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REPORT ON HISTORIC SITES

AT PENSACOLA, FLORIDA

by
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19 June 1939

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REPORT ON HISTORIC SITES AT

PENSACOLA, FLORIDA

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I. CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF SOURCES

A. SYNOPSIS

Pensacola was first settled by white men in 1559, but this initial settlement lasted only two years. / Spanish-French rivalry in the Gulf region led to a second Spanish settlement in 1698, probably in the vicinity of the present Fort San Carlos (about eight miles west of the city of Pensacola). In 1719 this early Pensacola was captured by the French and destroyed, whereupon the Spaniards located another settlement on Santa Rosa Island. Destroyed by a storm in 1754, the settlers again moved, this time to the mainland, the present site of Pensacola.

In 1763 Florida was ceded to the English, who laid out for Pensacola a city plan which is still evident today. In 1781 the Spaniards successfully attacked Pensacola, which again became Spanish with the retrocession of Florida in 1783. / Before Florida was ceded to the United States in 1821, Pensacola was twice occupied by Andrew Jackson in his activities against Indian and British enemies in the West Florida area. Following United States occupation at Pensacola Bay, additional permanent fortifications were constructed and played a part in the War Between the States.

The history of Pensacola is of more than local importance. The important historical remains are excellent focal points from which to point out the story of early explorations and early attempts at colonization in the Gulf region; the rivalry of Spanish, French, English and Americans for possession of this area; the War of 1812, Jackson's raids, the Seminole

Indian War, the purchase of Florida, attempts at conservation, and the War Between the States. Pensacola and St. Augustine were the northern outposts of a vast Spanish empire centered around the Caribbean Sea, and each city was the capital of its respective province. Fort San Carlos, Fort Marion and Fort Matanzas are the three Spanish fortifications extant in the eastern half of the United States. Each is located at a strategic point and has played a significant role in American history.

B. ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE

Pensacola Bay is located in the northwest corner of Florida, at the mouth of the Escambia River. The entrance from the Gulf of Mexico is narrow, and is bounded by the extremity of Santa Rosa Island on the east side, and by the shore of the mainland on the west side. On the east side of the entrance, and near the tip of Santa Rosa Island, is Fort Pickens. Nearly opposite, but a little farther to the seaward, is Fort McRae. On the north side of the Bay, opposite its entrance, are Forts San Carlos, Barrancas, and Redoubt. About a mile to the eastward on the same shore is the navy yard.

The city of Pensacola (population 31,579 in 1930) is situated on the north shore of Pensacola Bay, about ten miles northeast of the harbor entrance. Lying between Bayou Chico on the west and Bayou Texar on the east, Pensacola is in latitude 30 degrees 25 seconds north and longitude 87 degrees 13 seconds west. Pensacola Bay and the city are both located in Escambia, the extreme northwest county of Florida. Pensacola is the county seat of Escambia.

As should be the case with a maritime commercial city, more than nine miles of the city's twelve mile limits are touched by the salt waters of the bay and the bayous. Pensacola proper covers an area of 9.75 square miles,

and has an average altitude of 85 feet above sea level. The mean annual temperature is 67.7 degrees F.; average rainfall, 58.03 inches.

Pensacola has a trade radius of 100 miles, with trade population of 175,000. Chief industries are shipping, naval stores, fishing, manufacturing (68 manufacturing establishments, producing lumber, naval stores, fertilizers, cooperage, and cottonseed derivatives), and agriculture. Its income is derived from several sources: Government operations at the Naval Air Training Station and the U.S. Army coast defenses; industrial plants; annual ocean shipping of about 750,000 tons; and the city is a popular summer resort (about 200,000 tourists during summer of 1937). Pensacola is the metropolis of west Florida, made so largely by the excellent natural harbor, which handles vessels to a draft of about 32 feet. Ocean freight is available to all the principal ports of the world, and coastwise to the North Atlantic seaboard.

As a recreational center, Pensacola is well equipped by nature, and made easily accessible by modern transportation devices. Four large rivers are within 50 miles of the city, there are 125 square miles of water in Pensacola Bay and its tributaries, and the Gulf is only seven miles from the city; consequently, fishing is excellent. A modern summer amusement layout is located on Santa Rosa Island, with its 44 miles of white sand beach, and another Gulf beach is available on the mainland about 18 miles from the city. Two local parks on the water are municipally operated; in all, Pensacola has a total of 28 parks, including playgrounds.

Wide streets, evidence of 18th century English planning, are plentifully shaded. Most residences are surrounded by ample grounds, on which semi-tropical vegetation is profuse.

4

The city and its surrounding region is in rolling topography; from the bay front there is a gradual rise of the land to an altitude of 115 feet in the residential section; along the Escambia river are high bluffs. The soil is red and yellow sandy clays and loams, and clean, white sand on miles of beaches. There is occasional evidence of shell marl, but no hard rock. Clays from Escambia County have been known and used commercially longer than those in any section of Florida. In 1786 clays were shipped from Pensacola to England for experimental work in pottery; by 1827 bricks were being manufactured here for sale, and quantities of durable Pensacola brick were used in the construction of Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas. *

With the exception of aboriginal shell mounds, there is no obvious evidence of historic remains earlier than the late 18th century, but it is probable that archeological investigation would reveal much of interest for the earlier history of the area.

Within the present limits of Pensacola are the following historic sites and buildings:

(1) Lee Square (Palafox Street between Gadsden and Jackson Streets), site of the British fort St. George (c. 1770), renamed San Miguel by the Spanish; the remains of this rectangular and bastioned earth fort are still clearly discernible.

(2) Fort San Bernardo (north Barcelona Street), site of earth and timber Spanish fort (1781), constructed by Galvez in his attack upon Pensacola (1781); earth remains are visible today.

(3) Barkley House (foot of Floridablanca Street), said to be the oldest house in Pensacola, and home of the West Florida Governor during British

occupation; perhaps the most pretentious of the remaining historic residential houses.

- (4) Dr. de Reibe House (214 West Zaragoza Street), home of Dr. Tomas de Reibe (1792).
- (5) The Panton Warehouse (on the Waterfront), brick ruins of important 18th century commercial establishment.
- (6) Plaza Ferdinand VII (south Palafox Street between Government and Zaragoza Streets), a remnant of the English city square (c. 1765) which was subdivided and sold for building lots in 1802; here the exchange of flags occurred when Spain ceded Florida to the United States in 1821.
- (7) Seville Square (Alemiz Street, between Government and Zaragoza Streets), also a part of the original English square which was subdivided in 1802.
- (8) Farinas House (210 West Zaragoza Street), home of Maximo de Reibo, clerk of United States Commissioners' Court prior to 1860.
- (9) George Walton II House (137 West Romana Street), home of Walton, secretary to General Andrew Jackson; now a local museum.
- (10) Site of Andrew Jackson's House (southeast corner Palafox and Intendencia Streets).
- (11) Old Christ Church (corner of Adams and Zaragoza Streets), oldest church building in Pensacola (1832), now used as public library.
- (12) Live Oak Plantation, a United States Naval Reservation located centrally in relation to Barrancas, Pickens and Pensacola, was set aside in 1828 by President J. Q. Adams for the purpose of preserving the live oaks used in building vessels. The plantation is two and a half miles long by about one mile wide. Through the length of the tract passes the coastal highway, and from the Plantation there is a commanding view of Santa Rosa Island.

About eight miles west of Pensacola, on the Fort Barrancas military reservation, is the semicircular, brick fort of San Carlos (1737); immediately to its rear is Fort Barrancas (1839-1844), a four-sided brick fortification, which is, however, laid out to resemble a triangle. Both San Carlos and Barrancas are protected by dry ditches. About a thousand yards distant from Barrancas is Fort Redoubt, another brick fortification contemporary with Fort Barrancas.

Fort McRee, another brick fort built prior to the War Between the States, is on the mainland opposite to and west of Fort Pickens. Originally designed to command the harbor entrance with Fort Pickens, it is now in ruins.

Fort Pickens (1830 ff.), located on the western end of Santa Rosa Island, near the site of the early 18th century fort of Principe de Asturias and later Spanish fortifications on this Punta de Siguenza, is a brick fortification, one of the few forts in the south held continuously by Federal troops during the War Between the States.

Santa Rosa Island is a barrier of the Gulf coast southeast of the city of Pensacola. Forty-four miles long and not more than a half mile wide, its protection is one reason for the safety of Pensacola Harbor. With the exception of Fort Pickens military reservation at its western point, the island is now a National Monument. About two miles from the west of Siguenza Point is said to have been located the Pensacola settlement from 1723 to 1754.

C. IDENTIFICATION OF SITES

Pensacola sites which date from the late 17th and early 18th centuries appear to be identified beyond question by their present physical appearance. Locations of 16th and early 17th century sites, however, so far as can be

7

determined, have not been definitely located. Neither have prehistoric sites been thoroughly investigated. Archeological work, in combination with careful study of pertinent documents, will very probably bring to light much information about the early buildings and fortifications, especially those where timber figured in the construction, such as the early San Carlos de Austria, presumably located near the present San Carlos, and Principe de Asturias, probably near the present site of Fort Pickens on Santa Rosa Island. Whether the town site on sandy Santa Rosa Island can be located exactly is problematical, but if archeological research proves impracticable, at least Spanish records should throw additional light upon the problem. In the case of the Santa Rosa settlement, it has been said that there are few Spanish records for the period, but that conclusion is obviously open to question in view of the Spanish system that required a great amount of paper work on the part of its officials.

As to settlement sites at Pensacola: with the time allotted for preparation of this report, it is impossible to prepare definite statements for all of Pensacola's historic sites; under the circumstances, it is not justifiable to go farther than the statement that (1) present day Pensacola is located on the site selected by the Spaniards after 1754, that (2) Pensacola was laid out in much the present plan by the English after their advent in 1763, and that (3) this plan was modified by the Spaniards under Folch in the years following 1796, and of course by United States settlers after 1821. The site of the 1559 settlement cannot be determined from sources available to the writer, and while it is indicated that the 1698 settlement was made on or near the site of the existing Spanish fort of San Carlos, a positive statement to that effect without the support of additional archeological and historical researches would be premature.

8

Nor has there been sufficient time to study closely the various historic buildings standing in Pensacola. In the Catalog of the Measured Drawings and Photographs of the [Historic American Buildings] Survey in the Library of Congress, January 1, 1938, there is listed no material on historic buildings in Pensacola. Consequently, it is not possible in the scope of this report to deal with present condition of such buildings, their modification, restoration, etc. It can be said that of the dozen or so existing historic houses which were constructed before 1850, few of them are in condition which approaches the original, and some of them are certainly in need of preservation.

D. HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Obviously the list of sources supporting this historical narrative is but a portion of the vast amount of historical material relating to the Pensacola region. As is the case with almost every site where the Spanish had a lengthy tenure, Spanish archives contain innumerable pertinent documents. In the case of Pensacola, little of this archival material has been utilized, for the reason that it is not available to students in this country. But the Stetson Collection (in private hands) has much hitherto unworked material; and presumably the Connor and Brooks collections in the Library of Congress contain much of value for the early history of the area. The Library of Congress has uncounted Spanish sources (in transcript or microfilm form) for the later Spanish history of Pensacola, and for the English period there is material in the Library of Congress and in the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The amount, as well as the dissemination of these primary sources, indicates the time and length of study necessary for preparation of a definitive study of historic sites in Pensacola.

Abbott, John C., "Heroic Deeds of Heroic Men", in Harpers Monthly Magazine, (Harper and Brothers, New York 1866). This article (no. 15 "Florida, Her Crime and Her Punishment") is part of the series under the title "Heroic Deeds of Heroic Men". It deals with Florida during the Civil War, with special attention to Fort Pickens at Pensacola. The illustrations are graphic. Not a profound study, yet it outlines the major events in connection with this phase of Florida history.

Armstrong, H. Clay, History of Escambia County, Florida, Narrative and Biographical, (The Record Company, St. Augustine, Fla. 1930) 1 v. 482pp, illus (index) Part one (162 pp) deals with the history of Escambia County. It is a recapitulation of the history of Pensacola, with one section on the history of the public school system of the county. The historical narrative is based upon a number of sources, which the author has used with apparently little attempt at evaluation. In its general outline, the story appears to be accurate, but a number of details are questionable in accuracy. Armstrong has evidently used, however, at least one accurate and detailed study, that of Dunn in the Texas Bulletin no. 1705. In a book of this scope, there is naturally much information of value, especially for the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Part Two contains biographical chapters on 19th and 20th Pensacola notables.

