tastefully laid out with a variety of shrubs and flowers. The station boasted four cisterns each holding 300,000 gallons of water for ships, a ship house, four brick storehouses, a blacksmith shop, and a twenty-two gun saluting battery. In the artillery park were five large guns, each weighing more than seven tons and capable of throwing 125 pound shot three miles. One of these was of the largest type gun made at that time and was called the “Columbia.” By this time a hospital, too, had been completed and it contained a 1,300 volume library. Still under construction were two brick buildings for officers’ quarters. Each building was two stories with a basement and was embellished with colonnades on all four sides. In addition to the dry dock, a 320 foot granite wharf was under construction. Thus by the beginning of the Civil War the Pensacola navy yard was at last becoming a significant installation.

**Population**

The population of Pensacola had been a polyglot one since the beginning of the American period, possibly even more diverse in its character than was that of St. Augustine, due to a sizeable influx of French-speaking people from Louisiana. In 1821 Jackson estimated the population to be about 3,000 with the French, Spanish, and American inhabitants being the major groups. By 1822 the yellow fever epidemic and the departure of many adventurers had brought the population down to about 1,000. From this figure the city increased in size very slowly, reaching about 2,300 by 1839. The United States Census of 1850 showed 2,164 people in Pensacola, of whom 741 were Negro slaves.

and 350 were free Negroes. The total population by 1860 was 2,876.

The 1850 census was one of the earliest to give detailed information about the character of the population and it shows Pensacola to have been almost as diverse in its makeup as it had been in 1821. In 1850 there were seventy-seven whites and fifty Negroes who had been born in Florida during Spanish rule, and there were seventeen whites and fourteen free Negroes who had been born in Louisiana under Spanish rule. In addition there were 139 foreign inhabitants from eighteen different countries. The largest numbers were from Spain, Ireland, Germany, England, and France in that order. The American population came from twenty-one states and the District of Columbia.

The foreign-born population made a rather important contribution to the life of the community. Several prominent merchants had been born under Spanish rule, men like Joseph Sierra, Joseph Tapiola, and Francisco Moreno, while others like Germany’s John Honaker and Henry Hyer, England’s George W. Barkley, and Ireland’s James Queen had come from abroad. The foreign community also provided two teachers in the persons of James H. Loyd of England and Juan B. Lopez of Spain. Among the clergy were a Protestant preacher, Peter Donan from Scotland, and the Catholic priest Claudius Rampon from France. In the ranks of the craftsmen were such Spanish colonials as the Rioboo brothers, Vincente and Joseph, who were watchmakers and blacksmiths respectively, and Henry Ahrens, a German tailor. The local apothecary, Desiderio Quina, had been born during the Spanish regime. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the wealthy Innerarity family of Scotland who engaged in a variety of commercial pursuits.

One hundred fifty-eight of the inhabitants of Pensacola were slaveholders and there were 741 slaves in the city. These persons undoubtedly made a significant contribution in the labor which they provided. Little of their activity is a matter of record, however, not even their names being recorded in the census. On the other hand, the free Negroes, 350 in number, were enumerated just as were white inhabitants and it is interesting to note that many were craftsmen and small businessmen who owned considerable property. One of the wealthiest was Ambrose Vaughan, a Virginia-born Negro who was a cabinetmaker by trade. Also not-
able were Ramon Lambert of Louisiana who was a tailor and Marianno Domingues who was born under Spanish rule in Florida. Though Domingues was a laborer, he owned property valued at $1,000. The occupations which free Negroes followed in Pensacola were remarkably varied and included butcher, tinner, carpenter, tailor, shoemaker, clerk, bricklayer, barber, cigarmaker, cabinetmaker, sailor, and farmer.  

**Pensacola Politics**

It was inevitable that early politics in Florida should have been characterized by sectionalism. The size of the territory, the difficulty of communication, and the concentration of the population at the two extremes of Pensacola and St. Augustine made the governing of the region from either extremity a clumsy, inefficient business. Both areas wished to dominate the government and both were dissatisfied when the other gained the upper hand. Pensacola had an initial advantage over St. Augustine in being Jackson’s seat of government and in being the site of the first session of the Legislative Council. In addition, the first elected delegate to Congress in 1823 was Pensacola’s Richard K. Call. Yet in spite of these events political power rapidly slipped away from West Florida as the population of Middle and East Florida as compared with that of West Florida, grew by leaps and bounds. In 1823 the Legislative Council met in St. Augustine and in 1824 it permanently settled down in the new capital city, Tallahassee, to which William P. DuVal also removed the executive branch of the government. In 1825 Joseph M. White replaced Call in Congress and, though White was not markedly biased toward any section, Pensacola had lost her vigorous champion in Washington. The Congressional seat passed to East Florida partisans with the election of Charles Downing in 1837, followed by David Levy in 1841.

Pensacola’s declining voice in Florida affairs was marked by a strong feeling among many of her citizens that Florida west of the Apalachicola River should be annexed to Alabama. The people

---

13. Most of the information on population comes from microfilm copies of the manuscript census returns in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida. The originals are in the National Archives. Reference was also made to the published census volumes for 1840, 1850, 1860, and 1870.
of Pensacola felt that geography made them naturally a part of Alabama and that as part of that state their importance would be greater. Alabamians apparently felt the same way, for as early as 1822 Senator John Williams of that state had unsuccessfully attempted to get West Florida ceded to Alabama. In addition to geography, the arguments for the separation of East and West Florida and annexation of the latter to Alabama emphasized the great distances separating the populated parts of Florida, the protection which Pensacola might readily derive from the Alabama militia, the historic fact that the sections had been two provinces under English and Spanish rule, and the greater ease of centrally locating a capital if West Florida should be detached.

Though Jackson had thought that the people of West Florida opposed annexation to Alabama, the House of Representatives received a petition favoring such annexation as early as March, 1822. *Niles' Register*, published in Baltimore, took up the cause later and for years it was a controversial issue. Letters to the *Pensacola Gazette* in 1826 plugged for annexation, though the editor announced that there were citizens in Pensacola opposed to annexation who regretted the agitation of the issue. In 1840, the senate of Florida petitioned the United States Senate in opposition to division of the territory, but a public meeting in Pensacola in the same year requested the separation of West Florida and its union with Alabama. In 1844, the territorial legislature reversed itself and asked that the territory be separated, presumably so that West Florida might join Alabama.

There was a relationship between the statehood movement in Florida and the attempts to separate the territory into two parts. Those in East Florida who favored separation usually opposed Florida’s early entrance into the union. In West Florida they usually were for annexation to Alabama. In Pensacola, then, sentiment for incorporation into Alabama went hand in hand with opposition to Florida becoming a state. In the West Florida port city few voices were raised for admission to the union until the Constitutional Convention of 1838-1839 which drew up the basic law for the proposed state of Florida. In that convention Escambia county was represented by Benjamin D. Wright and Thomas M. Blount. Blount was a leading businessman and Wright was editor of the *Gazette* and a leading political figure. Wright had gradually been coming around to statehood since 1837 when
he wrote that “many things have occurred . . . which have nearly changed the opinion entertained by us only a year ago.”

By the time Florida was admitted to the union a vigorous two-party system had developed and Escambia county became a stronghold of the Whig party, with the *Pensacola Gazette* becoming noted as one of the outstanding Whig newspapers of the state. In the decade following the 1845 admission a number of Whigs represented Pensacola and Escambia county in the legislature. The first state senator was Wright who resigned after the initial session of the legislature and was replaced by Robert A. Mitchell. The senate seat was held in 1846 by William W. J. Kelley and from 1847 to 1852 by Owen M. Avery. A Democrat, Samuel Z. Gonzalez, succeeded to the senate in 1852. Both Kelley and Avery served in the state house of representatives before going to the senate. Other Whig representatives included James R. Riley, Charles A. Tweed, Joseph Quigles, and William N. Richburg. The house seat went to a Democrat, Walker Anderson, in 1850.

Pensacola supplied none of Florida’s governors or congressmen in the pre-civil War era, but she did provide one United States Senator, Jackson Morton. Elected by the legislature in 1849, Morton was a prominent Whig and a noted Pensacola businessman. He had been elected a presidential elector in 1848, pledged to Zachary Taylor. His election to the Senate was the occasion for a bitter sectional contest. Middle and East Florida Whigs united behind George T. Ward of Tallahassee, but West Florida Whigs insisted that the senatorship was due their section and pressed the claims of Morton. Due to the narrow margin of Whigs over Democrats in the legislature, the West Florida Whigs were able to maneuver Morton’s election with the solid support of the minority Democrats. Morton was the only Whig ever to represent Florida in the United States Senate.

During the 1850’s the national Whig party split apart and died on the slavery issue. By 1856 the party in Florida had vanished, to be replaced by the American party. Pensacola did not support this new organization, however, and rapidly became a Democratic region. Before the fifties the bulwark of Democratic strength in the city had been the navy yard precinct, which the

15. Morton and Whig influence in Pensacola are both discussed in this author’s monograph *The Whigs of Florida*, published by the University of Florida Press.
Gazette referred to as the "Gibraltar" of Democracy. When the American legislative candidates, A. W. Nicholson and Benjamin Wright, were defeated in 1856, the Gazette attributed it to navy influence, bribery, and illegal voting.\(^\text{16}\)

The shift to the ranks of the Democrats which was evidenced in Pensacola was closely related to national developments. Strong union sentiment had been voiced there since the Gazette in 1833 had praised Jackson’s stem measures to counter nullification in South Carolina, adding that “it is quite a pity that these kind of State proceedings had not been similarly met in the various cases of Georgia.” As late as 1847, when John C. Calhoun was spoken of favorably for the presidency, the Gazette noted: “The people of Florida are no nullifiers, and whatever, in other respects, might be the services and merits of Mr. C., they would remember this against him as a deadly sin, unatoned for and even unrepented of.”\(^\text{17}\) In 1850 the people of Pensacola had put their faith in the great Compromise of Henry Clay to settle sectional differences in the Union. Shortly afterwards, however, sectional discord reached new heights which saw the destruction of the Whigs, the party largely responsible for engineering the compromise measures. All over the South men began to turn to the Democratic party as the last hope of protection for the South. In Pensacola this shifting opinion was marked by the election of one Democratic legislator in 1850, another in 1852, and an endorsement of the whole Democratic slate by 1856. When Florida left the union in 1861, Pensacola was a Democratic region and was in support of secession.

In 1856, a new wave of resentment against the dominance of other regions in state affairs had swept Pensacola, and the sentiment for annexation to Alabama came alive again. This time the partisans of separation succeeded in getting through the legislature a bill allowing a referendum on the question. They were much taken aback when Governor James E. Broome vetoed the measure. The Gazette noted the displeasure of the people with the veto and declared that “annexation is desired by a large majority of the people.”\(^\text{18}\) Yet in the succeeding four years, secession of Florida from the union increasingly loomed as a more important question than secession of West Florida from Florida.

\(^{16}\) Pensacola Gazette, October 12, 1850, October 30, 1856.  
\(^{17}\) Ibid., March 6, 1847.  
\(^{18}\) Ibid., January 19, 1856.
Patriotic ardor grew steadily in Pensacola during the latter part of 1860 and reached a height when Florida seceded from the Union on January 10, 1861. Two companies of volunteers had already been organized there: the Pensacola Guards with A. H. Bright as captain, and the Rifle Rangers, Edward A. Perry, captain.

On January 5 Senator Yulee had advised that "... the immediately important thing to be done is the occupation of the forts. The Naval Station and fort at Pensacola are of first consequence."

So Governor Madison S. Perry determined to take over the Navy Yard and forts at Pensacola and asked aid from Alabama. In reply two hundred and twenty-four men under Colonel Tenant Lomax were sent to Pensacola, where they and the Pensacola companies were placed under the command of William H. Chase. 1 commissioned major-general by Governor Perry.

General Chase on January 12 ordered the Pensacola companies and the Alabamians, all under Colonel Lomax, accompanied by Richard L. Campbell and Captain V. M. Randolph, to seize the Navy Yard. Colonel Lomax demanded the surrender of the Yard from Commodore James Armstrong. Resistance being useless, the Yard was surrendered. The flag of the United States was lowered and a flag run up of thirteen alternate stripes of red and white and blue field with a large white star. 2

The three Pensacola forts, Barrancas and McRee on the mainland and Pickens across the channel on Santa Rosa Island, were not prepared for defense, and the total United States force, under Lieutenant L. J. Slemmer abandoned the mainland forts

1. One of the leaders in all of the activities at Pensacola in 1860-61 was William H. Chase, a native of Massachusetts, and under whom, as a major in the Engineering Corps of U. S. Army, the forts on Pensacola harbor had been built. He had resigned from the Corps in 1856, was living in Pensacola, was a civic leader and prime mover in the building of the Alabama and Florida R.R. of which he was president.
Local Intelligence.

Thermometric Observations and Weather.

DATE: 8 A.M. 12 M. 3 P.M. 6 P.M. WEATHER -
July 5. 76 87 79 78 Clear.

Rev. S. F. Pilley, presiding Elder in charge, will preach at the Methodist Church on Sunday morning (tomorrow) at 10 o'clock. Soldiers are invited to attend.

Pensacola Artillery.

This company completed its organization on the 4th inst., by the election of officers, adopting a constitution and by-laws, and appointing a committee to procure necessary arms, ammunition, &c. This is the third company that has recently been organized for the defence of the city, and if Lincoln's belligerent attempt to invade us they will meet with a warm reception.

The following is a list of the officers:

Captain - C. P. Knapp.
1st Lieutenant - F. B. Bohke.
2nd do - J. E. Woolsey.
Junior 2nd Lieutenant - H. C. Bedell.
1st Sergeant - J. C. Greene.
2d do - A. Gerard.
3d do - J. M. Blake.
4th do - K. L. Berry.

1st Corporal - J. Walb.
2d do - G. Quina.

Quartermaster - J. J. Moore.
Civil Engineer - W. H. James.
Secretary & Treasurer - A. J. Mathews.

To the Ladies of Pensacola,

Whose patriotic enthusiasm in the cause of Southern Independence, and whose kindness to the soldiers stationed in Pensacola have won for them the lasting gratitude of all those whom fortune has made the recipients of their comforting and encouraging influence, either in camp or hospital-Mrs. Dr. Lee, Mrs. Lieut. Streetman, Mrs. Gonzalez, Mrs. Caldwell, Miss Davis, and Mrs. M. E. Crofford, of Mobile, and all the ladies of Pensacola—may they live to see our country restored to peace and independence, and Heaven's choicest blessings be their reward, is the wish of a Dawson Volunteer.

ALBERT S.

(Pensacola OBSERVER)
(July 6, 1861)
(Apparently this company was not enlisted.)
(Note the careless or difficult War printing)
after destroying what ammunition he could not move and, spiking the guns, retired to Fort Pickens which had long been vacant. Here he refused repeated demands for its surrender, and endeavored to place it in some state of defense. Doubtless it could have been taken then by the forces in Pensacola; but the Florida senators in Washington, with Senator Jefferson Davis, still hoping to leave the Union without war, telegraphed State authorities advising that no blood be shed. So no attack was made on Fort Pickens with its meager garrison.

Pensacola was now, because of the situation there, before the eyes of the entire country, North and South. This continued for several months, for Fort Pickens was one of a very few spots in the South over which the flag of the Confederacy never floated.

In January a company of U. S. artillerymen under Captain Vodges sailed for Fort Pickens, but Vodges was instructed not to land unless hostilities had begun.

With the firing on Fort Sumter and President Lincoln’s call for troops, the truce at Fort Pickens ended. The forces on both sides were now built up steadily, but it was some time before a collision occurred. This was a night battle, not much more than a skirmish, on Santa Rosa Island when the camp of the Federal forces before Pickens was attacked without result and the Confederate forces retired. (An account of this by Colonel J. L. Larkin follows.)

Subsequent fighting around Pensacola was fierce artillery duels across the entrance of the harbor. The Confederates under
General Braxton Bragg had built a series of batteries extending in a semicircle of several miles from the Navy Yard to Fort McRee. There was serious damage on both sides with no other fighting. The Navy Yard and the village of Warrington were entirely destroyed.

As the entrance to Pensacola harbor was controlled by the Federals, the town was of little advantage to the Confederacy and it was evacuated in May 1862, after everything in the area that could be of any service to the Federals was destroyed. The region remained in Federal hands during the remainder of the War.

The above is but a summary of what occurred in Pensacola in 1860-1862. A complete account, with full references and citations, is included in this Quarterly: Civil War Operations in and Around Pensacola, by Edwin C. Bearss. (vol. XXXVI. pp. 125-165. Oct. 1957)

THE DOCUMENTS

As the clouds gathered in 1860-61 patriotism in Pensacola rose with them. There is mute evidence of this in the following documents preserved by C. C. Yonge who had a part in what Pensacolians were doing then.

COMMITTEE ON SAFETY

The following is the oath to support the Constitution of the Confederate States, and the list of citizens who have taken it according to a resolution adopted at a general meeting of the citizens of Pensacola, held on the 26th ult.:

I do most sincerely and solemnly swear before Almighty God, without mental reservation of any kind, that I will support and defend the constitution of the Confederate States of America, and that I will in all things demean myself as a true and faithful citizen of the said Confederate States; and I do promise that I will endeavor to discover and will report any and every unfaithful person of whom I may obtain reliable intelligence. So help me God.

1. The originals of all of the following documents are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida Library.
THE WAR FOR SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE

361

J. S. Gonzalez
C. C. Yonge
G. A. Rebb
Ph. Schalhof
W. McBeth
G. A. Quina
P. A. Caro
H. Watts
G. A. Oldmixon
C. G. Cline
Z. P. Scott
W. H. Knight
C. Gonzalez
J. A. Brosnaham
R. H. Bonifay
J. Wallman
T. Howell
H. Pfeiffer
F. Roach
J. G. Lowell
G. Broff
M. Scarritt
S. L. Clifford
J. N. B. Clarke
R. D. Green
W. Commyns
A. Marzoni
W. A. Jones
J. Garner
D. B. Coleman
H. Moore
J. Suareas, Jr.
O. Goofflo
W. J. Clark
S. A. Leonard
V. Bonifay
A. V. Caro
P. Knowles
M. Quigles
M. A. Brin
J. Cohran
E. Wilson
J. C. Whiting
W. S. Lee
R. Bishop
G. W. Turner
H. Holmes
L. Lee
J. de Soto
A. Joseph
G. W. E. Bedwell
J. H. Smith
J. Dunn
C. P. Knapp
J. J. Moore
K. L. Berry
J. M. Henderson
J. B. Gormly
F. Bonifay
T. P. Donaldson
L. Bonifay
F. Maura
F. Christin
C. H. Gingles
I. Allen
W. H. Bedell
H. W. Bicker
P. M. Hatch
R. H. Turner
S. Hodge
J. McClaskey
J. Richards
L. P. O’Brien
J. Paull
A. H. Coleman
A. C. Blount
W. H. Irwin
N. F. Jones
H. Miller
G. A. McIntyre
G. W. Bedell
J. G. Shuttleworth
J. G. Honacker
A. Jones
C. Wallman
J. Knowles
T. Robinson
L. Gavounite
H. L. Elliott
H. Rugen
J. P. deRioboo
E. Kelly
R. B. S. Hargis
A. E. Maxwell
R. B. Pratt
T. B. Houseman
A. Dallmann
W. C. Yonge
T. Bement

J. Suares, Jr.
O. Goofflo
W. J. Clark
S. A. Leonard
V. Bonifay
A. V. Caro
P. Knowles
M. Quigles
M. A. Brin
J. Cohran
E. Wilson
J. C. Whiting
W. S. Lee
R. Bishop
G. W. Turner
H. Holmes
L. Lee
J. de Soto
A. Joseph
G. W. E. Bedwell
J. H. Smith
J. Dunn
C. P. Knapp
J. J. Moore
K. L. Berry
J. M. Henderson
J. B. Gormly
F. Bonifay
T. P. Donaldson
L. Bonifay
F. Maura
F. Christin
C. H. Gingles
I. Allen
W. H. Bedell
H. W. Bicker
P. M. Hatch
R. H. Turner
S. Hodge
J. McClaskey
J. Richards
L. P. O’Brien
J. Paull
A. H. Coleman
A. C. Blount
W. H. Irwin
N. F. Jones
H. Miller
G. A. McIntyre
G. W. Bedell
J. G. Shuttleworth
J. G. Honacker
A. Jones
C. Wallman
J. Knowles
T. Robinson
L. Gavounite
H. L. Elliott
H. Rugen
J. P. deRioboo
E. Kelly
R. B. S. Hargis
A. E. Maxwell
R. B. Pratt
T. B. Houseman
A. Dallmann
W. C. Yonge
T. Bement
THE WAR FOR SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE

F. M. Connell
G. Kenne
C. Yonge
F. E. de la Rua
G. Pfeiffer
H. Jessop
J. Hernandez
F. Bonifay
O. Roulston
M. Bonifay
G. Montgomery
W. Holmes
G. Bell
J. Marques
J. Gray
S. Barrios
B. Simo
John Callahan
John de la Rua
Stephen Foot
Francis Key
Edward Reilley
Jacob Weiss
Jas. N. Moreno
R. C. Caldwell
Achille Musson
Joseph Mitchell
James Burroraz
Joan Farinas
Dr. J. W. S. Herron
C. R. Herron
John Gilmore
John Blimm
Bartoloner Borras
T. B. Pifferle
J. Taylor
E. Blonk
D. Williams
J. Burdew
J. P. Broag
M. Amos
M. Stableton
M. P. Hernandez
S. H. Gates
I. M. Blake
A. Hendrix
A. Riera
G. Vinsens
J. Toward
L. Tapirola
C. Brown
O. Kittleson
J. D. Penny
F. Tuerard
T. Marmion
J. B. Matamoros
A. Crooke
H. B. Church
F. C. Ditmars
K. Hermemuth
T. R. Wright
J. Lyons
G. King
D. Pearson
Martin Bonifay
P. Vive
M. Cassidy
C. Brinckman
A. Monroe
W. F. M. Cullagh
T. M. Roberts
R. Shur
L. Mills
P. D. Richardson
J. Sheppard
Wm. O'Brien
R. Blount
G. W. Lammasts
J. Roche
W. H. Phillips
Wm. Mariboe
D. Ramona
H. Immensily
F. Veretzner
K. Schlicher
E. Delmar
G. C. Hernandez
Wm. Birkett
J. W. Bishop
W. Danfort
E. Surry
J. Berisso
M. Conway
J. L. Beck
W. J. Bickel
B. Lamb
J. Terire
J. B. S. Mitchell
W. Gormes
W. Prass
J. P. L. Ballip
B. Levy
F. Sherman
W. S. Strong
W. Wallon
P. H. Gallagher
J. Kelly
M. Sturdevan
H. Roberts
W. Robe
C. N. Fennett
P. Gonzalez
M. Jones
A. Ferguson
Wm. Webb
O. H. P. Cambell
S. Zimm
P. M. Auley
W. Stalworth
D. Havervoa
A. Collins
A. H. Runyan
J. S. Roberts
P. Faust
T. O. Smith
W. J. Mitchell
F. Watson
M. Hernandez
C. Daniels
I. Smith
C. W. Jones
A. P. Hulse
J. E. Woolsey
H. A. Giles
M. V. B. Jordan
J. H. Nicholson
W. L. Cozzens
L. M. Merritt
W. E. Anderson
R. L. Campbell
M. Palms
T. E. Jordan
W. H. James
Z. Suchet
O'LePease
A. Gerard
J. G. Thornton
J. Sherman
B. Stearns
D. Reed
R. Simpson
C. V. Ditmars
M. H. Hernandez
C. Daniels
L. H. Mathews
M. Lyons
J. Sewell
H. F. Howland
F. B. Bonifay
E. J. Judah
T. Gorman
H. Johnson
C. McGee
J. Gonzalez
H. Johnson
J. O. Smith
R. Smith
G. W. Debotts
J. Riera
W. J. Fell
D. C. Knowles
T. M. Hughes
D. deRocheblave
C. H. Smith
- Husdryoke
H. Stearns
G. Crause
- Dominiquetouja
W. J. Baker
A. F. Gresham
R. R. Smith
G. Hyeesham
S. H. Sloclumb
C. N. Jordan
A. Joseph
R. Levins
D. C. Trull
P. Johnson
S. M. Davidson
J. B. Cooper
J. V. H. Dittmars
G. H. O’Neal
Wm. Morrill
C. Corvez
M. D. Hernandez
Juan Borras
Geoery W. Conray
N. Riera
John McClasky
Henry Hyer
J. E. Sierra
Chas. A. Vallett
Manuel Lay
Wm. Concklin
Emanuel Wilkins
John B. Ber
George Wilson
Antonio Simo
J. Fararo
C. Wells
I. White
A. Verdero
L. D. Cartillo
J. Ruiz
Wm. H. Baker
B. Flores
M. Videl
A. Salom
J. Bosque
R. Roca
M. Ydiaste
A. Canet
M. Domingo
F. Garasco
H. P. Smith
T. Bobi
A. Gonzalez
J. N. Daflnroge
W. Bencen
S. Brommon
J. H. Jotmon
John Waters
P. Biner
J. de Carrance, Jr.

