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MIRANDA'S DIARY OF THE SIEGE OF PENSACOLA, 1781

Translated by DONALD E. WORCESTER

The siege and capture of the British forts at Pensacola in April and May of 1781 brought to a climax Spanish participation in the American Revolution. The project was begun by Bernardo de Gálvez, the young governor of Louisiana who had already conquered the British posts in the Mississippi Valley and at Mobile Bay. The British still held out at Pensacola, their principal establishment in the Gulf of Mexico. Gálvez landed there on March 18, and his force was soon augmented by troops from Mobile and New Orleans. It was not until the French and Spanish troops from Havana arrived at Pensacola on April 19, however, that the siege could be undertaken with hope of success.

One of the officers arriving with the expedition from Havana was Francisco de Miranda, whose diary of the enterprise is translated in the following pages. Miranda is best known for his efforts in behalf of Latin American independence, he being its most energetic promoter. He sought in vain the assistance of England, France, and the United States, and led a premature invasion of Venezuela in 1806. In his travels in Europe he became acquainted with a number of young creoles, many of whom were induced by his sincere devotion to the cause of Latin American independence to embrace the same purpose. When the Wars of Independence from Spain broke out in 1810, Miranda returned to his native Venezuela and was given command of the patriot forces. His career ended ingloriously when he was surrendered to Spanish authorities by some of his own subordinates, including Simón Bolívar.

The excerpt from his diary which follows is found in the *Archivo del* General Miranda, *1750-1785,* (Caracas, 1929), vol. I, pp. 150-179. Thanks are due to Mr. Manuel Valles for his assistance in translation. The responsibility for errors which may appear, however, is mine..

Since General Campbell's service in British West Florida consisted so largely in preparation for and the defense of Pensacola, it is of interest to note that there are several diaries in Spanish and English relating to the siege of and capitulation of Fort George and with it Pensacola and the remainder of West Florida. All of these have been printed. (1) A Gálvez diary : *Diario* de las *operaciones* . . . *contra* la *Plaza* de *Penzacola* . . . was printed twice in 1781, in Mexico City and perhaps in Madrid (48 & 44 pp). (2) A translation of this into English was published in the first issue of *Louisiana* Historical *Quarterly* (Jan. 1917. vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 4484). (3) General Francisco de Miranda gives a day by day account which is printed in ''Archivo del General Miranda," Caracas, 1929. (Vol. 1, pp. 150-179) as *Diario* de *Panzacola.* A translation of this follows here. (4) In the same volume (pp. 141-147) is Diario de lo *ocurrido en* la escuadra y tropas . . , *que* atacaba la *plaza* de *Panzacola.* (5) Also in the same volume is: A *Journal* of the seige [sic] of Pensacola West Florida **1781** (pp. 179-191). The writer of the latter is not given, but there is a manuscript journal (6) in the Library of Congress, written by Major Robert Farmar, an officer under Campbell, which is so similar that the main source of both is evidently the same. However, there are facts in each which are not in the other. The latter was edited and published by Buckingham Smith in "Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries" (June, 1860, pp. 166-172).

DIARIO DE PANZACOLA

Diary of what *occurred in* the *squadron* and troops *commanded* by *the Chief* of *Squadron* Don Josef *Solano* and the Field Marshal Don *Manuel* de Cagigal, which left *Havana* on April *9, 1781, in* order to *aid* the *Spanish* army which was *attacking* the plaza *of Pensacola* . . . site *of* the *said plaza* . . , *its surrendering,* etc.

On this day at 7 :30 p.m. the. governor of the -plaza

[Havana] received information that on March 31 last there had been seen from Cape Corrientes 8 large warships and a small one believed to have been enemy, which fired some cannonades. His Excellency called a council and it was resolved to send out all of the ships of our squadron which might be ready under the orders of the chief of squadron, Don Josef Solano, and a detachment of 1600 men under Field Marshall Don Juan Manuel de Cagigal. The idea was to seek the enemy on the coasts of Pensacola, where it appears very probable he may have been directed under the supposition that the place was under attack by Field Marshal Don Bernardo de Gálvez, who landed on and took possession of the island of Santa Rosa last March 9. This news could have been carried by a swift brigantine[1] which was cruising before that place, and which on recognizing our squadron and convoy had retired toward Jamaica under full sail. On the 24th day of the same month the detachments from New Orleans and Mobile, in the number of 4,000 men, had already joined his troops. The naval forces were composed of the ship *San Ramón,* of 64 cannons-the frigates Clara and *Secilia,* of 36, the *Chambequin Cayman,* of 26, and the packet ships *Pio* and *San* Gil, of 20. All of these vessels (excepting the San *Ramón*) already have entered the port without receiving serious damage' from the enemy battery, the Red Cliffs, from which came diverse cannonades at the frigates. The convoy passed them, seeking shelter at the island of Santa Rosa, and did not receive injury from the said battery. The *San Ramón* arrived from the port of Matanzas on the 29th, believing its orders had been complied with, and under the specious reason of not being able to enter. As we are ignorant of her secret instructions, we are unable to decide as to her conduct, which is publicly denounced with ignominy!

8 . . . 9

The troops were reviewed at 3 p.m., and at 5 they were embarked ; likewise the artillery, provisions, munitions, campaign stores, etc., all of which were gotten on board this day.

9 . . . 10

At 5 :30 on the following day, signal was made to the squadron to weigh anchor and make sail, and at 11 o'-clock the vessels were already outside the port, except for the ships *Arrogante,* San Gabriel, and *Astuto.*

At 12 noon the commanding general, seeing that the ships mentioned above still were not able to leave the port that day because the wind from the northeast had. already settled, signalled to the squadron to begin a course NW 1/4 W in three columns. In this order we continued under light sail all day, the frigates being constantly exposed.

In the council it was decided that the French squadron under the command of the chief of squadron should not sail with us. Although M. de Montelle had agreed with this, in another council of all the captains and commanders of his squadron which was held on board his ship the previous day, they decided to accompany us.

10 . . . 11

At 12:30 a.m. signal was made to the squadron to form the fifth order of sail in ordinary lines of convoy, sailing W 5" N. At 6:15 the squadron completed the evolution to sail in convoy lines, maintaining the order and disposition in which they were, and on the route NW 1/4 W.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of this day signal was made to sail diagonally from left to right or in bow and quarter line on the port tack. . . . A little later it was nullified and immediately after that an order was given to form three columns with the admiral at the right and the chiefs in the van, and that there should be a distance of ten cable lengths between his ship and the columns.

The sluggish slowness and almost impossibility with which our ships have executed these movements is incredible. At the conclusion the *Paula* never was able to come close to occupying her position despite the fact that we were carrying little sail; and we will attempt later to form a comparative estimate of squadrons based on the number and burden of ships !

At 5 :30 a.m. the *Palmier* made signal of the discovery of sails from the WNW, and about 6 o'clock four ships were seen from our topmasts at SE 1/4 E. Two of the largest followed our route, from which we inferred that they were the ships *Arrogante,* Xan Gabriel, Astuto, and *Renombrado,* which had remained in port. Signal was made to the frigates *Unicorno* and *O* that they should proceed to scout them and determine the number and type of the sighted vessels.

The latitude observed at midday was 23" 39' N, and having sailed for the angle of 88 of the third quadrant the distance of 29 miles, we considered ourselves in longitude 292" 5', bearing the angle of the sounding to the northwest at a distance of 22 leagues.

11 . . . 12

We continued after midday with all sail, hauling the wind from the north on the starboard tack, in formation of three columns. At 4:30 signal was made for all the squadron to lie to, for the purpose of sailing in company with the ships sighted, and at 5:30 the frigate 0 and the brigantines *Lebrel* and *Pájaro* repeated the signals which this ship had made, in order that those which came slowly would understand. During the night we sailed NW 1/4 W with only the main topsails, and at dawn they were already joined in company with the squadron. At 5 :45 signal was made to the cutter *Serpent* that she should reconnoiter to the north without losing sight of the signals of this ship; to the *Andromanche* to make for the northwest; to the *O* to the WNW; to the *Unicorno* to the ESE ; and at 6 :30 to all the squadron that it should sail in three columns hauling the wind on the -route indicated, the chiefs placing themselves at the heads of their divisions. At' 7 o'clock the *Arrogante* arrived, whose commander notified our general that nothing had occurred in Havana on the day after our sailing, and also the frigate *Mexicana,* which served as hospital ship for the army. Signal was made to the squadron to increase sail, and we hauled up the mainsails and sailed by -the

gallants+ The wind, blew from the NNE and we continued steering to. the NW.

12 . . . 13

The wind has been increasing, so that at 4 in. the afternoon the: gallants were furled and a reef taken in the mainsails. At 5 a.m. signal was made to the *O* that she should make "NO" at- the top of her foremast, which was the recognition signal, and to remain with it at the top of the mizzenmast. She made the signal but not in conformance with the order.[2] At 6:30 p.m. the brigantine *Pájaro* signalled that she had a damaged mainmast which. needed repair at this inconvenient time, for which reason she returned to Havana.

13 . . . 14

The wind continued fresh from the NE with a heavy swell, and the squadron proceeded with the six principal ships in the ordinary formation of three columns, turning from the NNW. The ship San *Nicolás* signalled to the *Asis* regarding taking her place. A short time afterward she was informed that the evolution being performed was not in accordance with the order. And finally she was signalled by the commandant of this ship, who called attention to it at the same time with two hasty cannon. shots. But neither on account of these was there better maneuver or more prompt obedience, and we hope later to make an attack with order and discipline!

At 5:45 p.m. the French frigate *Andromanche* signalled to announce sighting a sail to the NNW. She was ordered to give chase, and likewise the 0 and the cutter *Serpent*. At 12:30 a.m. we made signal to the squadron to increase sail, and we set the stay and maintopgallant sails. At dawn the wind was fresh from the EXE, the sea light, the horizon calm. Signal was made to the *Andromanche* (she having lost sight of her chase during the obscurity of the night and having rejoined the squadron), to make soundings, and the *Unicorno* not having found bottom, she likewise' made soundings at 11 and did not find bottom either.

At midday we were in latitude N 26" 26′, longitude 2 9 0 " 24′!

14 . , . 15

With the wind fresh from the southeast and a heavy sea we continued sailing toward the northeast, the squadron formed in three columns. At 5:30 the general signalled to take reefs in the maintopsails. They were taken and right after that command was given to steer to the N 1/4 W and to form by evolution the lines of the route indicated by the signal. The *Magnámino* damaged her mizzenyard.

At nightfall the horizon was cloudy with fresh wind from the southeast and heavy sea from the northeast, and at 10:30 we took in the maintopsails because the wind had increased. We were making more than 7 miles: At dawn we sighted a schooner, and the *Asis,* who had it on her flank, was ordered to examine it. At 7 a.m. word came from the cutter Serpent whose commander informed the general of a minor damage. At 8 :30 the abovementioned schooner also came with a Spanish pennant flying, and announced herself to be the *Sourris,* having sailed from Havana on the 10th and en her way to Pensacola with instructions. She'was ordered to remain near this ship and not to separate from her, for any pretext. At 9 in the morning the. wind shifted in a squall to the NNW, with cloudy weather, rain, and thunder. The maintopsails were taken in, and at 12 we were in a deadly calm.

