

THE SPANISH MANUSCRIPTS OF THE FLORIDA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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BEFORE I begin to speak in detail of the papers of the Florida State Historical Society, it might be well to say something of the Society itself.

The Florida State Historical Society, in point of years, is a young organization, for it dates from so recent a period as 1921. However, its roots began at least as early as 1914, when Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor of New York City and New Smyrna, Florida, became vitally interested in the history of Florida, and began to make systematic studies therein. Beginning her investigations among printed materials, especially the books of Buckingham Smith and Woodbury Lowery, she was led speedily to the study of all manuscripts that were available to her at that time in the New York Public Library, the New York Historical Society, and the Library of Congress. Some of these were in transcript form, others were the originals. These only served to whet her appetite. The next step was the investigation of the original manuscript materials relating to Florida in that vast storehouse for the history of the Americas, the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, the medium of investigation being Miss Irene A. Wright, who has aided so many investigators in the Spanish archives. Thereupon, Mrs. Connor set about acquiring for herself transcripts of many important documents, and with those which she had already had made in the United States, she began to write about Florida.

Meanwhile, Mr. John B. Stetson, Jr., whose interest

had long led him into the field of Spanish colonization, became interested in the history of Florida, especially its Spanish history. He, too, sought materials in the various libraries of the United States. When he went to the Library of Congress, Mr. P. Lee Phillips, Chief of the Map Division (since deceased), introduced these two independent workers to each other.

Quite naturally, the result was the formation of the Florida State Historical Society. The field of study was also, quite naturally, immediately broadened. The charter of the new organization declared two of the main objects to be the gathering of prime sources for the history of Florida and their publication.

At about this time, Miss Wright was induced, primarily through the suggestion of Mr. H. R. Wagner, to install a photostat machine in the Archivo General de Indias, in order that, by the photostatic reproduction of original manuscripts, the numerous chances for error in transcription might be avoided in the archives. The Society decided to have all materials in the future photostated instead of copied by hand or typewriter so far, at least, as the Archivo General de Indias was concerned. Accordingly, Miss Wright, working from indices which she had already prepared, or was to prepare, was directed to photostat for the Society, at Mr. Stetson's expense, all important documents relating to Florida up to 1763, the year of the cession of the Floridas to England.

It was not long before a stream of documents in photostat form began to flow in, and this continued until 1927, in fact, until the first part of 1928. Active photostating ceased, in August, 1927, by reason of the restrictive measures ordered by a decree formulated in the Ministerio de Bellas Artes with respect to the reproduction of manuscripts. However, documents that had already been photostated for the Society, continued to be sent until the first part of 1928. According to the latest reports I have on the matter, one may still make investigations freely in the archives,

and may take notes, which will probably cover the hand copying of entire documents. He may also make use of the services of two typists by permission of the Chief of the Archives; but he may not photostat any material, or photograph it, except by special permission from Madrid, and this permission covers a very limited amount of reproduction by this means and only after prior investigation, and selection, and designation of all documents to be reproduced. Undoubtedly this condition will change in course of time, but one may premise that permission to reproduce documents in Spain will probably never be as free again as it has been.¹

But, during the work period noted above, something like 100,000 sheets of photostat material were received from Seville. Thanks to Miss Wright's activity, the Society now has the great bulk of the materials existing in the Archivo General de Indias relating to the history of Florida between the years 1518 and 1763; not all, for some of the manuscripts were comparatively of little or no interest or value, or were virtually duplicates of materials already received. Also, investigation was not complete among certain divisions of papers, such as the papers of the Casa de Contratación and those of Justicia, among which one might expect some good finds to be made.

Some photostats later than 1763 have also been made, but only in a very limited degree. Indices of documents have been made, however, for the Society of a great many of the later legajos dealing with the second Spanish occupation of the Floridas, especially in that great collection of documents known as the "Papeles de Cuba." These indices cover many thousands of titles pertaining to Florida.

