

1974

## Vicente Pazos and the Amelia Island Affair, 1817

Charles H. Bowman, Jr.



Part of the [American Studies Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Find similar works at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq>

University of Central Florida Libraries <http://library.ucf.edu>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by STARS. It has been accepted for inclusion in Florida Historical Quarterly by an authorized editor of STARS. For more information, please contact [STARS@ucf.edu](mailto:STARS@ucf.edu).

---

### Recommended Citation

Bowman, Jr., Charles H. (1974) "Vicente Pazos and the Amelia Island Affair, 1817," *Florida Historical Quarterly*: Vol. 53 : No. 3 , Article 4.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol53/iss3/4>

## VICENTE PAZOS AND THE AMELIA ISLAND AFFAIR, 1817

by CHARLES H. BOWMAN, JR.\*

ON MAY 9, 1817, seven distinguished patriots from Buenos Aires arrived at Savannah on board the English cutter *Hero*. The number included Vicente Pazos, editor of *La Crónica Argentina*.<sup>1</sup> Their departure from the Río de la Plata had helped rid Supreme Director Juan Martín de Pueyrredón of his most virulent detractors. Born in the province of Larecaja in Upper Peru in 1779, Pazos was descended from the Aymará Indians who resided around Lake Titicaca.<sup>2</sup> After attending the Royal and Pontifical University of San Antonio de Abad in Cuzco where he received his doctorate in sacred theology in 1804, Pazos taught the Quechua language for a time at this institution.<sup>3</sup> He later moved to Chuquisaca and Potosí. He was living in Buenos Aires in 1810, where, with the help of Mariano Moreno, he launched his career in journalism. An alert mind and a facile pen won for Pazos a large following as the editor, in turn, of the *Gazeta de Buenos-Ayres*, *El Censor*, and *La Crónica Argentina*. Although Pazos stoutly committed himself to the independence cause in Buenos Aires, he did not always approve of the methods and objectives of the different revolutionary governments. It was his editorial lambasting of Pueyrredón that resulted in his exile in 1817.<sup>4</sup>

---

\* Mr. Bowman is assistant professor of history, Fayetteville State University, Fayetteville, North Carolina.

1. The *Hero's* voyage from the Río de la Plata had taken fifty-seven days. *Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser*, May 29, 1817; *Savannah Republican*, May 10, 1817; [Buenos Aires] Museo Mitre, *Documentos del Archivo de Pueyrredón*, 4 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1912), III, 273-74, 277-78.
2. Arturo Costa de la Torre, *Catálogo de la Bibliografía Boliviana, Libros y Folletos, 1900-1963* (La Paz, 1966 [1968]), 815; William Bollaert, "Observations on the History of the Incas of Peru, on the Indians of South Peru, and on Some of the Indian Remains in the Province of Tarapaca," *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, III (1854), 143.
3. Costa de la Torre, *Catálogo de la Bibliografía Boliviana*, 815; Pazos to Joseph Tarn, July 27, 1829, "Foreign Correspondence Inwards, 1829," III, 23, Archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London.
4. Gabriel René-Moreno, *Biblioteca Boliviana; Catálogo de la Sección de Libros i Folletos* (Santiago, 1879), 3-4; *Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser*, May 29, 1817; *La Paz Presencia*, November 4, 1973.

Pazos and his compatriots did not remain long in Savannah after their arrival. By May 29 they journeyed to Baltimore.<sup>5</sup> There they found “a respectable merchant” and former traveler in South America who put them in touch with others who were “as sensible and generous as himself.”<sup>6</sup> These included John Purviance, an attorney, John Stuart Skinner, the postmaster, and Henry Didier and John Laborde, both merchants.<sup>7</sup>

The summer of 1817 was an unhealthy season in Baltimore.<sup>8</sup> By the middle of July, Pazos had joined a contingent of Spanish Americans in Philadelphia, which since 1796 had been the home of Manuel Torres of New Granada, an influential patriot leader.<sup>9</sup> He would become the first minister from Latin America received in Washington, and he had important social, political, and business connections.<sup>10</sup> Pedro Gual, José Rafael Revenga, and Juan Germán Roscio— all Venezuelans— were other patriot figures in Philadelphia that summer.<sup>11</sup> On July 8 William Thornton, head of the Patent Office in Washington and a supporter of independence for Spanish America, instructed Gual to convey his best respects “to the brave patriots who are assembled with you in Philad[elphi]a.” Like Pazos’s acquaintances in Baltimore, Thornton wished to serve the Spanish Americans “collectively

5. *Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser*, May 29, 1817.

6. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1817.

7. Charles C. Griffin, “Privateering from Baltimore during the Spanish American Wars of Independence,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (March 1940), 21; Miguel Varas Valásquez, *Don José Miguel Carrera en Estados Unidos* (Santiago, 1912), 42.

8. Heavy floods and much sickness compelled many people to leave the city for as long as possible. Luis de Onís to José Pizarro, August 24, 1817, Sección de Estado, Legajo 5642, Letter 132, pp. 525-27, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, photocopies in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Hereinafter cited as SE:AHN.

9. Onís to Pizarro, July 18, 1817, Letter 119, pp. 473-74, *ibid.*; *Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser*, July 10, 1817.

10. Newspaper editor William Duane, who was closer to Torres than perhaps anyone else, summed up his friend’s attainments: “Mr. Torres has resided several years in this city [Philadelphia], retired and unassuming, but by all who know him, as much admired for his uncommon acquirements and knowledge, as esteemed for the purity of his principles, moral and political.” *Philadelphia Aurora and General Advertiser*, March 26, April 17, 1818. See also, Charles H. Bowman, Jr., “Manuel Torres, A Spanish American Patriot in Philadelphia, 1796-1822,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XCIV (January 1970), 26-53.