15 . . . 16

From midday we continued with foresail and mizzen, hauling- the light wind from the north, with some rain and cloudiness. At 1 the light wind changed to the east and we sailed with foresails to N 5" E. At.2 the *Andromanche* made signal of having sounded 95 fathoms and we found 70 on sand. At 4 p.m. an order was sent to the frigate *O* to send to this ship its first pilot, who has had some experience on the coast, because. we had not brought any. harbor, pilot whatever in the whole squadron.[3]

At 5:30 signal was made to the squadron to put about by evolution, the course to steer being W 1/4 NW, in formation of three columns. This movement was executed promptly, and the squadron remained on the other tack following the course indicated with the wind fresh from the SSW. At 10 a.m. we took soundings, and did not find bottom at 110 fathoms. At 12 the wind veered to the WSW. Signal was made to come about and all the squadron executed it,. continuing to the SSW with the wind fresh from the west. At daybreak the wind was strong from the WNW, the sea heavy, and the horizon clear. All of the ships of the squadron, in number of 23, were in sight. At.11 a.m. the frigates were sent to reconnoiter and the ship *San Nicolás* signalled 80 fathoms of bottom, lead-colored; sandy mud.

We found ourselves upon observation in latitude N 28" 36', longitude 290" 12'. According to our observations, the. charts of this coast drawn by the pilots of Havana must be very erroneous.

16 . . . 17

The wind maintained its direction from the 4th quadrant and diminished in force. From midday we continued with the 6 principals hauling the wind to the N 1/4 NE, all the squadron together. At 3 the lookout of the top announced that he had seen a vessel to the MNE, and then the ship *Guerrero* signalled that she was under the lee. Immediately the French brigantine and cutter were ordered to give chase to the northeast, the course followed by the discovered ship which by then could be seen clearly from our round house. She appeared to be a frigate of 30 to 40 cannons. At 3:30 the frigate 0, which was in advance, also gave chase, and consecutively the ship *Intrepide,* which was the swiftest of all the squadron. At 5 the 0 advised us that the sighted vessel was fleeing, and that she was able to attack with advantage. Half an hour later all the squadron came about and we remained lying to on the starboard tack to the north. We sounded 30 fathoms. At 6 we saw the strange frigate

continuing with force of sail turned from the southeast with the wind from the W 1/4 NW, and our four chasers in pursuit. At 6:30 the 0 signalled that the strange vessel was an enemy, in consequence of which the packet boat *Renombrado* was sent to take a position halfway between the *Intrepide* and this ship, in order to repeat the signals of the one or the other vessel. At 7:30 at night signal was made to sail on the starboard tack and all executed it to the WSW with the wind from the west. The stern lanterns were burned during the night, and at 11:30 we sounded upon 60 fathoms. At this hour the wind changed fresh to the NNE, and at this point we changed course to W 1/4 NW, firing some rockets at 2 a.m. in order that the pursuing vessels should know our position. At 5 a.m. the *Lebrete* spoke us, and her commander informed the general that the frigate pursued, having disappeared at 8 o'clock, the ship *Intrepide* made signal to reunite, and all were sailing to rejoin the squadron. They believed the ship to be English because they had seen distinctly in the poop the boom or *casa* escota which the English used. The *Intrepide* made the same conjecture, because of which we believed positively the place was Cape Corrientes, and that without delay we were about to attack the English a counter-blow. At 6 we sailed and at 9:30 signal was made to the squadron asking to know the general state of the troops and crews which came on board, in order to form, if necessary, a body of all and to attack the enemy in whatever situation we might find him. The admiral behaved with the greatest gallantry and generosity on this occasion, offering even the last individual on board, and I believe positively that with the good intelligence and harmony that existed between both generals, and consequently in all the forces, we should overcome the greatest obstacles which might present themselves.

We have seen this day on three or four occasions various large. tree trunks thrust into the sea no doubt by the large rivers; Mississippi and Apalache.

17 . . . 18

At midday we lay to awaiting the reports which had been requested, and at 2:30 signal was made that the squadron should steer to the NW 1/4 W. At 3 all of the reports being assembled, we all sailed under full sail. On taking a sight of the sun we counted 22 vessels, only the *Unicorno* being absent; and since her detachment the day previous to give chase she had not appeared.[4] At 5:30 a.m. the *Andromanche* was ordered- to take soundings, and signalled 128 fathoms. Afterwards she was sent to reconnoiter to the north and the Renombrado was ordered to follow her, in order to relay her signals. At 7 signal was made to the squadron to reduce the distance. between ships to half a cable's length, and a little later, to form the line of battle on the port tack, in inverse order on this ship; This movement having been executed, signal was made for the squadron to steer the course signalled from the 0 in the order in which -they were. The maneuver was executed badly (as almost all the others) being distinguished particularly by the errors of the *Asis;* the *San* Gabriel and the *Magnánimo,* with tho *Triton,* were not far behind. The frigate *O* was reporting the same that the preceding ships had neared the pursued vessel on: the previous day and adding that they had made French and Spanish recognition signals, and that it had not replied correctly.[5] From the reports given it was found that our fleet could provide up to 1,400 troops. the 800 French who had joined our detachment already formed a corps of 3,800 men. Latitude observed as 29" 13′, longitude 290" 46′.

18 . . . 19

After midday we continued steering to the W 1/4 NW, and the squadron rejoined in the formation of 3 columns. At 6 believing ourselves in the meridian of Pensacola, signal was made for the squadron to lie to on the port tack, and for a signal to be given to steer N 1/4 NW. At 12:30 at night signal was made for the squadron to sail, several rockets being discharged in order to indicate

the movement to the scouts and ships of the squadron. Each ship appeared at daybreak with her signal number at the masthead, and the *Andromanche* and Renombrado were ordered to explore to the north. To the *Lebrete* was sent, with instructions from the admiral, an order to see if the port of Pensacola were. ours, or whatever activity might be noted. The same instructions were remitted also to the commander of the Andromanche, M. Rabenel. At 6 :45 signal was made for the squadron to form the order of pursuit (in two lines of bowline) and to force sail in the said order, making the formation on this ship. We sailed with all canvas, and at 9 sounded 20 fathoms.- We then steered to the N 1/4 NE with the wind from E 1/4 SE. At 10 the *Andromanche* signalled land to the NNE, and we found ourselves in 15 fathoms of sand.

[Arrival at Pensacola Bay]

19 . . . 20

At 12 land was sighted from our topmast, bearing to the north at a distance of 5 leagues. We continued toward it until we reached a distance of 2 leagues, in 10 fathoms of water. From here we could see distinctly all the coast, the island of Santa Rosa, and the entrance to the port. Likewise we saw a frigate which appeared to be of 30 cannons which was anchored within the port along with some lesser craft. At 2 o'clock we saw the arrival of the frigate Andromanche and the brigantine Lebrete which had run along the coast from the island of Santa Rosa toward the west, and they signalled us of our being masters of the port. On receiving this information we hauled up the pennant and affirmed the flag with a cannon shot. At 2:30 the Andromanche made signal of finding herself aground. The general immediately ordered the frigate 0 and the brigantine *Renombrado* to go to her aid ; also the launches of the warships which were nearest to her. At 4 signal was made to the squadron to come about, with the wind to the east. At 5 word came from the Lebrete, whose commandant informed the

generals he had completed his mission and had spoken at the mouth of the port with the commander of the sloop-of-war Carmen, Don N. Sapiain, who informed him of finding the army of Señor Galvez already on the continent and making hasty preparations for the siege (which had not yet begun). He reported also that this general had been slightly wounded in one finger of his hand and in the abdomen by a musket shot by savages' from the woods surrounding the camp. At 5:30 the major of the army embarked in the said brigantine with letters of both generals of sea and land for Señor Galvez, informing him of the object and circumstances of his commission. All night the squadron continued on the same route, and at 5:30 the commander of the cutter *Serpent* informed the general the same as the Librete had, adding that the *Andromanche* had sailed that night at 8:30 with the aid of the launches and boats of the squadron which had been sent for that purpose, and by lightening her water supply and 12 or 13 cannons of her artillery.

20 . . . 21

At 12:30 the entire squadron tacked, sailing the turn of the land with the wind weak from the southeast. At 4:30 General Don J. M. Cagigal, his son and his two aides-de-camp, and also the Adjutant of the Navy, Vriarte (who had come from land on board the *San Luís* in the morning), transferred to the cutter Serpent to go ashore and confer with General Gálvez regarding that which was most convenient for complying with his commission. Not having sent more than one naval pilot to the ship *San Luís,* we resolved to take the step of using the frigate *Andromanche* to enter the port, but having found the frigate we were told that Ugartse, the major of Solano, had taken the pilot the previous night to enter the port.. in the brigantine *Lebrete,* in which, as we said before, he had embarked. The wind having become very light we were not able to make the port. About 8 we found ourselves caught-on. the coast of the island of Santa Rosa without knowledge of the passage, for which reason we

cast anchor immediately. Consequently we remained on board, receiving the best treatment from the naval lieutenant, M. La Lonne, commander of the said vessel, whose character was amiable and generous; he was distinguished generally. During the night we fired severs! cannonades and rockets, with the idea that these signals might be heard or seen by our detachment on the island of Santa Rosa or by the frigates which were in the port, and that they might send us a pilot. But as it turned out we were too far distant and they did not hear them. At 8 in the morning we raised anchor and made sail in search of Point Siguenza of the said island, sailing with the wind very light

21 . . . 22

from the southeast, and at 2:30 p.m. we were on the said point of the entrance of the port, opposite the *barrancas coloradas,* where the enemy had his battery called the Red Cliffs. At this point a pilot boat of the place arrived alongside in which came the naval lieutenant Villavicencio. He directed- us in as best he could according to his knowledge of the entrance, although not without the ship touching the bar. On passing before the said. batteries the enemy fired 14 well-aimed cannonades of heavy caliber on us. By chance none struck the ship. There are two explanations, nevertheless, as to why this fire did not damage the vessel as it passed before them on this occasion. The first is that the distance at. which our ships passed ordinarily is greater than it appears on the surface of those waters (in my opinion it is more than 1,050 meters). The other is that the battery being considerably inflexible, the shot is fixed and consequently very uncertain.[8]

[The *landing*]

At 4 p.m. the naval captains Don Miguel Alderete; commandant of the convoy, and Don Josef Serrato, came on board to pay their respects to General Cagigal. They escorted us with their boats, and an hour later we dis-

embarked in the first redoubt which the navy had, on the opening or bay which led to our Camp, to which place were carried all who volunteered to go to the camp. From here we followed by land to the camp itself, which was about a quarter of a league distant.

General Gálvez received us with many expressions of pleasure and friendship toward our General Cagigal. All the army welcomed us with infinite joy, for not only were they fatigued with the endless and not well-combined marches they had made in the 42 days since they had disembarked at the island of Santa Rosa, but by the various camps which they had occupied, the entrenchments and so forth (seven counting this one), the construction of revetments, fascines, and other defenses. Besides this they considered all their work useless, and were in despair of the enterprise. The army numbered, including militia and Negroes, 3,701 men. Of these 500 were out of action, and so they were able to count on only 2,006 regulars for the attack. The garrison numbered 800 regular troops, 200 seamen, and 1,000 savage Indians for the woods. Thus their conjecture. was not unfounded. With the consolidation of our detachment, 1,504 troops of our navy, and 725 French, the army amounted to 7,803 effectives.

Sunday, April. 22

At 9 :30 in the morning General Cagigal, in company with the commandant of artillery, the quartermaster general, the -major general of the army, and his aides-de-camp, went on horseback to reconnoiter. the terrain and the distance for opening the trench, and to establish the first one. They put it about 600 meters from the enemy fortification, covered by some scattered inclines which there are intervening. A short time later the enemy, having perceived it, began his first artillery fire upon the followers of the general and a party; of light infantry which accompanied him. The operation was suspended, and the enemy fire resulted in. only one man being wounded.