The Society has also some thousands of typewritten and some handwritten transcripts from the Spanish

¹By special arrangement, however, the Library of Congress is now finding it possible to get from Spanish archives, on a limited scale, through its agent, Mr. Roscoe E. Hill—the compiler of the volume on the "Papeles de Cuba" for Carnegie Institution of Washington—reproductions of documents by a fairly new process of filming in reduced form.

archives in Seville, Madrid, and Simancas. It is realized that errors may be found in these transcripts and no claim is made that they are absolutely correct, although the percentage of error is probably quite small—and one must remember that, until we began of late years to photostat, transcripts like these were acclaimed by most scholars. The Society also owns some hundreds of maps which have been photographed or photostated in various archives and libraries in Europe and the United States. It has, for instance, the Florida maps among those made for Professor Karpinsky of the University of Michigan. It has also many reproductions of documents on Florida existing in libraries and other repositories in the United States, as well as some materials from the Record Office in London. In fact, as this is written, I have just come from the State Archives of Georgia in Atlanta where I have made arrangements for the photostating of considerable material.

The Society has therefore gathered certain prime sources, and some of these it has published. Mrs. Connor, in her translation of the Memorial by Gonzalo Solís de Méras, the brother-in-law of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the founder of St. Augustine, and in her first volume of *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida* made an excellent beginning. These were followed by *The Luna Papers* translated and edited by Professor Herbert Ingram Priestley of the University of California at Berkeley, which like the *Colonial Records* published both the original Spanish and its translation into English in a page-for-page form. Mrs. Connor left her second volume of *Colonial Records* more than half completed and arrangements have been made to finish this volume, as well as to compile the third volume which had been tentatively laid out by Mrs. Connor. Professor Wilbur H. Siebert of the University of Ohio now has in press for the Society his two volumes, *The Loyalists of East Florida*, which will be published this year, 1929. The first volume is Professor Siebert's

own narrative; the second consists of the claims presented to the government of Great Britain for property losses in East Florida by Loyalists during the American Revolutionary War. These are reproduced from a copy of the original of the Records Office in London existing in the New York Public Library. Mr. P. Lee Phillips reproduced in an atlas to accompany his *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans* the great map of East and West Florida laid down by Romans, and of which only one complete copy is known, namely, that in the Library of Congress. Mrs. Connor also reproduced in facsimile Ribaut's own narrative of his expedition to Florida in 1562, this being reproduced from the Lambeth Palace copy of the original, one of two copies known. These are actual accomplishments. Arrangements have been made for the publication of other materials which will run into more than a dozen volumes, and will consist of materials from many places of deposit.

Enough has been said to show that the Society has gathered a rich collection of papers and that these are being made available by means of publication. The rest of this paper will concern itself with the documents themselves.

About one-half the papers have been indexed and calendared more or less roughly and filed chronologically. In due course of time a full calendar will be made and materials will be indexed so that information on any given subject may be readily found, but this will, of course, be a work of years. The papers indexed cover the period 1518-1819, three centuries of Spanish ownership of Florida, except for the twenty years of British occupation, three centuries, it must be confessed, not palpitating throughout with energy, initiative, or constructive administration, although none of these elements were altogether lacking, nor yet centuries of Cathay. For the sake of comparison, it might be of interest to note briefly what are the first and last documents in this Spanish collection. The

first consists of two Royal Decrees sent to the Royal Officials of Cuba and having some application to Florida; the last is a letter relative to persons from that part of West Florida annexed to the United States in consequence of the revolution of West Florida in 1810, who were desirous of settling in East Florida.

Between these two extremes, one, a dim looking forward to the land called Florida, then almost entirely unknown; the other, portraying a Florida that after many vicissitudes had been ceded to the United States by a still unratified treaty and was still being administered by Spain is a not inconsiderable amount of history. Between these two extremes lie the various Spanish explorations and attempts to found permanent settlements; the abortive settlement of the French Huguenots along the east coast; the successful colonization by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, one of the Spanish colonial pioneers worthy of mention beside Cortes and López de Legazpi; the ruthless extermination of the French; the revenge by Gourgues; the slow beginnings of government and administration; missionary enterprises; Indian revolts; years of neglect or half-hearted attention; Drake's sack of St. Augustine; pirate raids along the coast or on the high sea; shudderings lest some European rival swoop down upon the weak colony; starving years, when the subsidy from Mexico or other parts failed to reach Florida because of shipwreck, or abscondings or piracy; acts of heroism or of pusillanimity; malfeasances; bickerings; residencias of officials with all their attendant ills; troubles between officials of church and state; all the dullnesses and hideousnesses of small communities, enlivened only from time to time by occurrences of an unusual nature, such as, perhaps the arrival of a ship from the homeland; the changing of governors and other officials; some periods of ease and delightful living in plantations set out with orange groves and other fruits; moral and national stagnation;