T. Gills
G. Geney
L. Starling
A. J. Hernandez
J. Ronque
O. Bronmure
C. E. Hansen
Wm. McKenzie Oerting
F. Frata
O. L. Bonifay
S. L. Brickhouse
M. Anoter
A. Boso
A. Fernandez
F. Coster
P. Hanafy
W. Phillips
T. Forts
T. Alberez
J. Saragoza
J. Lagos
F. Bobe
A. F. Gananidia
E. Berner
W. Merritt
Willa M. Mo
W. Warvis
D. Jordan
G. Sloan
J. T. Crona
G. C. Williams
W. Carr
H. Ahrens
S. Hulle
M. G. Hernandez
J. Kingsberry
C. W. Paine
James Waters
M. Rollins
J. A. Knight
E. Ganland
P. MaGrim
T. MaGrim
S. Sallage
J. C. Heidelberg
W. M. Hayes
J. Wonacher
A. Peschkee
N. A. Hendrix
J. Furgiver
H. Collins
A. D. Stoute
J. S. Carter
T. Powell
J. McLaughlin
O. P. Sellars
W. Carr
J. L. Pinney
C. E. Drake
J. Cagnet
F. E. Owling
J. M. Donald
F. Sievers
F. Gunnons
G. Clay
T. Henry
M. Saloshin
J. J. Magee
A. H. Parker
J. Tuperula
W. A. Harris
R. W. Fell
C. Powers
F. Argreno
J. D. Wright
A. L. Avery
B. Overman
J. Parigini
J. W. N. C. Tilmer
P. Gorman
J. McKinley
A. Moore
E. W. Cullen
E. D. Scott
T. McMan
J. Mauray
J. S. Notts
H. W. Stoudenmeir
J. H. Gaitley
H. S. Cupap
G. Sawrinna
Wm. H. Moore
C. Cullen
J. B. Haasset
E. Bulyer
J. J. Hulse
F. Rohe
J. McFadon
C. H. Snell
J. Gonzalez
A. Madrena
W. Burke
L. Lawrence
L. Boug
E. Lawrence
S. R. Bennett
J. A. Romondo
B. J. Hugar
The undersigned hereby agree to pay the sums opposite our respective names for the purpose of equipping, and supplying the families of, two companies of twelve month volunteers to be raised in the County of Escambia for the Confederate Army. Samuel J. Gonzalez pr. C.C.Y. ($100 pd to R.L.C) $200.00
C. C. Yonge (pd $75) one soldier or ($150) $150.00
Rich. L. Campbell (150) (R.L.C) 300.00
Wm. W. J. Kelly (paid to C.C.Y.) 200.00
G. W. E. Bedell 200.00
Gam Bell Paid in full to J.E.S. 30.00
Joseph Mitchell (Paid $10) C.C.Y. 25.00
M. Quigles paid in full 20.00
Isa Smith in full (paid) (R.L.C.) 10.00
B. J. Moreno (paid R. L. Campbell) in full 25.00
M. Pierson in full 10.00
James S 10.00
Aaron Hendrix paid in full 25.00
A. Marzoni (paid C.C.Y.) in full 10.00
Thos. Gorman (paid C.C.Y.) full 25.00
Spotswood & Moreno Paid in full 20.00
Dillon Jordan pd (C.C.Y.) in full 10.00
Willis Milner paid on a/c $30.00 200.00
Mrs. Caldwell pd in full 100.00
D. deRocheblave Paid J.E.S. in full 10.00
F. Moreno (p. 10 per month 5 mo) 50.00
1450.00
John Kingsbury 25.00
H. F. Ingraham 50.00
H. Holmes Amt. his bill (R.L.C) 20 25/100 25.00
B. D. Wright ($10 to C.C.Y.) pd in full 25.00
J. O. Smith pd in full 20.00
A. R. Baker (paid C.C.Y.) in full 10.00
Sebastian Barrios (paid C.C.Y.) in full 5.00
James Knowles Paid J.E.S. in full 10.00
G. P. Knapp (R.L.C. paid in full) 25.00
L. M. Merritt (Paid. Recd. by R.L.C.) 25.00
Charles Barkley paid in full 25.00
John Pinney paid $65 75.00
Jas. N. Moreno (paid C.C.Y.) 25.00
W. F. Teat E.&O.E. 50.00
John Salter  E.&O.E. ......................................................... 25.00
Abercrombie & Co. in full ($100 per month 3 month .... 300.00
Peter Knowles in full paid .................................................. 25.00
A. C. Blount paid .............................................................. 50.00
E. E. Simpson (Paid to R.L.C.) ........................................... 50.00
Henry Hyer ($5 per month for 12 months) ......................... 60.00
Jackson Morton ($50.00 feet lumber equal ......................... 50.00
J. C. Whiting & Co. pd. in full ........................................... 25.00
Judah & LeBaron Paid $150 R.L.C. .................................... 300.00
Theodore Moreno .............................................................. 40.00
Geo. W. Hutton in full paid ................................................. 25.00
in full O. M. Avery Paid to J.E.S....................................... 25.00
C. N. Jordan $5 per month for 12 months .........................
A. L. Avery ten dollars pr month for 12 mo. ..................... 120.00
Paid $10 C.C.Y.

C. Cullen ................................................................. 2.50
Jacob Weiss (paid C.C.Y.) .................................................. 20.00
C. A. W. (paid C.C.Y.) ..................................................... 10.00
S. C. Gonzalez (paid C.C.Y.) ............................................. 5.00
S. McClellan (paid C.C.Y.) .............................................. 25.00
Jas. H. Nicholson paid in full ......................................... 5.00
F. Bobe & Co. (paid S.E.S.) .............................................. 50.00
A. Charbonier in full .................................................... 10.00
Wm. H. Baker paid C.C.Y. .............................................. 25.00
W. Webb paid ................................................... 25.00
John G. Honacker paid ........................................ 5.00
P. Gorman (paid C.C.Y.) ...................................... 15.00
George Pfeiffer pd. ............................................ 10.00
Capt. Pete paid $10 .............................................. 17.50
C. H. Gingles paid .............................................. 25.00
P. F. Cayle paid C.C.Y. ......................................... 10.00
T. Bement Paid JES ............................................. 10.00
P. A. Caro five Dollars ........................................ 5.00
J. M. Henderson paid ........................................... 10.00
Costi (to C.C.Y.) .................................................. 1.00
Henry Johnson (paid C.C.Y.) .................................. 10.00
James Gonzalez in full ......................................... 50.00
Joseph Sierra ..................................................... 50.00
W. L. Cuzzens .................................................... 25.00
Joseph C. Crosby Cash (RLC) ................................ 20.00
A. E. Maxwell ..................................................... 100.00
W. H. Wisdom ..................................................... 10.00
Jas. W. Hall paid ................................................ 5.00

* * *

ROLL COMPANY A (PENSACOLA RIFLE RANGERS)-
2nd FLORIDA INFANTRY

Captains
 Edward A. Perry
 W. D. Ballantine

1st Lieutenants
 E. C. Humphrey
 William F. Lee
 L. T. Landrum

2nd Lieutenants
 H. F. Riley
 D. F. Bradley

Enlisted Men
 Aldred, J. A.
 Amos, J. E.
 Barnes, F.
 Bobe, J. V.
 Bond, W.
 Bower, F. M.
 Bowers, S. A.
 Brewer, J. W.
 Brosnaham, George O.
 Bryan, W. C.
 Bittz, A.
 Byrnes, Frank
 Byrnes, J. M.
 Caldwell, R. C.
 Christian, L.
 Church, H.
 Clark, J. P.
 Clifford, G. C.
 Colson, E. W.
 Conklin, J. W.
 Cooper, C. E.
 Cunningham, J.
 Curry, R.
 Curtis, Z. E. C.
 Cushman, H. C.
 Davis, B. B.
 Deer, D. H.
 Dennison, W. H.
 Ditmar, John
 Ditmar, Noyes
 Dixon, A. B.
 Dow, R.
 Ellis, C. H.
Captains
A. H. Bright
Augustus O. MacDonell
Daniel Williams

1st Lieutenant
William McR. Jordan

2nd Lieutenants
Robert Abercrombie
J. J. Vaughan

3rd Lieutenant
Benj. F. Overman

Enlisted Men
Allen, Loning G.
Anderson, John
Andrew, William
Amos, E. W.
Anthony, H.
Armstrong, A.

ROLL COMPANY K (PENSACOLA GUARDS)
1st FLORIDA INFANTRY
(mustered in April-June, 1861)
Crosby, Richard
Dallas, T. B.
Davis, George W.
Davis, Oliver
Defu, Andrew J.
Duffu, J.
Dukes, David H.
Duncan, W. D.
Gatlin, S.
Gonzales, Jasper G.
Gonzales, Manuel F.
Gunter, Decater
Goodwyn, Iverson
Hale, J. L.
Hall, Albert
Hall
Hawks, W.
Hart, James
Hardee, Robert J.
Hatch, Henry
Hernandez, M.
Hernandez, Randolph
Hernandez, Robert
Hinton, Josh
Horten, Neil H.
Hunter, Edward
Hyer, Albert
Hyer, Louis
Jackson, Bolling
Johnson, Daniel
Jordan, George
Kelly, Barnard
Kelly, Pat
Kilpatrick, William
King, W. J.
Kirwin, John W.
Laird, Louis
Laird, W.
Lent, Charles
Leminox, F. M.
Lindsey, H.
McCardle, Isaac
McCarty, Charles
McCoy, Robert
McDonald, William M.
Mier, William
Mitchell, George N. J.
Mobley, J. A.
Morris, Warren
Nall, J. A.
Neely, James
Newton, Charles A.
Nicholson, J. W.
Nipper, J. F.
Norris, John M.
Norris, William J.
O’Neil, Peter
Reese, George
Rodgers, J. D.
Rodgers, William L.
Roberts, James B.
Roberts, J. D
Runyan, William Bell
Sanchus, G.
Seely, John W.
Serra, Charles P.
Smith, John A.
Smith, C. J.
Sparrow, Patrick S.
Stevens, Burrell
Stewart, Clarence H.
Stockwell, Samuel
Thompson, B. W.
Touart, Frank
Touart, Francis
Turner, Thomas
Umphress, J. B.
Walker, James
Ware, James H.
Watson, William F.
White, William O.
Welch, Isaac
Williams, R. G.
Woodburn, John A.
Woolf, Thomas D.
Worrel, R. P.
Wynn, Charles E.
Yniestra, Gregory
PRESUMABLY as an attempt to take Fort Pickens, though this was denied by the Confederates, an attack was made on the night of October 9 (1861) on the encampment of Federal troops on Santa Rosa Island east of the fort.

Shortly after midnight a select force of 1200 men under the command of General Richard H. Anderson succeeded in crossing the bay in two small wood-burning steamers and landed on the north beach of Santa Rosa Island about four miles east of Fort Pickens.

The force was divided into three groups of about 400 men each. They were then formed in three columns, the first under the command of Colonel James R. Chalmers, on the north or right hand side of the island along the bay. The second column was headed by Colonel J. P. Anderson on the south or left hand side of the island along the Gulf. The third column was to act as the reserve, or support, column and was to advance in the same direction, but slightly behind the two flank columns so as to be deployed either to the right, or left, as the situation may demand. It was commanded by Colonel John J. Jackson.

The general direction of the movement was west toward the tip of the island where Ft. Pickens was held by the Union forces. The advance was begun at 2:15 A. M. While tactically sound and well planned, two weaknesses manifest themselves almost from the outset. First, the forces were not Infantry forces trained in night fighting and movement. Second, lack of communications hampered the movement with a resulting lack of coordination. Since secrecy was all-important even contact by voice was out of the question.

The Southern forces proceeded quietly and cautiously for about three miles and about 3:30 in the morning they made contact with the camp of the Sixth Regiment, New York Volunteers. The ill-trained militia was literally caught in their tents, without even so much as a sentinel or picket to warn of the sudden attack. The Confederate militia quickly moved in to disperse the Federals and captured and burned the camp. All was going well except the Federal Garrison had been alerted.
ONE OF THE THREE BATTERIES JUST ERECTED ON SANTA ROSA ISLAND TO SUPPORT FORT PICKET, BUILT BY LIEUTENANT TIBBALS.

(Harper's Weekly)
After this initial encounter, the Confederates under General Anderson halted apparently with the hope of taking up a defensive position and lure the Federal garrison out of the bastions of the fort. As soon as the first fugitives of the routed New York militia reached the other Union batteries in the confines of the fort, Colonel Harvey Brown, Union commander, detached three companies of regulars and an artillery battery, under the command of Major Israel Vogdes. The counter-attacking force proceeded along the north beach of the island where it was joined by a company of the Sixth New York Volunteers which was to protect the right flank of the northern force as it moved along the beach.

However, inexperience again reared its ugly head. The protecting flank guard became detached and lost in the darkness of the dunes and was not seen again during the entire encounter.

Meanwhile, the main body under the command of Major Vogdes continued its march east along the beach of the island in search of the Confederates. At a point somewhat beyond the original skirmish at the camp of the New York Volunteers, a large Confederate force appeared on the unprotected right and rear flanks. In the darkness the Union detachment had marched by, and to the rear, of the attacking Confederate forces! There was imminent danger of being cut off from the fort some three miles to the west and rear. Major Vogdes, with his small force of about one hundred men, then executed a swinging movement to the right, or south, across the island to keep a wedge from being driven between them and being forced down the island away from the forts. They held their ground for a short while but a withering fire from superior Confederate forces caused them to fall back in a large circle that forced them to a point across the island to the south or Gulf side. Near the start of this movement Major Vogdes became lost and was captured by the Confederates. In the new location the Federals took up protective positions behind the sand dunes and delivered a most effective fire into the ranks of the Southern forces causing them to fall back to the north at the edge of the bay.

At about 5:00 A.M. Colonel Brown dispatched an artillery battery and an infantry company commanded by Major L. G. Arnold to support the Vogdes detachment which was now under the command of Captain Hildt. Arnold found the small Union force putting up a bitter fight with the enemy. Light arms fire
was heavy but largely ineffective because of the excellent cover in the dunes and the lack of light in the early morning hours.

About this time the Confederate line disengaged themselves and fell back, retreating with great rapidity to the east along the north beach of the island. The Union forces assisted by Major Arnold’s support forces pursued the retreating Confederates and could have no doubt wiped them out had they not taken time to reorganize for a final assault. The Confederates were not again overtaken until they were completing embarkation where they had landed about six hours before. The Union forces immediately attacked the hastily departing Southerners but the attack was ineffective.

The reason for the impromptu departure by the Confederates was a report by a fisherman that the U. S. gunboat attached to Fort Pickens was making its way up the bay to attack the unprotected transports laying at anchor a short distance off-shore. With the approach of daybreak, rendering the ships entirely visible, the only alternative of General Anderson was to with-
draw as rapidly as possible. This he did before the U. S. Navy gunboat could reach the scene of action.

The exact strength of the Federal garrison on Santa Rosa Island is not known, but it can be estimated at approximately 600 men, but only about two thirds of that number were actually engaged in defense of the position. The total Confederate force was in the neighborhood of 1,200 men, but this number had been divided into three groups, and because of absence of communication facilities and lack of coordinated command there were not over 500 troops brought into effective action.

The total admitted losses by the respective commands were: Union 67, Confederate 87. Major Vogdes of the Federal forces was captured by the Confederates and General Anderson, leader of the ill-fated Southern attack, was gravely wounded. The Confederates realizing the difficulty of an assault on Fort Pickens made no further attempts during the entire War. In fact, later in the War it was not uncommon to see Federal soldiers of the Pickens garrison trading in the towns of Warrington and Woolsey for vegetables and poultry.

The next powder was burned in Pensacola harbor on November 22-23, 1861, when heavy artillery in Fort Pickens supplemented with fire from U. S. Navy warships laid down a two-day bombardment against Southern forces in Fort McRee, Fort Barrancas, and the Navy Yard. The return fire proved ineffective and Fort McRee was silenced as a result of the severe punishment from the combined guns of Pickens and the Union warships. The towns Woolsey and Warrington adjoining the Navy Yard were set afire.

On May 8, 1862, the hard-pressed Confederates in the North ordered Pensacola evacuated to reinforce their armies in other areas. This left Fort Pickens and the forts near Key West and Fort Monroe, Virginia, the only forts within the Confederacy to fly the stars and stripes during the entire war.
YELLOW PINE LUMBER - The yellow pine was the backbone of the economy of the Pensacola region and the source of several individual fortunes during the decades of this article. As early as 1826 E. E. Simpson had constructed a water-mill at Woodbine to carry out his contract to furnish lumber for certain buildings at the Pensacola Navy Yard then under construction. In 1841 John Hunt built the first steam sawmill. Though both of these were in what is now Santa Rosa County, that area was Escambia County then, and Pensacola was headquarters and received the stimulus and financial benefit from their operations.

In 1851 the extensive foreign commerce of Pensacola began with the shipping of a cargo of hewn timber, and the following year the first cargo of lumber by the ship Queen of the Seas. Prior to this time, however, there had been considerable trade in lumber with New Orleans and other coastwise ports. The first steamer line was to New Orleans by the Homer in 1848. There was also during this period some trade with New York and other Northern ports by occasional sailing vessels.¹

In less than twenty years, beginning with 1875, 4,168,319,000 superficial feet of lumber was shipped from Pensacola, having a value of $50,019,816.00.²

As the records are available, and as their operations were one of the more progressive as well as the largest, the Southern States Land and Timber Company (later Southern States Lumber Company) may be taken as indicating the extent and methods of the industry. It was formed by the consolidation of three companies which had been established in 1872 and 1873, the Muscogee Lumber Company, Seminole Lumber company, and George W. Robinson and Company. The consolidated Company owned 340,000 acres of timber in Florida and Alabama adjacent to Pensacola, with four large saw-mills which cut all grades of lumber, which they shipped to many parts of the world. They oper-

¹ Len LeBaron in Pensacola Daily News (special edition) Feb. 1890.
² J. C. Yonge Commencement Address, Pensacola Commercial, 1894.

ated two mills at Muscogee and two at Millview, with a capacity of 260,000 feet a day, dry kilns of 35,000 feet daily, and planing mills of the same capacity. About 900 men were regularly employed. The company operated forty miles of railroad and six locomotives. From 45,000,000 to 60,000,000 feet were exported annually. 3

Other prominent lumbermen were H. Baars, H. H. Boyer, Brent Brothers, L. Hilton Green, H. G. DeSilva, Hyer Brothers, W. S. Keyser, Scarritt Moreno, Sullivan Brothers, W. L. Whittich, and W. B. Wright.

A record was established July 25, 1884, when the British bark *Avonmore* was towed to sea drawing twenty-two feet two inches, and with a cargo of 85,666 cubic feet of hewn timber, 49,000 superficial feet of lumber, and 304 feet of cedar, the value of the whole being $9,578.00. “This is said to be the largest cargo of pine timber ever to leave a Southern port in a sailing vessel.” Baars and Downing were the shippers. 4

A writer in *The Pensacolian*, H. E. Baldwin, of Joliet, Ill., describes the congestion in Pensacola Bay at this time. Upon returning to the city from Ft. Pickens, he stated:

“We had to pick our way among over a hundred vessels from foreign ports. There were schooners, brigs, barks and ships from Russia, Denmark, Germany, England, France, Spain, Norway, Italy and Australia. The principal business of these vessels is carrying lumber, many of which were loading as we passed them. They had a handy way of doing it, a hole cut through the bow just above the water’s edge, and as fast as the vessel is loaded it is carefully sealed up and the hole cut upward until the cargo is completed.” 5

Though Pensacola’s commerce was nearly all in timber and lumber, occasionally there were shipments of other commodities, and the Custom House recorded 5,337 bales of cotton, 1,290 tons of pig iron and miscellaneous merchandise as exported in January, 1885 6 and in *Pensacola’s Annual Marine Statement* for the year ending July 1, 1886, it is stated that:

“The coastwise imports of fertilizers, steel rails, ice, etc., exceeded $2,000,000.00”. This particular business was not recorded at the Custom House. Italian marble and 1445 tons of salt came in at another time.  

