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## Spanish Fortifications of Pensacola, 1698-1763

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SPANISH FORTIFICATIONS OF  
PENSACOLA, 1698-1763

by STANLEY FAYE

Spain knew toward the end of the seventeenth century that her enemy France soon would be colonizing the Mississippi valley. Wilderness guarded Mexico (New Spain) from an attack by any French soldiers who should garrison the future posts of Louisiana. In order that a hostile fleet might not sail against Spanish ports of the Gulf, Spain took steps to occupy the one still unoccupied Gulf port deep enough to serve as base for such a fleet.<sup>1</sup> So in April of 1693 a Mexican mathematician, Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora, led an official expedition into Pensacola bay to investigate that harbor and its possibilities.

Don Carlos mapped the bay and chose names for its shores. He thought it to be the place known briefly in a previous century as Santa Maria Filipina ; to honor the Conde de Galve, viceroy of Mexico, he called it now Santa Maria de Galve. To honor himself he set the names Siguenza and San Carlos to the two points, on Santa Rosa island and the western coast, between which lies the entrance. To the sand spit within the bay, northeast of the high red bank on the mainland, he gave the name of a companion, Aguero. The bank itself, steep enough though little more than twenty-five English feet in height, he called the *barranca* of St. Thomas. In his report to the viceroy he recommended that a fort should be built on the bar-

1. Real cedula, June 26, 1692, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-6-21. Except as otherwise noted all texts and maps cited, whether published or in unpublished copy or original, have been consulted in the Newberry Library, Chicago, for the most part in the Ayer Collection.

ranca and two batteries on Point Siguenza to guard the bay against the world.<sup>2</sup>

War in Europe prevented Spain from acting on the surveyor's report until 1698.<sup>3</sup> An expedition sent then by a new viceroy reached Pensacola bay in November with a few missionary friars, nearly three hundred infantrymen and a labor battalion of colored criminals to build "a fortification with wood in a place where it cannot be built with mortar and stone because there is not any." Within six days eighteen cannon (8-pounders and 10-pounders) peered out from the sandy crest of the bluff, where work already had begun on a fort nearly one hundred yards square that bore the name San Carlos de Austria.<sup>4</sup> St. Thomas (too doubtful a name to bring good luck) was forgotten; another name created itself in the mouths of Mexicans. *La barranca* straightway became *las barrancas*, later simply Barrancas, or Barrancas Coloradas, the Red Cliffs of the still later British and the Red Cliffs of the Americanos.<sup>5</sup>

The channel that San Carlos should control held a middle course through the 3,000-yard-wide entrance between Barrancas and Santa Rosa island. Therefore it almost evaded the range of 10-pounder iron cannon. It could be barred only by cross-fire

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2. Irving A. Leonard, *Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693* (Albuquerque, 1939), 154-185.
  3. Cf. memorandum, Consejo de Indias, Feb. 28, 1694, annotated into 1697, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-6-21.
  4. Montezuma to the king, Sept. 18, Arriola to the king, Dec. 1, 1698, and, in *Testimonio de Autos* accompanying real cedula of April 19, 1698, the following two letters: Frank to (Montezuma?), Feb. 19, Jordan to the king, Nov. 1, 1699, all four in Audiencia, Mexico, 61-6-22; William Edward Dunn, *The Occupation of Pensacola Bay, 1689-1700*, in *Florida Historical Quarterly*, IV (1925-1926), 3-14, 76-89, 140-154.
  5. The plural *barrancas* is a Spanish-Americanism with the same history and same meaning as the Anglo-Americanism *bluffs*. In Spanish-American place names, as in English, a descriptive noun quickly drops the preceding article.

of more efficient artillery, but the garrison did not build the two batteries that a mathematician had proposed for Point Siguenza. The military officers found Siguenza to be a point "of shifting sand at sea level, all watery and drowned so that no fortification can be set there; because in heavy rains it is drowned, and when the south and southeast winds do blow the sea drowns it likewise." Pending arrival of more guns the bay continued open to attack, and Fort San Carlos commanded only its own esplanade atop Barrancas.<sup>6</sup>

On the crest a hundred yards westward of San Carlos, and at greater distances toward the north, three dunes of sand dominated dangerously the position that the officers chose to defend.<sup>7</sup> Felling of the pine forest that surrounded these mounds yielded materials for the building of the fort.