11. José Rafael Revenga to William Thornton, June 20, 1817, Papers of William Thornton, V, 775-76, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Thornton to Pedro Gual, July 8, 1817, *ibid.*, V, 779-81, 785. Hereinafter cited as WTP.

and *individually*.<sup>12</sup> "Friends" with whom Pazos eventually came in touch included Commodore David Porter, Philadelphia financier Stephen Girard, John Jacob Astor, and New York politician Dewitt Clinton.<sup>13</sup>

The main topic for discussion at the moment in Philadelphia centered on the filibustering expeditions against Spanish territory sailing, or about to sail, from American ports. In 1816 Louis Aury founded his own government at Galveston and set up an admiralty court to condemn captured vessels. Although this action had been taken purportedly in the name of Mexico, it was obvious that the main purpose of the enterprise was to capture Spanish vessels and property. There was little desire to aid the revolution in Mexico or in any other Spanish colony. In April 1817, Aury left Galveston for Matagorda, which he held for about two months.<sup>14</sup> The principal backers of his undertaking had also begun as early as the summer of 1816 to formulate plans for an assault on the Floridas. According to Pazos, even the liberal Francisco Xavier Mina of Spain and José Álvarez de Toledo of Cuba were cooperating at one point in Baltimore on a Florida adventure.<sup>15</sup> The exasperating circumstances in Venezuela heightened the urgency of such a move: "The horrors which the sanguinary Spanish generals Boves, Morales, and Morillo, caused their regiments of black slaves, to commit against the inhabitants of Venezuela, in order to destroy them entirely, obliged many of them to take refuge in Carthagena [*sic*], from whence famine and sickness soon compelled the constituted authorities to depart, with 3000 of its inhabitants, of all ages and sexes. Some sought asylum in the West Indies and the United States. . . . These fugitives, full of the love of liberty, and inspired with that

12. Thornton to Gual, July 8, 1817, V, 779-81, *ibid*.

13. Charles Carroll Griffin, *Ensayos sobre historia de América* (Caracas, 1969), 153-54.

14. Eugene R. Craine, *The United States and the Independence of Buenos Aires* (Hays, Kansas, 1961), 98-99.

15. Thornton to José Álvarez de Toledo, July 24, 1816, WTP, IV, 732-33. Not all scholars accept Pazos's account of the cooperation between Mina and Toledo. See Joseph B. Lockey, "The Florida Intrigues of José Álvarez de Toledo," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XII (April 1934), 163; A. Curtis Wilgus, "Spanish American Patriot Activity Along the Gulf Coast of the United States, 1811-1822," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VIII (April 1925), 205n; Harris Gaylord Warren, "The Origin of General Mina's Invasion of Mexico," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLII (July 1938), 16-17.

intrepid resolution, so often the effect of adversity upon virtuous minds, formed the project of wresting from the hands of their enemies the provinces of the Floridas, which presented considerable resources to sustain the cause of independence, and an asylum to the unfortunate emigrants of Venezuela and New-Grenada [*sic*], who were perishing with hunger in the West Indies, during the month of August, 1816."<sup>16</sup>

Mina arrived in Port-au-Prince from Baltimore in September 1816 and met numerous refugees. He and Toledo were jointly to command an expedition to Florida. The plan, however, was undone by man and nature. A hurricane badly damaged Mina's fleet, and Toledo unexpectedly defected to the Spaniards. He turned over to Luis de Onís, Spanish minister to the United States, reports of the Florida scheme, which of course then had to be abandoned.<sup>17</sup> Mina, for his part, sailed away to meet Aury at Galveston. Pazos was positive that Toledo's information had prompted Onís to protest to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams about the "mischiefs" stemming from the toleration of the arming of privateers in the ports of the United States. Adams informed the chairman of the house committee on foreign affairs of the desirability of new and better neutrality legislation.

The law enacted by Congress on March 3, 1817, was proof enough for Pazos "that the Spanish minister had been successful in the use to which he had converted the revelations which Toledo made." It was soon learned by Gual and his associates that Onís's secretary was about to leave for Madrid carrying with him the latest correspondence between the minister and Adams on the subject of the Floridas. These developments, in Pazos's opinion, boded no good: "The South American agents, residing then in Philadelphia, must have been very indifferent to their duty, if they did not perceive, that the law of the 3d of March, and the representations of the Spanish minister to his court, would, in reality, or in appearance, induce the consent of the

---

16. In December 1815, Aury broke the Spanish blockade of Cartagena and rescued the three thousand persons, whom he carried away to safety. Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance and Protest of Don Vincente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents Established at Amelia Island, in Florida, under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South America; with an Appendix* (Philadelphia, 1818), 10-11.

17. Wilgus, "Spanish American Patriot Activity," 205n.

Spanish government to negotiate [*sic*] for the sale or cession of the Floridas. Anticipating the injury which such a negotiation [*sic*] would inflict on the cause of their independence, they were obliged to precipitate their measures, and make the most of the time left them."<sup>18</sup>

On March 31 the Scottish adventurer Gregor MacGregor, who had served with the patriots in Venezuela, received a commission in Philadelphia from "The deputies of free America, resident in the United States of the North." These deputies were Lino de Clemente, who acted for Venezuela; Gual, for New Granada and by proxy for Mexico; and Martín Thompson, for the United Provinces of South America. MacGregor was to take both East and West Florida in the name of the governments granting him authority. He was first to occupy Amelia Island and then move into the Floridas proper.<sup>19</sup> Pazos claimed that the aim of the patriots was to conquer the territory and cede it to the United States after it had served its purpose as a depot for supplies for the Spanish Americans. MacGregor himself confirmed Pazos's contention of an intended transfer, but added that there would be a price tag for the Floridas amounting to \$1,500,000.<sup>20</sup>

MacGregor was raising his force just at the time Pazos reached the United States. He recruited men and solicited funds in several Atlantic ports— notably Baltimore, Charleston, and Savannah — and purchased a schooner at Charleston. Following a hasty capitulation by the Spaniards, MacGregor and his fifty-five men took control of poorly defended Amelia Island and Fernandina

---

18. Pazos Kanki, *Exposition*, 12; Onís to the Secretary of State, January 2, 1817, *American State Papers*, Class I, *Foreign Relations*, 4: 184-85; Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 5, 1818.

19. T. Frederick Davis, *MacGregor's Invasion of Florida, 1817, Together with An Account of His Successors, Irwin, Hubbard and Aury, on Amelia Island, East Florida* (Jacksonville, 1928), 7-8. Amelia Island was the northeasternmost tip of Spanish East Florida. It is located near the mouth of the St. Marys River, which forms the boundary at that point between Florida and Georgia.