Today the troops began disembarking in the boats and launches which had been sent for this purpose, and although the enemy fired upon them on passing before the Red Cliffs, no damage was done. An Irish soldier deserted.

Monday, 23d

Today the disembarking of all the troops and our accoutrements for opening the trench was completed, continuing with that vigor which the new-reinforcement had added. The encampment for the recently-arrived troops also had been laid out, with the order that it should be immediately protected by bulwarks, for, being in the midst of woods and surrounded by savages who hid in the forest and insulted us at all hours, this operation was indispensable.

An Irish drummer went over to the enemy, which is nothing extraordinary.

[*A skirmish*]

Tuesday; 24th

The engineers and artillery chiefs having gone out at 6 in the morning to continue their operations for laying out the attack, they were supported by a party of light infantry. They encountered the enemy awaiting them in ambush, and a skirmish began which lasted until 9 o'clock. At the sound of the firing five companies of our light infantry, who supported the first, came out, and ours separated because of finding itself within the immediate range of a cannon: Our operations were interrupted, and we sustained 15 soldiers and 2 officers wounded.[9]

In the afternoon at 4 our advanced posts saw some parties of infantry and Indians who, conducted by some mounted officers, advanced with assurance. Our light infantry came out and they retired after a skirmish which did not produce a wounded man among us. Missing was one Irish soldier, whether killed or deserted we did not know. From the plaza came a Spanish Negro slave

who had been-taken prisoner a short- time earlier. After dusk we saw that the enemy had made a general discharge of his. artillery on all sides of Fort George, and following this another volley of musketry which surprised us to the point that afterwards we supposed that it was a salute in celebration of the triumph which the royal troops under the command of Lord Cornwallis had achieved: against the Anglo-Americans commanded by General Grune [Green?]. Three of the cannon facing our camp were loaded- with balls which entered the camping place.

The troops continued their labors on the trenches, which were almost completed. The, said entrenchment was formed of heavy pines and stakes filled with a sandy clay of a thickness of about 7 feet, and its corresponding foss, which -has to be pounded by heavy artillery in order to attack it.

At 12 the frigate captains Alderete, Goichea, and Serrato embarked with General Cagigal and other officers to test whether the cannon would be able to injure the enemy fort from the sea, approaching it in an armed brigantine;.. which carried two cannons of 24 pounds. They found that. in 14 feet of water (depth enough to carry frigates) the ball beat strongly on the slope of the counterscarp of the enemy fortification, although the cannon had an elevation of 12". The enemy responded with his, and the balls struck near the brigantine, a new proof of the capacity of the artillery from that point.[10]

Wednesday, 25th

At 6 in the morning of this day our engineers and artillery officers going to conclude the operations on the terrain. of the proposed entrenchment, supported by a party' of light infantry, encountered two companies of enemy infantry which were formed upon the same terrain marked out by us the previous days. At their sides were two parties of savages who fired in good order and more regularly than they-were accustomed to do. We began a skirmish, sustained by 5 companies more that were ready,

and it lasted until 7:30, when both troops retired. We had 6 men wounded, and from the. enemy 'came over a dragoon (French Parisian) who appears to be a great rogue, One time he assured us that the salvo which we saw the previous night, was for the celebration of. St. George's Day, and another time that it was in consequenee of British arms having achieved a victory over the North Americans, which news they had received at that point by courier from Georgia.

The parliamentarian of Pensacola, Stevenson, was in our camp and dined with the general. The motive of his coming had not been announced, but it was believed that he was a representative of the people of the. town, and having seen the practice with the cannon the preceding day feared some injury to their houses in case that our ships approached to attack the fort from that direction. We know that in virtue of the assurances that our. general has given to the neighborhood, the major part of the families that had retired toward Georgia have already returned to their homes, opened their shops, and re-established their commerce, etc.

Thursday, 26th

At 2:30 in the afternoon there came out 5 companies of grenadiers and light infantry. (the brigade of marine grenadiers among them) commanded by M. Bolling, captain of grenadiers stationed in New Orleans, with two field pieces, to support our engineers in the operation of laying our two batteries of cannons and mortars which we wished to establish at night,' at. the time of opening the trenches. We encountered the. enemy formed upon the land next to his fortification,. awaiting us in the number of 3 or 4 companies and a sufficient number of Indians- who were formed on. the- flanks of the said troops. The moment that these discovered us they began the clamor and shouting of -battle, advancing toward the wood on the left wing; supported by the English infantry with the idea, it seemed, of cutting off a company of our light infantry 'which was somewhat isolated.' But meeting

with our-troops, who, perceiving the movement;.:had also advanced in that. direction, both parties began to skirmish and to beat the- woods with the two field pieces each. had; Our cannon made the savages retire from the woods, and the English, after having fired some rounds toward our center, withdrew to their previous position; We did the same thing, and the fort opened a heavy fire which made it necessary for us to abandon the enterprise. The troops returned to the camp at 6:30 without. having accomplished what had been planned. From the fort the enemy fired 16 cannonades and two bombs, which produced no results. whatever. . . . . .

Being resolved, nevertheless; on opening the trenches this- night, at 9:30 Brigadier Giron went. out with 700 workmen. and 700 armed grenadiers and light infantry to support them, 4 field- pieces and all the necessary equipment- and tools and munitions to form and open the said, trench, batteries, and so f orth. The night was cloudy and rainy, with the result that our noted engine.ers were not able to find the points and marks laid out the previous days. Everyone retired at 3 in the mornings fatigued, drenched, and without having accomplished anything. Thanks be to God!

On this day a deserter of Waldeck came over. . .

. . Friday, 27th

. . At 7 a.m. information was received that- the enemy was cutting- down the pines and woods between their fortification. and- our laid-out parallel. Four companies of light infantry were ordered- to prevent. them from continuing with impunity the said- operation, but the commanding officer of this troop,[11] losing sight of this ob ject, which was the only idea the general had in mind, took up a bad. position with his troops- and- began. an inopportune skirmish. Despite having been supported by two more companies of infantry and two field pieces, we were obliged to. retire; 'as much from the superior fire of the enemy cannon and howitzers. which played. upon the flanks of our troop from the parapet as from the

gunfire and field pieces of the enemy attacking us from the woods.[12] The skirmish lasted two hours, until General del Caso was informed. Finding us with 5 soldiers dead, 14 men and 3 officers wounded; he commanded (at 12) that the said troops should withdraw and that 4 other companies should relieve them, placing them at a respectable distance, beyond the range of the artillery of the plaza, and that at the same time they should accomplish the object of the earlier order, that is, to impede the enemy cutting down the above-mentioned woods.

At 6 in the: afternoon the said companies retired and the enemy remained in the woods, apparently constructing a redoubt which enfiladed' jointly the parallel line marked out by our engineers.

I do not know if it was because of this event or that of two Germans of our foreign troops having deserted in the afternoon, but when the troops and officers of the previous day were already formed for going out after dusk to repeat the operation of the previous day an order came for everyone to retire, and nothing was done that night.[13] Others pretended that this change was the result of the engineer-in-chief having explained that his plan of attack was imperfect! revoked, it, and would not be responsible for the success of an attack in that direction, etc.

Two deserters from the enemy garrison came 'over and the naval captain Alderete saw from the port. that the enemy had hanged a man. According to what the deserters said he was a sergeant of our regiment of Flanders who, some days earlier must have deserted (he was a trained. subject, somewhat of a mathematician) and they surprised him taking, some dimensions. of the- artillery and with plans of the fortifications in his possession, which characterized clearly and sufficiently the crime..

Saturday, 28th

Today we saw from a distance that the' enemy had built a redoubt on the edge of the woods in which

had sustained the skirmish the day before, upon our marked-out lines. At 9:30 a.m. our engineers with 200 workers went out, supported by 3 companies of grenadiers and infantry, to reconnoiter and seek another route toward the post which we intended to attack. Effectively they found a road, sufficiently clear and suitable for the purpose, which the hauling of wood and other uses had formed previously. They made their reconnaissances without being molested by the enemy who, believing undoubtedly that our attack would be by the upper part, in which we had previously made repeated observations and so forth, waited for us in the woods toward where the port could be seen. They had been hauling artillery since morning. This work was concluded happily in about half an hour. At 6:30 p.m. two or three of our companies of grenadiers came out to occupy the post laid out in the morning. Immediately after this, at 7:30, all the rest of the detachment composed of 700 workers and 800 men-of-arms with all their equipment necessary for opening the trench in this direction went out. The enemy without doubt awaited us at the other place marked out formerly and which was about 1,000 meters distant.. The workers did not feel the work and thus we concluded it with the greatest facility, all our troop being found under cover at daybreak. Chief of the entrenchment was Brigadier Giron. From the plaza came 3 deserters, and from our camp 3 grenadiers from the New Orleans troops and two Irish riflemen went over.

[Trench *building* and *skirmishing*]

Sunday, 29th

At dawn all our troops were found under cover of a trench of about 800 meters at a distance of about 500 meters from the enemy fortifications on the one side and $00 on the other, which seemed an immense work for 700 workers unless we consider the openness of the sandy terrain. Immediately that the enemy perceived our work with the light of day, he began a cannon and mortar fire, lively at the beginning, slower later, until at 11 a.m.- it

ceased. It had produced for us only two dead and one wounded. Our trenches, with 4 and 8 pounders fired on the enemy detachments and Indians that permitted themselves to be seen over the glacis of the fortifications, and with some field pieces also fired over our trench guards.

In the afternoon we observed that, the enemy stepped on the breastworks and rammed and repaired the parapets and terrepleins through the section which the fire[14] had damaged. The effect was that made no doubt by the vibration and clatter of artillery over recently-made fortifications composed of wood and sandy clay. Nevertheless it seems to have as much strength as can be given to this type of work.

At 7 in the evening all the trench guards were relieved and also a number of the workers and two or three companies of soldiers. On the preceding day the chief of the trenches was' Colonel Pineda. Our work continued all night and we have outlined a battery of mortars over the right side, which is the fascine of the Queen and the Prince of Wales. The, enemy, however, kept up a constant mortar and cannon fire from 7 :30 p.m. until 5 :30 a.m. with very great accuracy that has produced only 3 soldiers dead and an officer wounded on our side.[15]

Monday, 30th

The enemy fire has continued on the same terms as the previous days, in such a manner that it has retarded our work on the trenches considerably. We have gained only the building of a fascine, widened it a little through its widest part,, and raised one-half of the parapet of the mortar and cannon battery outlined yesterday. The guards and workers were happily relieved at 7 o'clock by the same number of people less 200 soldiers. The chief was Colonel Espeleta. Some parties of savages came through the nearby woods toward our camp and covered by them they fired on our advanced positions. The latter answered them immediately with field pieces and rifles, and they retreated after having mortally wounded a

soldier in our camp who was resting in his tent. From here they retreated under cover of the woods to the shores of the bay where our launches come through to unload whatever they have on board. And surprising 6 sailors who negligently were fishing on the opposite side of the swamp, they killed them or carried them away as prisoners.[16]

Today at noon the French frigate *Andromanche* entered the port to fire on -the enemy fortifications from the sea at the same time as our trench batteries. On passing before the Red Cliffs they fired on one another and she received only two or three hits, which did not cause much damage.[17] An enemy deserter has arrived.

Tuesday, May 1

We have had only energetic and well-directed fire from the enemy on our trenches. The latter have been. widened more and we have already almost finished building the fascines and also the parapet of the battery mentioned before, its platform, etc., having mounted on it 4 mortars and 9 24 pounder cannons. Some savage parties -have been seen in the woods near our camp in the same bay, and they have killed one of our sailors who was bathing. The guard and trench workers have been relieved under the same fire that the enemy continued all day and which produced 3 dead and 8. wounded. The chief was naval captain Carnizosa, owing to,. the sickness of Colonel Longoria. The general visited the trenches at 3 p.m.