[Barcia] Cardenas Z. Cano, Don Gabriel de (anagram for Don Andres Gonzalez Barcia), Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida. Contiene los descubrimientos y principales sucesos acaecidos en esta gran Reino a los espanoles, franceses, suecos, dinamarqueses, ingleses y otras naciones entre si, y con los indios; cuyas costumbres, genios, idolatria, gobierno, batallas, y astucias se refieren; y los viages de algunos capitanes y pilotos por el mar del Norte a buscar paso a Oriente, o union de aquella tierra con Asia, desde el ano 1512 que descubrió la Florida Juan Ponce de Leon, hasta el de 1722. (Los hijos de Dona Catalina Pimela, Madrid, 1829) (First edition in

in 1723) 2 vol; v 1, pp 508; v 2, 512 pp, including statistical tables.) The work covers the Atlantic and Gulf areas (1512-1722), and though it is in annalistic form, it is broader in scope than any subsequent treatment of Florida. The viewpoint is naturally that of the Spaniard, and the writer is familiar with the workings of the Spanish system. Purpose of the work, as set forth in the aprobacion (v 1, p 1) is to relate "los gloriosos triunfos y victorias ilustres... en la conquista de las vastas provincias de la Florida". To accomplish that end, the author sometimes goes into great detail that is exceedingly valuable to the historian. In the introduction (pp 12 ff) Barcia cites the sources which he has used in the compilation of his work; that bibliography is useful. The Ensayo cronologica may be regarded as accurate in its general outlines; it contains much information that seems available nowhere else. That it is not entirely accurate is not wholly the fault of the author, who relied upon the works of other historians to a large extent. Its use by the modern historian in connection with primary sources renders it one of the most valuable studies for the Florida subject.

Dew, J., A Map of East and West Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana, with the islands of Cuba, Bahama, and the countries surrounding the Gulf of Mexico, with the tract of the Spanish Gallies, and of our Fleets thro' the Straits of Florida, from the best Authorities. (In the Political Magazine ... for 1761, v 2, p 293. London, 1761.) The map is especially valuable for place names and for the indicated routes of commerce.

Bolton, Herbert E., The Spanish Borderlands, a Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest, (The Chronicles of America Series, No. 23), (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1921, 1 v, 320 pp, frontispiece, map, bibliographical note, index) Coverage of this readable and informative work is approximately three centuries; 1500-1800, and the section of the Spanish empire which is now included within the boundaries of the United States; Florida, and Georgia to Louisiana, Texas and California. Based upon reliable sources, compiled by a historian with a sympathetic viewpoint and at the same time a critical attitude, Spanish Borderlands has been made one of the most vivid descriptions of Spanish activities in this field. Especially valuable are the character interpretations and the method of presentation. The map opposite page 16 relating to exploration and settlement of "northern New Spain" helps to clarify the points Dr. Bolton makes in his text. It is regrettable that under the Chronicles of America Series it was necessary to condense the study. With the additional sources which are now available to historians, the stories presented in this work can be supplemented to some extent.

Bolton, Herbert E. and Marshall, Thomas W., The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783, (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1936), (v.1, 609 pp, maps, index), Keynote of the book is expansion, with the spread of civilization in America presented against a broad European background. Comprehensive and concise, the text is presented from a new viewpoint, that inter-colonial wars were not only a struggle between France and England, confined only to the Canadian border, but Anglo-Spanish and Franco-Spanish as well, with the theatre of conflict much more extensive than the Old Northwest. The work is valuable as a background presentation. Naturally the scope of work calls for the exclusion of detail.

Boyd, Mark F., "The Fortifications at San Marcos de Apalache", in The Florida Historical Society Quarterly, v 15, no. 1, pp 3-34. (Tallahassee, Florida, July 1936) A well documented study of the history of this Spanish fortification and its region (1539-1892). In connection with the present report, there is an interpretation of interest relative to Jackson's activities in Florida (pp 24-25).

Cash, W.T., The Story of Florida, (The American Historical Society, Inc., New York, 1938), (492 pp, illus, tables, bibliography, appendix, index), (4 v, v 1, historical narrative; v 2-4, biographical.) This comprehensive work purports to relate the story of Florida from earliest times through the Reconstruction after the Civil War. Compiled by the State Librarian a man with a long Florida background, it contains much of value, and in the main is an accurate outline. The large scope of the work naturally calls for the exclusion of details, so the work has its main value only for the state as a whole, not for specific localities. Of much use to the student are the concise summaries at the end of each chapter. Cash has, in many cases, attempted evaluation of his sources. A typical notation, at the end of a list of authorities used in compilation of a chapter is "In addition to the above the author has searched encyclopedias, read books of travel, and gone over much other material that there is not space to mention". (v.1, p. 160). The author has achieved a readable style, and his writings are as much a monument to himself as a Florida character, as they are to the colorful state of Florida.

Gubberly, Frederick C., "Fort George (St. Michael), Pensacola", in The Florida Historical Society Quarterly, v 6, no 4, pp 220-234. (Pepper Printing Co., Gainesville, Fla., April 1928) The article is a well documented article dealing with the construction of Fort George by the English in the years following 1770, its part in the Spanish attack by Galvez in 1781, and its subsequent history during the Jackson raids until Florida was ceded to the United States in 1821.

Outler, Harry Gardner, History of Florida, (Lewis Publishing Co., New York 1923) 3 v. Outler's work, v 1, is a general outline of Florida history. In the main it is found to be accurate, but makes no pretensions to profundity. Volumes 2 and 3 are biographical.

Davis, F. Frederick, "U.S.S. Peacock in the War of 1812: a Fight off the Florida Coast", in the Florida Historical Quarterly, v 16, no 4, pp 231-241. (Tallahassee, April, 1938). Based chiefly upon the official records of the Navy Department, the article is an interesting account of events off the Florida coast (1814). Pages 240-241 relate to Lewis Harrington, commandant who established the Pensacola naval base.

Dickins, A, and Allen, JG (compilers and editors), American State Papers: Documents of the Congress of the United States in relation to Public Lands from the first session of the eighteenth to the second session of the nineteenth Congress, inclusive: commencing December 1, 1823, and ending March 3, 1827, (Gales and Seaton, Washington, 1839) 4v. Published documents relative to land claims and action of the United States commissioners thereupon.

Dunn, William Edward, "Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States 1678-1702", University of Texas Bulletin No. 1705, (Austin Texas, 20 January 1917). Dunn's study delineates this phase of the history of this region in more detailed fashion and with the utilization of more primary sources than has been done previously. The very detail in which the study relating to Pensacola is treated occasionally makes the text rather dull, but the Pensacola section of the study is a definitive narrative with a minimum of interpretation. Dunned closely to his sources. The Siguenza map, a reproduction of which is published in the study, is extremely valuable. Of special interest are the detailed explanations of instructions relative to the Pensacola project, instructions which are often in strong contrast to subsequent occurrences.

Federal Writers' Project, "Pensacola Local Guide", (MS, 250 pp. Files of Federal Writers' Project, Jacksonville, Fla.) This guide is a comprehensive description of Pensacola and its environs. Under the section entitled "The Story of Pensacola" (52pp), is a concise and apparently accurate resume of Pensacola history (1528 to date). Historic sites are located under the section "Points of Interest" (4 pp). The work is a readable effort. It has not yet been finally edited.

Anonymous [Jefferys, Thomas] Geographical and Historical Description of the Principal Objects of the Present War in the West-Indies. (London 1741. 1 v, 192 pp, maps, c. 1500-1740) The work deals with Cartagena, Puerto Bello, Vera Cruz, Havana, San Agustin, and the routes of Spanish commerce. It is a recapitulation of each place with description and relation of contemporary activities. Drake's, Parker's, Croxen's, Morgan's, Hawkins's, Van Horn's, Oglethorpe's activities against Spanish fortifications are reviewed. Written, of course, from the English viewpoint, it is valuable indicator of Spanish-English relations during the 18th century. Of special value is the material on the commercial routes of the Spanish vessels to and from Spain; the frontispiece map entitled "A Map or Chart of the West Indies..." is a valuable contemporary work, which not only shows European possessions in the Caribbean area, but clearly delineates the routes of the treasure fleets.

Gonzales, S.J., "Pensacola--Its early History" in The Florida Historical Society Quarterly, v. 2, no. 1, pp 9-23, (Jacksonville, Fla, April 1909) The article (c 1899-1909) is a reprint from Mrs Gonzales' article in the Pensacola Journal. The author made no attempt to write a conventional historical narrative. The text is in popular style, and is valuable in its attempt to indicate the flavor of earlier days. There is much of hearsay incorporated, and anecdotes help enliven the narrative.

Leake, James Miller, A Short History of Florida. (Printed as a supplement to Waddy Thompson's History of the American People), (D.C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1924, 105 pp.) A concise narrative, of value as a general outline.

Lowery, Woodbury, "Florida MSS.", (10v. Library of Congress). This work (c. 1500-1800) consists of handwritten transcripts of manuscripts in foreign archives, Spanish, English, French, and Italian. The transcripts are usually edited, with Lowery's English or Spanish interpolations. Important documents have been copied in full; less important ones are extracted or noted. The majority of the material falls within the period 1512-1700 with special emphasis on early colonization in Florida, and the efforts of

the religious. The work is essential, comprising one of the few collections of sources for the subject. Lowery was one of the ablest Florida scholars, and his notations are helpful.

Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion. (Washington, 1900, multi-volume) Compilation of primary sources, (1860-1866).

"Pensacola Bay", in the American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year, 1861, pp 573-575. (D.C. Appleton and Co. New York, 1865) This article provides a contemporary description of Pensacola Bay and recapitulates in some detail the history of the Pensacola fortifications during the Civil War, apparently with accuracy.

Parell, Joseph, "A Map of the Road from Pensacola in West Florida to St. Augustine in East Florida from a Survey made by Order of the late Hon. Col. John Stuart Esq., His Majesty's Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern District in 1778." (MS. 98x28". Sealed, oriented, with key. Public Record Office, Colonial Office Maps, Florida 54; copy in Library of Congress.) This map presents an excellent contemporary picture of the areas contiguous to the St. Augustine-Pensacola road. The legend includes information concerning the roads, the "old fields", the "lands and soils", and the Indian towns.

Siebert, Wilbur H., "How the Spaniards Evacuated Pensacola in 1763", in The Florida Historical Society Quarterly, v 11, no. 2, pp 48-57. (Gainesville, Florida, October 1932) Siebert has written an informative documented study based upon Spanish sources. The title of the article denotes its scope, but it hardly indicates the detail with which this scholar has treated the subject. The work is of value in outlining the events connected immediately with the exit of the Spanish and the advent of the English.

Williams, John Lee, A View of West Florida, (1827, 1 v.) Williams, one of the first students of Florida resources and history, was an accurate observer capable of putting his impressions down on paper. As he was the first surveyor to plot the road across Florida, and as he was one of the two commissioners appointed to locate the site for the capital of the state, his observations have the accuracy and simplicity of the engineer. His work is most valuable for its contemporary description, though it is not to be disregarded for the historical narrative, since he recorded much word of mouth information that is valuable for use in connection with documentary evidence. The most of Williams' observations deal with East and West Florida, with a natural concentration on Pensacola and St. Augustine.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS

By 1519 the entire coast of the Mexican Gulf between Yucatan and Florida had been explored and its general conformations recorded upon Spanish charts. The pilot Pineda, one of the principal Gulf explorers, in that year took up the voyage where Ponce de Leon had halted in 1513, and coasted from the Apalache region westward to Tampico.¹ Don Diego Miruelo, on a trading expedition, preceded Pineda to the Pensacola region in 1516, finding the Indians friendly.² Pánfilo de Narváez marched from Tampa Bay to the Bay of Apalache, and then he and his men slew their horses, ate the meat, made boats from the skins, embarked from the "Bay of Horses" (as they called the Apalache), and rowed along the coast toward Mexico, which they thought close by. Small and miserable fishing villages they saw on the Florida shores, and at a point probably near Pensacola Bay they had a skirmish with the Indians. Near the mouth of a great river (the Mississippi?), currents and a storm drove their flimsy boats far out to sea. Narváez again found the coast, but another time his craft was blown into the stormy Gulf, and he was not heard from again. A few castaways, including famous Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca,³ eventually made their way to New Spain.

During the winter of 1539-1540, Hernando de Soto camped in the Apalache region. From there he sent out two exploring parties; one found the "Bay of Horses", the other, Pensacola Bay,⁴ which he called Ashusi.⁵

The results of these early explorations showed the relationship of Florida to New Spain and opened the way for later colonization.

Undoubtedly, data gained from these expeditions was influential in the later decision to utilize the Gulf coast route for the treasure fleets on their way to Spain.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT

Meanwhile, France was threatening Spain's American possessions.

Jacques Cartier discovered the St. Lawrence River; French pirates harassed Spanish treasure ships and sacked Spanish ports in the Indies. England's mariners were becoming obstreperous.

The Spanish fleets from Mexico now sailed a new route on their way to Spain. They left Vera Cruz--usually twice a year in convoy, for the sake of safety--sailed the north crescent of the Gulf of Mexico to avoid headwinds, put in at Havana, then navigated the Bahama Channel and headed eastward to the Azores and Spain.

The Bahama Channel was a more advantageous route than the old one through the dangerous Caribbean Islands, but it likewise soon became infested with pirates, and in addition, storms wrecked many ships on the nearby Florida coast. Ever present was the fear that the French planned a base of operations on that coast, a project which would further endanger Spanish shipping.