In design and construction San Carlos was a typical field redoubt of the period. On each side of a quadrilateral that an engineer officer traced on the crest, pine stakes some twelve inches thick were set deeply into the sand in two parallel rows perhaps six yards apart. Held in place by these sunken footings two rows of pine logs (each about nine yards in length and one foot thick at the base) leaned inward and upward and joined their tips, like the rafters of a gable, some twenty-five feet above the ground. Within the space thus enclosed, triangular in section, a terreplein or earthfill of sand was shoveled and poured even to the top; sand and timbers became a fascined embankment strong enough to resist the assault of heavy guns. At each of the four angles a rhomboid bastion, al-

6. Arriola to the king, Dec. 1, 1698, as cited.

7. Minutas, Junta de Guerra de Indias, Jan. 25, 1716, Audiencia, Mexico, 60-5-3; *Carta de la costa de Pensacola desde [!] Santa Rosa hasta Massacre, MDCCXIII*, AGI, 61-3-12.

most square, projected obliquely to give the defenders vantage for artillery fire upon any enemy who should approach the foot of the curtain, or wall.<sup>8</sup> During nearly one hundred years the Spaniards of Pensacola were not to improve upon this method of defence except by use of an adventitious exterior ditch, which was wanting in the case of the first San Carlos.<sup>9</sup>

It was rather the interior of San Carlos that needed improvement. Within the line traced by the engineer the garrison and the criminals built Mexican huts of poles and thatched them with palmetto leaves that within a few days became tinder-dry. A spark was enough to ignite the thatch ; again and again a spark did so. On January 4, 1699, fire destroyed every hut and most of the supplies. In March the garrison's one vessel solicited in Havana and brought back food and equipment and also two iron 16-pounders instead of the desired brass guns, "culverins of the greatest range," with which San Carlos would not too well have defended the bay.<sup>10</sup>

Need for the best artillery had proved itself on January 27, when the long-awaited French expedition anchored off Pensacola entrance and justified the existence of San Carlos. Of the fort's four walls the two that would have been invisible from below did not exist, nor did any one of the four bastions. Of the two walls that were visible from below, the logs of one held their proper places,

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8. Cf. Jeannette Thurber Connor, *The Nine Old Wooden Forts of St. Augustine* in this *Quarterly*, IV 103-111, 171-180 (Jan., Apr., 1926). Frank to (Montezuma?), Feb. 19, 1699, as cited; *Carta de la Costa de Pensacola*, as cited.

9. Digest of report of Juan Pedro Matamoros de Isla, in *Extracto de lo acaescido en las entradas y Poblaciones de Franceses*, Jan. 12, 1720, Audiencia, Guadalajara, 67-3-28.

10. Cordova Laso de la Vega to Montezuma, April 18, 1799, in *Testimonio de Autos*, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-6-22, as cited.

but the terreplein had not yet attained to much height. The fourth wall consisted only of slanting logs, but shovels had raised an exterior breastwork of sand, and fourteen of the fort's cannon showed themselves from behind wall and breastwork. The French officer who paid a visit to Barrancas saw artillery ready for use, and he knew that France and Spain were no longer at war-the sieur d'Iberville continued his voyage to a landing farther west on the coast. Three weeks later a respectable pile of sand lay within the second wall. Work continued on the other curtains and on the bastions.<sup>11</sup>

Before the fort came to completion toward the end of the year the pine logs had begun to rot away. Storm winds of autumn had scoured out a shallow ditch not beyond but around the sunken footings of the wall. Sand was sifting out of the terreplein at the bottom and blowing out at the top.<sup>12</sup>

Indian warfare, increasing in the next two years, caused St. Augustine to withdraw the garrison from Apalache, its only western post; and the Mexican dependency of Pensacola remained as the only Spanish foothold on the northern coast of the Gulf. Friendly Indians came to the chapel that, after the fire, the friars had set up not many yards to the eastward of San Carlos and near to the hut that served now as hospital. Strakes of cypress bark may already have roofed the houses instead of palmetto leaves. No masonry had made its appearance except for the bake oven within the fort and perhaps a chimney for the friars. Fire from the chapel hearth spread one day in the winter of 1704-1705. All buildings both without and within the fort burned to the ground. The French

11. Pierre Margry, ed., *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans l'Ouest et dans de Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale, 1614-1754* (6 v.; Paris, 1876-1886), IV, 96-97; Frank to (Montezuma?), Feb. 19, 1699, as cited.