Wednesday, May 2

At 9 a.m. our battery opened fire with 6 cannon and 4 mortars, with not very considerable effect. The enemy fire was superior, and. thus we have been able only to annoy him. The troops of the trenches were relieved at the regular hour. The chief was M. de Botderu. The trench was extended through the right side to a distance of about 300 meters toward the redoubt of the Queen, at which the general apparently was directing the attack; We' also have laid out a battery in this spot. Our wounded have been 8.[18] The general went out. this morning' with

. an escort of light infantry to observe from a small woods that is to the right of our encampment adjoining the town and the fortification, close to a house called Ucell, the effect of our artillery fire upon the enemy fort. Field Marshal Don Manuel de Cagigal went for the same purpose on board the frigate *Clara* to observe it from the bay. A Waldeck deserter has come over.

Thursday, May 3

The enemy fire upon us and our trenchworks on the left has been the most lively and continuous so far, but: it has produced only 8 dead and one wounded. The trench was relieved at the accustomed hour with an equal number of troops and workers. The chief was General Figuerola. Our efforts have produced only the transportation of materials and other things for the battery laid out the previous day. The general visited the trenches at 4 p.m. Three German deserters came over.

[A sally *from* Fort George]

Friday, May 4

Today the enemy fire started as usual and about 10 a.m. it stopped.. In the morning around 7 o'clock the second-in-command of the trenches, Don Andrés Tacbn' (a naval captain) observed that from the plaza some. parties of enemy troops were emerging, and he informed the commander of the trenches, Don Pablo Figuerola,' who ignored the information, At 12:30 the enemy began. a lively fire of mortars, cannons, and howitzers over the Queen's redoubt and works to- the left of our parallel,' which attracted the attention of as many of us as heard it in the camp, but not so the commanders and chiefs of the trenches, who had started to eat, They believed themselves as safe and out of risk as in the *plaza* mayor of-. Madrid. The rapidity and good accuracy of the enemy' fire forced our unwise and inexperienced troops to re-. main under cover of their entrenchments, not taking any more risks than those which could come from the artillery; and under this concept only two sentinels re-

mained exposed on the left side observing the enemy movements toward the Queen's redoubt, facing the place from which the enemy fire was coming. All this preparation did not have any other purpose than to cover and protect against a hand to hand attack they had planned against our redoubts to the left of the parallel. The troops that Tacón had observed coming out of the enemy forts in small parties in the morning were a force of 200 regulars, and they had taken over the right of the fort in the form of a half-moon. They hid in the low places in the terrain toward that part and, covered by the woods, they came closer with great silence and order toward our works mentioned. Being in this place they signalled the fort to commence fire. The latter, after having practiced with the greatest accuracy on the terms stated, signalled to inform them that they had finished and that the one to follow was to be without shells, to intimidate the trenches and to keep the soldiers from coming out of the parapets. In this fashion the enemy hidden a short distance from our trench perceived it (a white flag). Eighty of them with bayonets fixed thrust themselves upon our troops in the redoubts, attacking them from the rear. The soldiers that were inside the trenches did not expect such a risk and had stacked their arms. The unwise officer had begun to eat, and consequently they had relaxed the vigilance which the occasion required. An inexperienced guard alone observed the fort, and with so little attention that he did not perceive the extraordinary signals.

[*Advanced* redo&t captured]

They found themselves surprised, gave up the position, and fled in haste that introduced a general disorder in the rest of the troops in that part. The enemy under these circumstances was not resisted in taking the advanced redoubt, which we. abandoned immediately, and following with bayonets those who were retreating from the forward trench they wounded and killed as many. as they

found in the intermediate branch between this redoubt, and the second one, which was at a. distance of about 60 meters from the other, and they took control of this one also. They captured 5 field pieces that we had. They set fire to the fascines and gun mounts, redoubts and trenches and retreated, carrying with them the silver utensils that they found on the table of the commander of the trench, the buckles and money of the dead and wounded, who amounted in number to about 35 or 40. On their side they had only a sergeant wounded who later died, and they all retreated supported by the other 120 men who awaited them in the woods, shouting with gaiety and throwing their hats in the air. Our major general (who works with little confidence in these matters) was barely able to arrive with some troops and to retrieve two of the stationary cannons whose carriages were almost burned, before the enemy had retreated. We found that the first company of the grenadiers of the Irish regiment had been the one most advanced and the first to be surprised. This one began to take flight and introduced disorder into the first grenadiers of Mallorca who followed it screaming "We are lost! We are bayonetted!" And both communicated it to the second regiment of marines, whose 3 companies were the ones that guarded the left and the redoubts of our mentioned parallel. The captain of the first, Don Hugo Oconór, and the lieutenant, 0 Daly, were gravely wounded and taken prisoner. We know that O'Daly, who lost an arm, died an hour later in the fort. The captain of the Mallorca regiment, Don Salvador Roquerol, died in the same place, run through with bayonets. The second lieutenant died a little later, as did the two sergeants. The lieutenant Don N. Jaramillo remained gravely wounded and was taken prisoner. All of these brave officers were dead, and just like the rest of the soldiers whose wounds had been received from the front. they were buried facing the enemy, with all military honors and accompanied by the generals, chiefs; and officers that were then in the camp; The

general made his peroration and ordered that the rest should be abandoned to Christian mercy so that they could be buried, The left and the redoubts mentioned above were guarded immediately with 5 grenadier companies and the trench guard was relieved at the usual hour, always remaining the amount of 3 more companies of grenadiers. The chief was captain Pereda.

The order of this day was announced by the commander, of a body of 1600 light infantry given to Field Marshal- Don Manuel de Cagigal. Two Negresses and a Negro slave, deserters from Pensacola, came over.

Saturday, May 5

At 9:30 in the morning, by order of the general, the commander of the trench on the day of the surprise, Don Pablo Figuerola, was placed under arrest, and Brigadier Giron[19] was named prosecuting attorney to try the case.

This -morning, the wind having blown hard from the southeast, all the squadron hastily made full sail. At 12:30 p.m. the greater part of the boats and launches had left to help the ships *Triton* and *Dragon* into the port that day or the day following, as they were completely lightened at the end of the shelling of Fort George from the bay, as has been mentioned before. They left most of their anchors in the water. These are judged to be lost because with time the buoys sink on this coast. Some of the launches ran aground on the, island of Santa Rosa and others will be lost along the coast. Later we will know the positive results of this disgusting incident.

The enemy fire has been lively and well-directed. We had 9 dead and 11 wounded. From the fort we have received a deserter who mentions nothing of importance.

At the regular hour the trenches were relieved. Their chief was naval captain Zabala. A wall was constructed of cotton bales and sand bags over the left wing of our parallel to cover the workers and to shelter the construction-of the battery and cannons laid out before..

Sunday, May 6

A heavy rain and strong wind-which. came at 1 o'clock

in the morning flooded our camp, tore down our tents, and gave us a terrible night.. There was not a single bed that was not made into soup. because all the tents were rotten. This lasted until 5 in the morning, when each one spread his rags out in the sun. The-trenches were flooded likewise, and you can imagine the work that the. troops had standing in water up to their waists. It was said in the morning that the battery of the Red Cliffs had been abandoned by the enemy, and the general sent a party of Indians to reconnoiter and make sure of the fact. These returned at 7 in the evening with two prisoners of the Waldeek regiment who had separated a distance from the fort, and they assured- us that the news was false. It is a curious. thing to see the. manner in. which these savages conduct their prisoners. In. the midst-of the procession they are led by the hands by an Indian who seizes them. and controls them, and all with the greatest silence. They continue in order, manifesting their joy in their appearance and from time to time they repeat their shout of victory in a low, muffled tone. The general paid them triply for having brought the prisoners alive, and this appears to me the only. means of making these barbarians observe the laws of hospitality, through the medium of interest.

The trenches were relieved at the usual hour. by the same number of troops. The chief was General Pineda, because Brigadier Giron was in council. We have placed two howitzers over the redoubt on the left where they have had very good effect, being manned principally by the artillerymen: and French who can handle them very accurately. The number of dead and wounded has been considerably high& than the previous. day. The captain of the grenadiers of Aragon, Arriola, and his lieutenant, Molina, were wounded. Likewise the captain of the grenadiers of Navarre, Bargas (who died a few hours later), as well as his lieutenant, García.

Monday, May 7

At 12:30 a.m. the principal chief s. of: the. camp met in

the tent of the major general to start a sudden attack that the genera-l had planned against the enemy battery or the Queen's redoubt. Eight. hundred men were to be commanded by the brigadier Giron, guided by-a deserter of the same guard and another American officer who was dismissed from the British service in Pensacola, and led by the lieutenant colonel, Caron de Les [Carondelet]. The Irish captain, O'Neill, and the French captain of light infantry, M. Amarithon, who commanded 100 men of his troops, prepared to attack the said battery in 3 distinct divisions, for which purpose they carried ladders and hatchets, etc. -But not having arranged the hour of departure accurately, the result was that at. 3 a.m. they were still in the trenches. The commander informed the general that it appeared too late to him, and that the moon was very bright, which caused the retirement of the people and the abandonment of the project. According to what we have learned through the enemy, with the vigilance with which they were awaiting us the fort was impenetrable.. The attack would have been very costly for us.

The work on our trenches and the construction of the much-desired battery at the left continues siowly. Despite the damage by the enemy howitzers and bombs which we experience each day, that is the only remedy against this cruel evil, unavoidable by any other means. Thanks to the activity and knowledge of our engineers and artillery officers !

In the trenches there were 5 dead soldiers and some wounded, among them the sergeant major of the trench, Urraca, and the Irish sub-lieutenant, Fitzmorris, who died from a cannon-shot.

The enemy savages have fired some rifle-shots upon our advanced guard of the camp. They killed one soldier and wounded another. Some soldiers of the said position went after them and killed two (whose scalps they took) and wounded 4. They also carried off a soldier as prisoner whom they destined to avenge the death of a

relative who had been killed in Mobile. But the humanity of General Campbell remedied this misfortune at the cost of 200 pesos *fuertes* and a gift of rum, etc. The chief of the trench was Colonel Espeleta. The cold today was in excess of that we have experienced in this climate. A deserter from regiment Number 60 arrived.

[The British *Queen's* redoubt blows *up*]

Tuesday, May 8

The fire of the enemy batteries has continued with the same degree of activity and accuracy as the preceding days. It caused sufficient damage in our trench on which we had at last succeeded in speeding up the work, even to constructing the battery on the left mentioned previously, which was to mount 8 or 10 cannons of 24 pounds. These can start firing tomorrow at a distance of about 420 meters from the circular battery or Queen's redoubt.[20] At 9 :30 in the morning we heard from the camp. a great explosion which alarmed us generally without, our being able to ascertain the danger. The major-general went immediately to the section of the trench from which the noise was heard, and we saw a great column of smoke rising toward the clouds, and later we found out that the explosion had been inside the circular fort mentioned before, which battery was all in flames, and was caused by a grenade from our howitzers. The general and chiefs present (leaving the camp in charge of General Cagigal), went immediately with some troops to the trench and assured themselves of the effect by sight of the damage. The troops advanced under command. of Brigadier Giron through the left branch and under cover of the same battery that was burning. They took this position. The speed and courage with which it was executed forced the enemy to retreat to a nearby position, the redoubt of the Prince of Wales, which must be about 200 meters distant from this one, and ours took possession without much opposition. Later 4 cannons. that were in the third redoubt were set up and our troops

were entrenched. General Cagigal proposed immediately that the frigates in the port should come near and attack Fort George from the sea. General Gálvez was informed and he issued the corresponding order to Captain Alderete, but he did nothing despite the fact that the situation was the most favorable that could have happened.

