

1977

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### Recommended Citation

Baker, Maury (1977) "Bernardo de Galvez's Combat Diary for the Battle of Pensacola, 1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 56 : No. 2 , Article 7.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol56/iss2/7>

## BERNARDO DE GALVEZ'S COMBAT DIARY FOR THE BATTLE OF PENSACOLA, 1781

edited by MAURY BAKER AND MARGARET BISSLER HAAS \*

THERE ARE FOUR contemporary versions, three Spanish and one English, of the events leading to the Spanish capture of English-held Pensacola, May 8, 1781. A long line of scholars have written about it, using archival sources in Spain and England. The last of them, N. Orwin Rush, in his incisive and valuable monograph, *Spain's Final Triumph Over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico: The Battle of Pensacola, March 9 to May 8, 1781*, relied heavily upon the diary of Bernardo de Galvez, which was believed to be available only in its printed version. The location of the original manuscript was not then known.<sup>1</sup> Then, a dozen years ago, the late Professor Louis E. Bumgartner, while engaged in research at the Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala, happened upon a rough manuscript entitled "Diaria Gral. de la Operacion executada el Exto. que manda el Mariscal de Campo Dn. Bernardo de Galvez Comandte. Gral. del para el sitio de Panzacola. . . ." <sup>2</sup> A microcopy of this important document then became available. The Bumgartner diary is a basic, abbreviated battlefield account probably written by Estevan Miro, Galvez's aide and personal friend, with the Mariscal "declaring the diary of the day and action," as noted at the end of the manuscript. It differs from the printed Spanish version in its chronology of events and in what it records. It

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1. N. Orwin Rush, *Spain's Final Triumph Over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico: The Battle of Pensacola, March 9 to May 8, 1781* (Tallahassee, 1966), 37. John Walton Caughey's *Bernardo de Galvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783* (Berkeley, 1934; facsimile edition, Gretna, Louisiana, 1972), remains an authoritative source of information relating to international rivalry in the lower Mississippi and Gulf areas.
2. The notation on the file card in El Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala is: A.G.G. A1.60, Exp. 45, 364, Leg. 5365: Diario Gral. de la Operacion executada el Exto, que manda el Mariscal de Campo Dn. Bernardo de Galvez, Comandte. Gral. del para el sitio de Panzacola desde el 9 de Marzo que desembarco en la Isla de Santa Rosa.

appears to be a matter-of-fact memorandum, in contrast to the other, which was written for public consumption.<sup>3</sup> There is, however, strong similarity between the diaries.

There is still another source of information for the battle of Pensacola. There are typescripts (553 pages) of materials from legajos 6912 and 6913 from the Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra, to be found in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division. These manuscripts include correspondence relating to all of Galvez's activities in the Gulf and the lower Mississippi valley, including part of (March 9-25) a rewritten and extended version of the Bumgartner diary, as well as the missing original of the printed diary. The significance of this noteworthy assortment is that, although many scholars have made valuable contributions, the opportunity exists for some eager specialist to supply a definitive history of the Galvez campaigns culminating in the capture of Pensacola, hopefully to be published on May 8, 1981.

The Battle of Pensacola was the outcome of Spanish and British rivalry for control of the lower Mississippi River area and the Gulf of Mexico. After the Paris peace settlement of 1763 extended the boundaries of Britain's colonies to the Mississippi and ceded Florida to her, Spain's need to maintain the northern borderlands as a buffer to insulate Spanish America proper became daily more apparent. This required the elimination of the British from the lower Mississippi and from Pensacola,