garrisons, usually too weak, and at times with their soldiers ill-clad and ill-fed; Moore's attempt to filch Florida for the English; the settlement of the Oglethorpe colony in Georgia and the loss of the old province of Guale or east Georgia and its hinterlands; the whole episode between Oglethorpe and the Spanish governors of Florida at St. Augustine and the Spanish officials in Cuba; the cession to Great Britain; the American Revolution and the precocious young Bernardo Gálvez; the recession to Spain; the press down from Georgia begun by the English and continued by the Anglo-Americans of the new republic; the trading house of Panton and Leslie with its tentacles spread throughout an immense territory; McGillivray, the Scotch-French-Indian planter with a classical education, who at one time held commissions as a brigadier general from three nations; William Augustus Bowles, the arch adventurer from Maryland; the revolutions in East and West Florida; Amelia Island and Gregor McGregor; British designs; Andrew Jackson; and finally, the inevitable cession to the United States. All of this lies between the two rather insignificant documents which I have cited; and all can be read in the papers of the Florida State Historical Society, which have come in photostat form from the Archivo General de Indias. When the rest of the documents shall have been indexed and properly filed, the story will be fuller and more authentic. And especially, when the papers dealing with the second Spanish occupation shall have been photostated, we shall have almost in full that wonderful story of the contact between the Americans of the young republic of the United States and the Spaniards of Florida. And when all of these documents shall have been supplemented with the materials in the Records Office of Great Britain and those in other depositories (already partially acquired) we shall have the story as nearly complete as it is possible to know it.

The documents of the Archivo General de Indias are

supplemented in many ways by papers from other sources. For instance, a document of 1821 which comes from a library in the United States is the confidential report of a committee appointed to consider the question of a ratification of the treaty of 1819 by which Florida was ceded to the United States, and in accordance with the advice of which the treaty was finally ratified.

Of the whole story of Florida's history, I have to confess that it is that part from near our own advent as a nation to our acquisition of the southern peninsula that most interests me; for it is the story of the contact and clash of two civilizations, the Anglo-Saxon and the Hispanic. The insistent press downward from the north across the Georgia border, intermingled as it was with many diverse features, including land hunger, Indians, fugitive slaves, trade (both legitimate and contraband) marks the period from 1784 to 1819. The rough bordermen became a potent factor in forcing the acquisition of the land of plenty and promise to the southward. Again and again, Spain remonstrated against what it considered encroachments on its territory. The War of 1812 but strengthened the desire of the Anglo-Americans. Diplomatic action was in part forced by the fact of the border and the uncontrollable desires and actions of the bordermen. The story is never dull, be it ever so sordid at times. From these documents, when they shall all have been assembled, one will be able to construct a marvelous chapter in the history of the United States; and not the least interesting part of it will be the part of Florida in the westward movement.

Considered as a whole, the documents exhibit Florida as a frontier region; and it must be remembered that that region is as truly a frontier country still as it was three centuries ago. Founded as a buffer province of Spain to prevent other European nations from encroaching on the riches of New Spain and Peru, that is, born as a Spanish province from the fears of