[*Fort George surrenders*]

At 3 p.m. the enemy in Fort George raised the white flag and some officers advanced to confer over capitulation. General Gálvez attended personally and the conference lasted until 11 at night; We later found out that 1.08 of their best troops: and two marines were blown up in the redoubt.

Wednesday, May 9

At 7 in the morning Sergeant Major Campo came to our camp with full authority to complete the capitulation, and at 2 in the afternoon everything was finished; we conceding to the guard the honors of war. At 3:30 General Gálvez, with two companies of grenadiers, went to take possession of the city and was very well received by the people of the vicinity.

Thursday, May 10

On this day the generals and their aides-de-camp remained housed in the city. At 3 in the afternoon General Gálvez and 6 companies came to take possession of the fort. The guards came out, and in forming at a distance of 150 meters from the fort, gave up their flags and arms to our troops which were formed in front of them. The guards were relieved consecutively of the surrendered forts, lowering the British flag and raising that of Spain, and thus was concluded this military scene, with no little embarassment to the defeated ones.

On the following day we sang a *Te Deum* and later we began the shipment of the troops and reinforcements, etc.

[MIRANDA 's NOTES TO HIS DIARY]

1. It is called the *Childers,* 18 cannons, and is lined with copper.

2. Thus we infer the state in which our squadron is usually found relative to naval tactics, signals, etc..

3. YOU can note that in this hour the said frigate came with *pontas* de *correr* and other preparation& for danger that not one of the other ships of the squadron, even the smaller ones, had taken. But it might -not seem strange when it is known that her commander in similar circumstances made a votive offering in 'the streets and temples of Havana, with a foresail on his back, shoeless and with one pants leg missing, which -comical scene attracted the attention of the women and monks as the news spread. The former came to see the white legs of Aristizabal and the latter to admire. the monastic religion of that military man;

4: Note that this frigate started to chase without any order and according to what we learned later, it started to attack 'the enemy ship alone, which was the *Ulysses,* of 44 cannons, lined with copper, which after 3 or 4 hours of combat overcame her that night and took her to Jamaica. This English frigate had come from Jamaica convoying a storeship that was bringing artillery and munitions to help the military establishment, and furthermore it brought 300 or 400 troops. It saw that it could not give such help because the port was taken, etc. The transport left for Jamaica on recognizing but squadron and seeing the frigate that imprudently got under their artillery. Taking 'advantage of the opportunity, she left us outwitted.

5 . "Look here, commander, if the ship that you were chasing was inferior to yours, why did you make the signal that you made yesterday? Why did you give the French and Spanish recognition signals, so that if he was not a friend 'he might recognize you and better assure his escape?,

6. Likewise died from another rifle-shot Colonel Rey

Rebollo who commanded some companies of grenadiers somewhat advanced.

7. Through the operations that our engineers had previously to measure this distance they found it to be about 1,095 meters.

8. If on Point Siguenza of the. island of Santa Rosa there were a similar battery the entrance would be very dangerous and perhaps impracticable.

9. Our people brought a dead savage whom they found on the battlefield with a shot in the head, and he has been the only one dead or alive that we have been able to take during the siege.

10.. This idea was advanced -by General Cagigal and it would have had a good effect if we had continued sending frigates to shell from that point, as the enemy confessed. Later it would have been impossible to resist 3 days more because they did not have ammunition with which to answer from that side. But instead we brought almost all of their fortifications under our fire.

11. Don Antonio O'Neill, captain of the Irish regiment.

12. Through the enemy we have learned later that their idea was to draw our troqps through that section, engaging them in the woods and cutting them off from the rear with a party of 200 of their best troops which had been sent to this point at 6 o'clock in the morning.. But the guide was drunk and mistook the trail and the opportunity was lost. Our troops were saved from this unavoidable risk to which the indiscreet commander exposed them only by. this circumstance.

13. You should ndt find it strange that it is mentioned here that on the second day we placed the gun-carriage in. the. trench, since our troops have no- experience, in these matters nor theoretical.. knowledge. The trench turned.. out to be nothing but a ditch, and their first entrenchments around their camps nothing but. fences for' the cattle. The ditch was always left through the interior part and no one could convince them that it

should be otherwise. Experience and reflection won out in the end. No profession requires more practice and constant application than the military.

14. One likewise could see over their bulwarks several officers and women examining our trenches and works; with telescopes.

15. He was M. Ganden, sub-lieutenant of the Louisiana regiment. He died 3 days later.

16. We have learned through deserters that 3 of these were killed, two wounded, and one unhurt who was carried to Campbell who paid them for the dead and wounded the stipulated price and for the prisoner 20 pesos and a cask of rum. In this fashion this officer tries: to improve the fate of prisoners who are unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of these barbarians.

17. From as many ships or frigates that have fired at the said battery none had the accuracy of this frigate, by confession of the enemy officers who commanded it.

18. The hospital frigate *Mexicana* came in today and received some shots from the enemy battery Red Cliffs on passing before it, proof of what we have said before concerning the difficulty there would have been in reinforcing the port if there had been a battery on Point Siguenza.

19. It is said that this measure was requested by the accused officer.

20. It is said that our hopes concerning this battery were mistaken, and that it could fire only 5 cannons. This certainly is a good one!

For a description of Fort George which capitulated to Gálvez, see *Florida Historical* Quarterly vol. vi (April 1928) pp. 220-234: Cubberly, "Fort George (St. Michael) Pensacola."

For a detailed plan of the siege and capture by Gálvez, see Florida *Historical* Quarterly vol. xx p. 280. This is reproduced from the original in the General Clinton Papers, the William L. Clements Library of Americana,

the University of Michigan. The reproduction is contained in "British and Spanish Fortifications of Pensacola, 1781-1821" by Stanley Faye, which also contains facts from the Spanish official account not in the other sources.

A journal of Field Preacher Stuernagel of the Waldeck regiment, a part of the British force in the fort, describing their part in the defense is contained in Von Eelking, "*Deutsche Halfstruppen*" 2 vols. (Hanover, 1863).

The Spanish volunteers of Louisiana who served at the siege are listed in Year *Book of* the *Louisiana* Society, *Sons of the American Revolution for 1921* p. 34. Because of this action these are entitled to membership in that organization.

EDWARD A. PERRY, YANKEE GENERAL OF THE FLORIDA BRIGADE

By SIGSBEE C. PRINCE, JR.

Florida's Civil War hero, Edward Alysworth Perry, was a transplanted Yankee, born March 15, 1831, on a farm near Richmond, Massachusetts. He was a descendant of old New England stock which had migrated to America in the 1630's. Arthur Perry, the first of the family to arrive in New England, was a member of a. militia artillery company in Boston about 1638. From Boston the descendants of Arthur Perry migrated into Connecticut and western Massachusetts. Most of the early Perrys were farmers although some were ministers and a few dabbled in local politics.

Edward's father, Asa Perry, was a prosperous farmer and a local politician of some note, holding several minor political offices. Asa and Philura Perry brought up five children on the old Perry homestead, of which Edward was the fourth. Edward's oldest brother Albertus migrated-to New York where he became a successful lawyer. A second brother, George, also went to New York where he became a successful journalist and editor. David, -a third brother, followed Edward to Florida after he had served in the Union Army during the Civil War.

Young Edward received his early education in the local school near his home and then went to Richmond, Massachusetts, where he attended Lee Academy; Edward entered Yale in 1850 when he was about nineteen years old, although his older brothers had graduated from Williams College. The future general, remained at Yale two years becoming a firm friend of his southern. classmate Billy Maples of Selma, Alabama.

At the end of his sophomore year, Perry went to Danville, Georgia, probably influenced to come South by his college chum, Maples. He remained in Georgia a very short time, moving first to Collirene, and then to Greenville, Alabama. In both of these towns: he taught. school.

While teaching school Perry studied law and prepared to take the bar examination. A fellow law student was Hilery A. Herbert, who became a member of Congress from Alabama and also Secretary of the Navy under President Grover Cleveland (1893-97). The two became firm friends and Perry married Herbert's cousin, Virginia Taylor.

Perry met his wife through her sister Frances. When he came, to Greenville Frances Taylor was nine years old and he made a pet of the child. According to Frances, Perry arrived in Greenville in 1855 but did not meet his future wife until the next year.[1] They were married in February, 1859, after he had become a successful attorney in Pensacola, Florida.

Perry moved to Pensacola, Florida, about 1856 where he formed a partnership with Richard L. Campbell. The partnership was a successful one and lasted until the storm of war broke on Florida. Perry and Virginia Taylor were married during this time and led a quiet and happy life together until he volunteered to defend his adopted state.[2]

On the eve of the Civil War Pensacola seethed with military activities. Federal soldiers with the stars and stripes overhead held the forts guarding the harbor. A town which normally welcomed the regulars, now presented a hostile front. The young lawyer had a hard and momentous decision to make, for his native state and his family were loyal to the Union. His wife was a Southerner and he had chosen to make his living in the South. Although it might mean fighting against his brothers, he volunteered his services to his State, the State of his adoption. Early in 1861 he was elected captain of an infantry company known as the Pensacola Rifle Rangers.[3] This company first saw service near Pensacola when they captured the naval base, with Fort Barrandas and Fort McRee. In July, 1861, the Rifle Rangers became

1. Statement, Mrs. Ruby Perry Hottel, daughter of General Perry.
2. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 984.
3. Mrs. Hottel, statement.

Company A, Second Florida Infantry Regiment, and was assigned to the Army of Northern Virginia. The Second Florida was originally composed of ten infantry companies and was placed under the command of a former Whig, Colonel George T. Ward.[4] The regiment received its baptism of fire in the defense of Yorktown where it was part of General John B. Magruder's force, consisting of about 12,000 men.[5] The Federal army under General George B. McClellan planned to push the Confederates out of Yorktown and up the Virginia peninsula to Richmond. Magruder was reinforced by General J. E. Johnston, but the Confederates were forced to retreat toward Richmond. In the bitter fighting at Williamsburg, Colonel Ward of the Second Florida was killed leading the attack of the battle-fresh Florida boys. On May 10, 1862, Perry was elected colonel of the Second Florida in Ward's place, first demonstrating his leadership in the seven day fight for Richmond.[6] On June 30, at Frayser's Farm at the head of his men Coi. Perry was wounded and put out of action for the rest of the summer.[7] During the summer of 1862 the Second Florida was joined by the 5th and 8th Florida regiments in Virginia. These Florida troops fought at Sharpsburg in Major-general Richard H. Anderson's division. Colonel Perry had recovered enough to resume command of his unit in this engagement.[8]

In November the Florida regiments were removed from Pryor's Brigade and organized into the Florida Brigade under the command of Perry, who had been promoted to brigadier-general. This new unit was made-part of Anderson's Division of Longstreet's First Corps.[9]

Perry commanded the Florida troops in two great Confederate victories before illness prevented him from

4. *Soldiers of Florida*, Fred L. Robinson, compiler, Tallahassee (1905).
5. Prince, S. C. Jr., *E. A. Perry*. Thesis, University of Florida, 1949.
6. *Soldiers of Florida*, 79.
7. Parkhill, C. B., "Sketch of General Perry's Life." MS.
8. *Official Records of the Rebellion*, V. 19, Pt. I, 804.
9. *O. R.* 19. Pt. II, 712. Freeman, D. S., *R. E. Lee*, vol. II, p. 326.

taking part in the Gettysburg campaign,. but the Florida Brigade was led by Perry at Fredericksburg (December, 1862) and Chancellorsville (May, 1863).