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3. Dr. Baker worked intermittently over a dozen years with a succession of graduate students to decipher the Bumgartner diary and provide an intelligible English translation. Margaret Bissler Haas was foremost among these students. Others included Roberto Gonzalez, Shirley Clay, and Mark Bender. Paleographing and translating the diary presented difficulties. In it, penmanship, calligraphy and cursive struggled for dominance, mingling bold flourishes with heavy slurred strokes. The quill pens used, seemingly seldom sharpened, loosed a flood of ink after being dipped, which dwindled rapidly between dips; the rag paper absorbed it so well that it soaked through to the other side, also written on. Some sections were written in haste-perhaps under conditions that discouraged careful penmanship and expression-producing a kind of shorthand that was a jumble of abbreviations, misspellings, and absurdly awkward sentences. There was a disorder of tense. The military and naval terminology was archaic and esoteric. Thus the diary, though clearly understandable much of the time, degenerated occasionally into a confusion that made literal translation impossible. The editors have attempted to remedy this through use of bracketed explanation, but otherwise have remained as faithful as possible to the manuscript; punctuation follows the handwritten text where practicable.

the base on the Gulf which most threatened New Orleans. The American Revolution provided opportunity which Spain seized after her official entry into the war against Britain on June 21, 1779. The instrument chosen for the purpose was the young but distinguished governor of Louisiana, General Bernardo de Galvez. Bolstering his forces with French colonial, Negro, and Indian volunteers, he quickly forced the British to surrender Baton Rouge and Fort Panmure at Natchez in 1779, and in another bold move, attacked Fort Charlotte at Mobile the following year. By March 14, 1780, Mobile was won, and Galvez turned his attention to the conquest of Pensacola.

Before the end of October 1780, he had organized an expedition for this purpose, only to have the fleet conveying it from Havana scattered by a sudden hurricane. But at the end of February 1781, he had embarked again for Pensacola, arriving on March 9 off the mouth of the Bay of Pensacola with thirty-five ships, several gunboats, and 1,315 troops. His position was precarious; should a storm arise, the ships of the fleet would have to cast anchor and work their way out to sea to avoid being wrecked upon the shore. Only within the bay could the fleet find safe anchorage, and only from the inner shore, he believed, could he mount the land attack which he planned. Fort George, the major stronghold protecting Pensacola, lay close behind the town, nine miles northeastward from the entrance passage to the bay. Santa Rosa Island shielded the passage from the sea. On some mainland heights overlooking the passage, opposite the island, was the Barrancas Coloradas fort, bristling with an estimated dozen cannon. It appeared logical that there would be another fortification to command the passage from the island side. Field Marshal de Galvez, as he contemplated the situation, faced two immediate needs: to get troops ashore on the island to reduce whatever defense existed there, and to move his fleet past the Barrancas Coloradas into the shelter of the bay. He began to resolve the first need in the evening of March 9, 1781.

*The Diary*

[Candelaria 1781]

General diary of the landing operation on the island of Santa Rosa by the Army under the command of Field Marshal Don

Bernardo de Galvez for the siege of Pensacola-from the ninth of March.

General diary of the operations of the Army of the expedition commanded by Field Marshal Don Bernardo de Galvez from the ninth of March when the Army landed on the island of Santa Rosa.

This same day at 9 P.M. the Army made ready for the landing in two sections three leagues from the location in which we were convinced the enemy had a fort that had to be attacked, the Rearguard under General Don Francisco Longoria who commanded the First Column of Grenadiers and Cazadores [light infantry], the other section being composed of the vanguard that at three in the dawn [of March 10] landed with the purpose of seizing the Cape of Santa Rosa where there were presumed to be four cannons of small caliber, continuing their march until daybreak in order to verify this.

Day [March] 10 . . . By daylight they arrived at the aforesaid part of the Cape where no battery was encountered-only seven sailors that were made prisoners-but the English frigates, observing this, commenced a lively fire which caused the troops to move back beyond the range of shot. To counter this [fire] the general ordered the mounting of a battery with two cannons. [March] 11 . . . The cannons were located in what appears to be a fortification on the beach and they began firing on the frigates, which made for the mouth of the Cape [bay] in order to encounter our fleet, but then decided to withdraw until they were located in the interior of the bay.