Philip II, son of the Emperor Charles V, authorized Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of New Spain, to colonize Florida. It was planned to settle in the Coosa (Tennessee) region, which was said to be fabulously rich, and at Santa Elena (Port Royal, S.C.). Velasco selected Don Tristan de Luna y Arellano, formerly one of Coronado's lieutenants, to lead an expedition to the number of 1500, including soldiers, sailors, religious fathers and Indian women from Coosa, which left Vera Cruz in 1559. On St. Mary's day (14 August),

Luna anchored his armada of fourteen ships in Pensacola Bay, which they named Santa Maria. Three ships were dispatched for Santa Elena, but before the rest of the vessels could be unloaded, a hurricane swept the Bay, destroyed most of the fleet and many of the colonists. The vessels bound to Santa Elena were forced by the weather to return to Vera Cruz.

The survivors at Santa Maria were soon on the verge of starvation. ¹³

Luna established a garrison on the coast, and sent about a thousand of his colonists forty leagues inland to Santa Cruz de Nanipacna (Alabama). ¹⁴ ¹⁵

These colonists "...were like the seventeen-year locusts; they ate everything from the Indian's stores of maize and beans to polen shoots, acorns, and grass seeds--but produced nothing....". ¹⁶ An exploring party of 300 was sent onward to Coza, which was reached after a tedious hundred-days march over Soto's old trail, and there they were fed bountifully all summer. A dozen of these men went back to the Nanipacna colony to find it deserted. The starving settlers had returned to Pensacola Bay. When Luna wanted to visit Coza himself, the colonists mutinied; they wanted to return homeward.

Meanwhile, Luna had sent to Mexico for aid. The Viceroy immediately sent provisions and a new leader, Angel de Villafañe, with orders to move the colonists to Santa Elena, for Pensacola was too far westward for the King's purpose, that of watching its trend on the Atlantic seaboard. Villafañe provisioned the Pensacola garrison, then, with most of the colonists aboard, weighed anchor for Santa Elena. In May he reached the Carolina coast, but after making explorations as far north as Cape Hatteras, failed to find a site that in his opinion was suitable for colonization. In July 1561, he returned to Hispaniola, and that same year a ship was dispatched to remove the Pensacola garrison. ¹⁷

News of Villafañe's failure decided King Philip against further attempts to colonize Florida. Within three years, his decision was reversed, when Coligny sent Laudonniere to Florida.

THE 17TH CENTURY SETTLEMENT

For more than a century after 1561, Pensacola Bay seems to have been forgotten. It was once more the fear of European encroachment that forced developments.

In 1686 the Spaniards had been driven from northern Georgia by the English. That retreat, the English fur-trading expeditions into Alabama, plus La Salle's plan to colonize the Gulf coast, did much to upset Spanish equanimity. ¹⁸ The same year, on February 8, led by the pilots Juan Garrote and Antonio Romero, a Spanish expedition entered Pensacola Bay. ¹⁹ Chronicler Juan Jordan thought it the best bay he had ever seen in his life, ²⁰ and that opinion seems to have been the consensus of the majority. ²¹ This 1686 expedition was but one of several sent out in search of La Salle's colony on the Mexican Gulf, but there seems to have been no suggestion for the colonization of Pensacola until eventual discovery of a ruined settlement on the Garcitas showed that France actually had begun her attempts ²² to establish a foothold on the Gulf coast. Revival of interest in Pensacola Bay was furthered by Andres de Pex, ably supported by the Count of Galve, Viceroy of New Spain.

Indeed, three of the voyages in search of the French colony were led by Pex, and it was his persistent effort to interest royal officials of Spain in the Pensacola project that eventually resulted in its inauguration. Following the return of Alonso de Leon's Gulf coast expedition in 1689,

Pez presented a memorial to the Viceroy of New Spain, arguing the fortification of Pensacola (Pensacola). He used the old argument that the French certainly knew the bay, and should they occupy it, the Spanish fleets would never be safe. His plan for settling Pensacola recognized the impecunious state of the Spanish treasury, and recommended the abandonment of the St. Augustine site with the removal of its fortification to Pensacola, which would then become the Florida capital. Viceroy Galve sent Pez to Spain. The Junta de Guerra disapproved the project, but King Charles II ordered that it should be carried forward, with the exception of the abandonment of St. Augustine. Not until 26 June 1692, however, was a decree promulgated, and by that time Pez had been long discouraged.

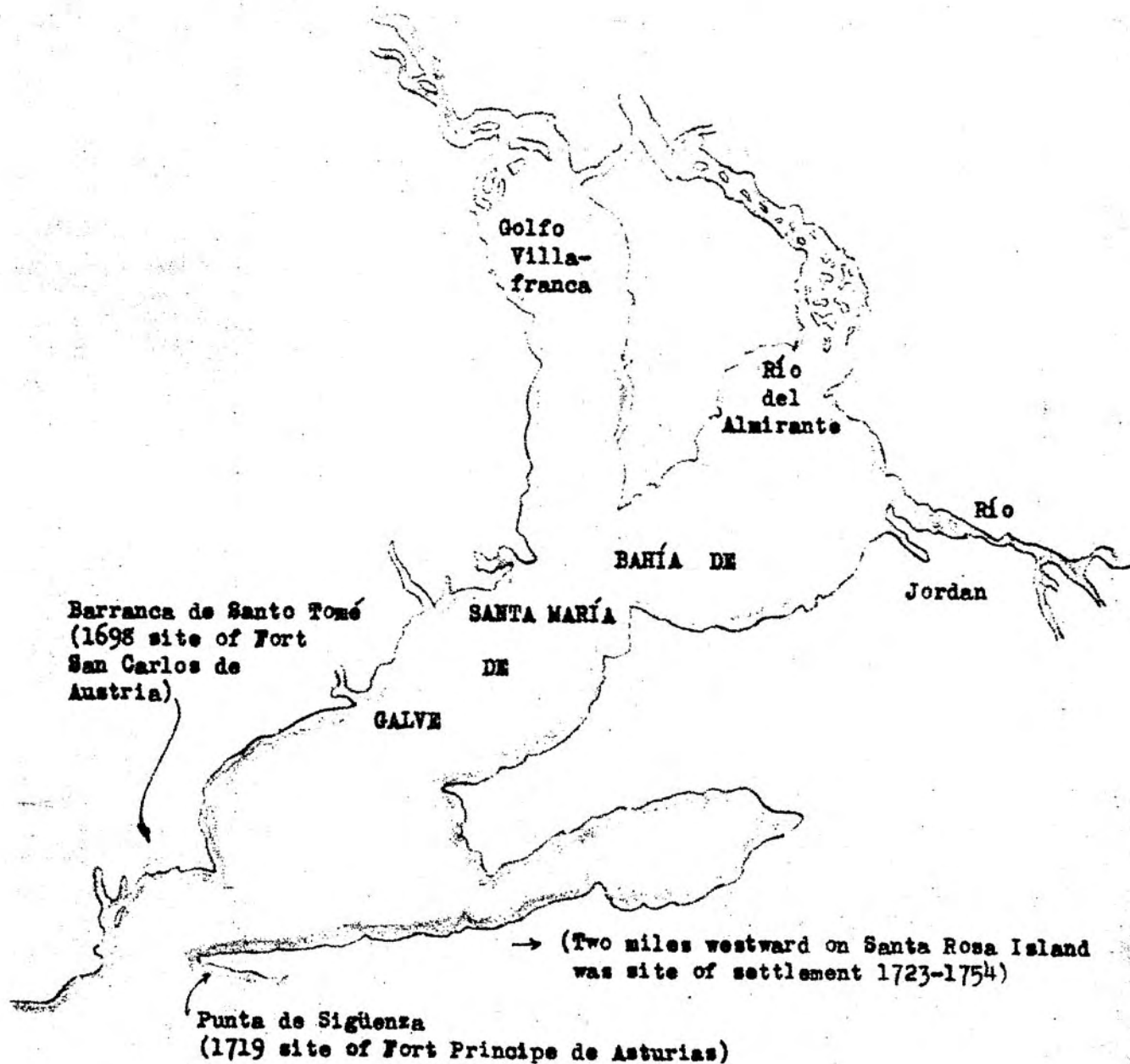
Under the 1692 cedula, the Viceroy was to send land and marine expeditions to make a detailed examination of the Pensacola region. Since in the meantime Andres de Pez had become Admiral of the Windward Squadron, he was the logical man, for leader of the expedition by sea. The scientist, Dr. Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora, was appointed his assistant. Laureano de Torres y Ayala, Governor-elect of Florida, became commander of the land forces.

Pez's two vessels sailed from Vera Cruz 25 March 1693. Within thirteen days, Pensacola Bay was sighted. To its name Santa Maria was added that of their patron, and on his map Sigüenza wrote "Bahía de Santa María de Galve," a name which was later corrupted to Santa Maria de Galvez, presumably due to the association of that great name with Pensacola.

Then followed the explorations, the soundings, and the christening of the landmarks. The east point became Punta de Sigüenza. A prominent bluff was called Barranca de Santo Tomé; a river, the River Jordan after Captain Juan Jordan; an oak grove, El Robledal; a camp site of the Pensacola Indians, El Barratillo because it resembled a junk shop. Admiral Pez's fame was given

Tracing based upon the Sigüenza map of 1693*
showing approximate location of historic sites
prior to 1763

*From Dunn, W.E., "Spanish and
French Rivalry in the Gulf Region
of the U.S."



to posterity in the river called Rio del Almirante; a third river was christened Rio de Jovenazo for the prominent Duke of Jovenazo.

After other explorations on this coast, the expedition returned to Vera Cruz on 15 May. The land expedition had not yet returned, but Galve called a general council, where on the basis of Sigüenza's report, it was resolved necessary to occupy Pensacola at once, building temporary fortifications. A committee of Pez, Sigüenza and the factor Guzman was appointed to plan the procedure, with the result that Pez again embarked for Spain to secure the needed men and supplies.²⁷

The Torres expedition reached Florida after Pez had left. They had sailed from Vera Cruz to Havana, and not until 2 July did they see "La Gran Baya de Pensacola", and with the aid of their Indian guides, found the deserted site of the Pensacola village. The tribe, their guides told them, had been wiped out in their long war with the Mobiles. Torres was favorably impressed with the bay region, and after dispatching his reports to the King and Viceroy²⁸ marched to St. Augustine.

15 June 1694 was the date of a cedula instructing the viceroy to proceed with the occupation of Pensacola, but through one mischance after another, no decisive action was taken until the Peace of Ryswick revived again the fear of French aggression in America. In the face of well-founded reports on French colonization plans, on 19 April 1698 another royal cedula was hurriedly issued, making the founding of Pensacola the most urgent business in the empire. The new Viceroy, Jose Sarmiento de Valladares, was commanded to begin occupation²⁹ of the bay at once.

Other precautions to assure early fortification of Pensacola were taken. In Spain, secret orders were given Martin de Aranguren Zavala and Captain Juan

Jordan, to the effect that Jordan should lead a small expedition from Havana, while Zavala should proceed to Vera Cruz to become commander-in-chief of the combined expeditions. Jordan arrived in Havana with Zavala 13 October 1698 and on the 6th of the next month left for Pensacola with fifty men, two small vessels and six cannon. On 17 November he reached Pensacola Bay.

Zavala sailed on to Vera Cruz, but he was too late; the expedition of three ships, twelve guns, two hundred soldiers, one hundred twenty sailors, nine artillerymen, three priests, three surgeons, twelve carpenters, six brick masons, and four smiths, all with their helpers--a grand total of three hundred fifty-seven people--had embarked under the command of Andres de Arriola on 15 October 1698. Arriola, a veteran in the King's service, had visited Pensacola Bay in 1695 on his successful voyage to clear the area of pirates. Sergeant-Major Francisco Martinez was second in command, and Jaime Franck, engineer, was charged with building the fortifications.

Stormy weather delayed the little fleet, and it was not until 21 November that it reached Pensacola, to find Jordan already there.

Troops and supplies were landed at Barrancas de Santo Tomas. Timber was felled and temporary quarters erected. Franck chose a fort site and within six days had emplaced a battery of sixteen guns. The presidio, or fortification, named San Carlos de Austria, after King Charles II, was built of pine logs in the form of a square, 100 varas on each side, with four bastions. The site selected was not without disadvantages: the hills of San Isidro dominated the fort site. The Spaniards had no equipment for keeping the walls open in the sandy soil.

While the king had ordered construction of fortifications on both points commanding the harbor entrance, Franck decided that the eastern Punta de Siguenza was too swampy for the purpose. As a matter of fact, both Arriola and Franck were disappointed in the possibilities at Pensacola.

Arriola, however, obeyed his orders and explored the region as soon as the presidio was well in the building. Río del Almirante was navigated to its inconsiderable source; the Jovenazo was explored for two days. The weather was unusually cold, and the colonizers lacked food, clothing and shelter. There was factionalism and desertion, fighting and quarreling. On 3 January 1699, in a fire that destroyed eight buildings, including the chapel and Jordan's quarters, many of the provisions were lost. A few days later another fire was barely discovered in time to prevent a similar disaster.

Thus was a permanent settlement started at Barrancas de Santo Tomé, Bahía de Santa María de Galve, la Florida, on 17 November 1698.

The colony was planted just in time. In January of 1699, a French fleet stood off Pensacola harbor. Arriola refused it admittance, and the ships withdrew westward to Biloxi, where in that year Pierre Le Moyne d' Iberville built a fort.