20. [Vicente Pazos Kanki], "Memorial of Vicente Pazos," *Niles' Weekly Register*, April 11, 1818; J. Skinner to John Quincy Adams, July 30, 1817, "Letters Relating to MacGregor's Attempted Conquest of East Florida, 1817," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, V (July 1926), 55-56; Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848*, 12 vols. (Philadelphia, 1854-1877), IV, 53; Thornton to Adams, February 9, 1818, WTP, V, 799.

on June 29.<sup>21</sup> Disorder quickly ensued and prevailed there for some time. Pazos blamed the confusion not on the men associated with MacGregor, but on “the machinations and desperate views of a few individuals, who, destitute alike of means and morals . . . presented themselves at Amelia . . . after it had been captured.” These troublemakers soon subverted the “military discipline and the public peace,” as a consequence of which MacGregor departed from the island for the nearby Georgia town of St. Marys on September 5. Ruggles Hubbard, former high sheriff of New York City, and Jared Irwin, a former congressman from Pennsylvania, then emerged as temporary leaders of the independent government.<sup>22</sup>

Rumor had it that the fundamental reason for MacGregor’s withdrawal from the island was his disappointment in the promises of men, money, and munitions made to him by several individuals in the United States, particularly in New York City.<sup>23</sup> On September 15 Aury appeared on the scene at the urging of Gual in Philadelphia. The next day MacGregor sailed out to the mouth of the St. Marys River to recount the story of his recent failure on Amelia Island, but Aury was determined to move on the place himself. MacGregor gave him complete authority to do so. Conditions had certainly deteriorated there with Hubbard as civil governor. Fernandina was, Pazos pointedly commented, closely besieged by a Spanish force from St. Augustine and on the verge of surrender. Aury saved the day. The Spaniards were defeated and repulsed by the patriots, and the island was pacified. Hubbard, who had taken refuge at St. Marys during the fighting, returned to Fernandina to resume his post as civil governor, while Aury took over as head of the land and naval forces. The two men had what Gual termed a “mercantile arrangement.” Aury made a verbal promise to invest \$60,000 in cash brought with him “in the objects of possessing the Floridas;”

- 
21. Pazos Kanki, *Exposition*, 13; *Savannah Republican*, June 5, July 10, 1817. An anonymous friend of Pazos said that MacGregor’s security given for the financial aid advanced him was thirty thousand acres of Florida land. *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main, in the Ship “Two Friends;” the occupation of Amelia Island, by M’Gregor, &c.—Sketches of the Province of East Florida* (London, 1819), 85-86.
  22. Pazos Kanki, *Exposition*, 13-14; Davis, *MacGregor’s Invasion*, 65; *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 13, 26, 1817; *Charleston Courier*, September 30, 1817.
  23. Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, December 4, 1817.

Hubbard agreed to devote "the immense resources within his reach" to the same end. Both men, it seems, expected to govern. Aury first hoisted the Mexican flag over Amelia Island; it was his original intention to annex the Floridas to Mexico. He also endeavored to provide an efficient administration, for which a council of eight members had already been created. Hubbard, not satisfied with his limited authority, contrived with others to drive Aury off the island and to appropriate all his vessels and prizes.<sup>24</sup>

In Philadelphia Gual, who had met Aury earlier in Cartagena, had in mind to liberate Mexico preliminary to definitive patriot victories in South America. On July 23 he related to Thornton the significance of the Floridas to the patriot cause: "The establishment of a republic in [the] Floridas claims the attention and support of all true friends of South America. . . . The influence of the emancipation of [the] Floridas on that of Mexico, New-Granada, Venezuela, Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Peru, is of more magnitude than it is generally [*sic*] imagined, even by the best informed."

Pazos's correspondents in London were forwarding a comprehensive plan in accordance with English merchants interested in the trade of the emerging Spanish American nations. There was no strong squadron in the Caribbean to complete the plan, yet Aury had such a force under his command. The Floridas were certainly looked upon as "an integral part of the great Empire, which is in a state of revolution." Such a concept was, opined Thornton, "in perfect consonance with the ideas of the most enlightened patriots, whose views are not bounded by the narrow policy of individual regions."<sup>25</sup>

Gual and Pazos set out together for Amelia Island with their intelligence, expecting to arrive before Aury. They failed in this, however. In mid-August 1817, the two appeared in New York City to await passage southward, and while there they had an

---

24. *Ibid.*, October 28, 1817; Pazos Kanki, *Exposition*, 14-15; *Daily National Intelligencer*, October 4, 1817; James Forbes to John Quincy Adams, April 22, 1818, State Department, Miscellaneous Letters, pp. H-J, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter cited as NA.

25. Thornton to Adams, February 9, 1818, WTP, V, 799; Gual to Thornton, July 23, 1817, *ibid.*, V, 783-84; Stanley Faye, "Commodore Aury," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (July 1941), 646.

opportunity to talk with various merchants and with Baptist Irvine, editor of the *New-York Columbian*, about their project.<sup>26</sup>

The ship on which Pazos and Gual were to sail was a Venezuelan privateer, *América Libre*, whose captain was Bernardo Ferrero. It reached New York from Norfolk on September 5 for the purpose of taking on men and supplies "in order to commit hostilities against the subjects and possessions of the king of Spain." Irvine at once hailed "the appearance of the free (S.) American flag in our waters." The better to enlist men, an offer was made by the ship's officers of clothing and \$8.00 a month, together with an advance of \$10.00 or \$12.00. On reaching Amelia Island, the men were to be allowed the alternative of serving either in the army or in the patriot naval force.<sup>27</sup>

The crew aboard the *América Libre* proved to be a rowdy lot. On September 7 a number of them landed on Staten Island, and in a fracas with the inhabitants threatened to burn down a house. Perhaps their rambunctiousness arose from the fact that their ship had to lie at the quarantine ground for nearly two weeks before it could sail. When the *America Libre* did sally forth, it mounted three carriage guns and carried a crew of seventy-four men and a supply of small arms. On board also were a number of European officers— chiefly Agustín Codazzi, Augusto Gustavo Villaret, and Maurice Persat— Pazos, Gual, and 130 other men bound for Amelia Island.<sup>28</sup> The ship weighed anchor on the morning of September 18, and twelve days later it reached the Charleston Roads. "She sails again, first fair wind," the *Charleston Courier* laconically announced.<sup>29</sup>

26. Juan Canter, "El Año XIX, Las Asambleas Generales y la Revolución del 8 de Octubre," in Ricardo Levene, ed., *Historia de la Nación Argentina (Desde los Orígenes hasta la Organización Definitiva en 1862)*, 10 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1936-1942), V, Sec. 2, 750n.