its first mother country, Florida kept throughout its two Spanish régimes, its pioneer quality. An *Expediente* of 1602, which the Society will publish as soon as possible, consists of the papers (*consultas* of the council, statements, decrees, and other matters) relative to the proposal to abandon Florida as a Spanish outpost because of its general worthlessness, its cost, lack of return, and the dangers incurred by holding it. It was decided not to abandon the country because (among other reasons) of its position as a frontier region, Paradoxical as it may seem, Florida is still, to an unexpected degree, a pioneer region. It is made so by its location, its products, and its industries. Its vast forests are exploited for their naval supplies and lumber. Its phosphates yield fertilizers for other regions, both domestic and foreign. Its rich pasturage and free grazing privileges toward the western end of the state are fit for the rearing of cattle, and Florida has, in consequence, its troops of real cowboys. Its waters are the fisherman's paradise, and although its game is disappearing before the onslaughts of the civilized sportsman, yet during the hunting season, the issuing of hunting licenses forms the chief industry in the county buildings of certain districts. The east and west coasts of the peninsula, with the incomparable ridge lying between are the happy hunting grounds of the tourist. And there are still thousands and thousands of acres of unoccupied lands. In our own day, the scandals of the early land companies have been repeated in another form; and Florida is even now recovering from the "noisy" efforts of promoters of "homes" who flocked into the state from all parts of the Union "to get their slice while the getting was good."

These conditions and factors are all more or less reflected in the documents. Glancing now at the manuscripts up to and including the year 1600, over six hundred documents, varying in length from a single page to several hundreds of pages, have already

been indexed. Every year after 1518 is represented except the years of 1519-1524, 1531, 1533-1536, 1539, 1540, 1542, 1543, 1546, 1548, 1549, and 1551-1557; but it is quite probable that these years will be represented in the documents still to be indexed. In this numeration, no account has been taken of series of documents indexed under a single title, as for instance, royal decrees, many of which are often lumped together under a single caption. These six hundred odd documents treat, among other things, of the expeditions of Ayllón, Narvaez (the unlucky and one-eyed leader who had proven no match for Cortes) the chivalrous and magnetic Soto, and Tristán de Luna y Arellano. The heirs of Ponce de León wander through these pages, as do also Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companion Dorantes, the widow of Narvaez (María de Valenzuela), and Isabel de Bobadilla, fit helpmeet of the invincible Hernando de Soto. Here are royal decrees, *consultas* of the council, petitions and memorials, testimonios, letters from the viceroys of Mexico and the governors of Cuba and Porto Rico; from the royal officials of various regions, and from the officials of the Casa de Contratación. The virile Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, too, is a prolific writer of letters, all interesting, and later, with other materials in the Archivo General de Indias and in the archives at Simancas to form one volume or several volumes of the publications of the Society. Here is information of the region called Santa Elena; rumors of French and English activities; Spanish fleets, royal pilots, and artillery; the presidio of San Agustín and other forts; lawsuits against various persons; subsidies; Jesuits and Franciscans; and many other matters. Governors succeeding the great adelantado (especially his nephew Pedro Menéndez Marqués, who governed the colony during a critical period); *visitadores* (especially Dr. Caceres and Baltasar del Castillo), who roused up enmities that were never forgotten, and many other officials play their

part in these documents. We hear of a soldier who was tried for dishonoring the wife of the chief pilot of St. Augustine; of shipwrecks; of pirates and piracy; of the playing card monopoly; of a missionary who desired certain books to be sent him; of the salaries of officials. There is a letter from Fray Francisco de Pareja who was to compile a grammar and other works in and about the Timucua language—a tongue now long disused. Perhaps the most interesting episode during the period, after the fact of the successful colonization by Menéndez and the fate of the Frenchmen north of St. Augustine (if we leave out of account the early exploring expeditions) was the sack of St. Augustine by Sir Francis Drake in 1586. Though this was really one of the lesser exploits of the English freebooter, its effect on the Spaniards was tremendous.

On June 7, the day after the raid, it was reported by Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués. The royal officials reported it on June 17, and on that day the governor wrote again. A long report of June 30 from Havana and an investigation made in the same city on the same day relate entirely to the raid; while Pedro de Arana on the same day gave a detailed account of the loss of the fort of St. Augustine. On July 2, Fernández and on July 4, Pedro de Arana wrote to the Casa de Contratación regarding it. On August 4, Alvarez de Toledo wrote to the king and in September the Casa de Contratación drew up a brief report. Again on October 3 a long report was made in Spain, which included the report of the Casa; and on October 15, a long letter of 34 pages from St. Augustine described conditions resulting from the raid and asked relief. Thereafter, for many years, the remembrance of the raid remained in Florida and Drake was classed with the pirates who thronged about the coasts of the Spanish possessions.