The bequests in the will of D. F. Sullivan the largest of these lumbermen, indicate the prosperity possible for an energetic individual in lumber manufacturing. He listed assets totalling $1,055,000. The Molino Mills, owned by him and M. L. Davis were destroyed by fire with a loss of $180,000.00 the following year.

The Custom House reported 518 vessels entering Pensacola for the year ending June 30, 1887. Of these 361 were from foreign ports.

**Yellow Fever**

Pensacola has always opened its heart wide to the sick and unfortunate. Back in 1867, when the majority of those who had yellow fever died, “Nearly all of our citizens, men and women, when not sick, gave their entire time and attention to nursing the sick and burying the dead.” Among these were Percy Cohen, J. C. Pettersen, Raymond Knowles, Charles McAllister, Henry H. Knowles, Louis P. Knowles, R. W. Hargis, Charles LeBaron, Jr., Louis Hyer, John K. Humphreys, Mason Scarritt, Willie T. Brent, J. Shields Whiting, Wm. Bunn and others. They rented a two-story building, corner of Palafox and Romana streets and in this operated a hospital at all hours “to charitable visitors; attended by all of the doctors of the city without charge. Food was furnished by local citizens. Louis Hyer was the only one of the noble band to die.” Captain Pettersen erected two cast iron monuments, side by side, to Gunner Anderson and Captain Christian Pharo of the ship ‘Gertrude’ who died in the epidemic of 1867.

Yellow fever afflicted Pensacola in 1873 and continued with considerable virulence during the summers of 1874 and 1875. The Spanish vessel *Salita* was responsible for a terrible epidemic in 1882, bringing the disease from Havana. There were 2,200 cases, 1,200 being Negroes. Only two of the latter died; but

---

7. Ibid. May 11, 1883.
there were approximately 250 fatalities among the whites. Dr. James S. Herron, was at the head of the hospital and gave devoted service to the ill. "His zeal and devotion merit for him an enduring place in the medical profession of Florida.” Dr. Robert B. S. Hargis, President of the County Board of Health, was an able assistant, as was the secretary, Dr. Whitney.  

It was not known until several decades later that yellow fever is carried from patient to patient by a variety of mosquito, and various were the efforts at control of the disease at Pensacola by quarantine and isolation of crews of vessels from infected ports. Also ballast from those ports was handled in various ways.

In 1884 the Board of Health, becoming desperate, adopted a nonintercourse policy to keep out yellow fever, even though they admitted that this might be detrimental to commerce. The first vessel excluded was the bark *Kedron* from Rio de Janeiro. Subsequently the *Kedron* sailed for Quebec and lost her captain en route from yellow fever. The editor of *The Pensacolian* wrote: “Had the *Kedron* entered, probably there would have been a shotgun army now patrolling outskirts of our sister cities.  

In 1887 there was an echo of the yellow fever epidemic when inspectors were placed on all trains entering Pensacola to intercept anyone coming from Tampa and its yellow fever.

*Fisheries* - The shipment by Sewell Cobb in 1869 of the first cargo of fish from Pensacola was the genesis of the large and lucrative seafood business. Within thirty years, one firm was operating thirty vessels out of Pensacola in the Gulf and between 700 and 800 persons were employed in this one establishment.

*Public Schools* - In spite of many difficulties, the public school system was in operation in Pensacola in 1870 in rented buildings. By October 1 of that year the three months’ term of primary, intermediate and high school classes had been established. But in 1875, for the first time, school assembled in a building constructed for school purposes. This edifice was on

East Wright street between Guillemard and Tarragona streets and became known as the Academy.

In 1884 a block was bought from Walter Tate, corner of Palafox and Jackson streets and plans drawn by Charles Overman, were adopted. On January 3, 1887, the pupils and teachers led by Wyer’s Silver Cornet Band marched from the Wright street building to the new structure. In the two days’ ceremony, Governor E. A. Perry, State Superintendent A. J. Russell, George S. Hallmark, President of the County Board of Public Instruction, County Superintendent N. B. Cook, and Mayor W. H. Hutchinson, were among the participants. P. K. Yonge of the Board, and Professor J. P. Patterson, Principal, two of the immortals in Escambia county school history, were among the happiest of those in the gala throng.  

The first school building constructed for Negroes is still in use. This was built at Chase street and Ninth avenue, and is now the oldest school building in Escambia County.

Entertainment - Leisure came with increasing prosperity, and so in 1872 the Osceola Club, an exclusive men’s club, was organized. In the same year, D. G. Brent built the Tarragona Theater, later called Tarragona Hall. In 1879, two farces were presented at the Hall “... by Amateur, Dramatics, and Brass Band for benefit of Yellow Fever Sufferers. Among those appearing are S. R. Mallory, H. W. Simmons, C. C. Yonge Jr., M. P. Palmes, L. P. Knowles, Miss M. J. Moreno, J. S. Leonard, L. LeBaron, H. W. Dorr, Miss M. V. Moreno, and Miss S. Hyer. Refreshments. General Admission, 50 cts. Reserved Seats, 25 cts. extra. A portion of the gallery has been set aside for the colored people.” The following January, The Mistletoe Bough was presented as a benefit for Christ Church. 12

A race-track at Kupfrian’s Park was completed in 1874.

Continental Hotel - To accommodate the growing population, the old mansion of Captain William H. Chase was enlarged and opened as the Continental Hotel “... with groves of live oaks, maple and orange-trees and extensive lawn for croquet and other outdoor sports, adjoining hotel. Carriages are provided to convey guests to and from Railroad Depot and Steamboat Landing. H. E. Palmer, Prop.” 13 Later the manager is D. K. Hickey and the name is preceded by “New”. E. A. Perry was president and Thos. C. Watson, secretary of the company owning the hotel.

“One of the grandest affairs in the way of a ball Pensacola has ever seen will be given Monday night at the New Continental Hotel, upon which occasion the formal opening of that magnificent establishment will take place, the cards of invitation are marvels of the printer’s art, both envelope and card bearing a handsome cut of the building. Composing the reception committee will be: Hugh Bellas, Chairman, W. D. Chipley, Louis P. Knowles, F. O. Howe, S. S. Harvey, B. R. Pitt, W. H. Knowles, J. C. Avery, J. B. Guttmann, H. Baars, J. F. Simpson, and L. Hilton-Green. The music for the occasion will come from New

12. Programs for these entertainments are in the Yonge scrapbook.
Orleans, expressly for the occasion, and will cost $350 . . . . . it has been estimated that the spread will cost not less than $1000". 14

*Arbor Day*, 1887, trees were dedicated to Superintendent A. J. Russell, Alexander Stoddart and W. D. Chipley in the gardens of the Hotel Escambia.

*Fire Department* - In 1878 the first steam fire-engine was secured. An account of the volunteer fire companies would form an interesting chapter of the city’s history. Present for the fourteenth anniversary of Germania Hose Company were Woolsey Fire Company No. 1, Hope Hook and Ladder Fire Company No. 1, Germania Fire Company No. 1 and Florida Fire Company, No. 2. For the May Day parade of the fire companies the public was invited to have seats on the Merchants’ Hotel gallery at twenty-five cents per chair, the proceeds to be given the Fire Department.

*Lakeview* - Alexander Stoddart, one of Pensacola’s foremost and wealthiest citizens, was a native of Leith, Scotland. He bought a four-block tract in the outskirts and built his home with formal gardens, including the first azaleas in Pensacola. He developed the Lakeview Tract, including club-house, boat-house, and observation tower. (From the writer’s own recollections.)

An *Ice Factory* was built as early as 1882; and gas lights appeared in the streets in 1883.

In that year the dreams of a long period were realized with the opening of the *Opera House*. This was a two-story structure of brick with mansard roof, reaching a height of sixty feet, and extending 105 feet on Jefferson Street and 145 feet on Government. “The lower floor or parquet is very capacious and with a magnificent dome over-head lit by a chandelier with numberless gasjets will present an animated appearance. There is a vestibule in front of each gallery landing for gentlemen to lounge entre-acts, and cloakrooms for the ladies who come in full dress. The seating capacity is about 1200 and the building will be lighted by

a 2000 light gas machine. There are four boxes and the floor is covered with velvet carpet and the wrought iron rail is covered with red plush.”

The opening attraction was presented by Ford’s Comic Opera Troupe with The Merry War. Next evening was Mascotte, and Saturday Patience for matinee, and Pirates of Penzance for the evening.

Tribute was paid to D. F. Sullivan, the owner; A. V. Clubbs, the contractor; and L. C. Bennett for brickwork.  

In the following years, the stage was utilized for many different affairs, as a benefit for the Episcopal Church at which Ruby Mallory Kennedy sang and S. R. Mallory recited an original composition The Fog Bell. Mrs. Kennedy also assisted amateurs in a benefit for the new Catholic Church in 1885; Lieut. Charles Humphries, U.S.A., legerdemain and magical arts; and a chess game was presented, on the stage with people in costume representing the chessmen, Minnie Maddern appeared as Frou Frou as the star attraction the next year; and Carl Schurz addressed an appreciative audience. The second annual commencement of Public School Number One was held at the Opera House, May 31, 1887, and the Convent School program the next month.

The Street Railway began operation in 1884, the City Council having granted a charter to Conrad Kupfrian for the enterprise. 

In 1883 the new Queen Anne style Court House is declared to be “an ornament to any city”. It was faced with Philadelphia brick and terra cotta with belt courses, sills and lintels of marble. The cost is given as $40,000.

Evidently, there was a general upsurge at this time among property owners as one reads: “The stores which formerly showed forth their goods through wide open doors, like the many-mouthed Hydra ready to gulp in the unwary customer, are now showing their wares to greater advantage behind plate glass windows and handsome show cases.”

A site opposite Clapp’s Woods was staked out for a Life Saving Station by the Superintendent of the Seventh District, United States Life Saving Service in 1884. With J. M. Tarble, Collector

of the Port, S. C. Cobb and Wm. McKenzie Oerting, the Superintendent, made the trip in the tug Simpson, Captain Rodgers. A few years later a visitor declared that he found everything in tiptop order under the management of Captain Sutherland. He continues, "It is only within the last few weeks that bathing on the outer beach has become popular, and we predict that the day is not far distant when this part of Santa Rosa Island will become the Coney Island of the South. There is an opportunity of splendid investment and all that is necessary to make it a popular resort is ample accommodation and cheap transportation rates." 17

Y.M.C.A. - There is evidence that Pensacola had a YMCA about three-quarters of a century ago, for "H. C. Cushman is dividing the old YMCA Hall into offices" is noted in 1884. Then the same paper states that the "YMCA has flattering prospects for rooms and furnishings". And there is the notation, "Pensacola Library Hall, East Chase Street (formerly YMCA Hall)."

The State Democratic Convention met in Pensacola in 1884 with Samuel Pasco in the chair as temporary chairman. W. D. Chipley was made permanent chairman, and R. M. Call of Duval

County, Secretary. "The parquet, dress circle and gallery of the Opera House were full. Pasco nominated Edward A. Perry of Pensacola for Governor. Wyer’s Silver Cornet Band led the serenaders when they called upon S. R. Mallory to rejoice upon his nomination as state senator. They then visited the Continental Hotel to congratulate Major A. J. Russell, and finally called by the Merchants’ Hotel to honor Gen. J. Ernest Yonge."

In October (1884), Governor Bloxham and United States Senator Chas. W. Jones addressed an SRO audience at the Opera House and were given “the three times three”. General J. Ernest Yonge presided. The following Saturday night there was a torch light procession which marched to Governor Perry’s home and the Continental Hotel, thus serenading “... our distinguished existing and future governors.” When the news of the victory of the Cleveland-Hendricks ticket reached the Democrats in Pensacola, it is related of the jubilation that:

“Last Thursday will be a day long remembered by those who witnessed that which it brought forth in Pensacola, and, in years to come, Grandpas will tell the little ones... how we celebrated the first victory that Democracy had gained in a quarter of a century.” There were transparencies galore. “Notable were the handsome displays at the Merchants, City, Commercial and Continental Hotels, the residences of F. C. and D. G. Brent, General Perry, George W. Wright and George Brosnaham; the Caucasian Coffee Saloon whose two large gas-lit stars were the objects of universal admiration and the store of George Bonifay, Esq., where, in a brilliantly lighted alcove, three lovely hillocks of red, white and blue satin formed a pretty foreground to the large framed pictures of Cleveland and Hendricks in the rear. Colonel J. P. Jones addressed the multitude who had assembled in the Plaza.”

**Militia** - The first encampment (1884) of the volunteer companies of the Florida militia was held at Magnolia Bluff, through the liberality of W. D. Chipley, whose energy had carried to completion the Pensacola & Atlantic railroad, uniting Jacksonville and Pensacola. It opened June 17 and continued four days. There was a $75 premium to the best-drilled company; $50 to the best drilled soldier; and $25 to the best shot and a $50 baseball prize. There was a Queen of Love and Beauty. Besides the dancing pavilion, there was a grandstand erected at the site.
It is announced in 1884 that names and numbers are to be placed on the streets for the first time.

**Custom House** - The stately Post Office and Custom House was completed in 1887. “Mr. S. S. Leonard, courteous contractor for the brickwork, showed us around the first floor of the new Post Office and Custom House. There are 800 lock boxes numbered and 800 lock boxes lettered, both types have beveled glass doors. Outside the screen the floor is marble; inside, wood.” In March (1887) Postmaster C. C. Yonge Jr., announced that he would start free delivery service at an early date. Twenty-seven letter-boxes had been ordered and the sites selected for their erection. Free delivery would be confined to the area bounded by Jackson street, Coyle street, the Bay, Muscogee Wharf, and then with the railroad to “North” avenue and to Jackson street. 19

The Catholic Knights of America, Branch 210, celebrated their first anniversary in 1883.

Pensacolians of the present will be interested in: “Colonel Chipley gives the captaincy of steamer ‘Little Annie’ to a Pensacola boy, Captain W. G. Barrow.”

We read: “Theodorus, the white-spotted Elephant, three separate rings, and dogs that talk, sing, laugh, dance, pray, read, play cards, hold school and smoke cigars.” “Cheap excursions on all railroads for the ‘Mighty Monarch of All Mammoth Aggregations, is to be in Pensacola, November 15. An additional attraction is a 50-cage Menagerie.”

But the resourceful young men of that period were not dependent on outside amusements, as a paragraph on the ‘Oriental Brass Band’ will indicate: “There is music in the air. The Oriental Brass Band has reorganized with the following membership: Cornet Thos. C. Watson; Cornet, Guy Ackerman; Cornet, Richard Simpson; Cornet, Walker Anderson; Tenor, W. A. Monroe; Tenor, R. H. Ware; Tuba, C. W. Jones; Drummer, Mason Scarritt; and Cymbals, Drums, Stephen Allen, Snare; Henry Overman Basset.”

In 1884, “The business men met at Pitt’s Hall and took steps toward perfecting an organization with S. S. Harvey as

Chairman; the Committee on Organization being L. M. Merritt, Chairman; E. A. Perry, A. V. Clubbs, W. A. D’Alemberte, S. S. Harvey, H. Baars, M. F. Gonzalez, G. Forcheimer, J. W. Woolfolk, and Wm. Johnson.

The Jewish citizens were active at this period. The Amaranth Club, no member of which was more than fourteen years of age, celebrated their first anniversary; and the Jewish ladies planned a fancy-dress ball at Pou’s Hall. Later, the Young Hebrews held a Calico Ball Soiree at Pou’s Hall.

The government installations near Pensacola also afforded diversions. “The auditorium at Ft. Barrancas is a perfect gem of a theater, seating 101.” And while the Apache Indian Geronimo and his band were held at Ft. Pickens, 1886-1888, “300 citizens were invited by Col. C. C. Langdon, the popular and courteous Commander of Forts Barrancas and Pickens to witness the annual Medicine or Corn Dance of the Apaches. The party left Palafox Wharf in the steamers, E. E. Simpson, Mary Wittich, and Willie C. and left Pickens about ten, but the dance kept up all night.”

According to Captain Jacob Kryger, the Weather Bureau was established in 1879. Mention is made in 1884 of the cotton compress recently established here. Carlin’s Commercial Academy is advertised in 1885. The waterworks are in operation in 1886 and the Escambia Medical Society was organized in 1889. 21

M. F. Gonzalez petitioned the Board of County Commissioners in 1884 to build a bridge of creosoted pilings over Bayou Texar. Nearly all leading citizens signed the paper. Mr. Stoddart had planted 750,000 oysters along the waterfront of his Lakeview place. 22

In 1868, an infirmary had been established in the northeastern part of the city by Dr. R. B. S. Hargis. After it burned, Dr. Hargis purchased fifty acres near the head of Little Bayou, close to the old Cantonment with the intention of erecting a “pavilion-type hospital according to the most approved plans of the Marine Hospital Service. It will accommodate fifty patients. It is close to both land and water and there is room for a pest house if the

County Commissioners should decide to build one. Dr. Hargis has offered space for this free of charge to the County.” 23

In those days (the 1880’s) Bastile Day was observed by the French residents of Pensacola with a dinner at Philippi’s restaurant.

“J. M. Roche-Crouch who wrote Kathleen Mavourneen has been for several years a clerk for the Paymaster in our Navy Yard.” (1887)

The deaths are recorded of two of Pensacola’s foremost citizens, Secretary of the Confederate States Navy Stephen R. Mallory, and his father-in-law Francisco Moreno. 24

There was much building during this time. The new Catholic Church with C. H. Overman as architect was announced in 1883 to cost $30,000, with Corinthian columns made by the Cosgrove Foundry.

Golay Mills, the trade name for M. F. Gonzalez grain firm was begun in 1870 on Saragossa and Tarragona streets and was located there until the present.

“The new Clubbs building is an ornament and would grace Broadway in the city of New York.” 25

The foundations of the Presbyterian Church are being laid” stated a note in 1887. “The cost of the building is to be about $12,000,” a large sum in those days.

St. John’s Cemetery, which had been established in the 1870’s was beautiful with double rows of trees. One hundred fifty-four were planted in 1884. The first burial there was on Aug. 10, 1876. 26

One of the festive and happiest occasions of the year was the annual Yule Party at the Scandinavian Church on South Palafox street. The entrance was draped in the buntings of the Scandinavian countries and a large Christmas tree was placed in the middle of the floor. It glittered with colored candles. Every seat was occupied. In 1884, the services began with a hymn. The Reverend P. O. Olsen delivered a most impressive welcome in the Scandinavian tongue. Then there was another hymn and tickets each bearing a number were distributed to the

23. Yonge scrapbook.
24. Mallory died Nov. 9, 1873, and Moreno Nov. 19, 1882, according to their tombstones in St. Michael’s Cemetery, Pensacola.
sailors and presents were handed out. The presents were sent to Pensacola by the ladies of Tromsoe, the northernmost city of Norway, and of Stavanger, also in Norway, with instructions to deliver to Scandinavian sailors in port. Each present was practical and useful, a shirt, a scarf, a pair of mittens. A verse from the Bible was also enclosed with each gift. "The affair was very impressive and the happiness of the sailors was shared by the whole audience, many of whom were ladies and gentlemen of the city, who were present by invitation." ²⁷

Even in this early period, the citizens were concerned about their unfortunates:

"A plot of heavily wooded land about one mile north of Kupfrián's Park and two miles from the city has been purchased for a poor farm and it is proposed to erect buildings thereon."

And again, there is an item regarding a concert at the Opera House to raise funds toward erecting a home for the aged and indigent old ladies. This home was in operation for decades.

Good will and amity reached its zenith, when Judge A. E. Maxwell who had served in the Confederate Senate and J. E. Callaghan who had served in the United States Army in the War Between the States, joined forces in the observance of Memorial Day at the National Cemetery in 1887. ²⁸ Equally noteworthy was the erection of the Confederate monument in Lee Square, citizens who had fought on opposite sides joined in contributing toward the shaft which was dedicated in June 1891, though proposed as early as 1881 by E. A. Perry with such influential sponsors as Mrs. S. R. Mallory and Mrs. W. D. Chipley.

Recognition was given to many of our leading citizens in 1889 when trees were planted and dedicated to "E. Whitmire, Henry Hyer, Rev. Z. A. Owens, Rev. F. C. Dubois, Col. C. C. Yonge, Dr. Leonard, Ex-Governor, E. A. Perry, Rev. P. H. Lundy, W. E. Anderson, Rev. Father Bergrath, Joseph Riera, Edward Sexauer, Col. W. D. Chipley, Alexander Stoddart (greeted with three rousing cheers), T. T. Wright, A. J. Russell, Rev. Father Coyle, Dr. J. C. Whiting, J. B. Peaslee, Capt. Thos. W. Brent, Rev. Dr. J. J. Scott, Judge A. E. Maxwell, B. F. Fernow, and S. R. Mallory." ²⁹

²⁷. Pensacolian, Jan. 3, 1885.
²⁸. History of the Confederate Memorial Associations of the South, pp. 72-73.
This is the origin of the beautiful trees in the Plaza Ferdinard VII.

The mayors during the period of this article were: F. C. Humphreys, E. Haines, Royal Putnam, R. A. Stearns, Salvador Pons, J. P. Jones, Wm. McK. Oerting, George H. O’Neal, J. M. Tarble, George S. Wells, S. S. Harvey, A. L. Avery, W. D. Chipley, and J. M. Hilliard.