27. Thomas Stoughton to Jonathan Fisk, September 16, 1817, Legajo 5642, Letter 191, pp. 800-01, SE:AHN; *New-York Evening Post*, September 6, 1817; *New-York Columbian*, September 6, 1817. Ferrero had commanded a schooner in Simon Bolívar's expedition of March 1816 from Aux Cayes. Gustave Schlumberger, ed., *Mémoires du Commandant Persat, 1806 a 1844* (Paris, 1910), 22.

28. John Kerney to Samuel Evans, September 8, 1817, in Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 1, 1818; Deposition of John Reilley, September 17, 1817, Legajo 5642, Letter 191, pp. 804-05, SE:AHN; Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 75; Herman Albert Shumacher, "Biografía del General Agustín Codazzi," *Boletín de historia y antigüedades*, IX (June 1913), 8; Schlumberger, *Mémoires*, 26.

29. Gual to Thornton, September 17, 1817, WTP, V, 786; *Charleston Courier*, October 1, 1817.

As the ship was riding out a storm, Pazos, Gual, Ferrero, Perusat, and several others went ashore and took lodgings at the hotel of a French royalist named Picault. That night after dinner the captain, his tongue loosened by wine, proposed a toast to the health of Napoleon. All his listeners rose to their feet except Picault, who exclaimed to the gathering: "I do not drink to the health of tyrants!" The enraged Ferrero jumped at the throat of the bold royalist and held it so tightly that the poor man lost consciousness. Pazos and his companions were finally able to pull Ferrero away and to restore a measure of harmony.<sup>30</sup>

While in Charleston the travelers learned that Aury had replaced MacGregor on Amelia Island. The day before their ship sailed again, eight men and a boy who had boarded the *America Libre* at New York had second thoughts about venturing farther and had to be taken to land by the revenue schooner *Gallatin*. On the morning of October 3, the *America Libre* sailed for Amelia Island. As the voyage from Charleston to Fernandina took only one day, the ship made port on October 4.<sup>31</sup>

The passengers landed to find Aury still military governor and naval commander, while Hubbard held sway as civil governor. But Hubbard and his "American party" had been busily preparing for a showdown by bribing officers and sailors and secretly shifting powder and munitions from the public magazine to their own houses. After the arrival of the *America Libre*, Aury replaced Hubbard with Gual as civil governor. The land force on the island then stood at about 150 men. There were some 250 sailors in Fernandina belonging to five armed vessels, including two government ships. There were also three large prize ships in port loaded with sugar and coffee. They had already been condemned in Aury's admiralty court, and their cargoes were to be sold shortly. The health conditions on the island, however, left much to be desired; five or six men were dying daily of fever.<sup>32</sup>

To make matters worse, Hubbard and his men "took up arms to commence a civil war, which must have cost much blood." However Aury acted with his numerical superiority and "with his

30. Schlumberger, *Mémoires*, 24-26.

31. *Charleston Courier*, October 4, 1817.

32. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1817; Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, October 28, 1817; Harold Alfred Bierck, Jr., *Vida pública de Don Pedro Gual* (Caracas, 1947), 149.

accustomed presence of mind, and by dint of strong and well conceived measures, arrested the sedition." His "French party" led by Codazzi soon triumphed, martial law was temporarily proclaimed, and Hubbard stood accused of treason, cowardice, and conspiring with the Spaniards. Shortly after he "retired," Hubbard succumbed to the ravaging fever from which he died on October 19. Pazos described his end in almost poetic terms: "he survived his shame but a few days, and died of a broken heart in the agonies produced by his guilt."

But all of Aury's troubles did not cease with the demise of Hubbard. He had a new antagonist in the person of Jared Irwin, and there was ominous quarreling between their supporters. The enforcement of new laws, however, finally enabled Aury "to eradicate disorder, and afforded, by that means, leisure for the establishment of a provincial government, which," as far as Pazos was concerned, "might be held up as a model to others of the new states."<sup>33</sup>

In the making of this exemplary government, Pazos had a considerable share of responsibility. Since Aury was quite illiterate, his proclamations were mainly composed by Pazos and Gual. Pazos was given a seat on the "Supreme Council of the Floridas," a body which helped Aury in the administration of Amelia Island. One of its first tasks was the drafting on October 8 of a proclamation advising the inhabitants of the island of the penalties for persuading any slave to run away from the United States "or any other place whatsoever." Every slave "taken up" was to be held in jail until claimed by his owner, and any slave going to Fernandina for employment had to have a written permit. The next day the council addressed itself to the question of the designation of bounty lands for those men who might volunteer for the conquest of St. Augustine. It was decided that time of service would run from six to twelve months; the amount of land to be granted ranged from 320 acres for a private who volunteered for six months to 10,000 acres for a brigadier general serving the same period. Each volunteer would automatically receive a bonus of an additional 160 acres. On October 14 Aury issued a proclamation highlighting the weathering of the recent turmoil. It was so reminiscent of the style of Pazos's writing that

33. Pazos Kanki, *Exposition*, 15-16; *Charleston Courier*, October 27, November 7, 1817; *Niles' Weekly Register*, November 1, 8, 1817.

only he could have been its author: "A horrid plot had threatened to ruin in its infancy, our rising republic. Discord, ever ready to spread its baneful alarms, had put us on the brink of civil war; fortunately, we still preserved among us, respect for liberty and the cause we defend. We have discovered the secret machination of a depotic [*sic*] government, and we have saved ourselves from ruin, into which Spanish perfidy was on the eve of plunging us."<sup>34</sup>

The population of Fernandina was always motley, a situation not conducive to the maintenance of law and order. At the time Aury was taking over there, a North American observer characterized the patriots on Amelia Island as "a most heterogeneous set, consisting of all countries and languages, except Spanish Americans." Among the group were North Americans, French, Irish, Scots, English, Dutch, Germans, Haitians, and of course Pazos, an Indian from Upper Peru. All came ostensibly "to aid the cause of the patriots of South America, but," alleged the observer, "their real motive is, no doubt, to prey upon whom they can." Privateering had become big business on the island, with property taken from Spanish vessels in one instance amounting to \$100,000. Aury, who styled himself "Brigadier of the Mexican Republic and Generalissimo of the Floridas," freely granted commissions to privateers which, in the opinion of the United States Supreme Court, did not exempt the grantees from the charge of piracy.<sup>35</sup>

On November 1 a correspondent in St. Marys reported that a host of English officers, attracted by the supreme council's generous offer of bounty lands, had arrived at Amelia Island and that it was supposed that "the greatest part of Gen. Auray's [*sic*] cavalcade will go away southwardly."<sup>36</sup> No movement against

34. Rufus Kay Wyllys, "The Filibusters of Amelia Island," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XII (December 1928), 312; *Charleston Courier*, October 24, November 7, 1817.