[March] 12 . . . Today the commander of the engineers passed by the cape with some workers, feigning work but investigating the cannon of the battery named the Barrancas which defends the port, observing that 32 Englishmen were landing food and munitions, and that the Squadron and convoy were anchored one league and a half away. Don Juan Riano has arrived today with the King's packet boat [*San Pio*] and two small gunboats to be used to fire on the battery and overpower it. At 3 P.M. Second Lieutenant Miguel Herrera arrived in camp from Mobile with word that Colonel Don Joseph Espeleta was proceeding on the 16th along the Rio Buen Socorro with 900 men to join His Excellency, [requesting that launches be sent to the Perdido River to transport his forces]. From this day until the eighteenth

nothing occurred in the camp except the arrival of a flag of truce.

[Galvez on March 13 sent Estevan Miro to Mobile for the purpose of consulting with Colonel Espeleta, commander of the military forces of that city. Miro did not return to the encampment until March 18, when the diary recommenced, with Miro adding to the entry for March 12 a few items (possibly supplied by Galvez) relating to incidental intervening events. During his absence Galvez had decided to resolve his difficulties with fleet commander Captain Jose Calbo de Irazabal, who was reluctant to attempt the hazardous entrance to the Bay of Pensacola after grounding his flagship in an initial effort, by seizing the initiative as recorded in the diary on March 18. The March 20 reference to Miro was probably a record of event entered by Miro himself.]

[March] 18 . . . It was noted last night that there had been some movement of troops on the enemy frigates since at two were heard three cannon shots as if a signal. This afternoon the General has boarded the brigantine *Galveztown* and his arrival was saluted by hoisting the pennant of Chief of Squadron, a procedure which raised expectations in everyone; quickly weighing anchor the ship moved toward the cape with the two gunboats,<sup>4</sup> despite the opposition of the [Barrancas] battery [which fired] 70 shots. Thereafter the troops on shore [shouted] repeatedly with great enthusiasm "Long live the King," demonstrating their desire to follow through the good example of the General.

[March] 19 . . . By 11:30 today the two frigates and the *Chambequin* navigated the passage, which encouraged the ships of the convoy: in spite of firing from the fort, 32 ships entered without experiencing any mishap. The warship *San Ramon* and a merchant packet remained outside on the chance that the passage was too narrow and the former would not be able to enter.

[March] 20 . . . The General has left in the falua [small vessel] to survey the place where he should direct Espeleta to the rear

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4. Galvez had undisputed command over these vessels, which he did not have over the other naval forces of the expedition. Raising the Chief's pennant was a bit of panache that challenged the inactivity of the naval commander.

of the Barrancas fort; an English detachment was waiting for the *falua* to approach, but having detected them, it moved away from the shore and fired at the place with grapeshot. Lieutenant Colonel Don Estevan Miro has arrived and says that the troops from Mobile are still lost [somewhere] along the river. Today the captain from Luciana [Louisiana] Mr. Balier, who was in [New] Orleans on his word of honor [parole] being a prisoner, left for Pensacola. With him the general forwarded a letter to the Plaza [to Gen. John Campbell, the English commander] cautioning him not to burn any buildings or boats for he [Galvez] bore in mind the conditions which [the English] attached to the [terms of] surrender of Havana [in 1762], as well as other particulars relating to that affair.

21 . . . At eight the aforementioned Balier returned with letters accompanying a parliamentarian aide-de-camp of Cambel. Coming also was Lieutenant Dicson [Dickson], a prisoner on parole since last year. Two ships of the convoy that had lagged behind have arrived at the cape. The battery of the Barrancas shot at them 56 times without causing the least harm, although one of the lead ships ran aground. Last night the enemy set fire to one of the houses adjoining the fort.

22 . . . At 9 Colonel Espeleta arrived at the lower part of the Barrancas with 900 men who came by land from the Rio Buen Socorro, signalling arrival by three discharges of gunfire. The general ordered the companies of grenadiers and also 300 musketeers to reinforce them, for they were so fatigued as not to be in condition to continue. For this reason Colonel Espeleta [had] ordered various halts [en route], also with the object of waiting for a band of Indians that had harrassed the rearguard with continual sniping. These followers, [though] pursued by our cazadores, remained very active. The refreshed troops decided to proceed to the aforementioned river mouth [to gain] the protection of the warships. They maintained that they had walked seven leagues today. At 5 we arrived at the aforementioned spot [and were] recognized by the ships. The general arrived with the launches, ordering encampment without stores and in the protection of a grove. At 7 P.M. some Indians came to fire on the troops that were around the fires, killing three and wounding four of our soldiers, not leaving us at peace until morning.