30. Yonge scrapbook. Letter from Chas. H. Walker, Director of Finance, City of Pensacola.

An Historical Sketch of Pensacola, Fla. by Benjamin Robinson (96 pp.), published in 1882, is an excellent narrative, and contains much that has been forgotten by the present generation, even when formerly known. There is a copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.
RAILROADS OUT OF PENSACOLA, 1833-1883
by CHARLES H. HILDRETH

THE OPENING OF the three-mile Quincy [Mass.] Railroad in 1827 marked a general change of emphasis in transportation in the United States. Visionaries suffering from “canal fever” discovered “railroad fever” to be an excellent antidote for the disease and one which allowed the mind to envision schemes not limited by the natural waterways of the nation. Florida, a part of the Union for slightly more than a decade, became the setting in 1833, for one of the most ambitious of these early plans.

The acquisition of Florida placed in the hands of the United States government one of the best natural harbors on the Gulf coast. Spain and Great Britain had recognized the strategic location of this harbor and made the city of Pensacola a center of naval operations. The United States, too, acknowledged the important military position of the city and, early in the territorial days, strengthened its fortifications and constructed a navy yard. One factor, however, stood in the way of the area’s economic growth. Although blessed with a port having large commercial possibilities, Pensacola was surrounded by barren, unproductive country and lacked a navigable stream uniting it with the fertile agricultural lands of the interior. The Escambia River which wended its way southward out of Alabama to the coast was too shallow at its mouth and for some miles up the river to support commerce.

Isolated from the rich cotton lands of southern Alabama and Georgia, the leading businessmen of the city felt that Pensacola could achieve its destiny only by linking the hinterland with its fine harbor. This was to be accomplished through the development of railroad communication.

In December of 1833 a public meeting was held in the city, resulting in a request being made to the Alabama legislature and the Florida territorial council for permission to construct a railroad of the fantastic length of 210 miles. ¹ The Florida lawmakers were in full agreement with the proposal and on February

14, 1834, the Florida, Alabama and Georgia Railroad company was incorporated. The new corporation was authorized to build a railroad from Pensacola to the Florida-Alabama boundary, there to join with a railroad running south from Columbus, Georgia.²

The promoters ran into difficulty in their request to the Alabama legislature. The original plan called for a road which would run through Alabama in a northeasterly direction to Columbus but with a branch line going into Montgomery, Ala-

² *Laws of Florida*, 1834, Chapter 792, p. 87.
Montgomery on the Alabama River and Columbus on the Chattahoochee were commercial river towns and the railroad was designed to tap the commerce of these cities and direct it to Pensacola's harbor. Delegates from Mobile, whose city was located at the mouth of the Alabama River, feared the economic consequences of such a move and balked at allowing the railroad entry to Montgomery. Alabama planters disliked their dependence upon a river that frequently ran low during the shipping season and backed the railroad plan, but on the first attempt to obtain an Alabama charter, the entire project was blocked by Mobile's political opposition. However, at the following session, meeting late in 1834, advocates of the railroad marshalled sufficient strength to garner a compromise victory. Approval was granted for the establishment of the Alabama, Florida and Georgia Railroad the line to run "from or near Columbus" to the Alabama-Florida boundary. The branch road to Montgomery was significantly rejected. The action of the Alabama legislators was endorsed by Florida in February, 1835, with the acceptance of the Alabama charter.

Anticipating the action of the Florida government, $1,500,000 of A, F&G RR stock was placed on the market at Pensacola during December, 1834. The entire amount was quickly subscribed as only twenty-five cents a share was paid at the time of subscription. Three thousand, seven hundred and fifty dollars was collected. The obvious purpose of the low subscription price was to enable the company to organize in accordance with its charter. This was accomplished on December 17, 1834, with William H. Chase elected as president of the board of directors.

To this point, the railroad was a paper transaction. If it was to develop beyond this stage, outside aid was essential, for the

4. Ibid.
6. Chase was an officer in the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army constructing defenses at Pensacola harbor; a position he held between 1825 and 1854. His military duties did not appear to interfere with his interest in Pensacola's railroads, for he was to be found in a position of leadership until shortly before his death in 1870. With the exception of a two-year period, 1854-56, when he was superintending the building of Ft. Taylor at Key West. Chase resided in Pensacola. He resigned from the Army in 1856 to become president of the Alabama and Florida Railroad. Dodd, op. cit., pp. 47, 63.
local planners had vision and enthusiasm but little money. A speculative urge was sweeping the nation in the 1830's, but more security than the plans of the incorporators to build a railroad through a sparsely populated area of Alabama and the territory of Florida was required to attract large investment. This security was gained by territorial action which indirectly pledged the credit of the territory on behalf of the railroad through a charter amendment of the Bank of Pensacola.

The bank was chartered in 1831, but it was June, 1833, before the institution was formally organized by the election of a board of directors. On November 28, 1833, the institution opened its doors, a relatively sound and conservative operation. Evidence of the bank's interest in railroad development was indicated by the presence among its directors of two men who were to be numbered among the A, F&G's original incorporators.

The Florida territorial government became involved in the bank-railroad connection in February, 1835. While giving approval to the Alabama charter of the A, F&G, the council amended the charter of Pensacola's bank, authorizing an increase in capital stock to the amount of $2,500,000. It further authorized the bank to buy railroad stock in amounts limited only by the discretion of the bank directors. To secure capital for the stock purchase, the bank was granted the power to issue and sell six per cent interest bearing bonds in the amount of $500,000; these bonds to be endorsed by the governor in the name of the territory. Additionally, for every mile of railroad completed, the bank was permitted to issue $10,000 more in government guaranteed certificates. As security for this commitment the territory took a lien on the assets of the bank, including its railroad stock.

In December, 1835, William Chase went to Philadelphia as agent for the bank. The bonds were sold at face value to a group of Philadelphia investors who presented Chase with a $100,000 check and a pledge to pay the remaining $400,000 between November, 1836, and December, 1838.

9. Walter Gregory and Hanson Kelly, see Laws of Florida, 1834, Chap. 792, p. 87.
11. Dodd, op. cit., p. 49.
Confident of the sale of the bonds, the company had, in 1835, requested Congressional aid in the building of the line on the basis of internal improvement and military advantage to the nation. They pointed to the need for rapid transportation of troops to the Pensacola Navy Yard in the event of war and in return for federal aid agreed to transport all troops free of charge. It was also argued that with the coming of the railroad the government would reap a financial benefit in the increased value of public lands. In light of these advantages the railroad justified its request for an engineer to survey the line of the road, a right of way through the public lands with the privilege of utilizing timber for construction purposes, and a grant of 600,000 acres of federally owned land. In view of President Jackson’s attitude toward projects of this nature, the action of Congress was generous. An engineer was assigned to the job and a sixty foot right of way with the privilege of utilizing building materials within one hundred yards of the line was granted. The request for the large tract of public domain was rejected.

During January and February of 1836 the U. S. Topographical engineer, Major J. D. Graham, made the survey. In March he reported that the line was feasible and could be completed at low cost because of the easy grades and the abundance of rock and timber. Graham was overly optimistic, for the proposed route of the railroad led eastward out of the city via the Escambia swamp, over the Escambia River, and then northward to Flomaton (commonly called Pensacola Junction) on the Alabama-Florida boundary. Construction of the ten mile stretch between the city and the Escambia River was to prove time-consuming and expensive.

In April, Chase advertised for sealed bids for constructing the embankments for the first fifty miles of the line. Construction apparently started the following month although little was accomplished during the summer because of a labor shortage. Advertisements were placed in the New Orleans and Mobile

12. Executive Documents, 23rd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 126, p. 1, as cited in ibid.
15. Pensacola Gazette, April 9, 1836.
The Alabama, Georgia and Florida Railroad contracted for duplicates of six of these engines. Apparently two of them were delivered but seem not to have been used.
papers and employment agents were appointed in Alabama, North Carolina, New York and other states to secure laborers. The response was limited. Resort was made to the importation of foreign labor but with indifferent results. A number of Irishmen were employed, but although they “worked like beavers,” their usefulness was offset by their fighting “like devils.” The Dutch replacements shipped from Europe presented a new problem. They stopped working each day at 10 A.M. and 4 P.M. until each man was supplied with a stein of beer. Despite the labor problem, it was expected that the first section of the line would be completed in time for the cotton crop of 1837. During the winter of 1836-37 locomotives, cars, and iron were deposited on the docks of Pensacola.

While work continued on the construction of the roadbed, company officials continued their efforts to secure entry into Montgomery. In 1836 the petition to the Alabama legislature to construct a branch line to the Alabama River city was renewed. Again Mobile interests thwarted the plan “for although the right was conferred, the act was virtually annulled by various provisions appended with that intention.” The company, determined to force the issue, decided that unless changes in the charter could be obtained, work on the line would be halted. They were convinced that the success of the enterprise “rested mainly on an unrestricted right of way into the interior of Alabama.” Apparently this threat was effective, for in December 23, 1837, the Alabama legislature reversed its previous action and conferred the right to enter Montgomery on the A, F&G.

One obstacle remained. By previous legislative enactment, power had been granted the Montgomery and West Point Railroad to prevent a competing line from entering the city unless permission was granted by two-thirds of the M&WP stockholders. Early in 1838 this permission was given but at high cost to the Pensacola organization. In return for the entry privilege the A, F&G agreed to abandon the Columbus line - the Montgomery

17. S. J. Gonzalez (Mrs.), “Pensacola; Its Early History,” Florida Historical Quarterly, II. April, 1909), 21-22.
20. Ibid.
railroad’s terminus of West Point was just thirty miles north of Columbus - and to buy $200,000 worth of M&WP stock. In lieu of cash, $100,000 worth of equipment was given to the Alabama line. This change in plans cut the length of the railroad from 210 to 156 miles, but whatever advantage this might have been was nullified by the loss of material, locomotives, and other machinery.  

By the time of this agreement, however, the chance of success had vanished, for the panic of 1837 was paralyzing the economic activity of the nation. The railroad, for a time undaunted by the course of events, continued to push its way through the Escambia swamp, but by the end of 1838 construction had halted. Again the railroad applied to Congress for Federal assistance in the form of a donation of public land. Failing to receive the grant, the company returned during the 1839 session and requested the right to buy 500,000 acres in alternate sections on either side of the track at the minimum rate of $1.25 per acre; the transaction to be made on six years’ credit. The bill passed the Senate but was rejected by the House, ending the hope of Federal aid.

Until the fall of 1839 the railroad maintained an appearance of solvency by continual borrowing from the Pensacola bank, but in October and November the precarious position of both institutions was made clear. Unable to meet its obligations, the bank seized $100,000 worth of railroad material and shipped it to New York to meet its liabilities. Less than a year later the territorial government, “to save the honor of the Territory,” was forced to pay $30,000 in back interest on bank bonds possessed by English owners. This was the last payment made on the bonds. Investigation disclosed that the A, F&G had borrowed $242,585.20 from the bank and was in no condition to repay, for the previous sale of material in New York and the transfer of equipment to the Montgomery railroad had left the local company with few liquidatable assets. The principal asset of the company was two thousand shares of questionable M&WP stock.

22. Dodd, op. cit., p. 54.
23. Ibid., p. 53.
24. Ibid., p. 55.
The bank was in no sounder condition. Its assets consisted of the uncollectable railroad notes and 14,920 shares of railroad stock for which it had paid $332,840.33. The Florida legislature, appalled at the turn of events and dismayed at the demands that it live up to its guarantee of the bank’s bonds, voted to repudiate its responsibility in the matter. Justification for this action was claimed in the contention that the legislature had no authority to make citizens of the territory responsible for the debts of a private corporation.

The first attempt to connect Pensacola with the interior was an expensive failure. An official of the railroad admitted to the expenditure of $564,000 for surveying, grading, equipment and materials. For this amount ten miles of grading and trestle work had been practically completed leading to the Escambia River and six miles had been graded on the other side of the river. Not a foot of rail had been laid. Ironically, when the project was revived, the route out of the city was changed and the work accomplished was never utilized.

With the return of prosperity in the 1840’s, agitation for the building of the railroad recommenced. A meeting held in Pensacola in December 1844 resulted in the formation of committees dedicated to reviving the company’s charter and interesting northern capital. By February, 1848, this action was reflected in Congress with another unsuccessful request for a grant of public land. In December, 1849, William H. Chase appeared before a railroad convention meeting in Montgomery to urge the delegates to back the building of this link in the national railroad system. It was 1853 before these actions produced tangible results. On January 8, 1853, the incorporation of the Alabama and Florida Railroad of Florida was approved with Chase as one of the incorporators.

On May 17, 1853, the A&F RR was organized with the election of a board of directors. Support for the company came

27. Ibid., p. 53.
28. Ibid., p. 58.
29. Ibid., p. 59.
from private individuals who subscribed to $116,000 in capital stock, the City of Pensacola which bonded itself to the extent of $250,000, and the federal government which by act of Congress in May, 1856, passed a law granting alternate sections of land lying along the railroad to the states of Alabama and Florida.  

33. Report of the President [Wm. H. Chase] and Directors of the Alabama and Florida Company of Florida to the Stockholders in Convention, July 26, 1856 at Pensacola (Washington: 1856). Herein-
In December, 1856, the Florida legislature passed a bill authorizing the transfer of the newly acquired federal lands to the A&F.  

Anticipating the action of the federal government, the railroad in February, 1856, signed a contract with Milnor, Broughton & Company to survey the route from Pensacola to the Alabama line. The *Pensacola Gazette* of March and April mirrored the enthusiasm of the town. On March 22, it read, “Joy to Pensacola! Clear the Track! The Railroad is Coming! The engineer has arrived . . . .” The following week it was even more exuberant. “All the experimental surveys will be finished this week . . . . Two years from today should see the line completed . . . and 1,000’s of bales of cotton and tons of produce . . . arriving at Pensacola to be shipped from here direct to Europe and the North.” Then it warned Pensacola’s rivals, “It will in a few years be necessary for people in New Orleans to send to us for the necessaries of life and Mobile would be desolate only for us.” The issue of April 5 told of the completion of the survey, and the following week an invitation to the ground breaking ceremony was extended to “all free, enlightened, and order loving citizens.” The ceremony took place on Saturday, April 12. It was a festival affair with representatives of the Masonic Lodges, the Odd Fellows, the Fire Company, and the Temperance Societies as honored guests. The band from Barrancas led a parade from the city hall to Tarragona Street where, on the site of the future depot, ground was broken.

The route of the new railroad differed from that of its ill-fated predecessor. Instead of running through the eastern section of town, it took a northward course out of Pensacola, thus avoiding the swamp and the necessity of crossing the Escambia River. Within the city the track was scheduled to extend to the foot of Tarragona Street where a wharf was to be built. The depot was to be situated 4,000 feet from the beach.
Work began immediately, and by the end of July ten miles were ready for the laying of ties and rails. Within a little more than a year the equivalent of twenty-four miles of continuous grading had been completed of the projected forty-five mile line.\(^{38}\) It was anticipated that grading would be finished by July 1, 1858, and there were hopes that the rails would be in place the following month.\(^{39}\) The hope was not realized. Completion of the road was dependent on securing money for the purchase of the rails. Negotiations were opened early in 1857 with English manufacturers but could not be closed since the lands donated by Congress to Florida had not yet been formally turned over to the railroad. These lands and the proceeds from their sale were desired as security for credit needed in the purchase of the rails.\(^{40}\) A solution was found in 1858 when the railroad issued $400,000 in first mortgage bonds to J. C. B. Davis and Peyton Jordan. To secure this money the company conveyed to Davis and Jordan the roadway, stations, depots, locomotives, and miscellaneous equipment on March 1, 1858. Then on September 29, 1859, a transfer of 84,526 acres of land in Escambia and Santa Rosa counties was made to the bond holders—all to be sold if the railroad failed to pay interest and principal at maturity. Additional funds were secured in a similar manner in 1861 with the sale of $154,000 worth of second mortgage bonds.\(^{41}\)

Shortly before the outbreak of the War for Southern Independence the road was completed, connecting Pensacola with Montgomery and via that city's railroad with West Point on the Chattahoochee River.\(^{42}\) The Florida portion of the line extended to Pollard, Alabama, a point just north of the state line. In 1861 Florida had 416 miles of railroad, the forty-five mile A&F being the only line located west of the Apalachicola River.\(^{43}\)

Jubilation at the existence of the railroad was shortlived. The exigencies of war dictated the destruction of the line. Con-
federate military authorities determined that "public necessities" demanded an immediate increase of transportation facilities between Mobile and Montgomery. By November of 1862, most of the rails had been removed from the Florida section of the A&F and officials of the Alabama branch and of the Mobile and Great Northern had opened negotiations with the Pensacola company for the purchase of its rolling stock. Since no agreement could be reached, the Confederate authorities seized the machinery. One engine and eight freight cars were transferred to the M&GN and another locomotive and the remaining cars were turned over to the A&F of Alabama. 44 Pensacola seemed doomed to isolation.

With the ending of the war the A&F determinedly began to rebuild but, with its rolling stock gone and money scarce, the task was difficult. By the beginning of 1868, only twelve of its forty-eight miles were in operating condition and, with the mortgage bond holders clamoring for their money, it was doubtful that even this limited operation would long continue. 45 In February, 1868, the Pensacola city fathers, holding the controlling share of the stock, took action. Ignoring the objections of the railroad’s creditors, the Board of Aldermen approved a bankruptcy sale to prevent a movement of foreclosure which would have involved the railroad in lengthy litigation. Justifying the unethical act which amounted to a repudiation of the interests of the original investors, the Board stated: "We have but one duty-to protect and promote the welfare and prosperity of the city-that end will . . . best be attained by pursuing the course which will soonest secure the completion of the road. By a bankruptcy sale the franchise, right of way, road bed, and rolling stock would pass into a purchaser’s hands unencumbered." 46

The decision of the city government was generally approved by the citizens. The editor of the local paper commented: "We share in the general feeling of joy that is felt and expressed in the prospective sale of our railroad. . . . However individual

44. Report, Fourth Annual Meeting Mobile and Great Northern R.R. Co. 1863, p. 5.
46. Proceedings of the Board of Alderman, published in the West Florida Commercial (Pensacola), March 19, 1868.
interests may suffer by it, the interests of our citizens will generally be advanced; and new impetus will be given our hitherto dormant city.” 47

On March 28, 1868, the bankrupt railroad was purchased by agents of the newly organized Pensacola and Louisville Railroad for $55,000. 48 The legality of the sale was argued in the courts for the next four years and it was February, 1872, before the state legislature acknowledged the P&L as the owner of the A&F’s property and franchise in legislative action. 49

Whatever legal or ethical laws were broken, the sale was a wise one in the practical sense. The new owners had capital and in October, 1868, the work of rebuilding was begun. 50 By the end of the following year about twelve miles of the old road were completely reconstructed; the roadbed prepared to the point of intersection with the Mobile and Montgomery Railroad; and all ties, spikes, and rails to complete the connection procured. In the city a two thousand foot wharf extended into Pensacola Bay. Additionally, an engine-house, car shop, and several smaller buildings were erected for storage and maintenance purposes. 51 By 1870, the railroad was completed and Pensacola was, this time permanently, connected by rail with the north. 52

In the years that followed the railroads of Pensacola were tied to the expansion of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. The L&N made its first penetration into the deep south in 1871 when it leased and secured control of the 303 miles of railroad extending from Nashville and Montgomery. Pressing further southward, the L&N acquired the majority of the stock in the Mobile and Montgomery Railroad in January, 1880. Only the forty-five mile line running into Pensacola separated the L&N from the Florida Gulf Coast. 53

In 1877 the Florida legislature incorporated the Pensacola Railroad Company and authorized it to purchase the property

47. West Florida Commercial, Feb. 8, 1868.
50. Pensacola Observer, October 19, 1868.
52. Pettengill, op. cit.
53. Herr, op. cit.
Despite the northern connection, Pensacola’s railroad communication was deficient in one major respect. There was no link connecting the city with the other sections of Florida. This was a factor which was recognized during the building boom of the 1850’s. The same session of the Florida legislature which in 1852 had incorporated the A&F, also incorporated the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad. Evidence that the P&G was part of the overall plan of Pensacola’s railroad promoters is found in the list of incorporators. The names of W. H. Chase, Owen M. Avery, H. F. Ingraham, Walker Anderson, and others will be found on both acts of incorporation. The P&G was authorized to build a line in an easterly direction out of Pensacola to some point on the Florida or Georgia boundary; there presumably to connect with a Georgia railroad. The proposed route was altered, however, in 1855 to take advantage of the availability of territorial grants through the Internal Improvement Commission. On January 6, 1855, the legislature had conveyed to a board of trustees, composed of the governor and four other state officials, the lands granted to the state by the federal government. These lands were to be used to promote a Florida railroad system composed of a line from Jacksonville to Pensacola and a line from Fernandina to Tampa Bay with a branch to Cedar Key. The task of building the Jacksonville to Pensacola connection was divided between the Florida Central Railroad which was to carry the line from Jacksonville to Lake City and the P&G which was responsible for completing the road into Pensacola. By June, 1860, trains were operating between Jacksonville and Lake City and before the outbreak of the War for

54. Laws of Florida, 1876-77, Chap. 3,069, p. 130.
55. Pettengill, op. cit.
57. Ibid.
Southern Independence the P&G had completed the link between that city and Tallahassee.  

Construction continued westward during the next two years with trains steaming into Quincy by February, 1863. Here progress stopped with the 181 mile section from Quincy to Pensacola uncompleted.

In the years following the War the railroad, reorganized as the Jacksonville, Pensacola and Mobile Railroad, reached the town of Chattahoochee but in 1880, when the L&N system reached into Pensacola, it was still impossible to travel across the state to Jacksonville. A 161 mile gap remained to be bridged. To reach Tallahassee it was necessary to go through Alabama and Georgia or through Alabama, down the Chattahoochee River and again overland to the capital; an unpleasant trip requiring days.

The coming of the L&N revived interest in the eastern connection, for it was to the advantage of the company that a connecting link be made between its Pensacola terminus and the railway systems of Florida and Georgia. The timing of this expansion could not have been more opportune, for the railroad-minded Florida legislature was granting huge tracts of public lands to railroad companies to stimulate construction.

W. D. Chipley, newly arrived in Pensacola as the general manager for the L&N's Florida road, spearheaded the drive for his employers. Chipley, in his L&N capacity, was to provide for West Florida much the same benefit provided by Henry B. Plant and Henry M. Flagler in other sections of the state.

The Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad Company was incorporated by the state legislature on March 4, 1881, with the avowed object of connecting the L&N system with the other railroads of the area. Among its incorporators were W. D. Chipley and Fred deFuniak. That the new railroad was to be a subsidiary of the L&N was obvious. DeFuniak, the P&A president, was general manager of the L&N. Chipley, the P&A vice-president and general manager, was a division superintendent of the L&N.
Additional proof was found in deFuniak’s first presidential report on the condition of the new company. The liabilities of the P&A were listed as $3,000,000 in forty-year first mortgage bonds endorsed by the L&N and $3,000,00 in P&A stock of which the L&N held 15,500 shares, a controlling interest. 67

The land grants to the P&A were generous, coming from three sources. The railroad received alternate sections of land, six miles on either side of the line, which had been granted to Florida by the Congressional act of September 28, 1850. It also received the alternate sections on both sides of the road granted by act of Congress on May 17, 1856. By far the most lucrative source was the third source. The state legislature granted to the P&A 20,000 acres of land for every mile of railroad constructed on the lands given the state by the act of September 28, 1850; “Said lands to be those nearest the line of said railroad and not otherwise granted.” 68 To secure this amount of land the grant extended into middle and south Florida. 69 By the charter terms the P&A was authorized a total of 3,860,619 acres, of which the railroad actually received 2,214,024 acres - one-fifteenth of the entire state! 70

Construction began early in the summer of 1881 with the work accomplished in three segments. One moved eastward out of Pensacola, a second pushed westward from Chattahoochee, and a middle section filled in the gap. By April, 2,278 men were engaged in grading, cutting cross-ties, piling and bridging, and laying track. Fifteen miles of the road had been completed. 71

The greatest obstacle in the path of the railroad was the spanning of Escambia Bay. The successful completion of the two and one-half mile bridge across this inlet was celebrated on August 16, 1882.

About noon, the first train with passengers crossed the bridge . . . and made its way toward Milton and Yellow River . . . the leading interests of the city were represented. The train consisted

69. DeFuniak Rpt.
70. J. E. Dovell, “Development of Commercial Transportation in Florida,” Economic Leaflets (Univ. of Florida) X.
of a coach and four awning cars. . . . When the train had made the trip across the bridge . . . three cheers and a tiger were lustily given for Capt. Chipley.

On the return trip the train was halted in the middle of the draw where the passengers got out with champagne glasses in hand. Here they drank a toast to the "greatest event in the history of Pensacola." 72

It was nine months later before the last hurdle to a through ride from Pensacola to Jacksonville was overcome. For some weeks Pensacola passengers were carried by rail to the Apalachicola River. From this terminus they were transported across the river by boat where they again boarded a train for the final stage of their journey. During the first week in May, 1883, the bridge across the Apalachicola at River Junction was completed. Rail communication to the east was assured. 73

Not important in the major scope of the railroad picture but of significance to the local economy were the several short freight lines conceived and constructed during the period. In 1835 the incorporators of the ill-fated A,F&G RR had included the construction of a short line from a point on the Perdido River into the city in their overall planning. The Florida territorial government provided a charter for the Pensacola and Perdido Railroad, with W. H. Chase as one of its incorporators. The failure of the A,F&G, however, prevented any concrete action. 74 With the renewal of railroad building in the city after the War the project again received attention and on August 6, 1868, an act to incorporate the Pensacola and Perdido Railroad was approved. 75

It was 1873 before construction on the line began under a revision of the charter granted during the 1872 session of the legislature. 76 The road, used chiefly for the transportation of timber, ran for 5.8 miles between the port city and Millview on Perdido Bay. Sidings and spurs added another 1.5 miles. By

72. Pensacola Gazette, August 16, 1882.
73. Pettengill, ibid., p. 120.
74. Dodd, op. cit., p. 59.
75. Pensacola Observer, October 10, 1868.
1880 the line possessed five locomotives, seventy-two freight and log cars, and a lone passenger coach.  

A similar timber line, also with Chase as an incorporator, was the Pensacola and Mobile Railroad and Manufacturing Company. This organization was chartered on February 8, 1861. Fourteen miles north of the city it laid some five miles of track between the Perdido River and the line of the A&F RR. Mills were built and operated on the Perdido and, as the river was too shallow for navigation all the way to the bay, the lumber was shipped by rail into the city. 

During the War the P&M met the fate of the A&F. Military necessity caused the Confederate seizure of all machinery, rolling stock, and rails. The company was ruined. With the ending of hostilities, efforts were made to reopen the line and in the 1865-66 session of the legislature the company was authorized alternate sections of “swamp and overflowed lands” in Escambia County to aid in reconstruction. Nothing was accomplished until the 1870’s when the spur was rebuilt between Muscogee on the Perdido and the main line between Pensacola and Montgomery. In the city the company owned one thousand feet between 12th and 14th Avenues. A short line was laid from the A&F to this point, where the Muscogee Wharf was built.

A third freight line was the Pensacola and Barrancas Railroad which was incorporated in 1870. Its route ran from Pensacola in a southwesterly direction through Woolsey, Warrington, and Barrancas to its terminus near the Pensacola Navy Yard. Operating as an independent company for twelve years, it was purchased by the Pensacola and Atlantic in 1882 and became a part of the L&N system.

By the 1880’s after half a century of planning, work, and frustration, Pensacola was adequately connected by rail with the rest of the nation. This hard-won success was a tribute to the

79. Ibid.
81. P&M Prospectus.
early pioneers who saw in these rail connections the difference between the city's economic growth and her isolation and economic stagnation.
BRIGANDS, CAMP FOLLOWERS, speculators, gamblers and soldiers-of-fortune made Pensacola a gay city in 1821 as the populace, swelled to some 4,000, awaited the triumphant entry of the conquering hero, General Andrew Jackson. Florida, international pawn long coveted by the United States, was to be relinquished by Spain. Andrew Jackson and his troops had invaded the area twice since 1814, but diplomacy had foiled United States territorial ambitions. Now at last Florida was to be ceded to the United States, and provisional governor Andrew Jackson was expected momentarily at Pensacola, the seat of Florida government. Only Spanish loyalists viewed the gaiety glumly.

While the adventurers cavorted and outgoing Spanish Governor Jose Callava got his papers in order, men by the name of Nicholas and Tunstall were accumulating materials necessary for publishing the city’s first newspaper. Jackson assumed control of Florida on July 17, 1821. Pensacola’s first newspaper appeared August 18, 1821. Its name was The Floridian.

The Floridian was the third newspaper to be founded in Florida. The first was established in 1783 by John Wells and William Charles Wells, British loyalists who fled Charleston during the Revolutionary War. They published a short-lived sheet, The East-Florida Gazette, in St. Augustine. The second newspaper founded in Florida was the Florida Gazette, which appeared in St. Augustine on August 14, 1821, just four days before publication of The Floridian in Pensacola.

Escambia County historian H. Clay Armstrong speculates Pensacola’s Floridian would have been Florida’s first newspaper.

2. A copy of this first issue is found in the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, where a large collection of Pensacola newspapers is available and where the research for this article was accomplished.
worthy of the name except “for the longer time required for transporting its press.” 4 Editors of The Floridian showed no animosity for being jostled from choice position in history. Their comment:

On Saturday we received the first number of a paper called the Florida Gazette, printed at St. Augustine, East Florida, on the 14th instant, by Richard W. Edes & Co. It contains an account of the surrender of that territory. An apology is made for the delay in commencing the publication, which was caused by the refusal of the Spanish authorities to permit its publication as long as the territory remained in their possession.

Vol. I, No. 1 of the Pensacola Floridian was devoted almost exclusively to details of Florida’s new status as a United States possession. The first page contained the complete text of the treaty between the United States and Spain. Page two was filled with Jackson’s proclamation concerning the rights of territory residents and his letter, addressed to the troops, bemoaning “the hasty and ill-timed policy which has occasioned your disbandment, and that too while security was yet to be given to our extensive frontier by the erections of the necessary fortifications for its defence [sic].” Page three referred to the death of Napoleon Bonaparte of “cancer of the chest” and listed Federal appointees. On page four was an ode dedicated to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams on occasion of the annexation of Florida, and it contained an ordinance by Jackson requiring 24 hours quarantine for incoming ships. By ordinance also printed in this issue, Jackson divided the state into two counties, Escambia consisting of area “between the river Perdido and Suwany rivers” and St. Johns “lying East of the river Suwany.”

Advertising in this first issue warned of an embezzler who had made off with funds of a local merchant, extolled a theatre showing of “The Stranger” with box seats at $1, and praised the “Feats of Horsemanship” of Mr. Pepin’s Circus. Also advertised were boat sailings and the services of various attorneys, doctors, auctioneers and surveyors. One advertisement was syndicated with the rather common device (for that day) of adding the note: “The Editors of the Cahawba, Huntsville and Fort Claiborne papers, are requested to insert the above three times, and forward their bills to this office.”

4. Armstrong, 90.
5. The Floridian (Pensacola), September 1, 1821.
Nicholas and Tunstall offered their weekly four-page newspaper for $5 a year. Advertising was $1 per square for the first insertion and 50 cents for subsequent insertion. They indicated their printing supplies were shipped from Philadelphia on June 9, and they promised to "spare no pains" in making the paper useful and interesting.

Pensacola was a bilingual city. This problem is not foreign to newspaper publishers, and the usual solution has been to print two parallel columns containing the same material in the two different languages. The first issue of the Pensacola Floridian deserves a special footnote in history because the editors on page two split the column. An English version of a proclamation by General Jackson occupied the left side of the column, while a Spanish translation of the same proclamation was printed on the right side. Only a thin bit of white space separated the two. While legal notices sometimes were printed in Spanish in subsequent issues of The Floridian, most other material was in English and not again was the column split. 6

The format and content of the six-column four-page sheet changed little during the remainder of the year. The newspaper urged creation of a local branch bank of the Bank of the United States, grumbled about the 17-day mail delay between Pensacola and Washington, sadly observed that General Jackson had turned over governmental control to subordinates and returned to Tennessee (October, 1821), and appeared to fare well on a diet of advertising concerning boots, boats, runaway slaves, U. S. Army deserters, and governmental legals. 7

Another regular advertiser was the local post office which periodically advertised a list of unclaimed letters. 8 This practice actually was a subsidy of the press, along with favorable postal rates and compulsory publishing of federal laws, which had been

---

6. The October 15, 1821, Floridian has an advertisement in Spanish inserted by local postmaster C. Nicholas. This leads to the conclusion that postmaster Nicholas and Floridian publisher Nicholas are one and the same man, a rather common practice in pioneer America where the press often needed subsidy. See Edwin Emery and Henry Ladd Smith, The Press and America (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1954), 41, 48-49.
7. The Floridian (Pensacola), issues of September 1, 8, 15, 29, October 8, 15, December 10, 17, 1821.
8. Ibid., October 15 and 22, 1821.
passed by Congress in 1814 to support the press in frontier areas.⁹

Prominent in the December 17, 1821, *Floridian* was a reprint from the *Western Carolinian* in which Pensacola’s future was described in rather optimistic terms, but the current picture less favorably:

... At present it is very far from having any claims to beauty - the buildings are poor, irregularly built, and rather in a state of decay. It has a population of about 3,000 persons; and in that number there is perhaps a greater diversity of character, color and physiognomy, and withal a greater variety and confusion of tongues, than any place of the same magnitude could boast of since the ancient days of Babylon. But since the reign of Governor Jackson, there has been more uniformity of character than formerly.

The most conspicuous running news story in the *Floridian* during 1821 was in the form of letters and documents, printed in full, dealing with the controversy between General Jackson and outgoing Spanish governor Jose Callava. Callava had stayed behind to collect governmental records and when he clashed with Jackson’s subordinate Henry M. Brackenridge, Jackson clapped Callava into jail. Privately, Mrs. Jackson observed “the governor has been put in the calaboose, which is a terrible thing, really,” while publicly the *Floridian* was crowing over the humbling of the Spanish governor.¹⁰

Armstrong reports Pensacola population dwindled a third during the yellow fever epidemic of 1822, but extant copies of the *Floridian* make only passing reference to “several cases of yellow fever.”¹¹ Congressional debate, particularly on subjects affecting territorial Florida and its government, was printed in full. Such national news was largely clipped from the *National Intelligencer*, a rather unusual newspaper “of record” published in Washington beginning in 1800. For 34 years it served as a semi-official Congressional recorder and was widely quoted in the nation’s press.¹²

---

⁹ Emery and Smith, 177.
¹⁰ Armstrong, 86-88, carries an account of the controversy. The *Floridian* begins its running account in the issue of September 29, 1821.
¹¹ Armstrong, 90-91. The *Floridian* reference is from the August 17, 1822, issue.
¹² Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1947), 176-179, and Emery and Smith, 187, deal with the *Intelligencer*. Conclusions regarding the *Floridian* are based on issues of March 9, 29, April 13, May 25, July 20, 27, August 17, 1822.
In the issue of June 22, 1822, the Floridian announced that the partnership of Tunstall and Nicholas was dissolved with Tunstall becoming “far removed from the arduous, and profitless business in which, he was last engaged.” The paper obviously was undergoing financial reverses, since the issue of July 20 indicated several prior issues were not published because no paper stock was available. Commented the paper, now published by C. Nicholas and Co., “The Floridian, like most other infant industries, is very poor.”

Publication of the Floridian apparently lapsed sometime in 1822. The March 8, 1823, issue appeared renumbered (Vol. 1 No. 1) under the auspices of John Fitzgerald and Co. The paper’s format, advertising and subscription rates, and general appearance was the same, but the general quality of news content was inferior to the earlier Floridian. The December 13, 1823, issue has one page printed entirely in Spanish and shows emphasis on poetry and magazine type material:

Fitzgerald continued to publish the Floridian into the year 1824, but the paper apparently died that year. A January 12 issue reveals the format changed to four instead of six columns, while local newsgathering revealed a city debt of $1,270 and the election of Peter Alba as mayor. The paper also pleads for construction of better roads and defenses or “recede the Floridas to Ferdinand the beloved, and as well have it filled a second time with hostile savages and foreign incendiaries.”

As Pensacola’s newspaper, the Floridian was succeeded by the Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser, which first appeared on March 13, 1824. Its publication was to dominate the Pensacola newspaper field for at least 34 years.

The five-column four-page Gazette sold for $5 a year and was published by W. Hasell Hunt, who used his own newspaper to advertise his “books and stationery” and to announce inauguration of a “reading room” where the latest newspapers and magazines were available. He also doubled as deputy clerk of the county court.

In his first issue March 13, Hunt pledged a politically independent newspaper “conducted on genuine republican principles.”

13. The Floridian, March 8, April 12, May 3, June 14, 1823
15. Ibid., April 3, 1824.
16. The Daily News (Pensacola), December 21, 1900.
He promised to promote the interests of the territory and said “the degradation of the press, allowing it to subserve the cause of personal envy or private pique, will be carefully guarded against and avoided.”

The same issue contained a lengthy editorial commending the city for promoting cleanliness as a health measure. The editorial, printed in both English and Spanish, said, “To those of us who were witnesses of the dreadful effects of inattention to the proper police and quarantine regulations of our city, in the melancholy summer of 1822, it can hardly be thought necessary to dwell on the subject . . .”

For material, Hunt leaned upon Congressional Acts, foreign and domestic clippings, local and shipping news, poetry and advertising of such items as salt, whisky, flour and almanacs.

Hunt continued to publish the Gazette with little change from 1824 to 1828. He became Pensacola postmaster, accused Governor Duval of favoritism in granting a contract for printing Legislative Council proceedings for $4.25 a page (Hunt had offered $3), and erected the newspaper motto of “Open to all parties; influenced by none.”

In 1828, Hunt took on Tardift as a partner in the printing business. The subscription rate that year dropped from $5 to $4, although the paper changed little in appearance and policies. Hunt still was postmaster.

In 1828, the Gazette was joined by an ephemeral weekly, the Pensacola Argus edited by Thomas Eastin, who promised “to keep aloof from all individual bias.” The paper strongly supported Andrew Jackson for the presidency by urging selection of a man “fresh from the people” and one “who has not been contaminated by the vices of courts and courtiers, whose intellectual vision has never been dazzled and obscured by the pomp and glitter of royalty.” In this respect, the Argus exhibited the grass roots enthusiasm which was to sweep Jackson into office.

While the Argus apparently did not survive the year 1828, the Pensacola Gazette continued without serious break as a $5 a

17. Pensacola Gazette, December 7, 1827. Hunt’s position as postal chief is revealed in an advertisement.
18. Pensacola Gazette, May 2; November 7, 1828
19. Full name of the Argus was Florida Argus and Pensacola Literary, Agricultural And Commercial Register. Material here is from issues of June 24, July 8, 22, November 18, 1828.
year newspaper with four pages of four columns. It was not a particularly lively sheet until late in 1830, when it fell into the hands of Blount and Aithen sometime between September 18 and November 5 or 6 (the exact date is not plain), 1830. In the November issue, the editors observed the paper had been suspended for six weeks but no further difficulty was foreseen because a new mechanical help had been acquired.

In 1833, the Gazette was a typographically dull four-page five-column weekly selling for $5 annually. Editor and publisher was P.M.S. Neufrille, who was sufficiently interested in the current tariff dispute (in which South Carolina threatened secession) to print President Jackson’s proclamation, which comprised seven columns of type.

An event occurring in 1833 gives opportunity to contrast news values of Neufrille’s day with those of today. The September 25 Gazette contained a one line death notice for Peter Alba, who was not further identified but obviously was the same Peter Alba elected Pensacola’s mayor nine years previously. The October 2 Gazette contained a letter-to-the-editor lamenting the death of Alba and referring to the incident as a shooting in the streets. Neufrille, in a brief editorial, referred readers to the letter. Finally, on December 4, in an issue abbreviated to two-page tabloid size because of paper shortage, Neufrille unfolded the story in about three inches of type - “this individual” Peter Alba had been murdered September 21 with 20 buckshot on a Pensacola street and Robert Breen had been found guilty of the crime and was sentenced to die on December 20. Alba was never identified as a former mayor.

The following year, 1834, the Gazette came under the influence of a man deemed great in stature and influence. He was Benjamin Drake Wright, who historian H. Clay Armstrong called “unquestionably the ablest and most reliable of the men who were connected with Florida Journalism in that time.”

Wright was born January 23, 1799, in Wilkes-Barre, Penn. He was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1820 and came to Pensacola in the spring of 1823, on the heels of Jackson. He lived there until his death April 28, 1875, “holding, at one time

\[^{20}\] Pensacola Gazette, August 14, and September 18, 1830.
\[^{21}\] Ibid., January 2, 1833.
\[^{22}\] Armstrong, 167-169, discusses Wright at length.
or another, almost every responsible office in that section of the territory.” 23

Wright in 1824 was a member of the Florida Legislative Council and was U. S. attorney for West Florida. He was elected Pensacola mayor in 1841, and was appointed chief justice of the State Supreme Court when Florida became a state in 1845. He served on the court until 1853.

While he was no printer, this prominent Florida citizen was an editor of the Pensacola Gazette from March 12, 1834, until around 1845. Until 1839, he owned the paper and presumably wrote most of its editorials. From 1839 until July 11, 1846, he furnished editorials on a regular weekly basis.

Wright’s associate on the Gazette was John McKinlay, and both were ardent supporters of a proposed railroad from Pensacola to Columbus, Georgia, and an inland waterway between New Orleans and Pensacola. Piqued because of lack of progress on the waterway, the Gazette in 1834 commented acidly, “But the truth is we have been so long amused about this canal, that it is nearly time to turn the whole subject over to our children.” 24

One of the greatest tributes paid Wright near the end of his newspaper career came from Joseph Clisby of the Tallahassee Sentinel:

Hon B. D. Wright has a wide and enviable reputation throughout the State, not only as a vigorous and pointed writer, but also in the still higher character of a most intellectual, urbane and accomplished gentleman, equally unexceptionable both in public and private life. 25

The Gazette’s big running story in the late 1830’s and early 40’s was the costly and bloody Seminole War beginning in 1835 and ending in 1842 after the Seminoles had been reduced to a hundred warriors. 26 The newspaper commenced publishing a regular diet of skirmish accounts, troop movements and visits of such brass as Winfield Scott and Zachary Taylor.

News traveled slowly. The Dade Massacre will serve as an example. Major Francis L. Dade set out on a hundred mile journey on the trail from Fort Brooke (Tampa) to Fort King (Ocala). The unit, consisting of eight officers and 102 men, was attacked

23. Ibid.  
24. Ibid.  
25. Ibid.  
by Indians December 28, 1835, and only three survived. 27 News of the massacre was first printed, in some detail, in the January 16, 1836, issue of the Gazette. The newspaper said it received the news by letters from Tampa, but the letters had come by boat via New Orleans. Although skimpy on details, it was accurate. It correctly reported the size of the unit and the survival of three. The newspaper asked, “What strange infatuation [sic] induced the sending of a handful of men . . . through the heart of the Indian country . . ?” Later issues developed massacre details even to a detailed description of the bodies when recovered by General Edmund P. Gaines on February 20. 28

The Gazette of this era was a four-page weekly published on Saturdays and selling for $3.50 a year. It had no competition and appeared prosperous to the extent that it ordered a new press in 1836. 29 In one issue the editors said they were “duly mortified” because over half of the paper contained “Laws of the United States,” a form of legal advertising. 30 The editors reported no mortification when they misprinted the newspaper masthead PENSACOLA GAZETTE although they hastily corrected it in the next edition. 31

Second only to the Seminole War newswise was the phenomenal growth of a Gulf city to the east, St. Joseph. During 1836, the Gazette referred often to St. Joseph’s healthful climate, its developing commerce, and its social life. Eying St. Joseph rather enviously, it said “the Apalachicola Gazette and the St. Joseph Times tell of nothing but balls and parties . . .” 32 St. Joseph was the site of the drafting of the territorial constitution of 1838-39, but shortly after was destroyed by a hurricane.