35. The technicality used by the Supreme Court to justify its decision was that Mexico did not figure among those Spanish provinces "in actual revolt, nor was any such State *de facto* known to exist as the Mexican republic," under the authority of which the commissions were issued. James Brown Scott, ed., *Prize Cases Decided in the United States Supreme Court, 1789-1918*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1923), II, 1080-81; Thomas Wayne to Benjamin Homans, September 17, 1817, in *Philadelphia Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 2, 1818; *American State Papers*, Class I, *Foreign Relations*, 4: 535-36.

36. *Charleston Courier*, November 28, 1817.

St. Augustine ever materialized for two reasons: Aury was too preoccupied with firming up his position in Fernandina, and he was distracted by disputes with American authorities over the privateers and prizes entering and leaving his bailiwick.

Aury again declared martial law November 5, this time for ten days. His proclamation to the people of Amelia Island once more bore traces of Pazos's hand: "For days past you have witnessed the scandalous transactions of a faction, composed of men, who existing and tolerated on this Island by our generosity, have solely been engaged in subverting social order. They are mercenaries, traitors or cowards, who abandoned the cause of Republicanism in the hour of danger, and who either hired by our enemies or misled by the intrigues of a few aspiring individuals, have attempted to involve us in all the complicated horrors of a civil war. Citizens, we are Republicans from principle, our fortunes have been spent, and our lives oft exposed for this most glorious cause. We have come here to plant the tree of liberty, to foster free institutions, and to wage war against the tyrant of Spain, the oppressor of America, and the enemy of the rights of man. We are every ready to pay obedience to the principles of Republicanism, but firmly determined never to adhere to the dictates of a faction." As soon as "public peace and tranquility" had been restored, Aury promised the establishment of a provisional government "most suitable to our common interest, and to the advancement of our glorious cause."<sup>37</sup> Difficulties with the United States navy began during this time when martial law was imposed.

The slave schooner *Tentativa*, prize to the Mexican privateer *Brutus*, was being brought into Fernandina on November 8 by John Austin, prizemaster, when a boat from the American brig *Saranac* came alongside and an officer asked to be allowed to come aboard. Austin threatened to fire on the vessel if any attempt was made to board the *Tentativa*. Muskets were discharged under his stern, whereupon the schooner fired back and then hastened into port.

John H. Elton was captain of the *Saranac* and the man responsible for patrolling the waters around St. Marys to keep out contraband. On November 9 he wrote Aury a note demanding

---

37. *Ibid.*, November 14, 1817.

that Austin be made to answer "for the insult according to the laws of the United States." Meanwhile, all ships coming into and going out of Fernandina would be stopped. Aury immediately replied that an investigation of the conduct of the prizemaster would be made and that if guilty he would be severely punished. Later, on November 9, a court of inquiry, of which Pazos was a member, heard testimony from Austin, corroborated by two other men from the *Tentativa*, to the effect that the ship was in "Spanish waters" at the time the attempt to board her took place. Indeed, the *Tentativa* was only 150 feet off the shore of Amelia Island. The merit of his case aside, Aury realized that he had his hands full retaining control of Fernandina without taking on the United States navy. In an effort "to avoid all difficulties for the present," he consented to give the vessel up to Elton, hoping that the government of the United States "will do us the justice which becomes a free and great people."<sup>39</sup> Gual and Pazos were behind Aury in this conciliatory gesture, but Elton was far from placated. On November 15 he wrote for the secretary of the navy in Washington a summary of these latest developments: "The slave vessel was brought over last night, but every thing but slaves, and a small quantity of rice, was taken from her, and she appeared in a filthy state. The prizemaster was not sent, neither [were] any of the prize crew. . . . I shall send the slave vessel to Savannah for adjudication, and if the slave master is found, shall send him also."<sup>40</sup> The controversy dragged on until the admiralty court in Savannah months later "decided against the schooner *Tentativa's* being a good prize to the *Brutus* privateer."<sup>41</sup>

38. John H. Elton to Benjamin W. Crowninshield, November 15, 1817, in Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 1, 1818; Elton to Louis Aury, November 9, 1817, *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States, from the Accession of George Washington to the Presidency, Exhibiting a Complete View of Our Foreign Relations since that Time*, 3rd ed., 12 vols. (Boston, 1819), XII, 431; Aury to Elton, November 9, 1817, *ibid.*
39. Depositions of John Austin, Charles Johnson, and John W. Johnson, November 9, 1817, in Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 7, 1818; Aury to Elton, November 13, 1817, *State Papers and Publick Documents*, XII, 432-33.
40. Elton to Crowninshield, November 15, 1817, in Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 1, 1818.
41. The *Tentativa* reached Savannah on November 19 with 128 slaves on board. It was there libeled by "the proctor for the captors," and the slaves, by order of the court, were delivered over to the proctor and the customs collector "to be taken care of by them until demanded by the competent authority." A. S. Bullock to William H. Crawford, November

Pazos's legalistic flair also came in handy for Aury outside the courtroom. Gual and Pazos appeared in Fernandina with a plan of government for the Floridas. They argued that as the territory had once been a dependency of Mexico "and continues thus until this moment with regard to taxes," no other flag but the Mexican ought to be recognized there until it had been declared an independent state. Independence would come when a majority of the inhabitants had been freed from Spanish authority. As an independent state the Floridas would be recognized as part of the confederation of South America, but such recognition did not preclude the right of the people to join the confederation of the north, should the United States desire to annex the territory. The possession of the Floridas by the patriots would be advantageous to their northern neighbors because they would try harder than the Spaniards to curb the depredations of the Indians, "very probably . . . incited by some foreign agent on the frontier." Care ought to be taken to choose capable persons to run the government. They should, however, consider their jobs only as provisional until there had been established "an order of things." Whoever the officials were, they had the obligation of establishing the basis for a republican constitution. Pazos and Gual made provisions in their plan for executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government and for a military and fiscal administration.<sup>42</sup>

In keeping with this plan and with the promise he had made on November 5, Aury took steps toward the organization of a provisional government, apparently foresaking his idea of annexing Florida to Mexico. On November 16, the day after martial law ended, he called together at his house in Fernandina the officers of "the republic of [the] Floridas." Tranquility, Aury told the gathering, had been restored, and the time had come to al-

---

25. 1817, Correspondence of the Secretary of the Treasury with Collectors of Customs, 1789-1833: Letters to and from the Collectors at St. Marks and St. Johns, Florida; St. Marys, Brunswick, and Savannah, Georgia; Ocracoke and Plymouth, North Carolina; Yorktown, Virginia, II, 179, NA; *Charleston Courier*, November 22, 1817; *Philadelphia Aurora and General Advertiser*, March 20, 1818.