Every year of the period of 1601–1700 is represented by documents already indexed—a total of over 1750, although if enclosures were counted this number would

be increased very materially. These documents go far toward giving a pretty fair knowledge of the Florida of the seventeenth century, a period about which comparatively little has been definitely known, notwithstanding that the story is known in its broad outlines. The seventeenth century, with part of the eighteenth has been aptly called the great dark period of the history of Florida. When these documents shall have been studied fully, they will throw light, not only on the immediate history of the Spaniards in Florida, but on the history of the surrounding territories, especially with regard to the activities of other European nations in this general district.

The century opens tamely enough. We have already seen that Spain debated the abandonment of the province in 1602. On March 19, 1605, another discussion took place as to whether it were best to dismantle the fort at St. Augustine or to remove it to another place. For many years, document follows document, which apparently offer little of immediate interest, and one is apt to become satiated with petitions, memorials, accounts of services, needs of the weak garrisons, reports and complaints of governors, royal officials, friars, and others, the need for a subsidy, and a thousand and one petty details that show often how humdrum must have been much of the life in this farthest northern outpost of Spain in the New World. But I suspect that a careful perusal of all these documents, many of them tiresome, together with the money and expense accounts of the royal officials, and other fiscal matters, and a consideration of them as a whole, will enable one to arrive at a pretty fair estimate of the economic side of the colony and that we shall be able to tell with fair accuracy how the province was managed, both with regard to the home country and the immediate administration in Florida itself.

During the first half of the century, ecclesiastical affairs received increased importance, an importance that tended continually to increase still further. The

Bishop of Cuba had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the colony and was later given a vicar auxiliar who personally looked after general religious matters in the peninsula. Members of the Franciscan order, to which was entrusted the evangelization of the province, came in increasing number. Most of them seem to have labored well and faithfully amid surroundings that were often dismal enough; and some of them found the martyr's crown. To one of them we are indebted for almost all we know of the Timucua language—that tongue which was spoken over much of the eastern and northern part of the peninsula and up into what is now Georgia. The government was no over-generous with the friars—it could not be on the pittance doled out to it, and we find the friars joining the chorus of officials, widows, orphans, soldiers, and others for relief. Before the end of the century, the friars had founded many missions and doctrinas that stretched throughout much of present Florida and into the Georgia of today.

During the first half of the century, some explorations were made and some descriptions of them are found in these papers. In 1605, for instance, there is a description of the rivers and other physical features of the east coast below St. Augustine. But the most important explorations, as we shall see, were left for the closing years of the century.

Indian affairs, quite naturally, assumed considerable importance, and the usually weak and defenseless condition of the presidio at St. Augustine was a matter of continual alarm, not only in case of possible aggression from European enemies, but from the red men of the forest as well. Some insurrections did occur, but after all, these were surprisingly few. The murder of a friar by the Apalachee Indians in the late Forties of the century and the general revolt in that section roused much excitement but quiet was restored without very great loss. Toward the end of the century, there were rather serious revolts, with the murder of Franciscans

and others. Several of the documents refer to merchandise for presents—bright colored cloth and other trifles which they esteemed highly. That the Indians had just cause for complaint at times is seen in a document of 1636 and that Spain recognized such conditions is seen in the appointment of a “protector of the Indians.” Also, a decree of 1660 forbade the employing of the Indians of the town of Tolomato in personal services. In 1651, a cacique of the Timucua Indians wrote a letter in his own language to the King complaining of treatment received from certain officials over a parcel of land. With the letter was sent a translation into Spanish made by a Spanish friar—a rather free translation be it said. This letter has been translated directly into English by Dr. John R. Swanton of the Smithsonian Institution and will be published (probably in 1930) by the Society. With this letter will be published other material relating to the Indians of Florida—a new interlinear translation, with the Spanish and its translation of the Timucua letter of 1688 published in the late nineteenth century by Buckingham Smith, a description of the game of ball as played by the Indians, which a friar, by the way, declared to be “of the devil,” and other matter.