FRENCH SETTLEMENTS

After the death of Charles II and the accession to the Spanish throne of Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV, the French settlement was moved from Biloxi eastward to Mobile Bay. Philip was amenable to his grandfather's suggestion that French colonization of Louisiana would protect Spain's Gulf possessions from England. By 1718 New Orleans was founded, France had a firm foothold in Louisiana, and Spain's colonies on the Gulf were split in two.

For a score of years, relations between Pensacola and Mobile were friendly. Considerable commerce sprang up between the two settlements, though it is indicated that the Pensacola inhabitants were garrison, not colonists. Even lumber, poultry, and vegetables they bought from their more thrifty French neighbors, and in the score of peaceful years following the establishment of these settlements, Spain made little progress in colonization. On one point, both French and ^{spanish} English were in complete accord. Neither ³⁸ wanted an Englishman to set foot on the Gulf coast.

Fruition of this fraternal spirit was reached in 1707. Eighteen Englishmen from Carolina lead a large party of Indians westward to the environs of Pensacola. The Spanish garrison was augmented by 120 men from Mobile, and in the face of this combined force, the Carolinians withdrew. ³⁹

On 12 March 1718 Don Juan Pedro Matamoros, newly appointed governor of the province of Pensacola, the plaza de Santa Maria de Calve and the Castillo de San Carlos, arrived at Pensacola. Matamoros was discouraged at what he saw. San Carlos was little more than a square, bastioned stockade, the posts of which were exposed from foot to point, some of them rotten. There was no covered way nor any other supplementary defense. There were not even quarters for the infantry. Nine small iron guns were mounted ashore, and they could be fired only with difficulty; a third of the 80 men in the garrison were not equipped with either muskets or harquebuses. In the village, the church and ⁴⁰ many of the houses were in need of much repair.

But before a year had passed, the situation was remedied, at least in part. To the garrison had been added 57 men and an engineer, while 36 quintals of powder and various arms had been stored in the magazine, religious ornaments for the parochial church had arrived, and the governor was now equipped with

presents for the Indians. All in all, the garrison was said to be "contented". 41

Matamoros was busily engaged in repairing San Carlos and at the same time making preparations for construction of a new fortification, to be called San Luis de Valero, on Sigüenza Point. Considerable lime and stone had already been transported to the site. 42 It was as if he had a premonition of coming events.

FRENCH HOSTILITIES

In April of 1719 unexpected news of war between France and Spain came to the French settlement at Mobile. Within a month, Governor Iberville's brother Bienville outfitted an expedition for Pensacola. 43

At daybreak, 14 May 1719, a piragua was discovered on the shore at Santa Rosa Island near Point Sigüenza. An ensign set out to investigate reported that five other boats were in sight. The story of succeeding events came from a convict, detailed to the fortification work on the Point. This forzado said that at three in the morning the Frenchmen had landed on Sigüenza Point. Challenged, they identified themselves as friends, but the sentries were wary of their numbers, gave them a fusillade and retired to the fortification. The Frenchmen, however, ^{were} a hundred in number, and they seized the fort without difficulty. Only this convict and three companions managed to escape to the woods, whence he made his way to San Carlos to warn the garrison there.

While the man was telling his story, four frigates were sighted. Entering the harbor, they directed their fire against San Carlos, which returned the cannonade, but as it happened, with little effect. For five hours the bombardment continued, then Matamoros sent an infantry captain to ask the reason for this unexpected hostility. He returned with the news of war between the two nations, and with the French demand for surrender. Matamoros called a war council,

in which all the officers bravely decided that they could defend the presidio against the French, but they adjourned until 10 o'clock the next morning in order to discuss ways and means of carrying out the defense. By that time, ardor had considerably cooled and in the junta it was set forth that able-bodied defenders numbered only 160, and that there were supplies enough to last but fifteen or twenty days. Further, they called to mind the "insolence" of the Indians, and finally decided that discretion⁴⁴ was the better part of valor.

Two French frigates left Pensacola 18 June 1719, carrying the Spanish garrison to Havana, in compliance with the terms of the surrender,⁴⁵ and there the Frenchmen received a surprise. They were thrust into prison, their vessels manned by the Spaniards.⁴⁶ Matamoros' account of the events at Pensacola, his plan for the recapture of the presidio "...which," he said, "the French had not fortified...", plus the presence of a punitive expedition all ready to embark against the Carolina English, decided the Governor of Havana upon a counterattack.⁴⁷ The viceroy of New Spain sent equipment in support of the project,⁴⁸ and on 29 July 1719, Don Alfonso Carrasco de la Torre, commander-in-chief of the flotilla of twelve vessels, left Havana for Florida. At the port of San Jose, near Pensacola, he anchored, sending an advance guard to Pensacola for reconnaissance. The French had abandoned Santa Rosa Island, and with that information in hand, Carrasco set sail again, dropping anchor at night a half league from the Bay. A hundred men he sent ashore to occupy Sigüenza Point, while he himself took a boat into the harbor to get the lay of the land.⁴⁹ From San Carlos the Frenchmen opened fire, but without effect; Carrasco landed at Sigüenza, ordered the fleet to enter the harbor, then boarded one of the vessels and directed the operations from there. His fleet encircled the two French frigates and formed a

battle line in front of San Carlos. A terrific cannonade caused the Frenchmen to abandon their flaming vessels, paddling their small boats toward shore and the questionable safety of the castle. Carrascosa then concentrated his fire on San Carlos, and the bombardment continued for the rest of the day. Perhaps the Spaniards were reluctant to destroy the fortification they had built, for though the ships were "...at a distance that the artillery might make the shots tell..." little damage resulted. Finally Carrascosa sent an officer ashore to demand surrender of the presidio.

At ten o'clock the next morning, the Spanish commander marched his forces to within pistol shot of the main gate of the Plaza. A French official came out, and to Don Alfonso Carrascosa, he delivered the keys to the presidio. Carrascosa then marched through the gate into the stockade.

Panacola was again Spanish, and on 25 August, the King's birthday, Carrascosa sent word of the success to the viceroy.

Carrascosa then ordered that the fort on Punta de Siguenza be completed, realizing that the fortification was essential to the protection of the harbor entrance. With the aid of workers from a nearby settlement, the Siguenza fort, built in the form of a square, was almost completed, and mounted 15 pieces before the Don Alfonso Carrascosa left Panacola. Since Carrascosa had been lieutenant in the regiment of the Prince of Asturias, the fortification was named Principe de Asturias.

In the meantime, Matamoros and his engineer lost no time in repairing San Carlos, closing its breaches and erecting supplementary works, such as a stockade which would prevent a flank attack.

The year was not ended, nor was Principe de Asturias finished, before it had its baptism of fire. Five French vessels, ships-of-the-line mounting from 50 to 70 guns, were sighted off Panacola Bay. Asturias was immediately garrisoned

with a hundred men. Matamoros, with "...invincible and intrepid spirit..." stationed himself aboard ship in the middle of the harbor channel. Seeing Indians on the decks of the vessels, the Spaniards realized the French meant business.

The Indians were disembarked, and all night long the land guns of San Carlos repulsed their attacks. The French tried to emplace a battery on the vantage San Isidro hill, but fire from two of the San Carlos bastions kept that point clear. At ten in the morning, a breeze came up and the enemy fleet attempted the harbor in the face of Spanish opposition. "... The firing was horrible, and the valor incredible...." The French cannonade dismounted the guns of Asturias, and in the face of such superior force, the Spaniards surrendered.

More than 500 of them were transported to Havana. The French burned San Carlos, Asturias and the settlement, and over the ashes of the two forts they raised this inscription in French: "...The year of 1719 on the 18th of September M. Denode Chamelin [Chammaslin], chief of the squadron of the Most Christian King, took this port by force of arms, likewise the island of Santa Rosa, by order of the King of France..." On 21 October they left the site of the Pensacola settlement.

SPANISH REOCCUPATION

Five months afterward, Spain and France ended their war, but not until January 1723 was the Pensacola site restored to the Spanish. From the settlement Chammaslin had destroyed, refugees had moved to Santa Rosa Island, and it was there, about two miles west of Sigüenza Point, that the returning

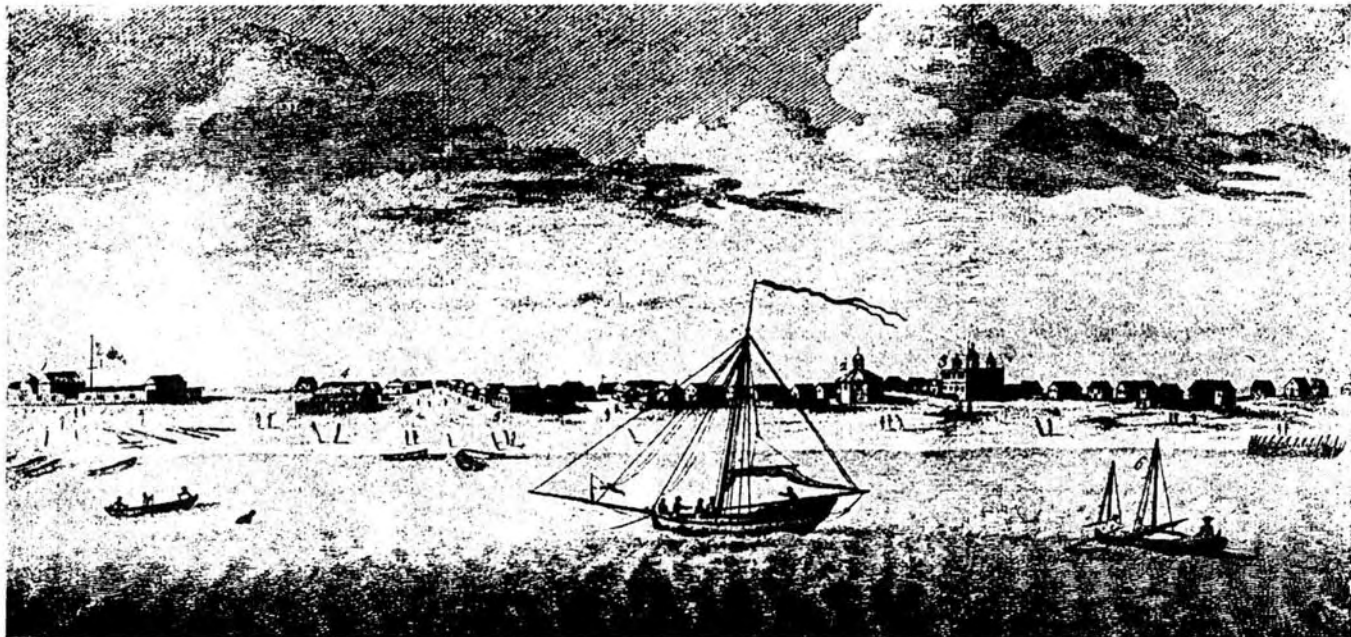
63

Spaniards established their new settlement. Until 1754, in the face of recurring storms, Pensacola remained on this narrow sandy island. Since Santa Rosa Island was virtually impossible of cultivation, however, many settlers moved to the mainland to raise their few crops. That selection of fertile land determined the site of present Pensacola. In 1743, one Don Dessea, a trader, came to Pensacola for timber, pitch and turpentine, a visit indicating that the region was not entirely unproductive, and his graphic sketch of the contemporary settlement was later published in London. 64

The Santa Rosa settlement consisted of a stockaded fort, a rather pretentious governor's house, a church and a few small habitations. 65 In 1754 a hurricane destroyed the island settlement, and the survivors of the storm followed their companions to the north shore of the mainland. There, between two great swamps, the new Pensacola arose. 66 During the following decade, the Spanish government apparently was little interested in the locality, and not until Florida fell into British hands as a result of the Peace of Paris in 67 1763, did Spain again turn her attention to this strategic port.

PENSACOLA IN 1763

Pensacola in 1763 was a small village consisting of about 100 huts encircled by a stockade, with a fortification called San Miguel de Pensacola. It was situated upon the northern shore of its very large harbor approximately ten miles from the sea. The entrance to the harbor was somewhat difficult of navigation for inexperienced pilots because the long island of Santa Rosa formed a breakwater across the mouth of the harbor leaving a channel scarcely four fathom deep, at the extreme western end. This channel twisted like the



FROM COLLECTION T. T. WENTWORTH, JR.

PENSACOLA TWO CENTURIES AGO

SKETCH OF THE TOWN ON SANTA ROSA ISLAND DRAWN IN 1743 AND PUBLISHED IN THE
UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE, LONDON, JANUARY, 1746

- 1 FORT
- 2 CHURCH
- 3 GOVERNOR'S MANSION
- 4 COMMANDANT'S HOUSE
- 5 WELL
- 6 BUNGO

COMPLIMENTS T. T. WENTWORTH, JR.
PENSACOLA, FLORIDA



head of the letter "S". Bayous and lagoons with sand-barred mouths lay on either side of the bay. Upon the point of Santa Rosa on the eastern shore of the harbor's entrance was a small, square, stockaded fort with two guns in it, which the Spaniards had maintained rather as a signal than as an actual defense. About eleven miles above Pensacola just south of the spot where the Escambia river flows into the northwestern fork of Pensacola Bay was the site of the village later established by the British and named Campbell-
 68
 town.