42. "Plan para lanzar por fuerza armada al Gobierno español de las Floridas, puesto en ejecución y principiado por la isla de Amelia en el año de 1817," in Francisco José Urrutia, *Los Estados Unidos de América y las Repúblicas Hispano-Americanas de 1810 a 1830; Páginas de Historia Diplomática* (Madrid, 1918), 134, 136-38; *Philadelphia Aurora and General Advertiser*, December 9, 12, 15, 1817.

low "the citizens peaceably to elect their representatives." He suggested that an assembly of representatives be called "to frame and constitute a provisional government adapted to the present situation of the state."

The men at the meeting, Pazos among them, took the subject under advisement and unanimously adopted six resolutions: (1) on November 19-20, the inhabitants of Amelia Island were to elect representatives "to frame and constitute a provisional government" until a constitution could be drafted; (2) every free civilian inhabitant residing on the island since November 4 would be eligible to vote, provided he would take an oath supporting the cause of the Republic; (3) no military person on active duty would be entitled to vote, but he could be elected as a representative; (4) nine representatives were to be elected, and each voter had to give in writing the names of the nine for whom he voted to the officers to be appointed for that purpose; (5) every free person who intended to vote had to call before election time at the treasury office on Washington Square to take and subscribe the oath to be administered by M. Walsh and Pazos; (6) the polls would be open from twelve o'clock noon to sunset on November 19 and from sunrise to sunset the following day.<sup>43</sup>

Pazos and Walsh administered the oath to over 150 men who selected the nine representatives from a field of twenty-two candidates. Gual, with 151 votes, and Pazos, with 150, led the race. The other winners were J. Murden, a South Carolinian, 148; Louis Comte, a native of Baltimore and son of an *émigré* from Saint-Domingue, 148; Jared Irwin, 113; one Lavignac, a Frenchman and former resident of Baltimore, 112; James Forbes, brother of the North American consul in Copenhagen, 111; one Mabrity, a "Spanish South America," 107; and one Chapelle, an American from Connecticut, 101. The "French party" of Gual and Pazos counted a majority of one over the "American party" among the representatives. On November 27 Aury confirmed those elected and set December 1 as the date for the first meeting of the assembly. Representatives were urged to fulfill the duties which were "committed to their charge by the people of the free state of Florida."<sup>44</sup>

43. Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, December 8, 1817.

44. *Ibid.*, December 17, 1817; Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 74-76; *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review*, II (January 1818), 215.

The assembly appointed a three-man committee— Pazos, Murden, and Gual, who was named chairman— to draft a plan of provisional government for the Republic of the Floridas. Pazos suddenly found himself a constitution-maker. On December 7 he and his collaborators had their first meeting and agreed on guidelines for their project. The provisional government was to be divided into three branches— executive, legislative, and judicial — with “the military subordinate and obedient in all cases to the civil authority.” There would be one chief magistrate, or governor, rather than an executive council of three or five members. A lieutenant governor had the duty of presiding over the legislature and would vote only in cases of a tie. There would be two executive secretaries, one for the departments of state and treasury, the other for the department of the army and navy. A unicameral legislature was adopted “on account of our peculiar situation.” It would originally be composed of seven members, although every district in the Floridas that adhered “to our cause” would be entitled to send two representatives. The judicial authority was vested in a supreme court of four members — including an attorney general— inferior courts, and justices of the peace.

On December 9 the committee met to flesh out these “Fundamental Rules” for a democratic republican government. The governor was granted wide appointive powers which he would execute with the advice and consent of a council of state made up of the governor, lieutenant governor, the two secretaries, and the attorney general. The secretaries were to be appointed with the consent of the assembly.

The committee saw the council as vital to the success of the government. In it “‘all the parts of the public administration” were concentrated: “The council, therefore, is chiefly intended to maintain harmony and good understanding between the several branches of the government, and by collecting from time to time, in a single body, all kind of information from every one, it must infuse life and activity in the whole. The council is also calculated to supply the deficiency of a single House of Legislature . . . . In regard to the executive the council is finally a council of appointment and advice.”

While the governor was given veto power over acts of the as-

sembly, he could be overridden by two-thirds of the members present. The assembly had the power to impeach, and its members enjoyed immunity from prosecution for "opinions manifested, or doctrine professed" in their capacity as legislators. The functions, administration, and jurisdiction of the courts remained to be determined by statute. However, the committee did insist that all crimes deserving "corporeal or ignominious punishments shall be tried by Judges and a Jury."

The four articles pertaining to the provisional government were to remain in force "until a Constitution be adopted by a Convention, legally called and composed of Delegates of the majority of the Districts of [the] Floridas." Two additional articles guaranteed freedom of the press and freedom of conscience. The committee submitted a report to their fellow representatives, assuring them that they had been governed in their proceedings "by strict adherence to the principles of Free Governments." Their debt to the form and content of the federal and state constitutions of the United States was substantial; they cited, for instance, Alexander Hamilton's *Federalist* No. 70 to justify a single executive. Although there is no record of action on the committee's report, it seems likely that it was ratified by the assembly of representatives.<sup>45</sup>