. . At, Chancellorsville, when General Lee lost his right arm Stonewall Jackson, he was forced to reorganize his army by creating new corps. Perry's brigade was shifted from Longstreet's corps to a new corps, to be commanded by. General A. P. Hill.[10]

Just prior to Lee's second invasion of the North, General Perry became ill with typhoid fever. The Florida troops were thus commanded by their senior colonel, David Lang, whose normal command was the Eighth Florida Regiment. The Florida Brigade suffered many casualties at Gettysburg, losing about one-half of its effective strength.[11]

Following the repulse at Gettysburg, the Confederates retreated to Virginia where General Perry, now recuperated, again took command. During the next year, many of the Florida troops wished to go home to recruit more men for their depleted ranks. Most of these troops had not been. home for several years and were beginning to give way under the strain. General Lee refused the request for a furlough on the grounds that he could not spare the troops without first having replacements from Florida to take their places.[12]

As the year 1864 wore on, it became evident that the Confederacy was losing the war. The Union blockade was -preventing the arrival of supplies from Europe. The South was running low- on new regiments, and brigades could not be kept up to full strength. Perry's men, who had once numbered over three thousand, were down to less than five hundred. The Confederacy had also lost some of its most outstanding military leaders as well as a number of subordinate officers of long military experience. The South could not replace men like' Stonewall Jackson, J. E. B. Stuart, and less well-

10. Prince, S. C., Jr., *E. A. Perry*, 38.
11. *Ibid*, 40.
12. O. *R.* 29, Pt. II, 884-886.

known generals as J. M. Jones and Micah Jenkins. At the Wilderness in May of 1864, General Perry, badly wounded, became permanently disabled for front line duty, thus depriving Florida troops of their gallant leader.[13]

The State now sent reinforcements to the Army of Northern Virginia under the victor of Olustee, General Joseph Finegan. These troops were too few to do much good, however. When the end came at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, the original Perry brigade (three regiments) numbered nineteen officers and 136 men left of the original three thousand.[14]

After General Perry recovered from wounds suffered at the Wilderness and it was found that he was no longer fit for front line duty, he was sent to Alabama where he remained until the war was over. He then returned to Pensacola and resumed his law practice.

For the next twenty years, Edward Perry devoted himself to his family, his practice, and to some minor political activity. During this time he did not hold any public offices, but was an active member of the Democratic Party which, during most of the time, was engaged in the struggle to free the state from Radical Republican rule. In 1880 Perry was proposed as a candidate for the governorship and during the campaign was a staunch supporter of W. D. Bloxham who was elected governor.

This period of Perry's life was spent building up his law practice and providing for his growing family. The Perrys were blessed with four daughters and one son. He liked to read and study. His favorite pastimes were playing poker with his friends, and fishing in the nearby Gulf. He was active in civic affairs and was a Mason.

Destructive Reconstruction government in Florida was still fresh in the minds of the people as late as the election of 1884. The regular Democrats, fearing a return of the carpetbaggers, and facing a strong revolt within

18. Mrs. Hottel, statement.
14. Soldiers of Florida, 189.

the party, searched for a candidate who might save them from defeat. The party needed a popular candidate who would appeal to the voters, and Perry's war record was not forgotten. Governor Bloxham and ex-Governor Drew were fighting each other for the nomination. Bloxham, because of the Disston sale and Drew because of his actions to kill off Bloxham were a bad risk to the party. The delegates, therefore, turned to General Perry, Florida's war hero. He was popular at home and well-known throughout the State for his bravery and leadership in the war. Perry was faced with opposition within the party of the more liberal elements led by Sam Pasco, but was nominated in the convention on the sixth ballot by a vote of 177 to 114.[15] Pasco in the interest of party harmony moved that Perry be nominated by acclamation. So Perry was the candidate of the regular Democrats for governor. Milton H. Mabry of Sumter county was chosen as Perry's running mate, in recognition of the solid bloc of Democratic votes in South Florida.

A group of dissatisfied Democrats met in- Live Oak and chose, Frank W. Pope of Madison as a candidate for, governor.[16] The Republicans in the State, seeing a split in Democratic ranks, elected to support Pope without naming a candidate of their own. Pope's running mate, J. C. Greeley, was a Republican, however.[17]

The election was a hotly contested one, and if it had been held in the late summer, Frank Pope might have been elected. As time went on, many people felt that Pope was too friendly with the Republicans. Fearing a return of the Republican regime, many Floridians distrusted Pope and returned to the regular party. Perry's personality, his war record, and his seemingly clean bill of health politically swept him into office. Perry received 32,087. votes to Pope's 27,845.[18] Pope's strength was found in the "Black Belt". counties with their large

15. Tallahassee *Floridian*, July 22, 1884.
16. Cash, W. T. *History of Democratic Party in Florida*, 77.
17. Makers *of America*, Florida Edition, vol. IV, 458.
18. *Floridian*, December 16, 1884.

number of Negro voters. One of the major issues of the campaign was the question of calling a Constitution Convention to draw up a new fundamental law for Florida to replace the carpetbag constitution of 1868. Perry favored a new constitution and the people voted for the convention 31,884 to 8,423.[19]

Florida's new governor took over from outgoing Governor Bloxham January 6, 1885.[20] The new governor immediately appointed his cabinet which consisted of John L. Crawford, secretary of state; W. D. Barnes; comptroller; C. M. Cooper, attorney general; E. S. Crill, treasurer; C. L. Mitchell, commissioner of lands and immigration; A. J. Russell, superintendent of public instruction; and Perry's old comrade in arms, David Lang, adjutant general.[21]

Perry's administration brought to Florida Civil War veterans a small monthly pension. This pension was first five dollars, but was later increased to eight dollars per month.[22]

Perry's administration is remembered for several important changes in the state. The most important was the adoption of our present constitution. This document, with minor changes, has been our fundamental law for over sixty years.

Six new counties were created during Perry's term, bringing the total to forty-five in 1889. The wealth of the state increased much also. In 1884 total assessments amounted to $60,042,655.[23] Four years later the total assessments for the state had reached $87,552,447.[24] The state. treasury showed a balance of $109,813.08 when Perry turned the reins of government over to Francis P. Fleming, his successor.[25]

Education, long neglected in Florida, made some steps

19. *Idem.*
20. *Pensacolian*, January 7, 1885.
21. *Ibid*, February 19, 1885.
22. Florida *Senate Journal 1887*, p. *736.*
23. Report of State Comptroller, 1885, p. 14.
24. Ibid, 1889, p. 39.
25. Report of State Comptroller, 1889, p. 3.

forward under Perry. The first meeting of Teachers' and County Superintendents' Association was held in DeFuniak Springs in February, 1886.[26] The Agricultural College was established at Lake City, and two normal schools, one at DeFuniak Springs for whites and one at Tallahassee for Negroes, were also established. Rollins College and John B. Stetson University, two non-state supported schools, date from this era.[27] Florida's tourist trade got a boost during this time by the construction of such fine hotels as the Ponce de Leon, the Alcazar and the Cordova in St. Augustine. A few months after Perry went out of office in 1889, Henry B. Plant built the famous Tampa Bay Hotel.[28]

Perry's administration was marked by some of the coldest weather in our history. At Jacksonville the temperature fell to fifteen degrees in January, 1886, and much of the citrus crop was killed or damaged. During 1887 St. Augustine was partly destroyed by fire. One of the worst epidemics of yellow fever ever to visit the state was in 1888.[29]

On the military side Perry's administration saw the reorganization of state troops under the direction of Adjutant General Lang. Ten infantry and two artillery companies were organized.[30]

The Legislature of 1887 was to elect a successor to United States senator Charles W. Jones, who was not considered for reelection because of his neglect of duty, due to his ridiculous love affairs. Governor Perry appointed General Jesse J. Finley to fill the vacancy from March 4, 1887, until the Legislature could choose Jones's successor. Former Governor Bloxham and Perry himself were leading candidates and General Finley and S. R. Mallory were considered as compromise candidates, and former Governor Drew was considered as a dark horse

26. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, p. 636.
27. Prince, S. C., Jr., *E. A. Perry*, p. 104.
28. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, p. 364.
29. *Idem.*
30. Report of Adjutant General, 1889, p. 10.

possibility. Finally after much balloting the Legislature chose Sam Pasco, who had been President of the Constitutional Convention of 1885.[31]

Perry's administration saw the further loss of state-owned lands. Much of this land went to railroad companies to support their construction of new lines in the State. The disposal of about three million acres during the Perry administration caused much criticism of the governor. In order to have better control of the railroads and public utilities, the Legislature of 1887 established the Railroad and Public Utilities Commission; and Governor Perry appointed George G. McWorter, Enoch J. Vann and William Himes to serve as the first commissioners.[32]

Governor Perry retired to private life on January 8, 1889, and returned to his home in Pensacola. The General's health had been poor for some time prior to the end of his term. In accordance with the belief that he might improve physically, he and his family went to Texas in the summer of 1889. There they visited his sister-in-law, Mrs. Albert Scott, who lived on a ranch near Banderia. He made a trip to Kerrville, Texas, in the adjoining county early in October where, on the fifth of that month, he suffered a stroke. He died ten days later on the 15th of October.[33] Perry's body was returned to Pensacola where he was interred in St. John's Cemetery. The funeral was one of the largest in Pensacola's history. Delegations from all over the state were there headed by Governor Francis P. Fleming, while old comrades in war and in peace as well as former enemies paid their last respects to a gallant soldier, citizen and statesman.[34]

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31. Prince, S. C., Jr., *E. A. Perry*, pp. 108109.
32. *Floridian*, August 4, 1887.
33. *Pensacola News*, October 16, 1889.
34. *Ibid.*, October 19, 1889.

A POLITICAL RALLY OF 1884 IN DAYTONA

(A LETTER OF DR. L. D. HUSTON TO HIS WIFE*)

Daytona, Aug. 6, 1884

Dear Maria :

The morrow is set for Charlie's[1] debut. He speaks in Ormond in the morning. At about 3 p.m. Some 40 horsemen (I've jined the cavalry) will meet him at the Holly Hill bridge & escort him to town, where he will be met by the rest of the Democrats, who will join the procession afoot, and all together will march to the Mrs. Anderson lot, across the way from Wilders." The place has been smoothly & closely mown, and seats, stand & light-wood tables will be in readiness. Jimmy Misner[3] has been all day lettering banners (with your gold paint by the way, & it does well) which were to be borne in the procession & then placed in the rear of the stand during the speaking. There are five of different shapes,—1 Blue, in centre : "Cleveland & Hendricks ;'' 2 of White, (1) "Perry & Mabry'' (Gov. & Lt. Gov.), (2) "Delano & Adams ;'' 3 Red (1) "For Congress, Charles Dougherty;" (2) "Our Charlie,"-"A born Victor"-"Five for Dougherty." How's that? We'll paint the little town red, won't we? I am to preside.

Now comes the unpleasant part of the thing; Day after tomorrow we all strike trail, Thursday at New Smyrna, Friday, Oak Hill ; Saturday, Titusville ; Monday, Rock Ledge; Tuesday, City Point. And so we go, I have not 'trammed,'' as the phrase is, in campaign politics, & would not, in any case engage in that sort of thing; so I shall tell Charlie in the morning, that if he wants me to be of any use to him he must place me before faces

*The original of this letter is in the possession of Mrs. Maria D. Pope of Daytona Beach. to whom grateful acknowledgment is made for permission to publish it. The notes are by Mrs. Pope and Edward C. Williamson.