BRITISH OCCUPATION

The British Government took possession of Pensacola on August 8, 1763. The British occupation of the former French and Spanish forts on the Gulf Coast to the east of New Orleans was a movement of continental as well as of local importance. The continental importance lay in the fact that the province was used as the southern base of attack in the British two-year campaign of reconquest of the eastern Mississippi region and the Ohio valley from the Indians of Pontias's uprising. The Province of West Florida, to include the posts of Pensacola and Mobile, was erected by the proclamation of October 7, 1763. The Province was bounded on the east by the Apalachicola river, on the west by Lake Pontchartrain, the Iberville river, and the Mississippi river and on the north by the thirty-first degree parallel. The northern boundary was raised in 1764 to a straight line running east from the junction of the Yazoo river and the Mississippi river, and intersecting the Apalachicola river. From the beginning it was a royal colony, and it was also the first
 69
 British colony to be established west of the Appalachian mountains.

THE SPANISH EVACUATION

"Ten days after the British ships had entered the bay the Spanish vessels arrived, but it was soon discovered that they would not nearly accommodate all the emigrants, their portable possessions, and the royal ordnance and stores. This problem was ultimately solved...by employing four English vessels that happened to be in port.

"Meanwhile Indians from the northward...received small presents from Colonel Prevost and were assured by him of protection by the British King. These visits seem to have impressed the commissioner with the menace of having the woods so close to the fort, and he decided to have them cleared up at once. He had brought with him some sutlers, cannon, powder, and other equipment besides a supply of provisions; but he needed more artillery ... Two leagues south of Pensacola was another fort, at one end of Rose Island, which was a long sandbank. This outpost served to show the entrance to the port and signaled vessels at sea. The island had been used as a place of banishment for Spanish convicts.

"There were within the limits of the presidio of Pensacola the pueblo or village of Punta Rasa, which was occupied by a little colony of Christian Indians... They petitioned Governor Parilla to be permitted to accompany the other inhabitants [Spanish] to Vera Cruz... The governor took pity on their distress and granted their request.⁷⁰

"The only Spaniard who remained at Pensacola after its evacuation was Don Carlos Ricardos, who was detained as the custodian of the cargo of a sloop that had grounded on the coast."⁷¹

BRITISH DEVELOPMENT

The choice of the narrow crescent of nearly flat land with its background of swamps that had been made by the stragglers from the official town on Santa Rosa Island rendered the task of laying out a city a difficult one, but one to which British engineers forthwith addressed themselves, to bring forth a well ordered city plan. A street, called George in honor of England's sovereign, was cleared from the water's edge, nearly due north to the top of the nearest and most prominent hill, along a ridge that separated the swamps on either side of it. To insure the utility of this street, drainage canals were constructed on either side.

72

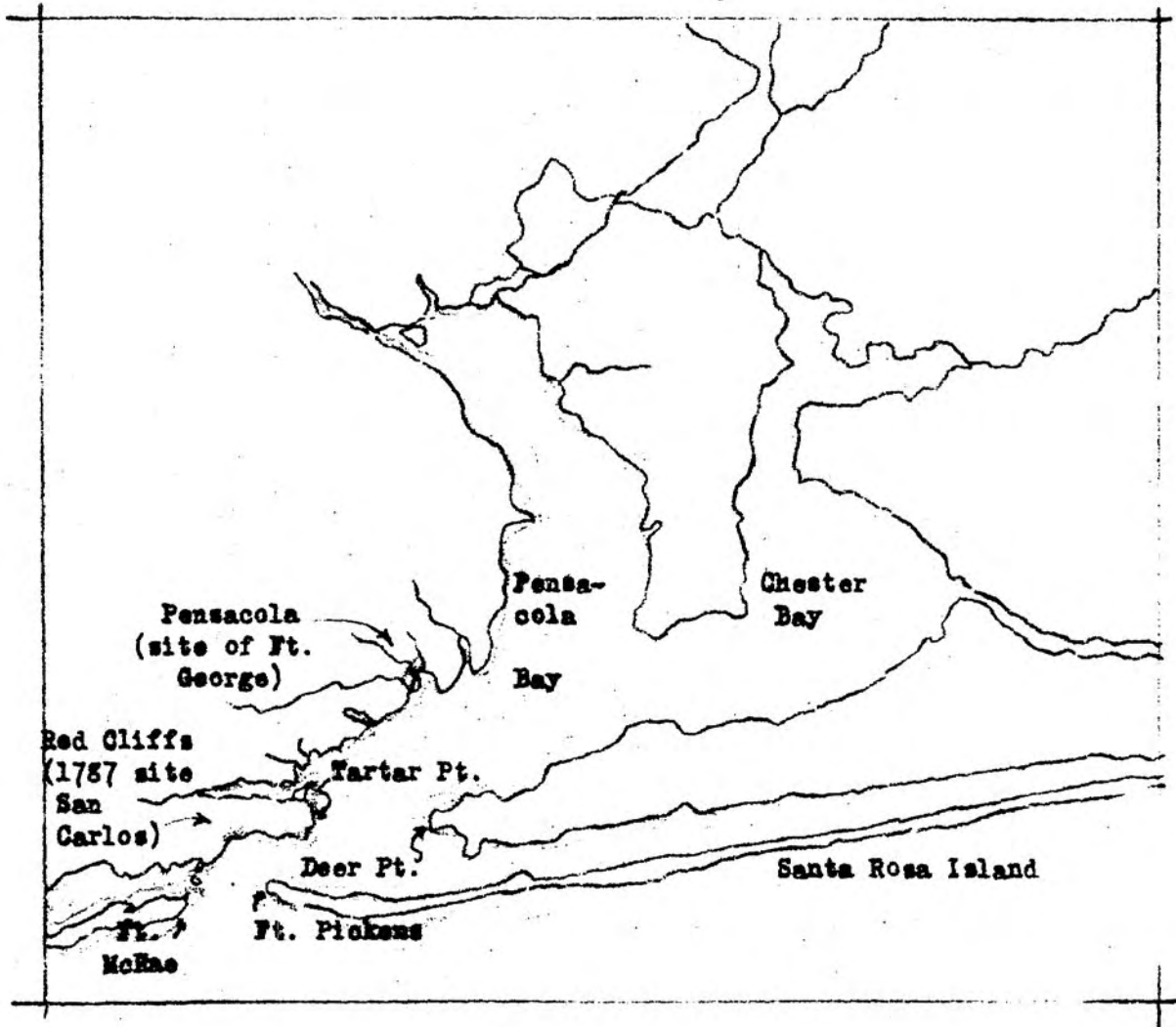
The prominent hill was named for General Gage. Well outside the early Spanish town, it had been entirely neglected by the Spanish. During the first years of the British occupation, as in Spanish times, the town's immediate defenses consisted only of a formidable stockade near its center. But not long after the arrival of Peter Chester, Governor of West Florida from 1770 to 1781, it was determined to strengthen the fortifications of the place and Fort George was built on the vantage of Gage Hill. This fort was a quadrangle of earth with bastions at each corner. Within were barracks for the garrison, powder magazines, and the council chamber. Defenses near the entrance of the bay had been constructed and by a signal system, communication could be had with Fort George. In the park at Pensacola was built a star-shaped stockade fort. Batteries and barracks were constructed at Tartar Point and Red Cliff (Barrancas); the latter place had two batteries, one at the foot and the other at the top of the hill. In one of these structures, built in the nature of a blockhouse, were both barracks for the soldiers and quarters for the officers. Nearby was the powder magazine of the Province.

73

74

Tracing based upon the Purcell map of 1778*
showing approximate locations of historic sites
after 1763

*Florida Historical Quarterly,
v. 17, no. 1.



REVOLUTIONARY WAR PERIOD

The years immediately following 1763 saw Pensacola grow steadily in population, then the beginning of the American Revolution in 1776 gave further impetus to trade and commerce. British military and naval authorities were greatly impressed with the future possibilities of the harbor, and preparations were made to establish a great naval station. To the west of the city an extensive tract was set aside for a navy yard. While in the more northern portion of the continent battles were being fought, Pensacola, thoroughly Tory, was peaceful and quiet reigned.

The British had established friendly relations with the Indians and were at apparent peace with their Spanish neighbors in the west. Hence the West Florida garrisons were reduced and many of the troops originally sent to Pensacola went to the theatre of war in the northern colonies.

SPANISH SEIZURE

In August 1779, Louisiana Governor Bernardo de Galvez published at New Orleans a proclamation of the Spanish King acknowledging the independence of the United States. The proclamation was followed by preparations for offensive operations against points in West Florida occupied by the British.

Galvez had been a very popular administrator. When he appealed to his constituents to take up arms against the British, there was an enthusiastic response. French, Spanish, and American residents of Louisiana joined his forces. With about 700 men--a Spanish regiment, French creoles, Acadians and American volunteers under Pollock--he captured Baton Rouge and Natchez, then garrisoned by British troops. In all of these operations

he was aided by the Americans in the west under George Rogers Clark, who prevented cooperation between the British in Canada and in West Florida.

The British forces in Pensacola were weak; the Government was unable to send reinforcements, and a Spanish blockade brought the garrison next to starvation. General Campbell, the British Commander, had about 1200 soldiers, "...of which he placed 50 Waldecks in the fort at Red Cliff (which today is Barrancas) under Major Pentzel, with a few pieces of heavy artillery from Fort George...."

On March 1781, the British warship Mentor, lying in the lower bay, fired the signal guns announcing that the Spaniards were approaching. The Spaniards emplaced a battery on Santa Rosa Island and opened fire on the Mentor, which returned the fire until she had received considerable damage and was forced to retire near the town.

Galvez was soon in possession of the harbor with a fleet of 38 vessels, together with an army from Havana, and those he brought from Louisiana. Yet with this imposing force he elected to remain inactive until he could receive still more reinforcements from Havana, and on 16 April there arrived 18 more vessels and additional troops.

Galvez almost completely surrounded Fort George with entrenchments. About one-third of a mile north and west these developed into a stronghold built of timber and earth almost as large as Fort George itself. During its construction, the new fort was concealed from the British by pine woods, but with its completion, the timber growth was cut away. The fort was named San Bernardo by Galvez, for his patron saint.

The cannonade between the two forts began on 27 April and continued night and day until 1 May when the British suspended their fire, only to

resume it the next day. Fort George suffered considerable damage, and there was continual need for repairs.

For several days Spanish artillery blindly searched for the powder magazine of the English fort, but not until a disgruntled Tory (who had been drummed out of the British camp) divulged its exact location were they able to concentrate their fire in telling effect. For three days and nights the Spanish threw shot upon the site of the magazine until it erupted, killing 50 men outright and wounding an equal number. A great breach was made in the walls and immediately the Spanish forces prepared to attack. The British commander sued for peace, and the Spanish allowed the British troops to march out of the city with the full honors of war. The British surrendered not only the fort but the whole country as well.

In his military operations, Galvez had carefully avoided damaging the town, and it was provided in the articles of capitulation that the English inhabitants might retire in full security and sell their property and estate within the 18 months allotted for their emigration.

Galvez' expedition against the British undoubtedly affected the future of the United States. Had England been in possession of the Mississippi as well as the St. Lawrence River during the peace negotiations, in all probability, the United States would have had quite another destiny.

It is said that with the exception of one man, the British inhabitants removed from Pensacola. This man was Pantou, a trader of great influence among the Indians. Pantou's continued cooperation with the Spaniards was valued so much that Spain granted him a monopoly of the Indian trade, and waived the religious test required of all Spanish citizens of the period.

The Spaniards now being in possession of Pensacola and West Florida, Fort George was repaired and named San Miguel (St. Michael).⁷⁹ In 1787 Fort San Carlos de Barrancos was built near the site of old San Carlos de Austria. Constructed in the form of a semicircle of Pensacola brick, it still stands today. Batteries were emplaced on Santa Rosa Island.⁸⁰

The successive governors at Pensacola little concerned themselves with the condition of the town. Not until the administration of Vicente Folch y Juan in 1796, were any radical steps proposed or taken. Folch planned to move the town of Pensacola nearer the entrance of Pensacola Bay "...within a musket shot of Fort Carlos de Barrancos...." but nothing came of this scheme.⁸¹

Frustrated in this project, Governor Folch undertook to change the English plan of the city. He curtailed the space allotted for a public park, making Government Street its northern boundary, and dividing the surplus into lots, many of which were sold. In 1806 the Spanish Intendant Morales, as well as the citizens, disapproved of Folch's proceedings, and Morales refused to confirm the titles to the new lots, thus rendering illegal those subtitles given through sales previous to 1806. Litigation and lawsuits concerning this property have lasted until the present day.

Only two small squares of the original British park remained--Seville Square, and Ferdinand VII Square. Both of them extended southward to the water front, with only a Spanish battery of small salute guns intervening.⁸²

In January 1811, Secretary of State Monroe wrote to General George Mathews and Colonel John McKee, appointing them commissioners to carry into effect certain provisions of a late act of Congress. They were instructed

to repair as privately as possible to Governor Folch in Pensacola, and to accept from him a voluntary cession of the province if he should deliver it up. If Folch would not turn over the territory and "...should there be room to entertain a suspicion, that a design existed in any other power, to occupy the provinces..." the commissioners were to occupy it by force if necessary. ⁸³

Naturally, these peculiar negotiations failed, and when the United States declared war on England in 1812, British agents found willing allies among the Pensacola Spaniards and the Creek Indians of West Florida. Pensacola became a supply base for the British forces, from which arms and ammunition were freely distributed to the tribes. The Spanish even went further in siding the British cause.