Pazos, as chairman, and Murden also served on a three-man committee appointed to obtain information relative to the transactions between Elton and the Florida republic. The third member was Comte, a follower of Aury scarcely twenty years old. On December 9, a busy day for Pazos, the committee asked Aury to turn over copies of all the correspondence between him and Elton and also the proceedings of the court of inquiry appointed a month earlier to investigate the conduct of Austin. The next day Aury complied with the request. The committee reported that, in its opinion, an attempt had been made to board the *Tentativa* and that she had been fired upon "in the very waters of Amelia." "Whatever may have been the motives of the commander of the *Saranac*, in ordering or approving such a violation of neutral rights, they can, in the judgment of your committee,

45. Douglas Crawford McMurtrie, ed., *Republic of the Floridas: Constitution and Frame of Government Drafted by a Committee Appointed by the Assembly of Representatives, and Submitted at Fernandina, December 9, 1817* (Evanston, Illinois, 1942), [iv], 3-7.

never be sanctioned, much less could they have been ordered, by that enlightened government which has itself contended against the right of search on board their own vessels, even when out of their waters. How then could Captain Elton, certainly unauthorized, take upon himself to board our vessels in our very waters? What authority could he have had to detain those vessels, to molest our commerce, and threaten us, if we should rescue from him, or protect a vessel under our own flag . . . ? What authority? None other than that which he must have unjustifiably assumed."

The committee then presented two resolutions, recommending that they be put into swift execution. First they resolved that the correspondence and other pertinent documents be printed, and that the documents, with a statement of the transactions that had taken place, be officially transmitted to the President of the United States, thus exposing Elton's questionable conduct. Pazos and his committee were satisfied that once the President knew the facts of the case "complete justice will be done to us."<sup>46</sup>

The assembly complied with the committee's request. Pazos supervised the printing, a business he had been in for some weeks. In August a press and printing apparatus had reached Fernandina from New York City, and a printing office, managed by R. Findley, was established. MacGregor thus had a means of issuing his proclamations and a paper currency. A correspondent in Fernandina on August 23 related that the inhabitants daily expected the arrival of a printing press for the purpose of issuing a newspaper.<sup>47</sup> It remained for the assembly to take definite action on that score. On December 1 a weekly newspaper in Spanish was authorized in order to give "publicity to the Acts of the Provisional Legislature, and to such other information as may be interesting and important to the welfare of the people." Pazos, with his earlier experience as a journalist, was made editor of *El Telegrafo de las Floridas*. Within the week the first number was issued. It contained a write-up about the first meeting of the

46. *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Honorable Assembly to Obtain Information Relative to the Transactions between This Republic and John H. Elton, Esq., Commander of the U.S. Brig Saranac, &c.* (Fernandina, 1817), State Department, Territorial Papers, Florida, pp. 66-70, NA. See also *ibid.*, folio 94; *Charleston Courier*, December 27, 1817.

47. *Savannah Republican*, August 19, 1817; *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 13, 1817.

“Representatives of the Floridas, under a discharge of artillery,” at which time steps were taken for the organization of the new government. Pazos announced that the object of the *Telegrafo* was to furnish a record of events on Amelia Island and to provide extracts from North American and other foreign newspapers. His first issue, understandably, abounded in speculative editorial remarks about the future destiny of the Republic of the Floridas. Pazos’s *Telegrafo* has the distinction of being the second newspaper published in East Florida.<sup>48</sup>

Pazos named the printing office in Fernandina “America Libre” in honor of the vessel that had brought him to Amelia Island and of “the deputies of free America.” Under his aegis at least two pamphlets were published. One was the report of the committee appointed to frame a plan for the provisional government and the other the report of the committee to examine the dispute over the *Tentativa*. The title page of the first pamphlet carried a quotation in Latin from Cicero that summarized the uncertainty of the patriots about their future: “What will happen I certainly do not know, but nevertheless there is one hope that some day the Roman people will be like our ancestors. I at least shall not fail the Republic; but whatever happens I hope that I shall be free from any blame in this matter, and I shall bear it with a brave heart. Marcus Tullius Cicero sends hearty greetings to Cornificius.”<sup>49</sup>

In his last issue of *La Crónica Argentina* on February 8, 1817, Pazos had drawn a comparison between the situation in Rome and the predicament in Buenos Aires in regard to conspirators who spread false alarms in the city, “trying to bury the State with them in order to escape a sure retribution.”<sup>50</sup> The title page of the second pamphlet was embellished with the single Roman proverb: “Fiat justitia, ruat coelum.”

48. There were probably no more than three issues of the *Telegrafo* published, none of which is known to be extant. *Charleston Courier*, December 19, 1817; *Daily National Intelligencer*, January 2, 1818; T. Frederick Davis, “MacGregor’s Invasion of Florida, 1817,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VII (July 1928), 48; Douglas C. McMurtrie, “The Beginnings of Printing in Florida,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (October 1944), 68-69.

49. McMurtrie, *Republic of the Floridas*, [iv].

50. [Juan Canter?], “Inventario de documentos publicados,” *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, Supplement to V (January-March 1927), 94.

The need for an articulate press in Fernandina was real enough, as the patriots there had many critics in the United States. Thornton in Washington had done his best to convince the public at the time Pazos and Gual embarked for Amelia Island that they were “not the flinchers and the plunderers, but brave, active, intelligent, honest men, captivated by the cause of liberty.” Other commentators were more inclined to view the activities at Fernandina as “A Horrible Picture” or as a farce. A resident of St. Marys on November 22, 1817, wrote a friend in Charleston his jaundiced interpretation of the doings of the patriots: “You at a distance, can form no idea of the *emancipation* of the Floridas, and the great advance of civilization, in this young republic. In speaking of the government about to go into operation, they express a wish to form a convention similar to that of the early days of the French revolution. Numbers of the Americans have been banished into the United States— this is a terrible sentence! They have even taken upon themselves, it is said, to proscribe some of their inhabitants to a residence north of Charleston; and we expect daily to see a guillotine erected in ‘*Washington Square*,’ Fernandina, and some Mexican chief holding up the reeking head of an American citizen, exclaiming, ‘behold the head of a traitor’.”<sup>51</sup>

The administration of President James Monroe tended to side with the opponents of Aury and his “party-colored associates.” At a cabinet meeting on October 31, the secretary of state openly advocated breaking up “the marauding parties” at both Amelia Island and Galveston as soon as possible. His sentiments were shared by other cabinet members and by the President, who ordered the secretary of the navy to dispatch at once John D. Henley of the U.S.S. *John Adams* and his squadron to St. Marys. There he was to cooperate with James Bankhead, commanding officer of the land force, in removing from Amelia Island “the persons who have lately taken possession thereof, and, as it is understood and believed, without authority from the Colonies, or any organized Government, whatever, and to the great annoyance of the United States.” From Amelia Island Henley was to take his squadron to Galveston to help break up the establishment there. His naval force at St. Marys was to be augmented by ves-