In 1837, the Gazette attempted to become a semi-weekly, with an increase of subscription to $5 for those desiring both issues. 33 The venture lasted only a few months, and the paper reverted back to its weekly status with the comment that “our Summer visitors have all left us . . . our attempt to keep up a

28. Pensacola Gazette, January 16, March 12, 1836
29. Ibid., August 6.
30. Ibid., August 13.
31. Ibid., January 9, 1836. The Gazette had been renumbered, with this issue listed as Vol. 2, No. 44 New Series.
32. Ibid., March 25.
33. Ibid., September 23, 1837. It published on Wednesdays and Saturdays.
A semi-weekly paper was not so well encouraged as we had expected . . .” 34

The Gazette of the early 1840's listed John McKinlay as editor and publisher. It was a four-page weekly reduced in price to $1 a year. The routine issue contained many reprints of magazine-type articles, foreign and national clips from other publications, poetry, maritime news, and advertising heavy in the patent medicine category. 35 It complained of poor mail delivery and the lack of development of the Navy Yard, and the Navy Yard issue impelled the editor to urge statehood for Florida, a proposal which was not popular locally. 36

In 1845, the year Florida became a state, eleven printing establishments were in the territory. Tallahassee had three; St. Augustine, Pensacola and Apalachicola supported two each; Jacksonville and Key West had one each. 37

Late in 1845, the Pensacola Gazette gained The Florida Democrat as competition. The Democrat was a four-page six-column weekly selling for $4 a year. Its editor and publisher was J.A. Baughey, who located an office in the “Alabama House” on Baylen Street, between Zarragossa and Front Streets. The new sheet was heavy in clippings from magazines of the day, and it was abundantly endowed with advertising. 38

Editor Baughey wasted no time. Between May 27 and June 12, 1846, he converted the paper into a tri-weekly, published Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at a subscription price of $6 a year. His office had been moved to Palafox Street between Intendentia and Romana Streets.

In 1847, the Gazette and the Democrat gained fierce but short-lived competition in the form of The Live Oak edited in fiery frontier tradition by John D. O’Connell, who had an office on Palafox Street near Romana. The Live Oak was tiny (a page measuring about 12 by 18 inches) and was published semi-weekly (Wednesday and Fridays). It lashed into editor Baughey of the Democrat, accusing him of plying his trade as printer while charging less than the established rate. O’Connell also claimed

34. Ibid., October 7, 1837.
35. Ibid., January 14, February 4, March 9, 1844.
36. Armstrong, 93, 97.
38. The Florida Democrat, January 23, 1846. This issue is Vol. I, No. 21.
Baughey had defamed him in the *Democrat* and then showed he was no mean hand with a pen himself:

I now regard you as worse or meaner than the sneeking [sic] thief. Truly, you are of that curious breed of animals we so often meet: bold and fearless in the execution of crime; but when fairly opposed a SNEAKING POLTROON. In the dark, a murderer; in the light a COWARD.

In an effort to clear up matters, O'Connell explained further:

We are responsible for every word in this sheet. To any person who may feel himself aggrieved by any remark of ours, we are ready and willing, at the shortest notice, to give - the satisfaction of a gentleman.

O’Connell promised to enlarge *The Live Oak* “in a short time,” but the paper apparently passed out of existence within the year. 39

The failure of *The Live Oak* did not discourage other Pensacola publishing ventures. In 1848 was published *The Neutral*, which billed itself accurately as “a weekly literary family journal.” The venture did not last out the year. The newspaper was a four-page six-column weekly published by F. Pindar and Co. in an office on Government Street opposite the public square. It sold for $3 a year. Its content was heavy on clippings from magazines, and the front page of one issue was completely filled with a lengthy poem. 40

Prospectus of *The Neutral* promised to present the best in “Literature, the Arts and Sciences, Politics, Commerce and Industry.” But *The Neutral’s* main claim to fame is its printing of its prospectus and some articles in French, which it observed “has become an essential branch in a good and well finished education.” Most of its material, however, was in English. 41

Despite the competition, the *Pensacola Gazette* appeared to flourish. Throughout 1849 and 1850, John McKinlay continued as editor, with little change in newspaper format except for the issue of July 20, 1850. In this issue, the column rules are “turned” so they printed as thick dark lines between the columns, a rather common practice when an editor desires to place his

---

39. *The Live Oak*, October 8, 1847. Only a fragment was available, but it appeared sufficient to characterize its editor.
40. This evaluation of *The Neutral* stems from inspection of issues of February 15 and March 21, 1848. The February 15 issue is Vol. I, No. 8. The poem is in the March 21 issue.
41. *Ibid.*., February 15, 1848.
paper in mourning. McKinlay's act was in deference to General Zachary Taylor, whose death the Gazette treated at some length in the same edition. In 1851, Editor McKinlay observed he was beginning his eighteenth year on the Gazette, thereby indicating he joined the paper in 1834 - the same year it came under the influence of B. D. Wright. 42

Rivalry sprang up between the Gazette and its contemporary, the Florida Democrat. In one issue in 1850, McKinlay protested an attack in which the Democrat said the Gazette was "reckless" and "deeply hostile to the rights of the American people." 43

In the early 1850's, the Gazette changed little in appearance. Still edited by John McKinlay, it consisted of a six-column four-page sheet published weekly for $4 a year. It continued to feud with the Florida Democrat, and it continued to campaign for a railroad. The Gazette made only one striking change. It became almost violently Whig, at one time clearly deserving the title of "party press."

The Gazette's political saga began in 1852, when it early erected the name of Millard Fillmore for president. 44 Fillmore was clearly the popular favorite of conservatives, so the movement received a serious blow when the national Whig Party nominated Winfield Scott. Scott's nomination marked the beginning of the end of Florida's Whig Party. After the year 1852, radical Democrats dominated state politics. 45

The Gazette, caught "out on a limb" with its premature endorsement of Fillmore, was forced to switch its support to Winfield Scott. It made the change with some reluctance, even to the extent of printing an article headed with "Who is Gen. Scott?" Rubbing salt in the wound was the competitive Democrat, which

42. Pensacola Gazette, March 29, 1851. The issue is listed as Vol. XVIII, No. 1. McKinlay writes, "With this number of the Gazette we enter upon the 18th year of its publication (new series) and for the last eleven years under its present proprietor - the former proprietor having commenced its republication in 1834." This indicates the Gazette suspended publication for some period prior to 1834.

43. Ibid., July 20, 1850.

44. Ibid., January 7, 1852.

observed the Gazette “should have to pull down the Fillmore flag . . .” 46

But the Gazette’s 1852 election activity was tame compared to the 1856 campaign. It began early by acknowledging the Democratic Party’s choice of James Buchanan for president, 47 ridiculing political efforts of local Democrats and its contemporary Democrat, 48 erecting the National American Ticket headed by Millard Fillmore, 49 and defending Fillmore against all charges, particularly in which the candidate was deemed an abolitionist. 50

It attacked the paper (Democrat) of opposite politics: “To fall under the censure of that sheet, we regard as the sweet indication that we are right . . . when we differ from him we are on the side of truth.” 51

Referring frequently to the “Nigger” problem, it warned of “the impropriety of allowing negroes to attend poltical [sic] meetings . . .” 52

Earlier, the Gazette had hinted darkly that only Democrats were able to secure work at the Navy Yard. 53 It waited until the week before the November 4 election to make its boldest stroke. In the Gazette’s first obvious effort to “display” news in the modern sense, it presented a news story headed:

A Clincher!
THE PLOT UNMASKED!
Proscription by Authority
The Responsibility Fixed

Essence of the story was that four workmen had been denied employment at the Navy Yard because they were supporters of the American Party. 54

46. The Gazette was supporting Fillmore as early as January 2, 1852. It switched to Scott between the June 19 and July 3 issues The quote appeared in the Gazette of September 4, 1852.
47. Pensacola Gazette, June 14, 1856.
48. Ibid., July 5, 1856.
49. Ibid., July 12, 1856.
50. Ibid., September 2, 1856.
51. Ibid., September 2, 1856.
52. Ibid., September 23, 1856.
53. Ibid., September 2, 1856.
54. Ibid., October 25, 1856.
The political effort appears to have temporarily exhausted the Gazette. The issue following the election consisted only of two pages. Admitting "we are beaten - badly beaten," the editor continued:

Our patrons must excuse our slim meager appearance this week. We have been 'through the mills' since our last issue, and we are only surprised that we appear at all. The infernal telegraphic despatches from every quarter have completely knocked out our 'underpining,' and we have been flat ever since. While in this supine position we have had one consoling reflection, and that was that the sudden generation of steam in our neighbor's boilers has caused an explosion which had sent the whole concern to - 'the other side of Jordan.'

The Gazette was active in other areas in 1856. It vigorously supported and faithfully reported events concerning the proposed "Pensacola and Montgomery Railroad," on which the ground was broken in April. It deplored the inactivity at the Navy Yard, charging 200 men had been discharged within a month and observing a skeleton force was maintained merely "to guard the place from unnecessarily depreciating."

Perhaps the greatest insight into the character of Gazette editor John McKinlay came in 1856 when he observed the founding of the Pensacola West Florida Times by J. W. Dorr, who proposed "to pitch into everybody and every thing that don't [sic] come up to standard." Wrote McKinlay:

You are going against the stream, and may expect many a hard pull. We almost wore out our entire stock and ourselves too, trying to reform mankind, but don't see that the world is much better than it was twenty-three years ago when the Gazette was a baby. In the last Presidential canvass we tried to persuade the people to elect Mr. Fillmore-told them he was the only man who could defeat Fremont, that old Buck had no strength, &c, but the obstinate blockheads wouldn't believe us. So what's the use of trying to reform folks when truth falls powerless to the ground in that way. However, try your hand; we hope [sic] you may meet with better success than has attended our humble effort."

Editor McKinlay of the Gazette applauded when the West Florida Times and the Florida Democrat engaged in "quite a com-

55. Ibid., November 8, 1856. The Gazette printed the usual four pages the following issue, November 15.
56. Ibid., April 12, May 17, 1856.
57. Ibid., March 15, 1856.
58. Ibid., November 29, 1856. Gaines, on page 26, refers to another newspaper, The Florida Tribune, which supposedly existed in Pensacola in 1856. No other evidence has come to light. Gaines, on page 20, also erroneously reports the West Florida Times was founded in 1857, instead of 1856.
bat.” He observed, “Joy and glory be with them, and peace to the ashes of him who shall receive his death-blow in the battle.” 59

Yet, it was with sorrow he reported the suspension of Dorr’s Times, which had lasted only about five months:

We truly sympathize with our friend, the Editor, Mr. Dorr, who has been thus sadly disappointed in his highest anticipations. But we hope there may yet be a fair opening for him before many months; for we consider him an upright, honest, and truly deserving young man. 60

In response, Dorr packaged “an old shoe” and sent it to editor McKinlay, who said he appreciated the honor of being “so affectionally remembered.” 61 Evidence that Dorr was well liked, despite his publishing misadventure, is found in the fact he was chosen the July Fourth orator only a month after his newspaper folded. 62

McKinlay’s Gazette opposed the selection of incumbent Stephen R. Mallory in late 1856 as United States Senator for six more years. 63 It also moved its office to the “house formerly occupied by Henry Ahrens, Esq., corner of Government and Taragona Streets.” 64 But the big news in newspaper circles was the demise of the Florida Democrat, which was absorbed into a new sheet, the Tri-Weekly Observer. The change was reported in the Gazette of September 5, 1857. Thus was born the only Pensacola newspaper to publish and survive during the upcoming War Between the States. The Gazette, which had dominated the Pensacola newspaper scene since 1824, passed out of existence in 1861, although there was a latter day revival of the name in the late 1870’s. 65

The lack of extant copies clouds the Pensacola press history during the War Between the States. Florida seceded from the Union January 10, 1861. Federal forces at Pensacola reacted by withdrawing to the more easily fortified position in Fort Pickens, but the fate of Pensacola hung in the balance as Union forces deliberated the reinforcement of Fort Pickens. The Pensacola

60. Ibid., May 30, 1857.
61. Ibid., June 6, 1857.
62. Ibid., June 27, 1857.
63. Ibid., January 3, 1857.
64. Ibid., March 21, 1857.
65. The P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida contains copies of the Gazette published both in 1860 and the late 1870’s.
Gazette of April 2, 1861, reported that “The arrival of so many troops in our midst looks squally.” Fort Pickens was reinforced by the Union on April 12, 1861, and henceforth was lost to the Confederacy. It served as a base from which the Union reached out to harass the Florida country-side. 66

Some time during this turn of affairs in Pensacola, the Observer became a newspaper which pledged its allegiance to the Union. Shortly after the reinforcement of Pickens, the Observer dared to hope the Union was abandoning the fort. 67 Yet, only two weeks later one of its correspondents was arrested as a Union spy:

DISCHARGED - “Nemo,” the correspondent of the Pensacola Observer, who was arrested by General Bragg and sent to Montgomery [sic] as a spy, has been discharged from custody, the President and Cabinet regarding this act as an indiscretion and not a crime. The affair will at least serve to teach prudence to newspaper reporters. 68

By April of 1862, 5,000 of the 6,500 Confederate troops were withdrawn from Florida to meet Union forces in the western end of the Confederate line. 69 On May 9, 1862, the Confederates scorched Pensacola and abandoned it. Citizens favorable to the Confederate cause withdrew from the city and were recognized as refugees. 70 Until the end of the war, the city of Pensacola remained in Union hands, along with such cities as Key West, St. Augustine, Jacksonville and Fernandina. 71

When the war closed in 1865 Florida had 16 newspapers, one of them identified as the Pensacola Observer. 72 In 1866, the Floridian in Tallahassee identified the proprietors of the Observer as Gonzales, Touart and Kirk and reported they had transformed the Observer into a tri-weekly. 73 In describing the Observer of August 4, 1866, Davis said:

66. Horance G. Davis, Jr., “Florida Journalism During the Civil War” (unpublished Master’s thesis, University of Florida, 1952), 47, 56, 60, 64, is the source of this brief summary.
67. Ibid., pp. 60-61. He quotes the Jacksonville St. John’s Mirror, May 7, 1861.
68. Ibid., 119. He cites the St. Augustine Examiner, April 27, 1861.
69. Ibid., 68.
70. Armstrong, 111.
71. Davis, 70.
73. Sims, 51. He cites the Tallahassee Floridian, June 21, 1866.
In August of 1866, the Pensacola *Tri-Weekly Observer* was in its Volume I, Number 25. It was published every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday . . . by Wm. Kirk & F. Touart, editors and proprietors - $10.00 per annum, 6 dollars for six months advertising, for square, of ten lines of brevier, $1.50 for the first insertions, and 75 cents for all subsequent insertions.' It was a four page sheet, with six columns per page. Perhaps its most outstanding factor is its attempt to form a 'Local Department' which in other papers in this period was sadly ignored.  

The *Observer* continued to appear into 1867, although its publication was reduced from tri-weekly to weekly after the September 5 issue. For a short period, it had been the only tri-weekly in Florida.  

The reduction in *Observer* printing frequency doubtless was connected to another event in 1867 - the inauguration in Pensacola of the *Tri-Weekly-West Florida Commercial* with F. Touart and M. F. Gonzalez as publishers and proprietors.

With the advent of the *Commercial*, the stage was set for another period of newspaper strife. The *West Florida Commercial* made plain as early as January 3, 1868, that it was a "conservative" sheet as contrasted to the "radical Republicans" who sought post-war vengeance for the South. It supported for president in 1868 a "conservative" ticket headed by Horatio Seymour. Editor and publisher of the six-column four-page sheet was F. Touart, who warned:

> Wake up carpet-baggers, democracy is after you. What will the mercenary adventurers, the impudent carpet-baggers and the southern apostates and scalawags do with themselves when the retributive roar of the white men of America shall break upon their ears?  

A year later the *Commercial* deemed the current Republican rule as "tyrannical, oppressive and unjust . . . and we shall never rest until it is abolished . . . ."  

In sharp political contrast was the Pensacola *Observer*, which adhered to radical Republican views and supported Ulysses S. Grant for the presidency in 1868. But as conservatives and Democrats gained more control of state affairs, the *Observer* fell

74. Davis, 200.  
75. Sims, 74.  
76. *Ibid.*, 65. Gaines’ reference that the *Commercial* was founded in 1868 is erroneous, since 1867 copies are available.  
77. Sims, 85, 102.  
upon hard times. It was offered for sale, or a part interest was available to “an acceptable partner” in April of 1870, and the final obituary notice appeared in the Tampa Florida Peninsular on October 26, 1870, “The Pensacola Observer, a Radical sheet has ceased its existence.” Thus ended a not-too-happy and sparsely documented phase of Pensacola newspaper history.

C. R. MaGee became one of the proprietors of the Pensacola Commercial in 1870, but apparently the newspaper passed out of existence in 1871. (The name was revived for another Pensacola publication 1882-1889.)

The time was ripe for a change as Florida commenced post-war recovery, though still hampered by radical Republican control. It also was a rather chaotic period for Pensacola newspapers, as successive efforts were made for permanent toehold. One of these was the Florida Weekly Express, founded in 1870. The seven-column four-page paper, published on Saturdays and offered for $3 a year, was edited by Lyman W. Rowley. The Express fell upon hard times and in 1875 was reduced to printing two pages of six columns each, although it listed itself as an “official paper” under seal of the Florida secretary of state. It apparently died that year.

An even shorter life span was allotted the Pensacola Mail, a tri-weekly founded late in 1871. It was dead within a year. The six-column four-page paper was published by Roberts, Richards and Ticknor with J. E. Roberts and F. B. Ticknor as editors. It listed itself as the official organ of the city. Existing for a short period in 1874 was the Pensacola Republican.

In 1875, the Florida Weekly Express (obviously suffering of financial malnutrition and about to expire) took rather acid

81. Ibid., 137-138. He quotes the Tallahassee Sentinel of April 23, 1870.
82. Ibid., 129.
83. Ibid., 128. He quotes the Quincy Journal, September 2, 1870.
84. The P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida has copies for 1871 and 1882-89. Gaines, 47, reports a daily, the Herald, was attempted in Pensacola and “only survived for a short period of time.” No other evidence of this newspaper is available.
85. Sims, 128-130, includes it among 1870 papers.
86. Florida Weekly Express, September 9, 1871. It is listed as Vol. II, No. 67.
87. Ibid., August 28, 1875.
88. Pensacola Mail, January 20, 1872. It is listed as Vol. I, No. 42.
89. A copy is in the P.K. Yonge Library, but was not examined.
note of the first apparent effort to establish a daily newspaper in Pensacola:

If the first number of the *Daily Gazette* is a fair specimen . . . many of its citizens who dare to disagree with it politically will be ably misrepresented.

The *Gazette* (obvious 1875 revival of the newspaper which died in 1861) was ridiculed for its “patent insides,” which were deemed “the most interesting part of the paper.” It also was taken to task for its account of a lynching, in which two Negroes accused of outraging a woman were found hanging from a tree in Seville Square, with some attendant disturbance among Pensacola Negroes. The new daily newspaper was accused of falsely insinuating that “white Republicans incited the Negroes,” which showed (according to the weak-voiced *Express*) “how readily newspapers of its class seize upon anything and everything to engender bad and bitter feelings against any who does not embrace their political tenents.”

The only other available evidence regarding the 1875 *Gazette* is a fragment which frankly advises Pensacola prostitutes to stay off the “principal promenades of the city” until night, at which time “the fair and frail may flaunt their dry goods more at large . . . ‘street walking’ right should be disputed when it arrogates possession of upper Palafox.”

The *Gazette* did not succeed as a daily. In 1877, it was a weekly edited by J. W. Dorr, the same man who had founded and buried the *West Florida Times* and sent the packaged “old shoe” to John McKinlay in pre-war Pensacola (1857). His six-column four-page newspaper had no particularly distinguishing features, consisting of the usual clippings, some local news, and advertising. The following year, 1878, editor Dorr dropped the “Weekly” from his newspaper title and commenced semi-weekly publication.

---

90. “Patent insides” is a term applied to a form of syndication, whereby a newspaper receives its paper already printed on the inside, thus cutting the local typesetting chore considerably. The name “patent insides” comes from the practice of the readyprint containing a great number of patent medicine advertisements.


Dorr also greeted a couple of new competitors in 1878. One of these was another abortive attempt to found a daily newspaper, this time with the title *Echo*, Dorr observed the newspaper was the project of “our energetic friend George W. Turton, the artistic job printer” and “If the enterprise of a daily paper in Pensacola can be made a success, it is likely that Turton’s vim will achieve it.” The new daily was to publish “original telegrams of the Associated Press.”

The first issue of the *Echo* was dated February 15, 1878, and it sold for $10 a year. It was a five-column four-page newspaper, but in tabloid size. Turton observed “the people in Pensacola have in their own hands the control of this paper. Whether it may live and flourish, rests with them.” Referring to Dorr’s comments, it said “his doubts of the success of a daily we hope will be dispelled by our success, otherwise we shall have to get behind Dorr and quit.” The *Echo* was not a success, and apparently failed the year of its founding.

On the Pensacola publishing scene in 1878 also was *The Pensacola Advance*. In 1879, the Advance was a semi-weekly consisting of four pages of six columns each and selling for $4 a year. It’s editor was S. R. Mallory. It carried considerable advertising on the front page (a practice which varied with preference of the printer) and offered limited coverage of Florida legislative proceedings via initialed letters. In 1880, the semi-weekly had increased the number of columns from six to seven and listed two new proprietors in addition to Mallory. They were: Charles R. MaGee, probably the “C. R. MaGee” who became a proprietor of the *Pensacola Commercial* in 1870, shortly before its demise in 1871; and Frank Touart, probably the “F. Touart” who was a publisher of the Pensacola *Tri-Weekly Observer* in 1866 and later connected with the tri-weekly *West Florida Commercial* 1867-71 when it so vehemently opposed radical Republican reconstruction policies. The *Advance* under this trio, Mallory listed as editor, supported the Democratic ticket headed by W. S. Hancock.

97. Editor Turton referred to the *Advance* in his first, February 15, issue of *The Echo*.
Since J. W. Dorr’s semi-weekly Gazette was of the same politics, merger of the Gazette and the Advance was a feasibility. This is what occurred on January 11, 1882. The merged paper was titled the Pensacola Advance-Gazette and was published daily, although it followed Horace Greeley’s example by also publishing a weekly edition.

The daily Advance-Gazette was sold at $8 a year, and the weekly was offered at $2 a year. It boasted Associated Press telegraphic dispatches, and it editorially opposed the China open door policy. For the first time, a Pensacola newspaper showed something of a corporate structure not unlike those of modern newspapers. It was published by the Advance-Gazette Publishing Co., and S. R. Mallory was editor and W. A. Marschalk was business manager. Later in the year, Marschalk was both editor and proprietor, and a brief two-page issue contained reference to “melancholy circumstances” (an epidemic?) which had caused temporary suspension of the paper. Early in the following year, Marschalk had reduced publication to twice weekly. Printed matter indicated sickness still held sway in Pensacola.