In September 1814, there came into the harbor of Pensacola a British fleet and a force of marines, and without resistance on the part of Governor Mearns they took possession of Forts San Miguel and San Carlos and a battery on Santa Rosa Island. Lieutenant Colonel Nicholls, Commander of the marines, began to enlist the Indians, whom he supplied with British uniforms and drilled in the streets of Pensacola. Nicholls took upon himself the issuance of proclamations denouncing the Americans. It was from Pensacola that he attempted to form an alliance with Lafitte, chief of the Louisiana pirates. It was from Pensacola that Nicholls and Percy, Commander of the naval forces, proceeded to attack Fort Boyer on Mobile Point.

These operations were brought to a sudden end. General Andrew Jackson, having repulsed the attack at Fort Boyer and defeated the Creeks, marched to Pensacola. Appearing suddenly on the western side of Pensacola on 8 November 1814 with about 3,000 men, Jackson dispatched an officer under a white flag

to the fort. When the officer was fired upon, Jackson in person made a reconnaissance and found the fort to be manned by both Spanish and English troops, while in the harbor were seven English war vessels. Jackson then occupied the site of old Fort San Bernardo. Surmising that the Spanish would expect an attack from the west, the same night he marched his army by a circuitous route and took position to the east of the town, preparing to advance along what is now Government Street. At that point a battery of two guns, supported by soldiers concealed behind fences and houses opened fire upon his troops. Jackson's storming party charged the battery and the Spanish artillerymen retreated.

The Americans advanced into the town where they were met by the Governor in person with a white flag and an offer of surrender. The offer was accepted by General Jackson, but when a detachment was about to proceed to take possession of Fort San Miguel the Americans were informed that Captain Soto, in command, refused to obey the Governor's instructions. Jackson prepared to storm the fort, but at midnight of the 7th Soto formally surrendered. In the meantime, Nicholls withdrew the English soldiers and retreated to the vessels in the bay. Jackson sent a detachment to take San Carlos in the hope that he could prevent the escape of the British fleet, but he found that the English had blown up the fort and departed. Jackson in turn blew up Fort San Miguel and left Pensacola 9 November for New Orleans.

84

Four years later Jackson, in connection with the Seminole Indian War, again found it necessary to invade Pensacola. On 23 May 1818 he advanced upon the city from St. Marks. Moving swiftly, he took possession of the rebuilt Fort San Miguel and demanded surrender of the city. Governor Masot

had retreated with most of his force to Fort San Carlos, which he surrendered
 85
 four days later, together with the province of West Florida.

In September 1819 a Spanish fleet arrived in Pensacola with Governor
 José María Callava and the American troops withdrew, but when the transfer
 of Florida from Spain to the United States was approved at Madrid in 1821,
 General Jackson was once more called upon to visit Pensacola, this time as
 86
 provincial governor.

On March 3, 1822 Congress established a territorial government for
 Florida, and the first session of the legislature was held in Pensacola,
 87
 July 22, 1822.

Pensacola was incorporated as a city in November 1824. The following
 year, Captain Warrington and Commodores Biddle and Bainbridge, as a commission,
 visited Pensacola to fix upon a site for a naval base. The reservation was
 selected and Captain Warrington became the first Commandant of the Pensacola
 88
 Navy Yard. A town was built on the site and named for him.

During the years preceding the War Between the States, economic develop-
 ment was slow. Construction at the Navy Yard provided work but most of the
 laborers were imported. During his term of office, President Adams made
 provision for a systematic forestation that was to supply the live oak for
 the frame of the vessels of the navy for all time. This first experiment
 in forestation in the United States was started on Santa Rosa peninsula,
 89
 opposite Pensacola, on a body of land designated "Live Oak".

AMERICAN FORTIFICATIONS

It was during the period 1833-1844 that the defenses at the mouth of
 Pensacola Bay were materially strengthened. Fort Pickens was built between

1833 and 1842 and Fort McRae, now rapidly disappearing into the Gulf of Mexico, was constructed between 1839 and 1844, and it was also during this period that the brick Forts Barrancas and Redoubt were constructed. 90

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Pensacola was considered the military key for control of the Gulf region. The Confederates themselves fully realized the importance of securing Pensacola and its unrivaled harbor, and two days after the ordinance of secession had been passed by Florida, State troops seized the Navy Yard, Fort Barrancas, and Fort McRae. Fort Pickens, however, at the western extremity of Santa Rosa Island, remained in the possession of the United States troops. 91

General Braxton Bragg was placed in charge of all Confederate forces in Pensacola, and immediately after he took control of operations, a long series of artillery duels was started between the Confederate and Federal forces, the latter being supported by warships. On 9 October 1861, General Bragg made a daring but unsuccessful effort to capture Fort Pickens. The Confederates charged the works, but withdrew after killing ¹⁴ and wounding 36 of the garrison. The Confederate attack was climaxed by a spectacular two-day fight. The Federal forces, assisted by two men-of-war, centered their bombardment upon Fort McRae. Nearby villages of Wallington and Wolcott were destroyed by shells and fire, but the engagement resulted in no advantage to either side. Desultory attacks occurred during the next six months as Federal ships entered the harbor on blockade duty and attempted to recapture the navy yard. Finally, in response to orders from the Confederate high command, the position was abandoned 9 May 1862 and all troops were sent

north to join Lee's Army of the Potomac. Before their departure they destroyed the fortifications at the navy yard, Forts McRae and Barracosa and set fire to the garrison buildings.

92

UNION FORCES OCCUPY PENSACOLA

Federal forces at once took possession of the evacuated positions and marched into Pensacola, where martial law was proclaimed. During the remainder of the war the city and port were a link in the Federal blockade of the Gulf of Mexico coast. Extensive salt works between Pensacola and St. Andrews Bay were discovered by the Union gunboats and destroyed.

93

After the Federal occupation of Pensacola the population dwindled steadily until in 1863 there were only 78 white citizens and a score of Negroes. At the conclusion of the war, a reconstruction government was set up, with a Negro mayor, chief of police, judge and other public officials, but during the next 15 years, the white population gradually returned. Pensacola was freed of carpetbag domination in 1878 when white Democrats again gained control of State and local governments.

94

MODERN PENSACOLA

In the 1880's and 1890's Pensacola flourished under the stimulus of a lucrative lumber trade. By 1900 the timber exports were valued at more than \$14, 000,000. In addition cotton, phosphate and naval stores swelled the city's revenues. With the coming of the railroad in 1883, and the deepening of the harbor, Pensacola became a leading port on the Gulf coast. Establishment of the naval air station in 1914, construction of the Pensacola Bay bridge in 1931, and the development of an excellent highway system

throughout Escambia county have been factors contributing greatly to the
95
development of northwest Florida.

NOTES

- 1 Bolton, Spanish Borderlands, pp. 9-10, map opposite p. 16.
- 2 Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, v. 1., p. 62; Armstrong, History of Escambia County, p. 16.
- 3 Spanish Borderlands, map opposite p. 16, pp. 19-45; Armstrong, op. cit., pp. 15-20.
- 4 Spanish Borderlands, pp. 55-56.
- 5 Dunn, "Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the U.S.", in University of Texas Bulletin No. 1702, p. 159.
- 6 Spanish Borderlands, pp. 128-129.
- 7 Ibid., pp. 129-130; see also A Geographical and Historical Description of the Principal Objects of the Present War in the West Indies, pp. 8, 8, and especially frontispiece map by T. Jefferys, "A Map or Chart of the West Indies"; Hew, J., A Map of East and West Florida, Georgia and Louisiana...with the Treaty of the Spanish Galleons...; Bourne, E.G., Spain in America, pp. 235-236; Bolton and Marshall, The Colonization of North America, pp. 65-66.
- 8 Spanish Borderlands, p. 130.
- 9 Barcia, v. 1, p. 129; Spanish Borderlands, p. 130.
- 10 Barcia, v. 1, p. 129; Spanish Borderlands, p. 130.

- 11
Ibid.
- 12
Dunn, op. cit., p. 159.
- 13
Barcía, v. 1, pp. 130-132; Spanish Borderlands, pp. 130-131; Colonization of North America, pp. 61-62.
- 14
Spanish Borderlands, p. 131.
- 15
Barcía, v. 1, pp. 132 ff.; Spanish Borderlands, pp. 131-132.
- 16
Ibid., p. 132.
- 17
Ibid., pp. 131-133; Barcía, v. 1, pp. 131 ff.; Colonization of North America, pp. 61-62.
- 18
Spanish Borderlands, p. 131.
- 19
Armstrong, p. 33.
- 20
Dunn, op. cit., p. 145.
- 21
Ibid.
- 22
Armstrong, p. 34.
- 23
Barcía, v. 2., p. 238; Dunn, p. 147 ff.
- 24
Ibid., pp. 147-149.
- 25
Ibid., p. 149; Barcía, v. 2., p. 238.
- 26
Dunn, p. 149-150.

27 Ibid., pp. 168-169.

28 Ibid., pp. 169-171. In respect to the origin of the name Pensacola, the theory has been advanced that possibly the name is a corruption or derivative of Peniscola, a Spanish seaport on the Mediterranean (Federal Writers' Project, "Pensacola Local Guide" (MS.), p. 6). Primary sources, however, indicate that Pensacola was undoubtedly named from the aboriginal Panzacolas who inhabited the region.

Barcia (v. 2, p. 338) says that the province was called Panzacola because "...in olden times a nation of Indians inhabited it, called Panzocolos..."

See also Lowery's Florida MSS., v. 9, documents dated 8 May, 1 June, 1695. The latter name origin appears to be accepted by most authorities.

29 Dunn, p. 171-174.

30 Ibid., pp. 174-181.

31 Armstrong calls it San Carlos de Asturias (op. cit., p. 40.)

32 Barcia, v. 2, p. 337; Dunn, p. 181.

33 Barcia, v. 2, p. 337.

34 Dunn, pp. 181-183.

35 Ibid., pp. 181-183, 183 note; Barcia incorrectly dated the founding of the settlement in 1696.

36 Spanish Borderlands, p 219; Armstrong, pp. 37-39.

37 Spanish Borderlands, pp. 219-220.

- 38 Armstrong, pp. 43-44.
- 39 "Pensacola Local Guide", p. 9.
- 40 Barcia, v. 2, pp. 399-399.
- 41 Ibid., p. 414.
- 42 Ibid., pp. 415-416.
- 43 Armstrong, pp. 44-45.
- 44 Barcia, v. 2, pp. 416-420.
- 45 Ibid., p. 422.
- 46 Ibid., p. 427; Armstrong, p. 45.
- 47 Barcia, v. 2, pp. 426-428.
- 48 Ibid., p. 430.
- 49 The usual account is that the Spanish commandant used the French ships and French flag as a ruse to enter the harbor. See Armstrong, p. 45.
- 50 Barcia, v. 2, pp. 431-432.
- 51 Ibid., p. 433.
- 52 Ibid., p. 434.
- 53 Ibid., p. 448.
- 54 Ibid., p. 442.

- 55 Ibid., p. 425.
- 56 Ibid., p. 443.
- 57 Armstrong, p. 46.
- 58 Barcia, v. 2, pp. 446-447.
- 59 Ibid., pp. 448-449.
- 60 Ibid., pp. 451-452.
- 61 "Pensacola Local Guide", p 12; Cash, The Story of Florida, v. 1, p. 125.
- 62 "Pensacola Local Guide", p 12.
- 63 Cash, op. cit., v. 1, p. 124; Armstrong, p. 47.
- 64 Cash, v. 1, p. 124; Armstrong, p. 47.
- 65 Armstrong, p. 47, p. 52 (illustration).
- 66 Ibid., pp. 47-48; Cash, v. 1, p. 124; "Pensacola Local Guide", p. 12.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Howard, C. N., "The Military Occupation of British West Florida", in The Florida Historical Society Quarterly, v. 17, p. 184.
- 69 Howard, op. cit., p. 181.
- 70 Seibert, W. H., "How the Spaniards Evacuated Pensacola in 1763", in The Florida Historical Society Quarterly, v. 9, No. 2, pp. 50-57.

- 71
Ibid.
- 72
Armstrong, p. 54; American State Papers (Public Lands), v. 4, p. 230.
- 73
Cubberly, Frederick, "Fort George (St. Michael), Pensacola", in The Florida Historical Society Quarterly, v. 6, p. 222.
- 74
Cash, v. 1, p. 230.
- 75
Cubberly, op. cit., pp. 222-223.
- 76
Ibid.
- 77
American State Papers, op. cit., p. 30; Cubberly, pp. 222-230.
- 78
Cubberly, p. 224.
- 79
"Pensacola Local Guide", p. 18; Cubberly, p. 230.
- 80
"Pensacola Local Guide", p. 20.
- 81
American State Papers, p. 225.
- 82
Gonzalez, S. J., "Pensacola—Its Early History", in The Florida Historical Society Quarterly, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 14.
- 83
Williams, John Lee, A View of West Florida, 1837, p. 193.
- 84
Cash, pp. 222-223; Armstrong, pp. 75-76; Cubberly, pp. 222-234.
- 85
Cubberly, pp. 229-233; Cash, pp. 220-223.
- 86
Boyd, Mark F., "The Fortifications at San Marcos de Apalache", in The Florida Historical Society Quarterly, v. 15, pp. 24-26.