12. Frank to the king, Jan. 13, 1700, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-6-22.

of Mobile, subjects of a Bourbon king as were the Spaniards now, sent aid. A supply vessel from Vera Cruz, coming with further aid and with pay for the garrison long in arrears, did not anchor in Pensacola bay until the morning of September 5. By night both vessel and cargo lay wrecked by a storm.<sup>13</sup>

An enemy threatened San Carlos more fiercely than fire and wind when in August of 1707 Indians attacked the Spaniards of Pensacola as they had attacked Apalache. Now the mounds of sand that dominated the fort sheltered Indian snipers.<sup>14</sup> During two months a siege continued ; when at last the besiegers carried their British flag back into the forest the Spanish garrison was almost out of powder.<sup>15</sup> Next summer the Indians came back,<sup>16</sup> and in the following summers. On the mound toward the west a tall cross marked the graves of men. Succeeding viceroys of Mexico failed to send replacements enough to assure San Carlos its full strength of four companies. The soldiers were paid in July of 1710 ; their next pay day came at the end of June, 1712, when they received back pay for six months only.<sup>17</sup>

The army colonel who took charge early in 1711 despaired two years later of continued attacks by Indians and continued neglect by the viceroy. In reports made directly to the king of Spain he recommended that San Carlos should be abandoned and the channel guarded by a new fort to be built

13. Minutes, Junta de Guerra de Indias, Dec. 2, 1707, Audiencia, Mexico. 60-5-2.

14. Cf. minutes, Junta de Guerra de Indias, Jan. 25, 1716, Audiencia, Mexico, 60-5-3.

15. Albuquerque [!] to the king, Feb. 2, 1708, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-6-35.

16. Corcoles y Martinez to the king, Jan. 22, 1710, Audiencia, Santo Domingo, 58-1-28.

17. Salinas Varona to the king, July 12, 1712, Audiencia, Mexico. 61-6-35.

on Santa Rosa island. Early in 1716 His Catholic Majesty decided to save money by removing the rotten timbers of San Carlos to Santa Rosa and building with them a new fort.<sup>18</sup> The decision was not carried out. A year later the colonel of San Carlos begged for at least a little fort on Siguenza Point big enough for only fifty men but to be armed with eight guns of 18-pound and 24-pound ratings for defence of the channel, which he knew that San Carlos could not defend.<sup>19</sup>

Another commanding officer arriving in March of 1718 found as his fortifications only the old San Carlos, a square work with four bastions but without an exterior ditch or the parapet that ought to have stretched beyond it, with nine of its twenty-eight iron guns useless because their carriages were broken, and with only enough small arms to provide each infantryman with one musket. Instead of four companies assigned to San Carlos the garrison consisted of two. One-third of the men were not combat troops, but members of the labor battalion, for the most part mulattoes. Fourteen of these latter had been assigned permanently to repair of the timbers and sandbanks that formed the fort.<sup>20</sup>

In December of that same year (1718) England declared war against Spain. In January of 1719 the Bourbon king of France joined England in war against his Spanish Bourbon cousin. In April Louisiana heard the news and began to prepare a naval expedition against Pensacola.<sup>21</sup>

Pensacola heard the news also. The fort that

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18. Minutes, Junta de Guerra de Indias, Jan. 25, 1716, Audiencia, Mexico, 60-5-3.

19. *Extracto de lo acaescido en las entradas y Poblaciones de Franceses*, Audiencia, Guadalajara, 67-3-28.

20. Digest of report of Matamóros de Isla in *Extracto de lo acaescido*, as cited.

21. Charles Etienne Arthur Gayarre *History of Louisiana* (4 v.; New York, 1851-1866), I, 249-252.



Spain had not authorized for Santa Rosa the current commander built now without specific authority. This was only a bastioned stockade, and a little one at that, <sup>22</sup> set up hastily on Siguenza where the first storm of autumn would overflow it. The first storm came indeed in May personified by French soldiers from Louisiana, who landed on Santa Rosa and by a trick gained possession of the new stockade. With little more difficulty the invaders possessed themselves next day of Fort San Carlos and shipped the defenders off to Havana. Back came the exiles in August with Cuban reinforcement and again occupied their two forts. <sup>23</sup> A second French expedition attacked by land and sea in September, and Pensacola bay a second time became a French possession. The Spanish commandant made his next official report not as an exile in Havana but as a prisoner in Brest, where on January 9, 1720, he could learn that a treaty of peace between France and Spain might be expected within a month or two.