In 1884, the Advance-Gazette was reduced to weekly status and was published by Scarritt and Co. at the corner of Palafox and Intendencia. Control of the paper soon changed again, and in 1885 it was published by MaGee and Phillips, editors and proprietors, along with J. W. Crary as associate editor. The paper was a semi-weekly which sold for $2.50 annually. All evidence points to the Advance-Gazette’s demise in 1885.

100. Pensacola Gazette, March 30, 1880.
101. The date of the merger is given in the masthead of the Pensacola Advance-Gazette, March 13, 1882.
102. Greeley’s reputation was built on the phenomenal success, particularly in the mid-West, of his weekly edition of the New York Tribune. He never led in circulation in New York. Emery and Smith, 228.
104. Ibid., November 26, 1882. It is listed as New Series, Vol. I, No. 54.
105. Ibid., February 22, 1883.
106. Ibid., March 21, 1884. This issue traces its beginnings back to the Pensacola Gazette founded in 1824, but publication patently was not continuous.
107. Ibid., April 3, 1885.
A short-lived newspaper of 1883-84 period was the Pensacola Republican, a six-column four-page sheet which obviously was a political party newspaper. 108

The real newspaper giants in Pensacola of this era, however, were the Pensacola Commercial and The Pensacolian.

The Commercial (revival of the Commercial of 1867-71) apparently first appeared in 1882. In 1884, it was a semi-weekly published by the Commercial Publishing Co. and offered for $3 a year. It was printed eight columns on very wide paper, which earned for papers of this type the title “blanket.” The newspaper contained clippings from magazines, editorials, local and railroad news, and a literary section. 109 It continued to publish with little change, except by 1888 it was publishing daily and was renamed the Pensacola Daily Commercial. It deemed itself “the only real live newspaper in this city,” had offices at 11 and 13 West Government Street, and sold for $6 a year. It also published a weekly edition. 110 The big running story of the decade was the Jacksonville yellow fever epidemic of 1888, with the Commercial printing timely front-page accounts of the number of cases and the death toll. 111 In 1889, the Commercial listed A. S. MacLean as business manager and added a colorful harbor scene woodcut to its masthead. 112 Apparently the newspaper passed out of existence that year.

Contemporary with the Commercial was The Pensacolian founded in December of 1883 as a weekly. It was a strongly Democratic paper politically, but its content also showed the editors had high regard for literary effort. It was published by O’Connor and Co., with Benjamin Robinson and John O’Connor as editors. A peculiar characteristic in early issues of the newspaper was its method of dating its issues. A single issue carried a dual “Saturday and Sunday” date. It sold for $2.50 a year. 113

108. Pensacola Republican, July 4, 1884. It is Vol. II, No. 44. Its masthead carried a list of State Republican Committee members. Gaines on page 72 said the Pensacola Times was founded for colored readers in 1888. No other evidence is available.
111. Ibid., August 22, 24, 1888.
112. Ibid., January 4, 1889.
113. The Pensacolian, issue of December 15 and 16, 1883, was Vol. I, No. 1. The unusual method of “double dating” the issues was dropped, with no comment from the editors, in the issue of April 26, 1884, and the day of publication was indicated as Saturday only.
In 1885, *The Pensacolian* still was high in literary content of magazine nature. It sold for $2 a year, and only John O’Connor was listed as editor.  

Early in 1886, O’Connor relinquished control of *The Pensacolian* “with regrets,” although he gave no reason. Taking control of the paper was Charles R. MaGee, whose previous Pensacola journalistic connections included the *Pensacola Commercial* in 1870 and the *Pensacola Advance* in 1880. MaGee said the paper would embrace Jeffersonian Democratic principles (his prior recorded journalistic effort had all been on Democratic papers). T. M. Scarritt was to become city editor.  

Later, J. W. Crary (associate editor of the *Advance-Gazette* in 1885) was made senior editor. In 1887 MaGee was joined by “Landrum” as a publisher and editor. The paper continued as an eight-page seven column sheet selling at $2 a year and containing much material of a literary nature. Much of the material was either “patent insides” or “boiler plate,” the latter an inexpensive method of printing material which had been set into type by a syndicate in Chicago or elsewhere. *The Pensacolian* apparently ceased publication in 1889.

A number of newspapers were founded in Pensacola during the final decade of the nineteenth century, but some were short-lived. One of these was the *Pensacola Argus* which is known to have foundered as a daily and converted to a weekly in 1894. In 1897 or 1898 was founded the daily Pensacola *Journal*,

119. *The Daily News* (Pensacola), July 3, 1894, quotes the *Pensacola Argus*: “We send a copy of the *Weekly Argus* to each one of the former subscribers of the *Daily-Pensacola Argus.*” Gaines, 80, says a newspaper entitled the *Times* was founded in Pensacola in 1892, but he cites no evidence.
a name familiar to Pensacola newspaper readers today since the title appears in the contemporary Pensacola News-Journal. 121

Founded late in 1899 was another newspaper, the Florida Sentinel, which was a four-page sheet apparently designed for negro readership. 122

The newspaper which was to dominate Pensacola journalism the final decade of the nineteenth century was the Pensacola News, which was founded as a daily in 1889. 123 Escambia County historian H. Clay Armstrong credits the inauguration of The Pensacola Daily News to the political aspirations of Col. W. D. Chipley, who was instrumental in railroad building. Chipley formed a Tammany Association to further his own political purposes, and Armstrong said its “avowed purpose was distribution of the spoils of office.” The Pensacola News was founded to voice its cause. Opposition to the Chipley political faction came from the “Mullets,” a group headed by S. R. Mallory. The Mullets won control in 1895 and Mallory was picked as a U. S. Senator by the Florida Legislature in 1897. 124

According to an 1889 news story, the Daily News was inaugurated under less romantic circumstances. John O’Connor (formerly of The Pensacolian) and John C. Witt approached Pensacola businessmen in January of 1889 for $10,000 backing to start a daily morning paper. Subscribed on the spot was $2,500, and 50 shares of $100 each were also sold. The perfected organi-
zation was deemed the News Publishing Co., and its officers were Hugh B. Hatton, president; William Fisher, vice president; R. M. Cary, Jr., secretary; Thomas C. Watson, treasurer. John O’Connor was managing editor and John C. Witt was business manager. Daily and weekly editions were published. The daily consisted of four pages of seven columns each and boasted it was the “only morning daily in West Florida” and the “only paper in this section with a telegraphic news service.” The daily sold for $5 a year, the weekly for $1, with the weekly appearing every Saturday with eight pages of the “choicest selections” of reading matter lifted from the daily. Much of the printed matter was syndicated “boiler-plate.” The editors observed the News “will be Democratic, conservative but yet sufficiently aggressive to give weight to its remarks.” The newspaper was published in the “old Armory Hall, corner of Palafox and Intendencia Streets, upstairs.” The entire printing operation, which included other types of printing (called “job work” in the trade), employed 10. The newspaper, true to its Democratic political label, printed a news account of the inauguration of Republican President Benjamin Harrison and then launched into an editorial attack, accusing Harrison of being “in full sympathy with the republicans who, for purposes of party conquest at the north, maintain that the negro vote is unlawfully suppressed at the south.”

The Daily News, in its early years, was greatly blessed with advertising support, with one 28 column issue containing 17 columns of advertising. It was highly complimentary of Col. W. D. Chipley and maintained a running feud with the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union because of the Times-Union’s support of U. S. Sen. Wilkinson Call, who apparently was opposed by Chipley. The News inaugurated the “banner” headline (all the way across the top of the page), but it was to advertise G. H. Jacoby’s store and not because of some startling news development. The front page came to be dominated by advertising, but the News made efforts to gather local news which appeared on inside pages.

125. This description of the Daily News comes from issues of March 5, 7 and 13, 1889. The news account of the paper’s founding appears in the March 5 issue.
126. The Daily News, July 1, 1892. Even as early as July 1, 1890, the ratio of advertising ran as high as 15 to 28.
127. This description of the News is from inspection of issues of July 1, 1890; July 1-5, 1891; July 1-2, 1892; July 1-4, 1893.
The *Daily News* acquired a new set of staff members in 1894, but no change in policies was apparent. Benjamin Harrison was listed as editor, W. M. Loftin as city editor, and W. M. Ball as business manager. For the first time it carried a Typographical Union label. The paper, published upstairs in the Pitt Building, 211 1/2 South Palafox, sold for $5 a year daily and $1 weekly. The recent election of Col. Chipley to the state Senate was viewed as a great victory against the “Call-Mallory-Wolfe-Leonard crowd.” In 1895, Charles A. Choate replaced Harrison as editor, but in 1897 John O’Connor was back on the masthead as editor. Ball and Loftin remained on the staff.

On the eve of the biggest running story of the decade, the Spanish-American War, the *News* was described as a four-page, hand-set afternoon paper published daily except Sunday. About two columns of the front page contained news matter, the remainder of the page generally filled with advertisements—many of them unchanged for a year or more. Wearing International Typographical Union labels in both ears of the name plate and in the masthead, the paper constantly plugged organized labor and the Democratic Party, “Silver Democrats” in particular. All the local news and editorial comment was hand-set in local type. Two to four columns of ‘boiler plate’ news stories were used daily, as well as undated stereotyped filler material. The subscription price was $5.00 a year with a weekly edition at $1.00 a year. Local, social, and personal items, editorial comment, and reprints from exchange newspapers were daily news fare. . . . Maritime news consisting of arrivals and departures of ships at Pensacola and transactions at the customs house was a daily feature. Competition in Pensacola came shortly after the first of 1898 with the establishment of the *Pensacola Journal*, another daily. Circulation claimed for the *News* was: 1897-1,500; 1898-1,200; 1899-1,600.

The *Daily News* approach to the events leading up to the Spanish-American War was ultra-conservative compared to the jingoistic yellow journalism prevailing in Northern metropolitan

---

128. W. M. Ball obviously is Willis M. Ball, who joined the *Florida Times-Union* around 1903 and served a major role in guiding its destiny until his death in 1947. His obituary, appears in the *Times-Union* that year.


130. Ibid., January 1, 1895.

131. Charles Griffis Wellborn, Jr., “Treatment of the Spanish-American War by Selected Florida Newspapers” (unpublished Master’s thesis, University of Florida, 1958), 16-17. Wellborn cites *N. W. Ayer and Son’s American Newspaper Annual* (1897, 1898, 1899 editions). He said the *Daily News* was twenty-four years old on January 2, 1898, which is rather difficult to understand unless the *News* traced ancestry through some other newspaper.
newspapers. 132 Even after the sinking of the battleship Maine the News urged calmness and denounced war with the observation, “American blood is too precious and sacred to be spilt upon the vile altar of Spanish atrocity.” The News predicted that U. S. recognition of Cuban belligerency would bring Cuba’s freedom from Spain, but not war. As war with Spain became inevitable, the News reduced its budget of “boiler plate” and began running “Special to the News” stories from Washington. A few days later, the News attacked President McKinley for his lack of leadership in the Spanish-American crisis and labeled him “Will the Wobbler.” The News aggressively sought creation of a war supply base in Pensacola, but once Tampa was established as a major depot, it carried stories from Tampa under the label of “Special Correspondence of Daily News.” During the brief war period, it subscribed to telegraphic bulletins, a service which it dropped August 13, 1889, after the war’s end. 133

Unlike some Florida papers, which took opportunity at wartime expansion to improve newspaper production mechanically, the News made no particular innovation during the period. 134 In 1899, the News was an eight page paper published by the News Publishing Co. at 211 1/2 Palafox Street. It remained heavily endowed with advertising. 135 As the nineteenth century closed out, the editors made no special reference to the occasion. 136 As the old century rang out, the News typically printed stories about a new railroad locomotive electric light, a faith healer in Chicago, a cold wave in New York, the illness of Rudyard Kipling, the murder of the sheriff in Jefferson County, and the “grand balls” slated as the old year went out. But also part of the old century were advertisements - for ice, beer and whiskey, Gold Dust washing powder, Castoria, the “Cronies Saloon” and Bradfield’s Female Regulator. 137

133. Welborn, 49, 62, 76, 77, 109, 120, 147. He cites many issues of the Pensacola Daily News.
134. Ibid., 151.
135. The Daily News (Pensacola), issues of October 14, November 28, December 29, 1899.
136. News editors seemed to consider the old century closed out in December of 1900, not December of 1899. The January 1, 1901, issue contains a rambling and hardly memorable editorial labeled “A Century of Growth?”
137. The Daily News (Pensacola), December 30, 1899. This is Vol. 29, No. 65.
Florida met the new century with 147 newspapers, 11 of them dailies. Pensacola boasted two of the dailies, the *Journal* founded in 1898, and the *News* founded in 1889.

In summary, twenty-three newspapers are known to have been founded in Pensacola in the nineteenth century, beginning in 1821 with the Pensacola *Floridian* and closing out in 1900 with the *Daily News* and the *Journal*. These are:

- Floridian 1821-1824
- Gazette 1824-1861
- Gazette 1875-1881
- Argus 1828
- Argus 1893-94
- Democrat 1845-1856
- Live Oak 1847
- Neutral 1848
- West Florida Times 1856-57
- Observer 1857-1870
- Commercial 1867-1871
- Commercial 1882-1889
- Express 1870-1875
- Mail 1872
- Republican 1874
- Republican 1884
- Echo 1878
- Advance 1878-1881
- Advance-Gazette 1882-1885
- Pensacolian 1883-1889
- Daily News 1889-1924
- Journal 1898-1924
- Sentinel 1899

139. Webb, 71.
141. In compiling this list, some editorial judgment has been necessary to differentiate between unrelated newspapers operating under the same name. However, not included in the list are three newspapers which are listed by Gaines and not further substantiated. These are the *Florida Tribune* 1856, the *Daily Herald* 1871, and the *Times* 1888 and 1892. See Gaines, 26, 47, 72, 80.
THE CHURCH is certainly among the most important factors in the building of any city. Neither wealth nor a large population of themselves make a community a pleasant place in which to live; more important is an atmosphere of goodwill and kindness. To develop such an atmosphere the fundamental religious principles of the Church are needed.

For over two hundred years, from 1559, when Tristan de Luna landed on the shores of Pensacola Bay, until 1763 when the English took possession, the Pensacola community was wholly Catholic. England’s possession was short, lasting only twenty years. Protestantism quickly disappeared under renewed Spanish control, not to reappear until 1821 when the flag of Spain was replaced by that of the United States.

Soon after 1821 Protestants of various denominations began moving into Pensacola. A Methodist Mission was established on December 7, 1821; Christ Episcopal Church was organized May 4, 1827; the Presbyterian Church was organized in April, 1837, and the “Pensacola Baptist Church of Christ” was established May 2, 1847. The Seaman’s Church, Temple Beth-El and the Immanuels Evangelical Lutheran Church came later, during the last half of the century.

From 1821 on, a spirit of cooperation and goodwill existed among the people of the various faiths. The Protestants and Catholics joined together in song services of praise and thanksgiving. Several of the churches united for revivals and church meetings. When one group felt a need, be it for a place to worship or a pastor, another congregation was willing and eager to help.

The churches suffered together and shared together during the yellow fever epidemics, just as they did during the trying period of the War for Southern Independence when only seventy-two white people and ten colored were left in Pensacola.
The history of the Catholic Church in Pensacola dates back to 1558, when in Mexico City the Church and the governor-general completed arrangements for an expedition, dedicated to God and Philip of Spain. These explorers were commissioned to evangelize the natives they found there; they were especially instructed to use gentleness and kindness in their treatment of the natives.

The fleet was composed of thirteen sea worthy ships under the command of Tristan de Luna (the nephew of a Pope) who was chosen for this momentous expedition because of his “reputation for christian chivalry, prudence, experience and fear of God.” Among the fifteen hundred members of this company there were six Dominican Friars, a group of Spanish missionaries, five hundred soldiers, besides other men, women and children.

Before the expedition set sail from Veracruz on June 11, 1559, a dedicatory mass was said in the Cathedral in Mexico City.

The fleet arrived in Pensacola Bay on August 14, the eve of the Feast of the Assumption. The bay was named Santa Maria Filipina for the Blessed Virgin Mary and for King Phillip II of Spain. Upon disembarking after the long journey the voyagers immediately erected an altar and celebrated the Holy Mass. Shortly after this, a crude chapel was built and dedicated to St. Michael, the Archangel. Pensacolians may well be proud that their lovely city was constructed on firm religious principles from the day that white settlers first set foot on her soil.

A hurricane soon struck the community. The ravaging winds destroyed five of the explorers’ vessels. Most of the provisions were lost; however, some wheat flour and wine were rescued which were, “religiously preserved for the holy sacrifice of the Mass; missals, chalices, altar linen and other things necessary for the sacred function were saved”. But the colony was a complete failure.

In 1698 Andres de Arriola, with three hundred soldiers and colonizers, reached the site of the future Pensacola. According to the universal custom of the Spanish, a church was built immediately.
During 1719, the French and Spanish captured and re-captured Pensacola several times, and the French, realizing they could not hold the town, set fire to everything. When the Spanish recovered Pensacola in 1723, they rebuilt it on Santa Rosa Island, and an octagonal shaped church was constructed on a site overlooking the bay.

After a hurricane and tidal wave hit this community in 1752, the island was abandoned; the few survivors moved to the mainland, and chose the present site of Pensacola for their future home. They built a stockade of pine posts. A church was erected.

In 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, Pensacola came into the possession of England. The British decreed that freedom of religion should exist in her colony. It is recorded that every Spanish subject upon request was granted permission to leave.

Twenty years later when the Spanish were again in possession of Pensacola, they decreed that all who remained in the community must embrace the Catholic faith. Those who did not wish to do so were given eighteen months to dispose of their property. The English made as complete an exodus as the Spanish had done a few years earlier.

A Capuchin Father, Father Velez, was sent from New Orleans in 1781 to take over St. Michael’s parish. Finding no church, he converted an old warehouse, which was on the beach at the foot of Jefferson Street into a church; “It is large enough for present use; but very inconvenient, and ill calculated for the purpose to which it is now appropriated.”

The first English speaking priest arrived in Pensacola in 1793. Father Francis Lennon was from Ireland. He was replaced the following year by Father James Coleman, also from Ireland, who remained until the Spaniards withdrew and Florida became territory of the United States.

While in Pensacola Father Coleman built a church where the present City Hall stands. The six hundred inhabitants at that time were made up of Irish, French, Spaniards, Scotch and Negroes. Forty per cent were Negroes. St. Michael’s Church has never been without a resident priest since Bishop Portier was named in charge of the Vicariate of Alabama and Florida in 1826.

During the pastorate of Father Bergrath, 1868-1873, a simple wooden church was constructed on East Government
Street. Unfortunately a fire destroyed this building and again the records of the church were burned, leaving us in semi-darkness as to the history of the Catholic Church in Pensacola from 1872 to 1882. The congregation used the “Old Cotton Press”, at the corner of Gregory and Tarragona Streets, for services until 1886.

More than three centuries passed between the erection of the crude chapel by De Luna and his evangelists and the construction of the handsome St. Michael’s Church in 1885, which still stands at the corner of Palafox and Chase Streets. Father Bassen, who was Priest in Charge, was one of the great pioneer priests of his time; he later became the first Monsignor of the Diocese.

In 1877, the Sisters of Mercy came to Pensacola to establish a school. Also they were untiring in their unselfish and consecrated work among the sick and needy; they visited the prisoners, the bereaved and the aged, as well as establishing a parochial school which was located on the east side of Palafox Street between Garden and Romana, where the Keyser building now stands.

St. Michael’s is the oldest organized church in Pensacola; it has served the community with few interruptions since the first settlement.

It is unfortunate that so many of the records of the Catholic Church in Pensacola have been destroyed by fire and storms. Were they available they would be rich with facts which both the heart and mind would relish.

**Episcopal**

The history of the Episcopal Church in Pensacola naturally falls into two periods; first, the years following the Treaty of Paris in 1763 when Pensacola passed from Spanish to British rule and the Church of England supplanted the Church of Rome. In 1781 Florida was returned to Spain and the Church of England was withdrawn, so the second period of the Episcopal Church began when Old Glory replaced the Spanish flag in 1821.

On July 2, 1764, the Bishop of London commissioned The Rev. William Dawson to come to Pensacola as a missionary and
to administer the rites of the Church to the British subjects living in this vicinity; but it was not until the following year that the Rev. Mr. Dawson arrived in his new home. A hearty welcome awaited this missionary and his assistant, whose name is not available, but who continued to serve the growing population until his death in 1767, the older clergyman having been transferred to South Carolina.

The second of the three ministers to be sent to this community to administer to the subjects of the crown was the Rev. Nathaniel Cotton. Still preserved in the archives of Fulham Palace, the residence of the Bishop of London, is the following interesting letter, which gives us great insight into the colonial church:

Pensacola June 10, 1770

My Lord:

I received a box of books containing Bibles, Prayer Books, Testaments and many useful Tracts on Religion, which I conclude was sent by order of Your Lordship, and they merit the thanks of all my parishioners, which they desire me to transmit to Your Lordship . . . . .

In this infant Colony, I have the pleasure to acquaint Your Lordship that the Births exceed the burials by many. From the 26th June 1768 to the 10th of June 1770, I have buried 64 men, women & children, and christened 82 children.

I pay constant attention to the education of the rising generation and beg leave to recommend in the future the appointment of school masters in these distant colonies, that he should be in Orders, to supply the place of the Rector in case of death or illness, as they must be long destitute, and there is only two clergymen in the Province . . . .and the Government at home might allow him about 75 pounds per ann. whh. with the School master’s stipend would make it worthy acceptance . . . .

You will pardon this freedom & believe me to be with highest Esteem and Respect,

Your Lordship’s
most obedient
most devoted servant

The Right Reverend
The Lord Bishop
Of London

The third clergyman which the Church of England licensed to carry on her work in the new world was the Rev. George Chapman, who received his commission on May 3rd, 1773. Little is known of his work; the presumption is that he continued to serve in this community until the Spanish were again in possession of the city and all the Protestants had moved out.