The usual number of royal decrees is found during the seventeenth century, some of which being general in tone were sent to all Spanish colonies in the Americas and to the Philippines. Some of them, as has so often been seen in all other Spanish colonies, remained a dead letter, some were only partially observed. Some could not be observed because of existing conditions. The death of the Spanish queen brought forth a document in 1612 in which were described the ceremonies held in Florida over this doleful incident. Acts of piracy were frequent during the entire period. In 1683, it was reported that 230 English and French corsairs had actually landed in Florida; and the defeat of a pirate band that same year was duly celebrated and reported on. There was considerable agitation looking

toward the settlement of Indian families from Campeche to engage in the industries of weaving and spinning, as well as families from the Canaries and from the Spanish province of Galicia. Land grants and waste lands received some attention. During the period there were nineteen governors. Of them one was deposed but later reinstated and one abandoned his office. Some of them appear to have been fairly able men. They were all held down by Spain's method of shackling its officials and frowning on initiative of action.

By far the most interesting and important events of the century center about the relations of the Spaniards with the English and the French. In this century, we have accounts of fugitive negro slaves that cross the borders from the English colonies and take refuge among the Spaniards and Indians—which was to continue during the second Spanish occupation and was to become one of the chief causes of complaints by the Anglo-Americans. In 1669, the viceroy of Mexico, in a document of 89 pages, records an attempt by the English to surprise the presidio of St. Augustine. Thereafter, threats from the English of the colonies to the north were of continual occurrence, and were the forerunners of the assault by Moore in the early eighteenth century and the near mid-century troubles with Oglethorpe. The English began to penetrate into the lands to the westward and northeastward, lands that Spain regarded with sufficient color of right as its own. English traders penetrated among the Indians and tried to wean them from Spain. All this led inexorably to the decision of 1763 by which Spain lost Florida.

Rumors of French settlement along the coast of the gulf of Mexico in the Pensacola region were rife from 1685 to the end of the century. This caused great consternation and led to a renewal of Spanish exploration in this region which had been almost entirely abandoned since the disastrous expedition of Luna y Arellano in 1559–1561. The English penetration had

led to plans for the construction of roads; the rumors concerning the French led to plans for surveys of the gulf region. The roads do not seem to have been built. The surveys were actually made and have been well recorded. Vague rumors of the La Salle colony can be discerned from time to time.

I have merely indicated in this resumé of the seventeenth century some of the events that occurred and the direction toward which affairs were tending. This is in no sense to be regarded as other than a very summary account; and the same must be premised with regard to the following century upon which we are now to say a few words.

For the eighteenth century, documents have been indexed to the number of almost one thousand; and all years of the century are represented except 1714, 1717, 1761, 1762, 1764, 1767, 1768, 1771-1775, and 1780. As in the preceding century, many documents, which, considered singly and without relation to other documents, present little of interest, when taken together and considered with relation to the various factors making up the life of the colony, take on a new significance. Among such manuscripts are various *consultas* of the council, *juntas de guerra*, petitions, memorials, accounts of services, requests of all sorts for relief, royal decrees touching many subjects, and other types of documents. Through these documents, indeed, flow much of the social life of the province.

During the earlier years much attention continued to be given to the French near the Pensacola region; and various explorations and surveys were made on the part of the Spaniards, who, as has been seen before, were forced into consideration of the western country by competition from other European nations. The settlement of Louisiana inspired in the Spaniards a fear, not unlike, though less panicky, that inspired by their Huguenot compatriots of an earlier day along the east coast. This fear was destined to be allayed at a later date in this century when an unwilling Spain was forced to receive that same vast territory of Louisiana.

Much keener were the fear and anger inspired by the inroads and attacks of the English. These were also a hang-over from the preceding century, and were continuous, except for intermittent and seeming periods of peace, well-nigh throughout the century. They had various culminations:

1. The onslaught from South Carolina by the adventurer Moore in the early years of the century.
2. The founding of Georgia and the contest with Oglethorpe.
3. The cession of Florida to the English in 1763.
4. The recession to Spain by England in 1783.

All of these, especially the second and fourth, are treated extensively in the documents already indexed. Indeed, volumes that concern all these epochs have been planned by the Society. One volume promised by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California at Berkeley, will touch on events connected with the Moore epoch. Another work, probably of several volumes, to be translated and edited by Professor William W. Pierson, of the University of North Carolina, will center about the Oglethorpe and Montiano epoch. Still another work promised by Professor Isaac J. Cox, of Northwestern University, and Professor Kathryn T. Abbey, of the Florida State College for Women, will have as its theme the American Revolution in Florida.