Less expectation of peace had existed at San Carlos in September. Then, to prevent Spaniards from profiting through another descent on Pensacola bay, the French razed completely both the stockade of Siguenza and the fort of San Carlos before sailing westward. Of the buildings on Barrancas, within the fort and at the mission site, they let only three remain, one as a government house, one for Lieutenant Carpot de Montigny, who was

22. Matamoros de Isla to the king, Jan. 9, annexed to Elcorobarrutia (Consejo de Indias) to the king, Feb. 17, 1720, Indiferente de Nueva Espana, 136-4-6 ; [Jean-Francois-Benjamin Dumont de Montigny], *Plan de Pensacola et des deux forts Espagnols pris par l'Escadre de Mr. de Chamelin, le 9 de Septembre 1719*, Service Hydrographique (Paris), Archives, 138-9-6; William Roberts, *An Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida* (London, 1763), 91.

23. Relation annexed to Valero to Elcorobarrutia, Oct. 15, 1719, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-2-1.

to command for France, <sup>24</sup> and one for the sergeant and the detachment of twenty-four soldiers who completed the French garrison. <sup>25</sup>

The officers of the departing force carried with them an idea of Pensacola bay different from that of the Spaniards. The Spanish king and his Council of the Indies, vaguely appreciating the defects of Point Siguenza and of iron artillery, had held nevertheless to the theory of protecting Pensacola entrance by cross fire from Siguenza and Barrancas. Now the French of Louisiana with an eye toward possibilities in the future considered the values of cross fire from points within the bay.

About an English mile to the eastward of Siguenza, west of south from Aguero on the main and distant from Aguero by some two or three hundred yards more than the distance between Siguenza and Barrancas, a small point backed by a beach ridge projected northward from the line of Santa Rosa's northern beach. Here or hereabouts a fort might be built. The channel, narrow in the entrance, broadened between the inner points into a basin of deep anchorage. The sand spit of Aguero was suitable only for a battery and would demand protection from attack by the landward side. The costs of a protective fort atop Barrancas, of a fort on Santa Rosa and of a battery on Aguero would be greater for construction and for maintenance than the costs of San Carlos. The result, however, would be defence, whereas in relation

24. Cf. [Jean-Francois-Benjamin Dumont de Montigny], *Memoire de L'officier Ingenieur, contenant Les Evenemens qui se sont passes a la Louisiane depuis 1715 jusqu'a present. Ainsi que les remarques sur les Moeurs, usages et forces des diverses Nations de L'Amerique Septentrionale et de ses productions* (MS.; 1747), f. 62; relation, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-2-1, as cited.

25. Dumont de Montigny, op. cit., f. 62. The number of houses appears as four in [J-B Le Mascrier, ed.], *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane . . . composees sur les Memoires de M. Dumont* (2 v. ; Paris, 1753), II, 28.

to the channel San Carlos had done no more than add variety to the landscape. These considerations may be perceived in the map of Pensacola Bay drawn by an officer of France.<sup>26</sup>

A new peace had reigned nearly three years between France and Spain when on November 26, 1722, an expedition from Vera Cruz, joined later by the garrison from the temporary Spanish post of St. Joseph bay, came to relieve the French detachment. The resident French lieutenant and seventeen soldiers gave over to the new Spanish commandant the one ruinous cabin that remained to them, and the bake oven and lidless cistern that alone represented San Carlos. On the ground, covered or half covered by drifted sand, lay the barrels of twelve cannon of ratings from ten to eighteen pounds, most of them spiked or otherwise useless.

It mattered little that no fort existed atop Barrancas, for the Spanish officer had orders only to prepare for building a fort on Siguenza. Inspection revealed Siguenza to be an expanse of morass and semiliquid sand unsuitable as the site of a fort unless it might first be drained, impossible at the moment for fort or for human habitation. If a fort should be built inland on Santa Rosa it could not command the channel opposite Barrancas; nevertheless it must be built inland or not at all.