51. *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 11, 1817, March 14, 1818; *Savannah Columbian Museum and Savannah Daily Gazette*, December 1, 1817.

sels under the command of Elton. The secretary of the navy, in his orders to Henley, expressed the hope that Aury and his men would withdraw without bloodshed. In any case, Henley and Bankhead were to take possession of the island "in the name, and by the authority of the United States."<sup>52</sup>

On December 2 Monroe made known in his first annual message to Congress his decision to move against Amelia Island. That patriot center, said the President, had been converted into nothing more than "a channel for the illicit introduction of slaves from Africa into the United States, an asylum for fugitive slaves from the neighbouring States, and a port for smuggling of every kind." The rights and interests of the United States, he had concluded, required that such goings-on be suppressed.<sup>53</sup>

As soon as Lino de Clemente, one of the signers of MacGregor's commission in Philadelphia, read Monroe's message, he sent a letter by express to Fernandina advising the authorities there of the imminent hostilities and ordering Aury to defend the place to the last man— unless attacked by a superior force. If such was the case, he should file a solemn protest in the name of the Spanish American governments against the proceedings on the part of the United States.<sup>54</sup>

When Clemente's letter and his enclosed copy of Monroe's message reached Fernandina, the consternation of the patriots at first ran high. It soon subsided as the more audacious spirits decided to set sail for Nassau to join MacGregor in a projected action in the Tampa Bay area. One patriot spoke for them all when, on December 20, he wrote a friend in Philadelphia: "We are of the opinion that the Spanish government is highly indebted to the government of the United States, for the friendly interference of the latter in our affairs. If we should have been permitted to retain this island for six months longer, our naval establishment would be such, I will venture to predict, that out of one hundred vessels bound to or from Cuba, no more than ten could have escaped our cruisers; as it is, we have annoyed the Spanish trade considerably."<sup>55</sup>

52. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 15; Crowninshield to Henley, November 14, 1817, Navy Department, Private Letters, I, 245-46, WA; Crowninshield to Henley, November 18, 1817, *ibid.*, I, 247.

53. Stanislaus Murray Hamilton, ed., *The Writings of James Monroe*, 7 vols. (New York, 1898-1903), VI, 35-36.

54. *Niles' Weekly Register*, December 20, 1817.

55. *Philadelphia Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 13, 1818.

The rendezvous between Henley and Bankhead was accomplished by December 18. While off Amelia Island on December 22, they officially notified Aury that they had come with orders "from our Government to take possession of Amelia Island, and to occupy the port of Fernandina." The patriots were to evacuate the island, leaving behind all public property surrendered by the Spaniards earlier to MacGregor; all private property belonging to the patriots would be respected.<sup>56</sup> After receiving this letter, Aury answered that he had submitted it "to the representatives of the republic, and, as soon as I shall have obtained their opinion, it shall be immediately sent to you."<sup>57</sup> Pazos, Gual, and other representatives sent a reply in Aury's name to Henley and Bankhead on December 22. They expressed surprise that the two officers were authorized by the government of a people who sympathized with "their southern brethren in the struggle for liberty and independence in which they are engaged, as were the United States forty years ago." Furthermore, the United States could claim no jurisdiction from the source of the St. Marys River to the Atlantic Ocean, "on this side [of] the centre of the channel." The only law Henley and Bankhead could adduce in their behalf was that of force, and the same could be said about their interference with the property of inhabitants of Amelia Island. The demand to leave behind all public property surrendered by the Spaniards was "contrary to the public rights, by which public property captured from the enemy, is avowedly that of the captors, when not otherwise stipulated." Were Henley and Bankhead, the representatives wanted to know, perhaps acting in the name of the king of Spain or his allies? The patriots considered the people of the United States to be "the only free people on the surface of the globe," but the demand of the officers was "inadmissible and unjustifiable in the ages of the world." Pazos and his co-authors requested that their remarks be laid before Monroe.<sup>58</sup>

Henley and Bankhead responded the next day, saying that they were bound to obey their orders "without any discussion or

---

56. Henley and Bankhead to Aury, December 22, 1817, *American State Papers*, Class I, *Foreign Relations*, 4: 139-40.

57. Aury to Henley and Bankhead, December 22, 1817, *ibid.*, 140.

58. Aury to Henley and Bankhead, December 22, 1817, in *Narrative of a Voyage*, 321-23.

animadversion on our part as to the correctness of them.” They proposed to send a force ashore that very day. Henley’s squadron would sail into the harbor at Fernandina where Bankhead was to wait for Aury to make the necessary arrangements for the landing of the troops.<sup>59</sup> Aury replied in a note that he was ready to surrender Amelia Island. Consequently, 250 men landed and marched into the fortifications of Fernandina. At twelve o’clock noon, the Mexican flag was struck, and the United States flag hoisted over the island.<sup>60</sup> And so the abortive Republic of the Floridas came to an abrupt, but a peaceful, end.

The United States troops held Amelia Island in protective custody to the last of the Spanish period, offering to turn it over to the Spaniards when they could police and govern it. Pazos’s contributions to the short-lived republic were largely in the realm of ideology and publication. He also helped the patriot effort with his legal expertise and served as a “working” legislator. His faith in republicanism for the Floridas proved to be misplaced, but at least he could claim the honor of being the editor of one of its first newspapers. His exertions on behalf of the defunct republic did not, moreover, stop with the raising of the United States flag on December 23. The papers that Aury had indicated would be conveyed to Monroe were, in fact, to be delivered by Pazos. For four months in 1818 he acted as agent in Washington for Aury, vainly trying to secure reparations for the patriots.<sup>61</sup>

---

59. Henley and Bankhead to Aury, December 23, 1817, *American State Papers*, Class I, *Foreign Relations*, 4: 140-41.

60. Aury to Henley and Bankhead, December 23, 1817, *ibid.*, 141; *Charleston Courier*, December 31, 1817; *Philadelphia Democratic Press*, January 7, 1818.

61. Aury to James Monroe, December 23, 1817, State Department, Territorial Papers, Florida, 71, NA.