- 87
Cash, p. 278.
- 88
Davis, T. F., "U.S.S. Peacock in the War of 1812", in The Florida Historical Quarterly, v. 16, pp. 240-241. The original town existed until 1931 when, because more ground was needed for the expansion of the navy yard, it was moved under the same name to another location two miles nearer Pensacola.
- 89
Armstrong, p. 92.
- 90
Cutler, H. C., History of Florida, (Lewis Publishing Co., New York, 8 vols. 1923) Vol. 1, p. 576.
- 91
Cutler, pp. 577.
- 92
Cutler, pp. 579-580; Cash, pp. 432-433; Abbott, John C., "Heroic Deeds of Heroic Men", in Harpers Monthly Magazine, v. 33, pp. 704-708.
- 93
Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies, Series 1, v. 4, p. 15; "Pensacola Bay", in The American Cyclopaedia of 1861, pp. 574-575.
- 94
Leake, J. M., A Short History of Florida. (Heath and Co., New York, 1924) pp. 88-92.
- 95
"Pensacola Local Guide", pp. 30-32; Cutler, H. C., pp. 381-382; Armstrong, pp. 147-155.
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E. CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

1 Historical Summary

The Pensacola area, inhabited by aborigines (Panzacolas) who gave their name to the region, first came to the knowledge of the white men through the exploration of Spaniards in the early 16th century. It was first settled by white men in 1559, when the Spaniard Tristán de Luna established a colony which existed until 1561. Although Pensacola was considered and reconsidered as a desirable location for a Spanish outpost for protection of the commerce route from Mexico to Spain, it was not until French settlement on the Gulf coast was imminent that actual measures were taken to occupy the site. Andrés de Pez, admiral of the Windward Squadron, had actively furthered the Pensacola project, but it was Andrés de Arriola who finally made the settlement on the northwestern shore of Pensacola Bay in 1698, the year before Iberville established a French colony at Biloxi. Arriola's settlement consisted of a stockade fort, a chapel, and a few wooden houses. Pensacola of that date was in effect a garrison, not a colony.

In 1719, upon the outbreak of war between France and Spain, Pensacola was taken by the French, retaken by the Spanish, then again captured by the French, who burned the fortifications and the settlement. A few refugee settlers apparently established a village on Santa Rosa Island, about two miles east of Siguenza Point.

At the conclusion of the war, Pensacola was restored to Spain, and until 1754 the struggling settlement, consisting of a stockaded fort, governor's house, church and small habitations, was maintained on the island. In that year a hurricane destroyed it, and the town was again moved, this time to the site it occupies today on the north shore of the Bay. That site was more or less predetermined by farmers who had previously moved to the mainland to find fertile soil. Another palisaded fort defended it.

In 1763, by the terms of the treaty of Paris, Florida was ceded to England, and under the English, Pensacola was laid out as a planned city, becoming a strategic point in British negotiations with the Indians in the region. A strong earthwork, called Fort George, was erected on Caze Hill, commanding the town.

In 1781, an ally of France, the Spaniards under Oelvez attacked Pensacola, taking Fort George, and two years later Florida was retroceded to Spain.

Largely due to the concession made the English trader Panton, Pensacola remained an important trading settlement, and in order to protect this increasingly important place, in 1787 the Spaniards built the brick fort San Carlos, which still stands.

During the second decade of the 19th century, Pensacola again became the scene of important British negotiations with the Indians, a situation

dangerous to the United States. Jackson seized Pensacola in 1814 and 1818, and though both times it was relinquished to the Spanish, continued border troubles led to the cession of Florida to the United States in 1821.

Pensacola then grew in importance as a strategic point, in particular as a naval base. Several permanent fortifications were erected, one of which (Fort Pickens) played a heroic role as a continuously occupied Federal post during the War Between the States.

2. Evaluation

Pensacola is especially important in connection with the history of the early struggle for possession of the Gulf coast. The region figures among the earliest explorations of the vast country between the Atlantic seaboard and Mexico, and is related to the heroic sagas of Narvaez, Cabeza de Vaca and Soto. With realization of its strategic location in relation to the route of the Spanish treasure fleets, the Spaniards attempted settlement there in 1559, six years before the founding of St. Augustine.

As the French advanced down the Mississippi, Spain hastened to forestall them, planting a colony at Pensacola, since that place had valuable natural resources, a deep and easily fortified harbor. Much of the actual struggle between French and Spanish for possession of the Gulf coast occurred at Pensacola Bay, and Spain was moved to maintain the presidio there not only because of the French, but because the English were penetrating to the very shores of Pensacola in their business of Indian trade.

With the advent of the British to West Florida in 1763, men began to see the destiny of Pensacola as an outlet for the rich country round about. In later years that destiny was little obscured. Today, the city is a thriving

center of trade, and its strategic value from the standpoint of the military is evidenced in the present naval and army reservations. One Spanish fort still stands; other historic fortifications testify to the part Pensacola played as a Federal Base during the 1860's. The Spanish fort, San Carlos, has unique architectural features which demand preservation.

Aside from its fortifications and historic sites, Pensacola has several interesting residences which date from the late 18th or early 19th centuries, a cultural evidence of Spanish occupation. As in the case of St. Augustine, ecological local factors, plus radical changes in the entire population of the town, modified Spanish customs and architecture to an extent where they bordered on the indigenous.

And the standing historic structures which were erected under Spain's aegis are to a remarkable extent peculiar to Pensacola and to no other place in the United States. The conclusion must be that the unique historic structures in Pensacola deserve preservation, although it is believed that preservation of the city's historic houses is a matter for treatment by local interests.

Much of Pensacola history undoubtedly contributes to the national pageant. Its part in the French-Spanish struggle for the coast of the Mexican Gulf, its utilization by the British as a strategic point for negotiations with the Indians of the 18th century Southwest, its role as a theatre for stormy episodes in President Jackson's life, and its war between the States history, are justification for the statement that the Pensacola history is nationally important.

5. Museum Possibilities

Museum possibilities at Pensacola, especially in connection with Fort San Carlos, appeal to the imagination. As in the case of Fort Marion at St. Augustine, the story to be told at San Carlos is not properly the story of a single structure, but rather the history of an entire region which was a theatre of colonial struggle long before the United States came into existence. The Pensacola story is part of our national heritage. Pensacola, as the capital of a vast territory, is the logical focal point for dissemination of this background information; nowhere else can that story be given as effectively as it can at this historic site. Fort San Carlos, physical evidence of the struggle for the Gulf coast, looms up as the point of beginning for a museum dealing with the Old Southwest.

II. PARK DATA

A. OWNERSHIP

Historic fortifications, such as Forts San Carlos, Barrancas, Redoubt, Pickens and McRae, are owned and maintained by the War Department. The 17th century site of Pensacola is also presumably an War Department property. The Live Oak grove is the property of the Navy Department. Three historic sites in the City of Pensacola, Fort George, Ferdinand and Seville Squares, are now public parks, of course municipally owned. With the exception of Christ Church, now a public library, other important houses are apparently privately owned. The site of Pensacola 1723-1764 is presumably included in Santa Rosa National Monument,

B. APPRAISED VALUE

No data are submitted under this heading.

C. CONDITION

With the exception of Fort McRae, the War Department property is well preserved, and for the historically most important of the fortifications, San Carlos, that Department has recently done considerable preservation and restoration work, using emergency funds. Preservation work under the same authority has also been done for Fort Barrancas. Fort McRae has long been unused, and part of it has fallen into the Gulf.

Municipally owned sites in Pensacola are protected, and will probably retain their present characteristics for many years. Privately owned sites, with the possible exception of the Walton house, which is used for a museum,

apparently have no certain future ahead of them. Some of them are used as private residences by no very desirable tenants, so far as can be determined, and repairs are badly needed in some instances.

D. Care

As has been indicated above, Government and municipally owned sites in the Pensacola region are accorded the care necessary for preservation. The majority of privately owned historic houses in the city are part of no preservation program, and it does not appear that any steps have been taken by any organization to acquire these places and administer them as historic sites. The Pensacola Historical Society has taken the lead in erecting historical markers on such sites as the location of the Panton warehouse, where a few walls still remain standing, but there is little attempt at maintenance of the site, which in 1936 was overgrown with weeds and virtually inaccessible.

As in the case of the Panton warehouse, many Pensacola sites can be kept presentable by such simple measures as weed control, grass cutting and leaf raking, and the erection of simple markers. The fortifications present a more complicated problem, that of continuous preservation as well as presentation to the public. During February 1938, the daily average visitation to Forts Barrancas and San Carlos was 140, and that number will undoubtedly increase with development of the area. Historic houses, no one of which is judged in itself of national importance, are yet valuable to the nation as a group. Every effort should be made to encourage local organizations to protect these houses.

E. ACCESSIBILITY

Pensacola is easily accessible; both the Louisville and Nashville and the Frisco railroads operate into the municipality; U. S highways 89, 90 and 98 lead to Pensacola; of the four airports, one is municipally owned; the Gulf of Mexico is less than ten miles from the wharves of the city.

F. POSSIBILITIES OF PRESERVATION

No additional data are submitted under this heading.

G. SUGGESTED DEVELOPMENT

It is recommended that Fort Pickens, Fort San Carlos, Fort Barrancos, Fort Redoubt and Live Oak Plantation be considered as possible additions to Santa Rosa National Monument. So far as can be determined at the present time, acquisition of these sites for conservation by the National Park Service will insure the conservation of the earliest historic sites in the area, as well as the preservation of known important historic buildings.

The problem of historic sites within the city of Pensacola is one for solution by the municipality, which owns a sufficient number of these sites to work out a definite program for them, perhaps with the cooperation of the Service. While Fort George and Fort San Bernardo, which are located in Pensacola proper, played an important part in the history of Pensacola, yet it is believed that the explanation of the area should be made from some focal point like Fort San Carlos, especially since emphasis is presumably to be placed upon the 16th and 17th century history of the region.

As to the historic houses in the city, unquestionably their utilization is one of local concern. They are of much potential value as house museums.

The following suggestions for development were advanced by Coordinating Superintendent Herbert K. Kahler in his 12 January 1938 "Preliminary Report on Historic Sites at Pensacola, Florida". They are again set forth as sound recommendations for the area already under Service control, as well as for the areas which may conceivably be added to the National Monument.

Suggestions for Development

1. The Live Oak Plantation would be suitable for the administrative and utility group. It is centrally located with reference to all areas; has telephone and electricity and apparently a good water supply.
2. Sufficient area should be obtained around Forts San Carlos, Barrancas and Redoubt to provide for scenic control and parking.
3. A separate roadway should be constructed from these forts to the highway so that present Fort Barrancas could remain intact as a military reservation.
4. Comfort stations and ranger stations should be located near the parking areas. Because the visitors habitually deface walls and use canteens as latrines, it will be necessary to have at least one ranger on duty at Forts San Carlos and Barrancas and one at Fort Redoubt.
5. Provision should be made for trailside exhibits, probably something similar to those designed for Stone River National Military Park. Orientation disks will be needed at Fort Barrancas.

6. Some of the dark passageways in Fort Barrancas should be lighted. It was noted that part of the fort is wired for lighting.
7. The east end of Santa Rosa Island is leased and has thirty five cottages that are shabby looking. If cottage groups are to be included in the scheme of development, they should be carefully planned.
8. The parking area at the Casino deserves careful treatment. The tavern, bowling alley and the multitude of advertising signs at these places are out of keeping with the surroundings.
9. The water tank on Santa Rosa Island should eventually be lowered. A pressure system could be installed.
10. State highway No. 115 crosses Santa Rosa Island at the east end and follows the coast. The question of ownership of the road and policing power should be considered.
11. Some of the people of Pensacola have the idea that the National Park Service will build a highway across Santa Rosa Island. Because the island is narrow the construction of a thoroughfare would lessen the value of the area as a recreational beach park. Spar roads from the east and west ends of the island are desirable, especially as the area becomes increasingly popular. It was estimated 250,000 people visited the Casino last summer. Bathing, hiking, fishing and boating are the chief recreations. Landing docks on the north side of Santa Rosa Island (Santa Rosa Sound) will make it possible for people to explore the island at various points.
12. Steps should be taken to have the State Road Department take over the toll bridges between Santa Rosa Island and Pensacola and make them free as

57

they have done in other parts of the state.

13. It is recommended that the people of Pensacola take the initiative in the transfer of Live Oak Plantation, Fort San Carlos, Fort Barrancas and Fort Redoubt.

14. The fences and radio antenna should be removed from Fort Barrancas.

No specific boundary recommendations are submitted at this time.