With his orders for a fort on Siguenza the Spanish commandant sought to reconcile the military values that French invaders had recognized. The site he chose was within one hundred yards of Santa Rosa's northern beach, three quarters of an English mile eastward from Siguenza, a quarter

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26. Francois Liebaut, *Plan de la rade de Pensacola leve par M. de Vienne* [undated but containing data of 1719], Bibliotheque Nationale (Paris), Estampes, Vd. 22.

mile or more west of the little point lying almost directly south of Aguero. Long lines of dune and constant beach ridge protected this site from surf that a storm might otherwise sweep across Santa Rosa from the Gulf, but did not guarantee it from overflow. On the most northerly line of elevation, only a few feet above water level, the Spaniards framed cabins first of cedar timbers that they had brought from Vera Cruz, later of timbers salvaged with strakes of bark from the abandoned post of St. Joseph. From among the few trees that grew in this sheltered spot they chose two standing side by side on which to fix a lookout fifty feet high.<sup>27</sup>

The commandant recommended to Mexico a square fort, about seventy-two English yards on a side, for the position that he had chosen, with eighty guns (or forty-eight at least), 18-pounders to face the bay and 12-pounders toward the land of Santa Rosa. He recommended a fascined wall like that of San Carlos; masonry, he thought, would sink into the sand. Materials for a fort of masonry would have to be brought from Vera Cruz, or else charcoal ovens and brick yards would have to be built on the bay ; the supply of good clay was

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27. Roberts, *op. cit.*, 11 and plate t. f. p. 11; *Pensacola Harbor and Bar, Florida. Surveyed in 1822 by Major James Kearney, Topo. Engineer*, copy in collection of Julien C. Yonge, Pensacola; Wauchop to Casafuerte, Sept. 26, 1722, in *Testimonio de ordenes y providencias dadas por ocupar el presidio de Sta Maria de Galve o Pansacola. ano 1722*, and Wauchop to Casafuerte, Feb. 15, Feb. 27, 1723, in *Cartas originals que escribio Don Alexandro Wauchop, ano de 1723*, all in Audiencia, Mexico, 60-5-5; dictamen, July 5, 1761, in *Supor. Govno., Ano de 1758, Testimonio de los Autos fijos de el Coronel Dn Miguel Roman de Castilla*, Archivo General y Publico de la Nacion [de Mejico], Marina, 1761-1781. By what is apparently Wauchop's own error Wauchop's text of Feb. 15 quotes the distance from Siguenza as 1212 feet (about 1111 feet English), but comparison with the distance quoted (likewise in error) from Siguenza to the channel shows these figures to be really not in feet but in varas (about 33 inches English). The site chosen appears therefore as four thousand English feet east of Siguenza.

plentiful, he found. But this one fort, he said, would be useless; there must absolutely be another one somewhere on the main.<sup>28</sup>

The Spanish government acted on only part of this recommendation. No fort was built beyond the channel; only in the course of time did eight soldiers and one noncommissioned officer garrison a new little blockhouse on the site of the present Pensacola called Fort San Miguel, which stood seven miles up the bay on the forested waterfront between San Miguel Creek and the inlet called later Bayou Cadet, as military protection for mission Indians who lived nearby. One-pounder and 12-pounder guns fortified the square stockade that overlooked the northern beach of Santa Rosa, to be built again upon a foundation of piles driven so far into the sand that wind and water could not too greatly weaken them.<sup>29</sup> Bark roofed cabins stood within the stockade, and others near on the beach ridge formed a village.<sup>30</sup>

The thirty-year history of this fort and this village, both called Santa Rosa Punta de Siguenza, was told later in three words: *Storms, high tides.*<sup>31</sup> Wars in Europe gave successive viceroys of Mexico excuse if not reason for failing in their duty toward Pensacola bay. By the year 1750 the carriages of Santa Rosa's heavier guns were in great part

28. Wauchop to Casafuerte, Feb. 15, 1723, as cited.

29. Yarza y Ascona to (Indias?), June 30, 1750, in *Testimonio de los Autos fijos a Consulta del Comandante de la Isla de Sta Rosa Punta de Siguenza*, Audiencia, Guadalajara, 104-2-11; dictamen, July 5, 1761, as cited.

30. Roberts, *op. cit.*, t. f. p. 11, *North View of Pensacola on the Island of Santa Rosa*. This view from the north is redrawn by the cartographer Thomas Jeffreys from a drawing made in a year unrevealed by a Spaniard who had visited Pensacola bay in the year 1743. It shows nothing of the dunes mentioned by the Mexican *dictamen* or the dunes and ridges shown by Kearney's map, both cited above. It sets the village west of the fort and shows the fort as a small single palisade.