In 1683 begins the contact between the Spaniards and the Anglo-Americans of the new republic. Despite the fact that no special effort has been made to collect documents extensively from the *Archivo General de Indias* relative to this epoch, those that have been received testify to the richness of existing materials.

Ecclesiastical matters during the eighteenth century receive considerable attention, although there is a somewhat insensible lessening of direct effort and of zeal, both on the part of the ecclesiastics themselves and of the government. However, there is discernible, as might be expected, a slight increase in effort after

the recession of the Floridas by England to Spain. Various glimpses are seen of friction between the regular and secular ecclesiastical organizations.

The earlier part of the century is marked by petitions of all sorts for aid and relief, and by the efforts of the government to meet the needs, especially of the garrison of St. Augustine. The attempt to settle families from the Canaries still continues; and that man power in the garrison may be supplied, jail birds are drafted from the prisons of Spain. In 1738, it was thought that one of the best means of combating the English would be to settle Spanish families in the province. The wreck of a supply ship in 1707 caused considerable distress. A disastrous hurricane, comparable to those of recent years, lashed the coasts of Florida in the same year. A lighter touch is an account of the celebration of the birth of a prince in 1612—which is told in a document of 45 pages. Conversely, the obsequies held after the death of the good King, Charles III, near the end of the century, show how the colony could suffer publicly.

One document, at least, deals with the illicit trade with the English, who not only brought better but cheaper goods than Spain could supply. To maintain the trade of its colonies for the mother country, Spain prohibited all its colonial ports from giving permission to any French ship to anchor therein. Later, after the recession, when William Panton and John Leslie, the great Indian traders during the English régime, were allowed to remain on condition of becoming naturalized Spanish subjects, they were allowed to send one ship annually to England to bring back English goods for their trade with the redmen.

An attempt to restrain vice is seen in an order of 1722 prohibiting gambling in private houses. A number of curious documents relate to administrative procedure and the medium of contact with the mother country. Some communications from that careful ambassador, in London, Tomás Geraldino,

are found. One, of January 30, 1738, is an interesting document of six pages on the boundary between Carolina and Florida.

There is much about the annual subsidy or *situado*, which often, as seen above, failed to reach the shores of Florida. To relieve the situation in the Apalachee region, it was planned in 1743 to establish a store among the Indians there, this in order to combat the English traders. Three years later, a document of 29 pages relates to a new coin that it was proposed to mint in Mexico for Florida. It does not appear that this was ever minted, however. The plans of the Royal Company of Havana are discussed at some little length in several documents. Negro slaves continue to take refuge in Florida and are well received. There is also a story of some Dutch and Scotch deserters who seek refuge in St. Augustine. An echo of the war is seen in a royal decree of 1763 which ordered five per cent of the value of all ships captured to be reserved for the king in addition to the one-eighth part which was set aside for the admiralty.

After the war, that Spain was still watching affairs rather closely is seen in a document of 1765 enclosing a copy of the treaty between Great Britain and the Creeks which had been signed by Governor George Johnstone of West Florida. In 1769, there are echoes of the Irishman, Alexander O'Reilly, who served Spain so well in Louisiana. English reinforcements reached Pensacola in 1770, and in the same year Peter Chester was appointed governor of West Florida.

The outbreak of hostilities between England and its American colonies was watched carefully by Spain. Letters from Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga to the great minister, José de Gálvez (later the marquis of Sonora), of June 19 and August 13, 1776, advised the latter of the operations of the revolution. Many letters of that youthful but mature-minded Bernardo de Gálvez (later the governor of Louisiana and West Florida), touch on the same matters. Spanish operations

against the English after Spain had declared war against England, alone, be it said and not as an ally of the revolting colonies, are detailed in many documents. In this connection, it may be noted that a sheaf of some 42 documents of 143 pages in all covers the negotiations between Bernardo de Gálvez and the officials at Havana, who were not nearly so eager to carry on the campaign as was Bernardo. Among the papers are found some excellent plans of Pensacola. A letter of May 26, 1781, gives a list of French officers who aided in the taking of Pensacola. The British flag captured on that occasion, by the way, still exists in the city of Toledo, Spain, but it has nearly fallen to pieces. As late as 1783, it was feared by the Spanish that the British were planning to recapture Pensacola.