In 1821 when Florida became a possession of the United States the second period of the Church began.
Rachel Jackson came to Pensacola with her famous husband, General Andrew Jackson, and was disturbed over the religious situation which she found in the new territory. She “prayed and prayed that a minister of the Gospel would come over to help the Lord”. Her prayers were answered, for by the end of the year a missionary arrived.

In 1827 the General Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States sent the Rev. Mr. Willis-ton to West Florida to survey the field. His report to the Mission-ary Board stated that he found in Pensacola, “twelve communicants of our church, ten Methodists, two Presbyterians and two Baptists in a population of 2000.” He further stated: “My mission has been crowned with success in the organization of an Episcopal Church in the City of Pensacola; I passed three Sun-days in that city. On the first I performed divine service and preached in the old theatre, and on the other two Sundays I officiated in the Court House. The whole American population attended divine service on every Sunday, and those Americans who had prayer books devoutly joined in the service. All were serious and attentive.”

On May 4, 1827, a mass meeting of the citizens of Pensacaola was held in the Court House and a “Protestant Episcopal Church” was organized; it was incorporated by Act of the Legis-lative Council of the Territory of Florida on October 11, 1829. In December of that same year the General Missionary Society sent the Rev. Addison Searle to be the first clergyman of the parish. He remained only a short time and was replaced by the Rev. Benjamin Hutchins of Philadelphia.

In 1830 the church building was begun on land that the Wardens and Vestry of the church had purchased from Joseph M. White for $400.00, on Seville Square between Church and Zarragossa Streets. This land, of great historic importance, had been used by the English as the center of community life; by the Spanish as their parade grounds. The church was completed in 1832 and consecrated by Bishop Jackson Kemper, the first Missionary Bishop of the American Church, on March 4, 1838.

Mr. Hutchins’ enthusiasm over building a new church was so contagious that the Domestic Missionary Society sent him $500.00 for the building and his friends “back home” contributed $400.00. Christ Church, Philadelphia, was known to have
made many gifts and given friendly encouragement to the new parish in Florida, and in recognition of this kindness the beautiful little church was named Christ Church. Tradition says that the building follows that of the Old North Church in Boston, which had been built a century earlier according to a design by Sir Christopher Wren. Pictures show a similarity of the building to that of Christ Church, Philadelphia. In 1833 Rev. Ashbel Steele became rector. He did excellent work and frequently visited the Navy Yard, where he preached to groups of a hundred or more men. He was also interested in having services for the colored people of the community. He was followed in 1836, by Rev. Joseph H. Saunders, of North Carolina, who died in 1839 leaving the parish without a rector for three years until the Rev. Frederick F. Peake of Missouri accepted the call to become rector. When he died in 1846, his brother, Rev. Charles F. Peake, succeeded him.

In 1848, the Rev. John Jackson Scott accepted the rectorship of Christ Church and in 1851 took a prominent part in the organization of the Diocese of Florida. He resigned in 1852 to become Chaplain of the U. S. Army at Fort Barrancas, but in 1855 he returned to the parish. A Parochial school, known as Christ Church School, was established by him in 1856; it made rapid progress in numbers as well as in importance.

In 1861, Dr. Scott offered his services to the Confederate Army; they were accepted by General Braxton Bragg who was stationed in Pensacola. During the War for Southern Independence most of the families of the parishioners of Christ Church refugeed to Alabama. Dr. Scott and they returned at the close of the war to find the church and the community needing reconstruction. They accepted the challenge with strong courage and determination.

In 1889 Dr. Scott sent in his resignation after having served the parish lovingly and conscientiously for forty years; his resignation was accepted with regret, and he was made Rector Emeritus. He died in 1895 and is buried in St. John's Cemetery.

The Rev. Percival H. Whaley, of Charleston, S. C., accepted the rectorship of Christ Church in 1890. Dr. Whaley was a scholar. He had an educated heart as well as an educated mind, and his abounding faith in God and his fellowman was an inspiration to all who knew him. This man of God never tired of
serving all who had a need of any kind, regardless of race or creed. During his rectorship Christ Church, at the corner of Palafox and Wright Streets, the church now in use, was constructed.

Old Christ Church still stands as the oldest Protestant church in West Florida. It was used as the Pensacola Public Library for twenty years and is now used by the city of Pensacola as a historical shrine.

**METHODIST**

When the territory of Florida was acquired by the United States from Spain in 1821, there was not a Protestant church in Pensacola. It was not until December 7, 1821, that the Pensacola Mission was established by the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Church, which at that time was in session at Washington, Mississippi. The Rev. Alexander Talley was appointed to serve this mission, which later became the First Methodist Church.

From *The Gazette*, a Pensacola newspaper, of March 20, 1824, we learn that a friendly spirit existed among the people of the community: “I am gratified to perceive that a number of ladies and gentlemen have formed a choir for performing vocal and instrumental music in our church. This circumstance is rendered still more gratifying by the total absence of sectarian divisions. We hear Catholics and Protestants uniting their voices in praising the Almighty; this is peculiarly pleasing.”

A letter from the Rev. Henry P. Cook published in the Methodist Magazine in March, 1825, tells us: “The pious of different Protestant denominations are much united and appear to be exerting themselves to promote the sacred cause of religion. . . . Testaments are introduced into one or two of the public schools. We have, also, lately commenced Sunday School, particularly for the instruction of the colored population.”

The Rev. Charles Hardy was assigned to the church on January 11, 1827, and on May 26 of the same year the lot on the northeast corner of Intendencia and Tarragona Streets was bought.

It was during the Rev. Mr. Hardy’s pastorate that services started at the Navy Yard, where he preached weekly. He also
visited the “cantonment” for soldiers. Among the first funds given for the new Methodist church was $173.00 contributed by the men on board of the war ship Constellation.

The early services of the church were held in the Court House, so it was a happy group of people who moved into their own house of worship on June 2, 1828. This was the first Protestant church building to be erected in Pensacola.

On January 28, 1829, the Rev. Adam Wyrick became pastor. He was not happy with the situation he found in the city and wrote in the New York Christian Advocate, “Can see little evidence of any good being accomplished.” Little progress seemed to be made during the next two decades.

In December, 1853, Joseph B. Cottrell was assigned to Pensacola. The Pensacola Gazette of April 15, 1854, reported, “A great revival of religion has been going on in the Methodist church in this city.”

During the pastorate of Rev. Theophilus Moody the first Methodist camp meeting was held Sept., 1857, at a location twelve miles north of the city, between Ferry Pass and Roberts. “Near the camp ground were some beautiful springs. The land was high and undulating and covered with beautiful, tall pine trees. Amid these pines were the tent-houses and the large tabernacle. It was covered with boards riven by hand from the pine timber near by, and the ground was covered with straw. The seats were long boards without backs.” Later the camp was known as the Williams Camp Ground and moved to McDavid.

In 1858 the church was damaged by fire; it was repaired in 1859. In 1860, the first parsonage was built; Rev. W. K. Norton was pastor at this time, and he used his own funds to finance the construction of the building.

In 1862 the church and the parsonage were completely destroyed by fire. At this time the church was not being used, for most of the population had moved from town, which was in possession of the Federal troops.

After having weathered a long period of discouragement and distress the Methodist Church seemed to start a second growth, in the year 1870, when the Rev. John Pace was appointed pastor. For the first time the church became self supporting. The church was rebuilt; it was a neat frame building, the construc-
tion of which seemed to solidify the scattered congregation into a strong organization once more. It was dedicated in May, 1870.

For the next several years there were many changes in the pastors. The Rev. Chas. B. DuBose was appointed to the church in 1879, and served until 1882 - the longest term a pastor had served the church up until that time.

In the fall of 1881, the property on Tarragona Street was sold and the site on the northwest corner of Palafox and Garden Streets was purchased. [Site of the San Carlos Hotel] From Methodism in Pensacola we learn: “While without a church we worshiped in the Baptist church until we moved into Pou’s Hall, [This was on the west side of the second block down, on South Palafox St.] We worshipped there for two years, paying $25.00 a month rent. In the spring we moved into the basement of the new church. Rev. W. A. Rice, pastor at Warrington, preached the first sermon.”

In October, 1882, Rev. Mr. DuBose contracted a fatal case of yellow fever; he was buried by the Rev. John S. Park, pastor of the Presbyterian church, in St. Michael’s Cemetery. The following tribute was paid Dr. DuBose by the editor of the Pensacola Commercial: “DuBose was possessed to a rare degree, of those noble qualities of head and heart which link man to man, and his brave, self-sacrificing devotion to a sorrow-stricken people has embalmed his memory in the hearts of all. We feel our inability to write a fitting tribute to one so deserving.”

As the Annual Conference had been invited to meet in Pensacola in December, 1890, a great effort was made to complete the church building before that date. The congregation worked hard and was richly rewarded, for the Conference was able to meet in the impressive new brick building as scheduled.

Under the leadership of the Rev. W. M. Cox, who was pastor at this time, the church grew rapidly. Mr. Cox wrote pertaining to his pastorate: “There was only one Methodist church in the city, but I had a number of preaching places in various parts of the town.

“We organized a Woman’s Missionary Society in Palafox [church] in 1890, and the minutes show they raised that year fifteen dollars and fifty five cents.

“The work at Palafox was very heavy. It extended considerably beyond the corporation, and most of the pastoral work had
to be done by trudging through deep sand, but I never had a more pleasant charge, nor better friends than I had at Palafox."

In the decade following the erection of the handsome church the Methodists of Pensacola made great strides. The consecrated work of many faithful and noble souls bore a rich harvest. The Epworth League was formed as well as the Pensacola City Mission, composed of the Malaga Square Mission, Muscogee Wharf Mission, Reed’s Chapel, and Warrington.

**Presbyterian**

The First Presbyterian Church in Pensacola was organized in August, 1845, and was listed in the Synod of Alabama as an organized church in October of the same year.

Following the installation of Rev. Peter Donan as the first pastor, the building for the new church was started. It was finished in 1848. This church, which was constructed of heart lumber, still stands at 234 East Intendencia Street and is occupied by the Industrial Electrical Co. The bell which is still in use at the present time by the Presbyterian Church was brought from the old church; it is inscribed, "Presented to the Presbyterian Church of Pensacola, Florida, by E. E. Simpson, Esq; 1848."

A few years after the church building was erected, financial difficulties arose. The churches of the South Alabama Presbytery contributed generously to pay off the mortgage. The individual members made heroic sacrifices to assist; one lady is reported to have sold her wedding ring to meet this obligation. Miss Leah R. Simpson and her sister, Mrs. Rebecca Simpson Bright, were prominently connected with the church at this time and gave generously from their own funds.

During 1856 the Rev. P. J. Sparrow, D.D. came as a missionary to preach at this church; he remained in this capacity until Pensacola was evacuated in 1862. There was no record of the Session having met between December 22, 1861, and November 12, 1866.

At the November, 1866, meeting of the congregation, Rev. W. A. Carter was elected pastor. He was installed in December of that year; the membership was only thirty. The number in-
creased to one hundred twenty-six by November, 1874, with ninety-three in the Sabbath School.

In 1875 the First Board of Deacons was elected. It was composed of John G. White, John H. Caro, and John F. Pfeiffer, Jr. In November, 1880, the South Alabama Presbytery and the Synod of Alabama met in Pensacola with Rev. Peter Gowan as moderator.

Dr. Carter, who was greatly beloved by his congregation, resigned in January, 1881, after fourteen years of service. He thought that a change would be good for both pastor and people.

The Rev. H. W. Whaling served the church from February until July, 1881. Rev. John S. Parks was installed as pastor on December 4, 1881.

On December 9, 1885, Rev. H. S. Yerger became pastor. Shortly before his coming, the manse on Church Street was burned. The lot was sold for $700 and the new manse was built at 112 West Gregory Street at a cost of $3,500.00. Dr. Yerger, with his congregation, now one hundred and seventy two, then took steps to obtain a new church building. The property at 10 East Chase St. was deeded to the Presbyterian Church by Mrs. Susan A. Simpson and Miss Leah R. Simpson on May 5, 1886.

The new church, one of the beautiful churches of present day Pensacola, was completed in October, 1888, and was dedicated early in 1889. Dr. Yerger enjoyed serving the church for five more years. Rev. W. T. Matthews was pastor from April, 1894, to May, 1896. He was followed by Dr. W. E. McIlwain, who was a man of great influence in the Southern Church. McIlwain Memorial Presbyterian Church, on East Blount St., was named in his honor.

In December 1897, Elder George Reese resigned as Clerk of the session, having served as Clerk for twenty five years; W. B. Ferriss succeeded him.

“The church membership at this time numbered two hundred and eighty-two members with seven elders and seven deacons. The elders were George Reese, C. V. Thompson, H. C. Cushman, E. H. Pittman, W. V. Kirk, Wm. Fisher and W. B. Ferriss. The deacons were: John Eagan, R. M. Bushnell, C. F. Zeek, R. Pope Reese, J. R. Keller, Horace Simpson and C. F. Giles.”
The work of the Presbyterian church in the early history of Pensacola would not be complete without mentioning the noteworthy service which Dr. H. C. Cushman, an ordained Presbyterian minister, rendered to the men along the water front during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Each Sunday afternoon and Thursday evenings Dr. Cushman held services in a sailor's boarding house on Baylen Street wharf. Mrs. Cushman played the organ, and the seamen would sing many familiar hymns. Often light refreshments, consisting of cake and coffee, would be served. Everyone was invited to join the group and many an interesting tale of life at sea was exchanged.

Dr. Cushman was often seen on the wharfs distributing Bibles and tracts to the fishermen. He was one of the most beloved men in the community and was almost worshiped by those he had helped.

**BAPTIST**

The First Baptist Church in Pensacola was organized as the “Pensacola Baptist Church of Christ” on Sunday, May 2, 1847. Elder Alexander Travis, who was one of the organizers along with Elder Joseph Mitchell, was a South Alabama and Florida Missionary.

It was necessary for Elder Travis to travel by foot or on horseback to reach Pensacola, and often he had to sleep out of doors and go without food. On his arrival in Pensacola he met with the Baptists of the community and organized the church. The meetings were likely held in the home of Aaron Hendrix. The first congregation was composed of fifty white men and seventy-three white women as well as one hundred and twenty-four Negro men and ninety-eight Negro women. The colored people bore the names of many of the prominent families; they were allowed to choose the church in which they desired to worship. The minister who held services for the white congregation in the morning preached in the afternoon to the Negroes.

As there were a number of Baptists living in the vicinity of the Navy Yard, which was established in 1825, a branch church was formed there in 1850. The first missionary offering recorded was made in 1856 and was fifty dollars.
The Pensacola church was incorporated under the name of “The Pensacola Baptist Church” in 1852; this was done to comply with the Florida laws. This same year the first church building, constructed of wood, was erected on East Government Street at the head of Adams. As the baptistry was not built until 1880, it is thought that the members were likely baptized in Pensacola Bay which was only two blocks south of the church. The parsonage, which was built in the late fifties, still stands at 224 East Government Street.

From the minutes of the church we learn that the salary of the minister in 1855 was one hundred dollars a year, but three years later it had been increased to twelve hundred annually.

In the eighteen-sixties the church was at a low ebb. In 1867 the Federal troops turned the church building over to the Negro members in the community. It was returned to the original owners in 1873.

In 1870, under the leadership of Rev. John Beck, the church was reorganized and the name changed to “First Baptist Church of Pensacola;” there were no Negroes in its membership. The same year a Sabbath School was started; it was composed of “eight scholars and three teachers.”

In the early eighteen-nineties, many families began moving away from the Seville Square section of the town, where the church was located; Rev. J. H. Curry, who at that time was serving as the tenth pastor of the church, called a special session of the church members to discuss the subject of selecting a more suitable location for the growing congregation. The building on Government Street was sold in 1892. In 1894, Mr. & Mrs. W. D. Chipley, who were generous contributors, deeded the property on the northeast corner of Palafox and LaRua Streets to the church. A building committee composed of Messrs. J. W. Lurton, W. D. Chipley, T. V. Kessler, A. V. Clubbs and the Rev. F. C. Waite was appointed and work on the church began immediately.

The first service was held in the new brick church on April 20, 1894. There was a membership of one hundred thirty-five. The Rev. A. P. Pugh was minister. J. W. Lurton was organist for the church and was an enthusiastic worker in obtaining the noteworthy organ which was built especially for this church and considered one of the best in the South.
In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Pensacola harbor always had many ships from the Scandinavian countries loading pine timber. Norway maintained a Missionary Society which looked after her citizens in foreign lands and which built a Seaman’s Mission on the southeast corner of Pine and Palafox Streets constructed of pitch pine lumber. It was consecrated December 15, 1878.

Although Rev. L. Wormdahl, the first minister, worked in Quebec, Canada, during the summer and the doors of the church always were unlocked, no harm was ever done; for the people of Pensacola and the Scandinavian sailors looked upon the church as a consecrated place.

When in 1893 the Norwegian Seaman’s Church at Quebec and the Seaman’s Mission at Pensacola ceased to be associated, the mission secured its own minister.

On August 10, 1885, a fire broke out in the shop of a ship-chandler nearby. The little church, along with eleven other buildings, was destroyed.

A new church was built of stone, along similar lines to its predecessor, and was consecrated December 15, 1886. Four thousand dollars was collected from Scandinavian sailors during a period of three years for this building.

The church was always supplied by capable ministers who spoke in the native tongue; services were held two or three times a week and captains and crews attended in great numbers.

Many recall the unusual Christmas celebrations held at the Seaman’s Church. These began with a short service by the minister. Then followed the singing of hymns and Christmas carols in the native tongue as children and grown people marched around the tree. At one of these gatherings the following foreign consuls were present: Alex Zelius, consul for Sweden; Fannin Chipley, consul for Russia; C. F. Boysen, consul for The Netherlands; Albert Cafiro, consul for Italy; O. C. Howe, consul for Great Britain; Porfiro Diaz, consul for Mexico; John L. Borras, consul for Spain. These consuls were interpreters for the men.
EARLY CHURCHES OF PENSACOLA

JEWISH

Congregation Beth-El (House of God) was founded in 1878, and is said to be the oldest Jewish congregation in Florida. Ger-
son Forcheimer was the organizer and the first president of this small group that met in his home on East Intendencia Street. Since no rabbi was called for some time, lay readers were used.

The first Temple, a wooden structure, was built at 37 East Chase Street; it was destroyed by fire in 1895. During the building of a new brick Temple, the Beth-El congregation worshipped in the Universalist church at 46 East Chase St.

Above the door of the new building there were tablets engraved with the date of the founding of the Temple, the date of the fire and the time of the construction of the new Temple building. Upon its completion Dr. Max Heller, of New Orleans, dedicated it. Rabbi Sam Lasky was the first to be called to the Temple; he was followed by Rabbi A. Posman and Rabbi M. Gugenheim who served short terms.

By 1897, the congregation had increased to seventy-five families, and in that year Rabbi Isaac E. Wagenheim was called to serve the congregation. He was from Huntsville, Alabama. On September 15, 1897, a large congregation attended the initiatory service of Rabbi Wagenheim, “a close student, a conscientious scholar, and above all a consistent good man.” The congregation felt very happy in the choice they had made.

During Rabbi Wagenheim’s term of service, a Sunday School was organized, Sunday School rooms constructed, and minarets were placed on either side of the building.

From the beginning, the Congregation of Temple Beth-El accepted the principles of American Reformed Judaism and this became the basis of the services and ceremonialism.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

The Immanuels Evangelical Lutheran Church, Pensacola’s first Lutheran Church, was established March 1, 1885.

When in October, 1884, John Pfeiffer, a successful ship-
chandler, went to Mobile, Alabama, to be married to Emma Louise Bohlman, he discussed with the Rev. Leopold Wahl, pas-
tor of the Lutheran Church in Mobile, the organization of a
Lutheran Church in Pensacola. The Rev. Mr. Wahl came to Pensacola in March, 1885, and organized the church at a meeting held in the Germania Fire Hall, corner of Zarragossa and Jefferson Streets. There were thirty-six charter members, thirteen men and twenty-three women. The Presbyterian and Seaman's churches offered their facilities to the newly organized Lutheran group.

On October 4, 1885, the congregation moved into their new frame building, which was at the northeast corner of Garden and Baylen Streets. The same day the Rev. Arthur Michael was ordained and installed as the first pastor of the church. He served until 1891 and was followed by the Rev. F. W. Reinhardt, who was pastor for thirty years.

Immediately upon the organization of the church, an elementary school, which was a small building of wood located next door to the church, was started. The teachers served without pay and no tuition was charged. The school flourished for many years under the principalship of Mr. E. Reidel.

The church at its present location, 24 West Wright Street, was built in 1912. Rev. William C. Schrader has served this congregation since June, 1921.
CONTRIBUTORS

by R. W. PATRICK

This double numbered Pensacola Quadricentennial issue of the Quarterly was planned and edited by Julien C. Yonge. For thirty-one years, 1924-1955, Mr. Yonge edited the Florida Historical Quarterly. As Editor Emeritus, and in addition to his duties as Director of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, he prepared an index to the first thirty-five volumes of the Quarterly. The Index, Volumes I-XXXV was published in 1958.

Julien C. Yonge is a native of Pensacola and as a resident saw it grow from a town into a city. For more than twenty-five years, from all over the state of Florida he collected and brought to Pensacola the sources of Florida’s history. In 1945 he gave his magnificent collection of Floridiana to the University of Florida. When he became Director Emeritus of the Yonge Library last year he outlined this Quadri-centennial issue and invited the following men and women to contribute to it.

CHARLES W. ARNADE is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Florida.

ALEERT C. MANUCY is Regional Historian of the National Park Service and President of the Florida Historical Society.

WILLIAM B. GRIFFEN is Historian of the Saint Augustine Historical Society.

CECIL JOHNSON is Dean of General College and Professor of History at the University of North Carolina.

L. N. MICALISTER is Associate Professor of History at the University of Florida.

J. A. BROWN is a student in the Graduate School at the University of Florida.

HERBERT J. DOHERTY is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Florida.
COLONEL J. L. LARKIN of Pensacola is retired from the United States Army.

OCCIE CLUBBS is a resident of Pensacola and until her retirement last year was Principal of a public school in that city.

CHARLES W. HILDRETH is Associate Professor of History at Indiana Central College.

H. G. DAVIS, JR. is Assistant Professor of Journalism and Communications at the University of Florida.

LELIA ABERCROMBIE is a resident of Pensacola with an interest in church history.