31. Dictamen, July 5, 1761, as cited.

broken and the guns therefore unserviceable. In that year the two companies now forming the garrison consisted in all of sixty-two men, of whom only thirty-six were fit for duty. The labor battalion had been reduced to twenty-four.<sup>32</sup>

On November 3, 1752, a tropical storm struck Santa Rosa. Surf beat against the protecting dunes as it had not beaten before within the knowledge of Spaniards. During three days the Gulf continued its assault. The beach ridges yielded in crevasses. When the hurricane ceased there were no constant ridges, there were no dunes, there was no village and there was no fort. Of all the buildings on Santa Rosa only the storehouse and the hospital persisted in being. The area was uninhabitable now as a village site.<sup>33</sup> Some of the residents sought refuge at San Miguel while part, at least, of the garrison, with provisions and supplies contributed by the French of Mobile,<sup>34</sup> dared to build a blockhouse for eight guns on a slight elevation a quarter-mile east of the former fort.<sup>35</sup> A new viceroy arriving in Mexico learned that official opinion was divided there whether to maintain the distant garrison or to abandon it.<sup>36</sup>

The new viceroy, the Marques de las Amarillas, decided in the summer of 1756 to reestablish the presidio beside the mainland blockhouse in the

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32. Yarza y Ascona to (Indias?), as cited.

33. Dictamen, July 5, 1761, as cited.

34. Livaudais to Amarillas, June 7, annexed to Amarillas to Arriaga, July 22, 1757, Audiencia, Santo Domingo, 86-7-11.

35. Thomas Hutchins, *An Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West Florida* (Philadelphia, 1784), 74, 76; Juan Jose Elixio de la Puente, *Plano de la principal parte del Puerto de S. Maria de Galves de Panzacola* (Havana, Nov. 22, 1768), Madrid, Guerra, L M 8a la, a, 14; Kearney, *Pensacola Harbor and Bar*, as cited.

36. Revilla Gigedo to Amarillas, Nov. 28, 1754, annexed to Revilla Gigedo to Arriaga Oct. 10, 1755, Audiencia, Mexico, 90-2-18.

place that should honor his name henceforth as San Miguel de las Amarillas, and thus the present city of Pensacola came into being. By royal order of December 23, 1757, the king of Spain crushed this usurpation and authorized the old name, Panzacola.<sup>37</sup> The viceroy ordered a square stockade for the presidio. At a point that knowledge in Mexico could not identify as the eastern hill he ordered the castillo of Santa Barbara, a fort of double stockade like the former San Carlos but big enough for five hundred men. To guard the channel at a point (the mouth of Bayou Chico) that not even the oldest inhabitants of Pensacola could recognize from his description he ordered a semi-circular battery to mount ten guns. On Santa Rosa he ordered an earthwork or blockhouse with a small detachment of men in order that no foreign prince by equivocation might assert title to an abandoned island.<sup>38</sup>

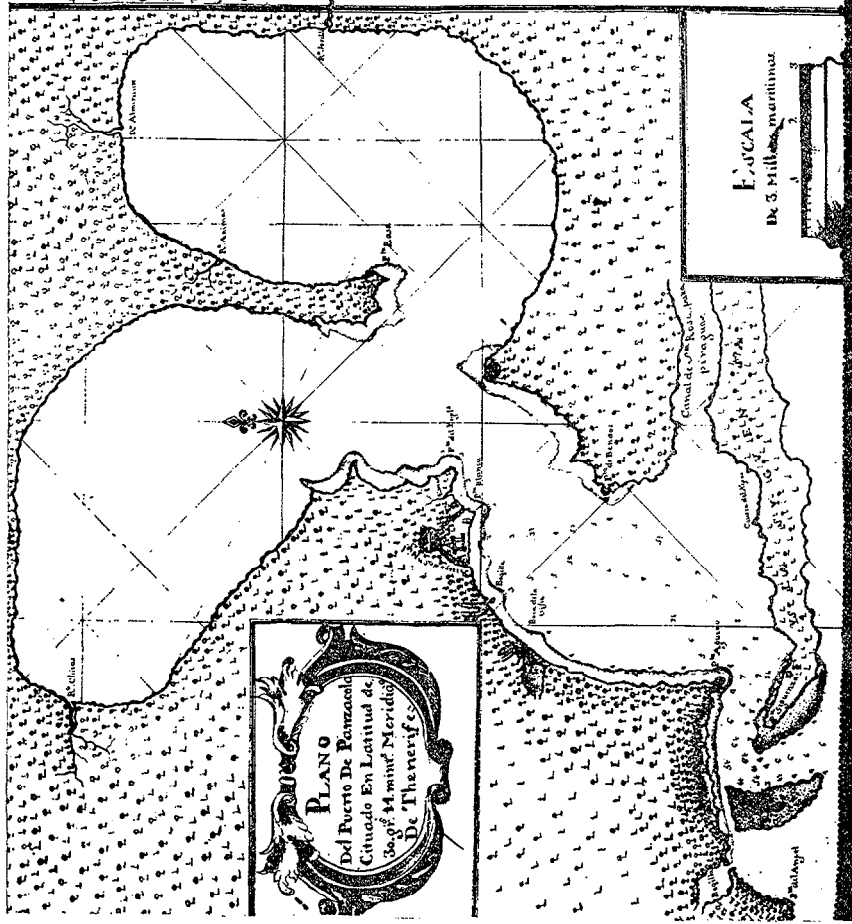
After shipwreck off Mobile bay and loss of reinforcements and supplies in January of 1757,<sup>39</sup> a new commandant came to the place called San Miguel. There he traced a line of stockade within which during the next three years there rose a blockhouse, a church, a hospital, a government house, a storehouse, barracks for the troops and barracks for the labor battalion. A bake oven came