Various documents show something of the re-establishment of Spanish government in the recaptured provinces. They show also the rivalry between Spaniards and Anglo-Americans. The trade of the region is seen to be but a phase of that rivalry. The Spanish trade policy during its second period of occupation will be the theme of a volume being compiled for the Society by Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, of Western Reserve University; and the house of Panton and Leslie will be studied in another volume now being compiled by Miss Elizabeth Howard West, formerly of the Library of Congress and now Librarian of Technological College of Lubbock, Texas, who has long been interested in that company.

Still other documents show the English hostility toward the new republic. For instance, one Thomas Brown, formerly the superintendent of Indian Affairs for England, asks to be allowed to go to Havana as he believes he can be of service to Spain against the plans of the Americans. Panton and Leslie, who, notwithstanding their naturalization as Spanish citizens, remained British in their feelings, aided materially in attracting the Creeks to the Spanish cause. McGillivray, with great cunning, kept his hand well hidden

and no one was ever sure (except perhaps Panton) where he really stood.

Familiar Spanish officials wander through these later documents—Miro, Navarro, Folch, Carondelet, Zespedes, Quesada, and others. Zespedes, in a letter to José de Gálvez in 1786, opines that the American Congress has no power to enforce its enactments on state assemblies—having Georgia in mind. This is an early statement of the theory of State rights.

A document of the same year relates to smallpox and its prevention; and a later one to the yellow fever scourge. Yet Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada asks for the governorship of east Florida because of the healthfulness of the region, this in striking contrast to former officials who had looked upon Florida as a desert.

In 1787, the post of San Marcos de Apalachee was established, both as an outpost against possible Indian trouble and to consolidate the Spanish position in case of trouble with whites of any other nation. That same year a document shows a list of the inhabitants of Pensacola at the time of its capitulation. Another one gives a description of that weak-kneed conspirator, James Wilkinson, and other documents refer to the same shifty individual. Later events are foreshadowed by a royal order to construct a tower on Amelia Island in which two cannons were to be mounted. In 1795, it is noted that the seeds of revolt have been sown among some of the inhabitants of East Florida who were said to have American associates. A suggestion that Florida be made an intendancy or sub-delegation under Havana received no support. It is rather pleasing to note that in 1799, one Juan Nepomuceno Gómez was appointed to the position of schoolmaster with a salary of thirty pesos per month. So ends the century.

Less than fifty documents have been indexed for the nineteenth century, and these cover the years, 1801–1808, 1812, 1813, 1818, and 1819. These relate largely to administrative matters. The houses acquired

from the English when the latter withdrew from the country after 1783 are touched on in one document. Others concern royal and public works, an Indian Council in 1802, the collection of customs duties, a report on the inhabitants of Pensacola in 1805, and most important of all, the intrigues of citizens of the United States at Baton Rouge, also in 1805. The establishment of a primary school in Pensacola is agitated; while documents of 1812 and 1813 show that two places were reserved exclusively for boys from Florida in the Royal University of San Carlos in Havana. In 1818, Coppinger becomes governor of East Florida, and in the succeeding year, reports are still heard of Panton and Leslie. Thus the country moves on toward the end of the Spanish domination.

Looking at the history of Spanish Florida as a whole, mosaics of which I have given in the present paper, one is immediately struck by the fact that the most important events and epochs are those in which international relations appear. Contact with the French, the English, the pirates that swept along the coasts of Florida, the Anglo-Americans; all these make a wider appeal than the mere colonization by the Spaniards. And yet, Florida exhibits on a small scale, many of the same phenomena that are seen in larger and more important Spanish colonies. It differed in some respects in that it was a direct appanage of the crown. But the same procedures are everywhere apparent. The only change is that demanded by the changed conditions of life of the province. It was a poor colony. It had no great source of wealth that was known to the Spaniards, for the present appreciation of the region was not guessed at. Yet its history has, after all, been a rich one and is well worth study.

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