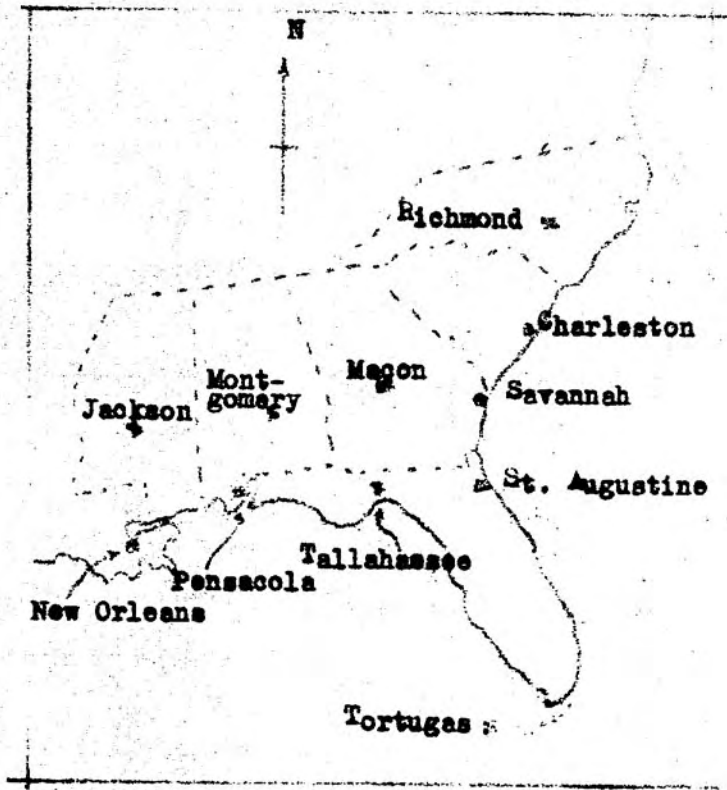
H. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AREAS

The foregoing section has indicated to some extent the potential relationship between Santa Rosa National Monument and other historic sites in the Pensacola region. Interpretation of the Pensacola story as a Spanish site naturally points to a rather close relationship to Fort Marion and Fort Matanzas National Monuments in St. Augustine, especially since the San Carlos fort, the most important of the Pensacola group from the historical standpoint, is also a Spanish fortification. Whereas at St. Augustine, the Spanish story is a relation of 15th-18th century Spanish-English struggle for possession of the Atlantic seaboard, at Pensacola the struggle for approximately the same period was between the Spanish and the French, and for the possession of the Gulf coast. Both Pensacola and St. Augustine colonies were the result of the same stimulus: fear of European encroachment on Spanish claims.

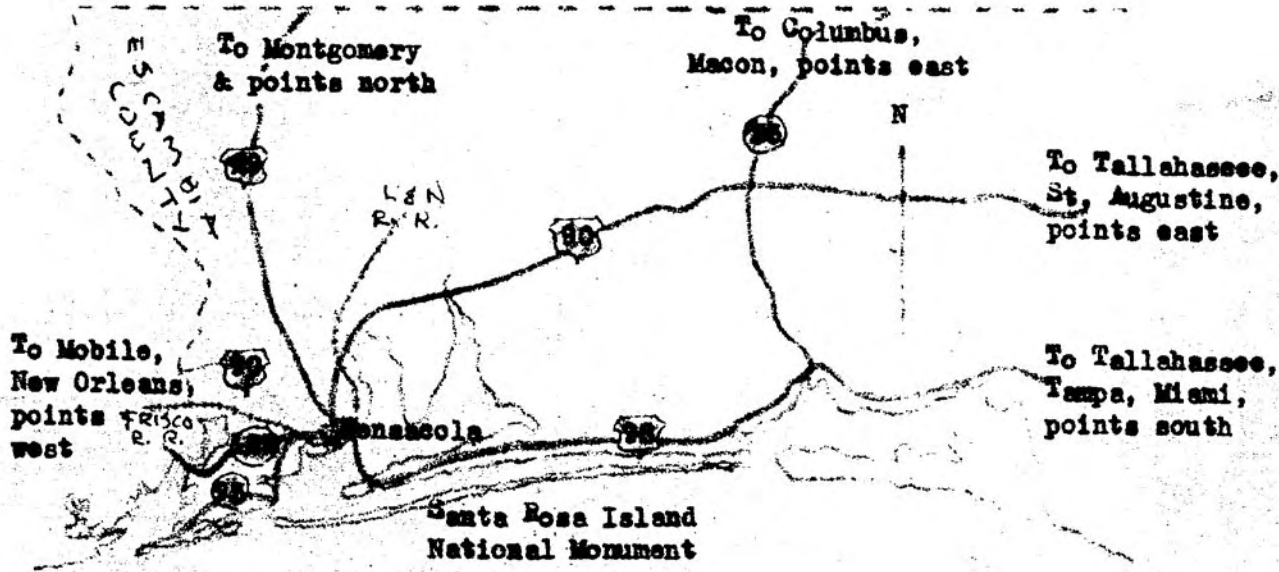
The connection of Pensacola with the French colonization of the Gulf region introduces the possibility of relationship with areas in Alabama,

Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas; while for the later periods there is ample justification for a tie to other areas in which General Jackson figures, such as Chalmette National Battlefield Site, New Orleans.

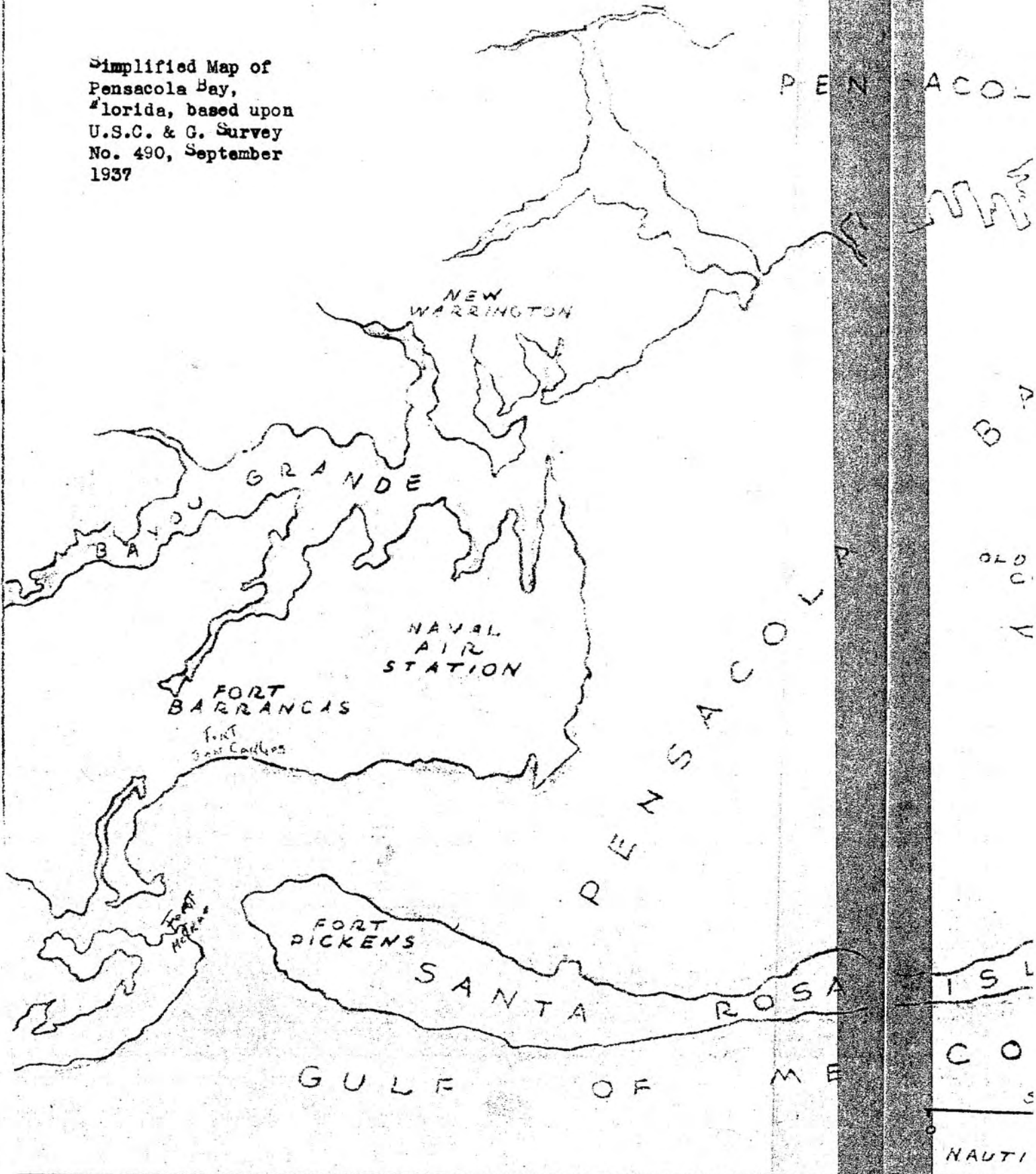
III. MAPS

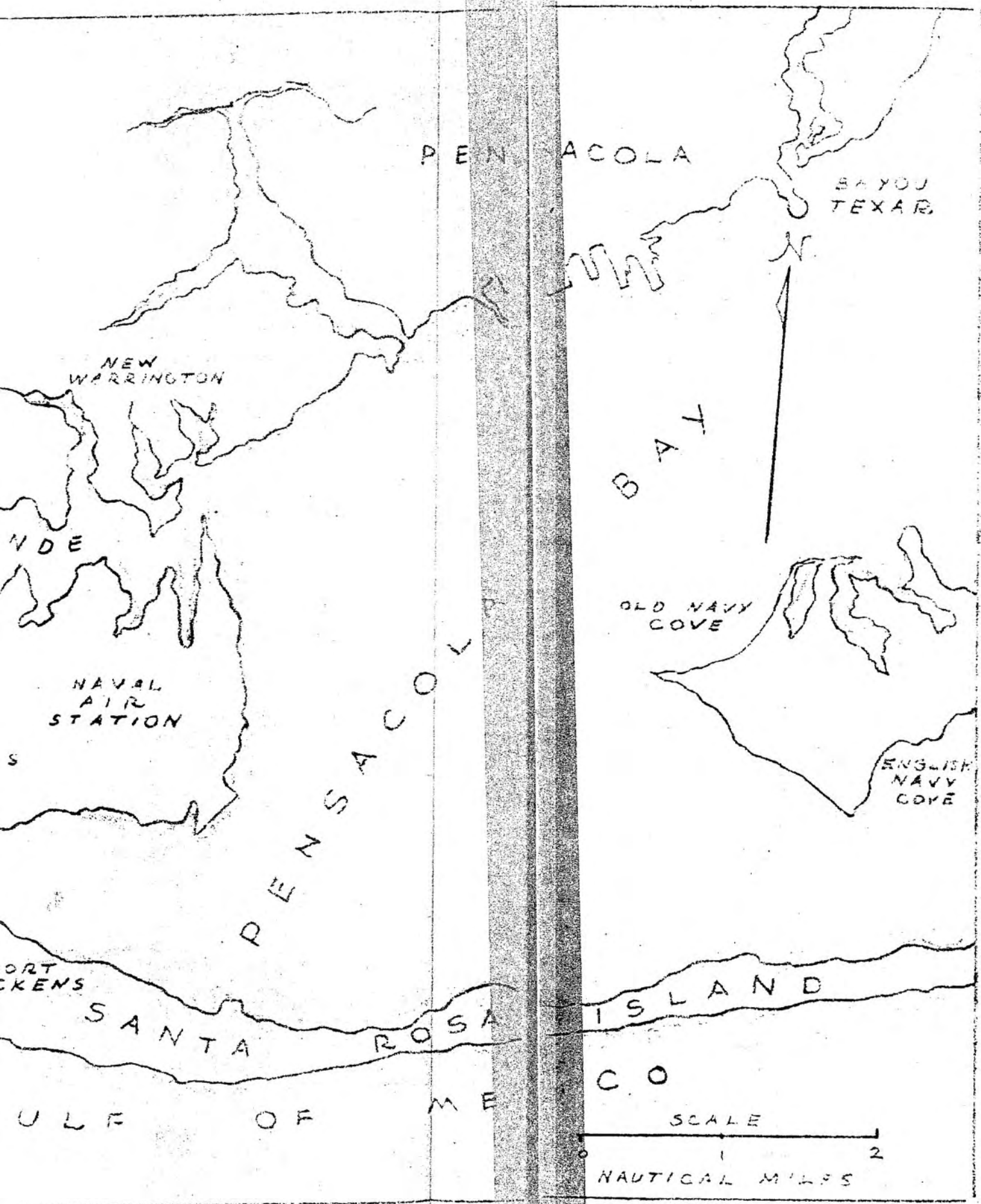


Location of Pensacola, Florida, with main highways to centers of population



Simplified Map of
Pensacola Bay,
Florida, based upon
U.S.C. & G. Survey
No. 490, September
1937





Respectfully Submitted,

Albert C. Manacy

Albert C. Manacy
Junior Research Technician
Fort Marion National Monument
St. Augustine, Florida
19 June 1939

The historical narrative for the years following 1763 is the
work of Mr. F. Hilton Crowe, Assistant Research Technician,
Fort Marion National Monument. -am