1. Charles Dougherty. elected to Congress from the Second. Florida Congressional District in 1884.
2. Corner Beach street and Live Oak avenue, Daytona Beach.
3. Misner lived *on a* farm *up on* the *Tomolia,* sold produce in early Daytona.

enough to spring me into a different style of thing. My voice will not last long in the open air, & I prefer to economize it as much as may be. I will speak at Barbersville, in this county, & no where else; and in five places out of the county.

But distressing as the trip will be, on account of the mosquitoes, I cannot afford to decline it; for if he & Mr. Cleveland should be elected, as seems likely, with the two gentlemen at opposite ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, my only trouble would be to name something that *I could* do, ***which*** would pay. I do not care a draught for positions of "trust or responsibility or honor," I want one of *proffit.* My idea is the Land office. I can appreciate *land.* Maybe I can do something with it.

There that pesky mail got off without this. It seems the schedule is changed about once a week.

Thursday, 7th

Well, the grand hoolabooloo is over, & I have -slipped out of the dreaded trip down the coast, swapping that for other work. We really had an unhoped for success. Charlie & Judge Nolan (who kindly takes my place. at New Smyrna), went to. Ormond yesterday; and, Wade Douglas & O'Connell took charge of the preparations at the Lot; Jack,[4] of the procuring of banners,. flags & transparencies, lunch, & the. like; I, of the cavalry. There were over 50 horses in the procession ! (When we came here there was, not a. horse on this coast.) At 5 o'clock we started up to meet the party from Ormond, which we never met till we were nearly there. It was dark when we got to the Mill." (We rode down there for Dave Rodgers 'benefit) and there we met the brass-band which had just arrived at that point from Jax. Menifee[6] & Jack met us there in a carriage; & they and the two hack-loads of music & Charlie & Judge Nolan, in another. carriage, & the Ormond band (a new institution) in another ; and a fife & two drums in another, headed the procession, while I brought the cavalry on. I rode Capt. Balcom's[7] pretty Nellie, & she had been idle & pampered' and

groomed till she was fine as silk & good for a hornpipe. "Just look at Dr. H. !" screamed a cracker, "When did he learn to ride that way! "Before you were. born," growled Dr. Wallace.[8] "That's Ky." We marched as far as Volusia Avenue, when we met the transparencies., ranged from Wm. Berne's[9] fence to Cousin Maria's[10]. They dropped in. behind us. We went as far as the Palmetto House,[11] & there halted, cheered & dispersed for supper. At the cheering, in which the Bands joined, Nellie fairly took a quillwill & danced & cavortted at a rate which gave the children the wildest delight-as soon as they were satisfied that I would not be thrown. And speaking of that,-Poor Hurry,[12] who is a wool-dyed Republican, but who "jined the cavalry," borrowed Misner's mule for the occasion, and mounting at Jacks store, in the presence of 100 people, smote the critters flank with spurs. Lady Longears, violently disapproving, stooped up behind, almost perpendicular, & left Hurry & the saddle in the air. As soon as it was ascertained that he was not hurt, mellifluous utterances rent the air.

After supper the footmen reformed & came down with banners & transparencies for Charley & Judge Nolan, of Sandford, & we marched up with three bands of music, to the lot. The place looked beautiful and there must have been three or four hundred people present—many of them ladies. The speakers were Mr. Call,[13] nephew of our U. S. Senator; Mr. Miller-Lent's Gen'l Miller, the same who was knocked overboard when poor Hall

4. William Jackson, early Volusia political leader in the general merchandise business on Beach street. Wade Douglas, a civil engineer. Walter O'Connell was connected with the dry goods business.
5. Mill, north of Main street bridge.
6. Col. Menifee Huston; Confederate veteran and resident of early Daytona.
7. Capt. Balcom, a tourist from Massachusetts.
8. Dr. Wallace, one of the earliest physicians to practice in Daytona.
9. Wm. Berne, from Cincinnati, owned citrus groves.
10. Cousin Maria. Mrs. Maria Babbington, a widow. Not related to Dr. Huston.
11. Palmetto House, first hotel in Daytona, originally the Colony House.
12. Genford Hurry, New York winter visitor at Palmetto House.
13. Rhydon M. Call, later Judge of the Federal Southern District of Florida.

was : Judge Nolan, Charlie & Adams. The last named was sick & said but a few words ;- but .-he can't speak. Charlie made the speech. It was quite good. I presided.

There was no letter. from you to-day, but a-very sweet one from Nanny; which I shall answer by next mail. She has some charming composition about you, but the (Her) chief motive for writing was to know. if there were still Government lands hereabouts subject to entry.. Seth, who has worked hard all these years-not for himself, but for the family—sorely feels the need of a 'little. recreation ; and thinks a little life in the 'open air & near the sea would be the thing: .I suppose there is certainly no good Government land anywhere near here, but will, of course, do my best in the premises. The children are wild with the hope held out by N. that Ethel shall visit them next winter..

As I carried the mail up on Wednesday morning, the right leg of my drawers' absolutely fell; from a-point a foot above the knee, & I entered the sparkling presence of Mrs. Clark with but a drawer on; and then rode Neilie Balcom in one drawer! I sought solitude, & loosening the ankle button, drawed the drawer off, &, folding it neatly, gave it to 'Fan;, who the moment she comprehended the pathetic nature of the amputation, ran up to Mary with it, & such screeches as reached me had well nigh brought away the other drawer. I have, begged the dismemberment, that I may take it up to Mrs. Clark & get her to cohere it. I think Julie, puts pizen in the wash' water. Them drawers is good drawers.

Mary went to the speaking, & is not so' we&--Best love, you precious.

Lo,

AN APPEAL TO RESTORE EL INCA'S BIRTHPLACE

By WYNDHAM HAYWARD

Garcilaso de la Vega is the subject of a new biographical study, published both in Peru and Spain in recent years, the Lima edition having been issued in 1945 and the Spanish, which has just come to hand, is the product of the Instituto de Cultura Hispanica presses in Madrid (1948). It is an interesting and scholarly volume of some 300 pages by D. Aurelio Miro Quesada y Sosa, noted Peruvian author and dean of the faculty of letters of the University of San Marco in Lima, which is the oldest university in the western world.

The Hispanic Institute in Florida, with headquarters in Winter Park, has received an appeal to contribute to the restoration of Garcilaso's recognized birthplace, which was damaged in the recent earthquake in Pern. The invitation came from Fr. Ruben Vargas Ugarte S.J., one of Peru's noted historians, who has contributed to Florida history through his *Los Martires de la Florida, 1566-1572* (Lima, 1940), and his "The First Jesuit Mission in Florida" in *Historical Records and Studies, United States Catholic Historical Society Publications* (New York, 1935) The Institute will gladly acknowledge any donations toward this purpose and will see that they are forwarded to the proper authorities in Peru.

Garcilaso, while never setting foot in Florida himself (he wrote his pleasant history of *La Florida* in advanced years in Spain after his retirement from the king's service) composed his work in the romantic historical manner which was So popular at the time. The book is one of the important sources for the history of the DeSoto expedition, and was first published in Spanish at Lisbon in 1605. It later was reprinted at Madrid and has seen numerous editions in various European languages, save the English, strange to say. No adequate and complete translation of the work has ever been published in English, although an English version of a French abridgement by Richelet was printed in Phila-

delphia in 1881. The Florida- Historical Society's library is fortunate enough to possess a copy of the original edition of 1605, through the generosity of the late Henry M. Flagler. A good modern Spanish text, as well as an adequate translation, is a definite desideratum.

Dr. Miro Quesada's new "El Inca Garcilaso" follows by some twenty-five years the excellent monograph on Garcilaso of 100 pages by Julia Fitzmaurice-Kelly: issued by the Hispanic Society of America,. Recent years have permitted additional research into the life and times of Garcilaso, and there is important new material and illuminating information in the Peruvian work, notably on Garcilaso's literary background and personal life. Among the materials of particularly revealing nature in this biography are the accounts of Garciiaso's last will and testament and the list of books in the old soldier's library, taken from Spanish records. This last shows the Inca son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca princess to have been a man of wide reading and culture, well worthy of his position as the first distinguished literary figure of Spanish-American birth.

Garcilaso, of course, is more famous in Peru for his *Historia General del Peru* and his later *Comentarios Reales de las Incas,* which are important sources on the life and history of the Inca empire and people. Excellent modern editions of . . these works have. been printed in recent years in Peru and Argentina.

While not an important figure in the main currents of world literature, Garcilaso remains as an interesting and significant personage in the field -of early Spanish-American letters, and certainly his historical-romantical treatment of Florida and the DeSoto expedition deserves ,a better fate than it has had in the land. he wrote about.

The Hispanic Institute in Florida, mentioned above, has recently secured two important microfilms from Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid: an unpublished verse history of Florida by Alonso de Escobedo, and Fernández de Pulgar's ***Historia** General **de** Florida.*

Florida's *Golden Sands,* by Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna (Indianapolis and New York, The Bobbs Merrill Co.; 1950) with- illustrations, maps; notes on sources and index, 429 pp., $4.00;

Florida's Golden Sands is a historical account of the East' Coast of Florida from Fernandina to Key West. The treatment is topical rather than chronological, except in a very limited sense. The approach is social and economic, highlighted with a great deal of personal- and human interest. Each chapter is in itself a complete unit, and- they are arranged in a roughly chronological sequence which gives a., definite picture of developing society and culture in the region. Subjects treated range from well-known episodes in the history of the region to many about which little or no writing has been done.

The book is surprisingly well-balanced considering the difficulty of weaving together the diverse elements that make up the story of the East Coast.. This is achieved by treating the better known events with restraint and putting considerable emphasis 'on new material. for the more obscure topics. The Hannas could build upon wide knowledge and experience in the materials of Florida history,. but the greatest value of this volume lies in the amount of new material brought together here far, the first time. Occasionally, as in the description of the international slave trade, material is added- for what seems to this reviewer little more than dramatic effect. This does' not remove the fact that the book is skillfully organized and well-written.

Golden Sands is written for the general reader rather than for the scholar, which is good rather than bad. To label this popular history is to say that it is presented in a form that the great body of Florida's citizens and the general reader can and will appreciate and enjoy. More of this kind of writing should be done. It is a product of an immense amount of research in widely scattered and asserted sources. Presented as separate episodes in the

development of the region this extensive labor might be overlooked. Many of the stories that add value and interest to the book cannot be verified or documented, for they are imbedded in the rich folklore of the region. More of this kind of material might well be put. into local and state history and thereby reach a much wider audience. The errors of fact or date that critical readers may find are an inescapable feature of such writing and do not affect the excellent combination of soundness and readability of the volume.

A list of references for each chapter is appended. Acknowledgments of the contributions of numerous individuals indicate another rich source of such material. An index adds usability to the volume.

C. W. TEBEAU

University of ***Miami***

Slavery in Alabama, by James Benson Sellers. (The University of Alabama Press, 1950, pp. 426. $4.00)

Uncle Tom's Cabin is in a fair way to end its days as part of the general corpus of mid-nineteenth century sermons dedicated to the cause of social justice as preached by the more radical crusaders of that day.

With increasing and with generally impartial zeal, one scholar after another has concerned himself with the realities of slavery. The time seems nearly fulfilled when land and planter and slave will definitely be placed in that almost inevitably checkered relationship such as any existing status quo always assigns to the *dramatis personae* who walk the boards on the stage of every-day life.