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37. The fiscal (Rivadeneira) to the viceroy, March 12, 1762, in No. 488, *Panzacola, ano de 1760. Propuesta de Dn Manuel Leguinazaval*, AGM, Marina, 1761-1781.
38. Dictamen, July 5, 1761, as cited; Agustin Lopez, *Plan de la Baia y Puerto de Sta Maria de Galbe y del Presidio llamado Pensacola situado en la Isla de Sta Rosa* (Mexico, March 2, 1756), Madrid, Guerra, L M 8a 1a, a, 19; Feringan Corttes to Ortiz Parrilla, Nov. 24, 1761, in *Testimonio de los Informes del Coronel Dn Miguel Roman de Castilla [and of Feringan and Ytuarte]*, AGM, Marina, 1761-1781.
39. Amarillas to Arriaga, July 22, 1757, and annexes, Audiencia, Santo Domingo, 86-7-11; Ortiz Parrilla to Cruilla, April 6, 1762, AGM, Marina, 1761-1781.

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 E. si en otro Puerto por el Mes de Julio de  
 Año de 61. La Fraga de S.M. N. n. de la Isla  
 del mundo del Capitan de Fraga D. Joseph Borja  
 y el Real Maestre que fueron a este Puerto de  
 Condos Compañias de Guardados. Retechos  
 Billeas, y Munición de guerra, y de lo de Rayo  
 y de lo de Píras de esta Bahía y asimismo de  
 lo de lo que pates, y en lo de los lamos Apu  
 que ay En los Estrechuras. por los Pilotos  
 de las dos Esprezadas Embarcaciones

**Explicacion por dabe  
cedario.**

- A. Canita de cenizas de la fortificación por una Bahía
- B. Fuego de petates, para el Castillo
- C. Puente de madera para la Uerua en el Puerto
- D. Ciudadela que se llama la Bahía
- E. Y. Batareas de las Puercas y de las Puercas
- F. Casa de la Uerua y de la Uerua
- G. Bateria de la Uerua de la Uerua
- H. Bateria de la Uerua de la Uerua



PENSACOLA BAY  
 Drawn from data gathered by Spanish warship Tetis in July 1761



into use within the enclosure and, perhaps in the woods, charcoal ovens with a brick yard nearer at hand.<sup>40</sup> Preparing against these future improvements the commandant sent men in July of 1757 to cut logs at a distance of eight leagues by water. On August 26 he learned by messenger from Mobile that Talapoosa Indians had taken the warpath against Pensacola. Of soldiers transferred from Santa Rosa, of soldiers surviving shipwreck off Mobile bay, of criminals in the labor battalion and of civilians (twenty-five men) he could number a total of only one hundred and eighty fit for military duty. The stocks of Pensacola's muskets were broken. The storehouse treasured not more than thirty extra flints. The supply of gunpowder was scanty.