Certain it is that modern research, while candidly recording the seamy side of slavery, finds that institution, if not romantic, at least and for the most part tolerably bearable; and as a not too abnormal part of an age that, the world over, lived either near the spartan fringe of the rough and tumble backwoods, or at best knew violations of human rights that, by comparison dress Ole Marster in gray instead of in villainous black.

And at the last it was in that suit of gray that the Rebel rode on his Raids to defend his homeland from a shape' of things that he feared would be the worse if untutored thousands of black servants suddenly were turned loose to cope with problems they were by no means prepared to solve.

If Marse Robert and Albert Sidney are enshrined with Nathan Bedford and Old Jeb as men who had the courage to ride for that bygone and oft gracious way of life, it is because men then realized and do now realize that domestic institutions cannot be broken up like. so many physical structures without plunging society into sorrows that only Heaven can cure.

Slavery *in* ***Alabama*** undertakes to do for the history of the "peculiar institution" what other writers have done for various other southern states and regions.

Fully, and with an extensive recourse to private manuscripts, public documents and secondary sources, cited in the bibliography, the author sets before us the result of his investigations.

Beginning with slavery as it existed in the colonial and territorial periods, the book carries us, in twelve chapters, into such significant aspects as the daily plantation life, the relation of the slave to Church and State, to the planter and to his fellow laborers. Slave crime and punishments, runaways, the slave traffic and the status of-free negroes come in for their share of attention.

The-book is more than a mere digest of old planters' diaries though these are freely used. Many angles and aspects of slavery, found characteristic of the institution and the problems attending it are revealed to us as part and parcel of the Alabama ***scene.***

The co-partnership of planter and slave in the task- of subduing a wilderness is noted, as well as the part played in Southern economy. and life by a preponderating yeomanry whose slave holdings were usually small and often non-existent.

An interesting' and informative section of the book

deals with the actual size of some of the larger plantations, now and then almost baronial in extent. The tendency toward a self-sufficing regime, and the gradual decline. of that condition, is noticed.

The fertility of some Alabama soils and the consequent. extraordinary yields of cotton is in keeping with some of the lush areas in Mississippi, and reveals, the stake held by many large and influential planters of the Deep South, as compared with those struggling with the worn-out lands in older portions of the Cotton Belt.

Planters like John Horry Dent of Barbour county. are revealed as careful systematic and successful business men whose fortunes were owing as much-to their ability as to the richness of Alabama soils.

Like Mississippi, Alabama had a growing aristocracy of planters, many, of whom had been originally humble yeoman farmers; but who, as early as 1840, averaged nearly eighty slaves. apiece, and by 1860 nearer ninety. By that. year the larger planters held upward of 30 per cent of the declared wealth of the state, and their attitude toward emancipation, police control, free negroes, and abolition movements became increasingly conservative, ending in rather extensive rationalization concerning the benefit of slavery.

As one aspect of this conservatism it is not unlikely that planters of that day would have labelled free negroes as potential "fifth columnists" had they known of such a term. Planters likewise gave evidence of thinking that the North was essentially as dangerous and inimical to settled southern interests as is our Red Element today. The fear of Negro insurrection is made clear, and a growing impatience with all or any sort of questionable outside interference is revealed.

Apparently planters, long before the War, were all too well acquainted with starry-eyed idealists of the kind they came to know even more fully during the fevered nightmare of Reconstruction.

It is not to be wondered at that Alabamians felt driven

into an active defense of their social economic system, and the subject is given a separate chapter..

The book is quite free from typographical errors, The indexing is adequate, and stylistic qualities of the book are excellent, the diction is. clear and straightforward. Perhaps time spent on a fuller analysis of Alabama soils, crops, and. regions would not have been wasted. Many terms peculiar to the old cotton régime would seem to indicate the usefulness of a glossary. Maps of heavy and light plantation areas would likewise have been a help to readers, unfamiliar with the area. Perhaps room might have been found for more stress on the place of Alabama in the Cotton Kingdom.

The book is evidently the result of much labor and is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the field in which it belongs. Based on materials widely scattered and not readily available, it will take a prominent place on the shelves of those who wish to know more accurately what the "peculiar institution" really was like.

JAMES D. GLUNT

University of Florida

REGIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

THE JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At the Quarterly Program Meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society on November 9, Dr. Donald E. Worcester in an address "Flight from Florida, the Story of Narvaez" told of the most remarkable journey ever, made on the American continent, from Florida to the Pacific in 1528-1536, through a country which was virtually unknown at that time; Dr. Worcester is a professor of history in the University of Florida, is a former director of the Florida Historical Society, and the author of a textbook on Latin America to be published by Oxford University Press.

The Society has begun the gathering of historical papers for the next issue of their biennial publication ***Papers,*** the last issue of which with its hand colored portraits of Osceola appeared last year.

A *Newsletter* (No. III) issued in November by Miss Dena Snodgrass, chairman, included among numerous notes of the Society a list of recent gifts of historical interest to the Society's collection. Anyone with items of Jacksonville interest who wishes to put them in a safe place where they will be of the most service should send them to Miss Audrey Broward, archivist of the Society, at the Jacksonville Public Library.

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

One of the most active regional historical associations of Florida is the Historical Association of Southern Florida, which holds program meetings regularly throughout the winter, as well as publishing an annual, *Tequesta,* the tenth volume of which will be issued soon.

At its Program Meeting on November 21, Dr. Charles W. Philhour, Jr., Associate Director of the Drama Department of the University of Miami, and a member of the executive board of the Miami Civic Theatre, spoke on "Curtain Time in South Florida," describing the growth of the theatre in that region from the presenta-

tion of two comedies on the shore of Biscayne Bay by Brother Francisco Villareal in 1568.

Shown also were slides in color depicting historic sites of Florida.

Mr. Charles M. Brookfield is now president of the Association, and Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau is editor of *Tequesta.*

OSCEOLA COUNTY HISTORICAL, SOCIETY

A museum is planned by the Oseeola County Historical Society as a memorial to the late Mrs. Elizabeth A. Cantrell. For many years Mrs. Cantrell was a leader in preserving and writing the history of her region. Her "When Kissimmee Was Young," published in 1948, was described in this *Quarterly* the issue of October of that year, and she wrote much. else.

The following resolution was passed by the Osceola County Society on October 20, last:

Where&; Mrs. Elizabeth Aultman Cantrell was the creator of the Essie Petrie Caldwell -Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and

Whereas: Mrs. Cantrell was a charter member of- the Hart Memorial, and

Whereas: She has given unselfishly-of her time- in research and the preservation of historical data and historical objects pertaining to Florida, and more especially to Osceola County, and

Whereas: Her sense of civic pride and-interest in the welfare of our county was so profound, and

Whereas: Flowers are a beautiful but. shortlived tribute, to this outstanding citizen, it was felt only fitting and proper that. more be done to immortalize her memory, now therefore let there be set aside ten dollars from the. treasury' of the, organization as the beginning of a fund to be used for the creation of.. an "Elizabeth Aultman Cantrell Memorial," the building of which shall constitute a museum f or the, preservation of historical objects of interest to the people of Osceola County.

MANATEE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Recently elected as officers of the Manatee. County Historical Society are : E. C. Kavanaugh, president ; Dr. W. D. Sugg, 1st vice president ; Walter S. Hardin, 2nd vice president; Mrs. William H. MacColl, secretary and treasurer.

At a late meeting of the Society, Mr. Lewis G. Scoggin, Director, Florida -Board of Parks and Historic Memorials, gave a report on the excavations at Madeira Bickel Mound near Manatee. Six meetings are planned for this season.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

As the large and nearly unanimous mail vote of the members of the Society (274 to 12) was in favor of moving our headquarters and library to the campus of the University of Florida, the move is being carried out as this issue of the *Quarterly* goes to press and will be completed before this is read.

We are fortunate that Mrs. Johnson has consented to go with us for a time, even though she must leave her, home.

It is hoped that sooner or later most of our members will visit our new home, and that those who have never seen our library may have the opportunity ere too long of seeing our exceedingly valuable historical collection.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

As announced in the last issue of the QUARTERLY, the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society for 1951 will be held on March 30-31 in St. Petersburg on invitation of the St. Petersburg Historical Society.

This will be the third annual meeting we have held at St. Petersburg. Our long-time members will recall that when program annual meetings were begun, after the revival of the Society in 1924, the second one was with the St. Petersburg Historical Society as host. This was on February 17, 1926, in the hall of that Society with A. H. Phinney as general chairman. The meeting was largely attended and Judge Charles B. Parkhill, former justice of the Florida Supreme Court, made the principal address.

For our annual meeting of 1938 we went to St. Petersburg again, with the St. Petersburg Junior College and the University of Tampa as joint hosts. Dr. A. J. Hanna was program chairman and Mrs. Mary Nunez Ten Eick brought together a large exhibit of Floridiana. Nearly a score of interesting historical papers were read at the several sessions there and at the University of Tampa.

A number of equally interesting papers are being

written to be read at this next meeting, most of them relating to the history of the West Coast and especially the Tampa-St. Petersburg area. This was the most important early historical region in Florida. Though Ponce de Leon made his first landfall and went ashore on the east coast, he left at once and sailing into the Gulf skirted the west coast. But Narvaex and DeSoto when they landed near the present Tampa and St. Petersburg remained for some time and gave the region its leading place in earliest Florida history.

Arrangements for the meeting are under the direction of Vice President John C. Blocker of our Society. Headquarters will be at the Suwannee Hotel. Convention rates will be $4 single and $7 with twin beds. Early reservations are desirable but there will probably be no difficulty for those who decide late on-attendance. A meeting of the directors of the Society will be held on March 29 in the evening.

If you have visited St. Petersburg you will not need to be urged to come again. If you have never seen our preeminent Florida resort you should come and see it and meet your fellow members of the Society. It is hoped that visitors from beyond Gainesville will stop and see our new headquarters and library at the University of Florida. A large attendance of members at the annual business meeting is especially desired. Bring your friends, for all visitors are welcome at the several program meetings.

NEW MEMBERS

	Nominated by
Steadman A. Parker, Cocoa	Mrs. S. J. Sweett
Henry R. Johnson, Ponte Vedra Bch.	Richard P. Daniel
Sue Yent, Weirsdale	Sam C. Proctor
Ann W. McNeill, Jacksonville	Mrs. Alberta Johnson
Mrs. E. R. Cary, Tampa	D. B. McKay
Miss Sylvia D. Spencer, Winter Haven	D. B. McKay
Mrs. Genevieve M. King, Dunedin	D. B. McKay

Mrs. F. G. Miller, Mulberry . . . . . D. B. McKay
Myron C. Breetz, Winter Haven : : Mrs. Alberta Johnson
Mrs. Charles F. Stickler, Babson Park D. B. McKay
James Y. Wilson, Lake City Mark F. Boyd
Mrs. O. Frank Scofield, Inverness D. B. McKay
Mrs. Emilio Suarez, Cuthbert, Georgia Julien C. Yonge
John K. Martin, Tampa D. B. McKay
Helen Francis McKay, Rollins College D. B. McKay
Rebecca E. Porter; Gainesville Sam C. Proctor.
Joseph E. Torrence, Eau Gallie Edward C. Williamson
Alexander C. Liggett, Clearwater Mrs. Alberta Johnson
Paul R. Smoak, Jacksonville. Herbert Lamson
Mrs. J. H. Reese, Coconut. Grove Mrs. R. V. Ott

Subscribers to the Quarterly:

Mississippi. St&e. College Library
Pensacola Junior College Library

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE QUARTERLY

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Wyndham Hayward, horticulture specialist, is secretary, Hispanic Institute in Florida, Winter Park.

Sigsbee C. *Prince,* Jr.. has a Master's degree in history from the University of Florida.