Cannon from Santa Rosa (fourteen of them with carriages almost unserviceable) and San Miguel's one-pounder field guns were quickly ranged in batteries. Labor during two days felled the woods to beyond musket shot. On August 30 the first shipment of logs arrived for the stockade; construction began on the same day. By the middle of September a single line of vertical pointed stakes extended on the east three hundred and sixty-eight English feet back from a point near the bayside, and a similar northerly wall stretched westward five hundred and twenty-eight feet. Men went out to

40. Relation of Eraso in *Ano de 1761, Testimonio de los Informes que expusieron los dos Capitanes de Infanteria Dn Santiago Benito Eraso y Dn Joseph Escobar*; Roman de Castilla to Ortiz Parrilla, Nov. 10, 1761, in *Ano de 1761, Testimonio de los Informes del Coronel Dn Miguel Roman de Castilla*, as cited, AGM, Marina, 1761-1781; *Plano del Puerto de Panzacola* (data of July, 1761), Madrid, Guerra, L M 8a 1a, a, 14 reproduced herewith; Lopez, *Plan de la Baia*, as cited. This brickyard may have been the one that the British maintained later eastward of the town and near Bayou Texar; cf. *Plano del Puerto de Panzacola* and Lopez, *Plan de la Baia*, as cited, and *Plano del Puerto de Panzacola* (1788?), Madrid, Guerra, L M 8a 1a, a, 127.

cut logs to be stakes for the westerly and southerly walls.<sup>41</sup>

In intervals of Indian warfare the single line of stockade came to completion, more than seven hundred English feet from east to west, enclosing all four sides of the presidio though protected only by demibastions (triangular projections for musketry) and therefore of questionable strength, with twenty-one cannon and seventeen small pieces (pedreros for case shot, falconets for round shot) to make defence within and without the circuit. Products of the brickyard, officially for benefit of government buildings, found their way into construction of the commandant's own house.

At a distance of seven or eight paces a village ringed the stockade about in a single line of dwellings occupied by civilians, officers and married soldiers. Some of these structures, like those enclosed by the stockade, sheltered themselves beneath strakes of cypress bark, which can be taken flexible and unbroken from the trees only in spring and in August, the seasons of the sap.<sup>42</sup> June of 1760 brought another alarm of Indian warfare to disturb Pensacola at the end of the first season. The commandant ordered evacuation of the village. He took the residents within the presidio and housed them in what he called little huts or shanties. A council of war decided to raze all exterior structures, which the commandant had permitted to be built in the line of fire from the stockade.

This clearing of the esplanade might have been gained without labor. On August 12 another hurricane rushed upon Pensacola. More than half of

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41. Relation of Roman de Castilla. Oct. 25. 1757, in *Superior Gobierno, Año de 1758, Testimonio de los autos fijos a consta de el Coronel Dn Diego Roman de Castilla*, AGM, Marina, 1761-1781.

42. Cf. [Le Mascrier], *Memoires Historiques . . . de M. Dumont* I, 50.

the stockade bowed to earth. Before the brick yard had collapsed every roof in Pensacola had flown away. The storm ceased. Work began on repairing the stockade. When time could have been spared for seeking new cypress bark the second season of the sap had passed. Pensacola's garrison shivered wet and roofless through the winter.<sup>43</sup>

Cypress bark covered the barracks of the presidio when in October of 1761 an experienced Indian fighter arrived to take charge of Pensacola. In Texas this commander had built and defended the frontier post and mission of San Saba. When in the summer of 1763 the Treaty of Paris caused him to surrender San Miguel and Santa Rosa to a British garrison,<sup>44</sup> the newcomers saw little reason for admiring his handiwork.

If the blockhouse on Santa Rosa was not too bad to be improved for British use,<sup>45</sup> in the presidio on the main the barracks were but huts, the bark roofs were unsuitable to shelter British troops, and the stakes of the stockade were hurrying fast toward decay.<sup>46</sup> For eighteen years now the Pensacola that had eaten up Spanish money during sixty-five years was to cause unprofitable care and expense to the British Crown.

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43. Relations of Roman de Castilla, Eraso and Escobar, as cited; Roman de Castilla to Ortiz Parrilla, Nov. 10, 1761, as cited.

44. *Papeles relativos al Coronel Diego Ortiz Parrilla, 1774 Audiencia, Guadalajara*, 104-6-17.

45. Hutchins, *op. cit.*, 76; Elixio de la Puente, *Plano*, as cited.

46. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX (1940), 114.

(In the next issue the author will describe the fortifications of Pensacola during the second Spanish period, 1781-1821.)