[The diary contains no entries for March 23 through 27. During this period Galvez decided to rendezvous his separate forces at the site (on a bayou behind the Barrancas) occupied by the newly-arrived troops from Mobile, and move from there toward Fort George, the main object of attack. Reinforcements that arrived by ship from New Orleans on March 23 were ordered to land at this place, and the troops on Santa Rosa Island (except 200 who remained in occupation) were ferried over to it. In the late evening of March 26 the army began to penetrate the thick woods behind the rendezvous, moving northeasterly to the next bayou which it crossed near the mouth to get onto the beach, then advanced along the bayshore to another bayou which, followed inland on the 27th, led to a likely encampment site on the side nearest Fort George.]

28 . . . The camp was set up according to orders, locating six field artillery pieces on its flanks. In the afternoon the Indians came to attack, for which reason the light troops and the Militia of Orleans sallied forth, resulting in three being badly wounded.

29 . . . The order was given for the reembarkation of all artillery and equipment, and stores and food were prepared for tomorrow. At daybreak the companies of grenadiers, cazadores, four of musketeers, all light infantry, and the two detachments of the colored troops from Orleans moved in accordance with the orders of Lieutenant Colonel [Baron de Quesel - ?]; and the garrison [Personnel] of Quartermaster [Major General] Don Francisco de Navas was advised to drive the cattle and [transfer the other supplies] tonight.

[March] 30. . . At five [a tally] of the marching troops established our number to be 3350 under the command of the Commander General of the Army, and General Espeleta remained to reembark with the remaining part of the army. We continued advancing in single file with the cannons toward the second pathway. We were distant from the plaza about a short cannon shot, or a league and a half from our second encampment. After [we had been] marching a short time, a large group of Indians emerged from their hide-outs in the woods, firing rapidly, upon which the general ordered up the cannons of the Militia of Orleans and light troops, which made them flee to the Plaza, where they stopped firing entirely. We continued to the afore-

mentioned beach where Espeleta would disembark in the launches with the rest of the army. Accordingly when the Indians remaining at the rear of the bastion began firing on the troops, they assumed battle formation; and the companies of grenadiers, cazadores, and the Militia from Orleans advanced, laying down a heavy fire. The English marched in column from the fort with a cannon to protect the Indians and to incite them to strike at [our] troops, which they considered fatigued. But after maintaining fire for four hours with the intention of blooding them, the [enemy] withdrew, leaving us to take possession of the house of Reoneo, named after a Pensacola villager, which is one mile from the fort. Because of this [engagement], three of our men were killed and twenty-eight were wounded. I include in the last group the Colonel of the King Don Luis Rebolo, the lieutenant from Soria Juan Antonio Figueroa and a Second Lieutenant of the Dragoons; and the stack of arms and some of the munitions were also lost. During the night a large entrenchment was constructed capable of providing cover for the troops, with the two companies of Navarra in the aforementioned house that was on the right. By means of a deserter that came tonight the state of defense of the forts is known. And he added that they [at the fort] had orders to be prepared for attack so that they could counterattack when they knew we were planning to approach them.

31 . . . The day dawned very rainy and the troops were tired enough for the general to order some aguardiente given to them. Some provisions and tents had been landed. It was eight o'clock at this time. An enemy soldier of the Sixteenth Regiment had come who said that General Cambel intends to make a sortie for which reason various troops were posted. Our general, intending to move the encampment back a greater distance from cannon fire, has ordered the Quartermaster to reconnoiter [new locations]. The Colonel of the king has died from the wound he received on the 30th.

Apr. 1 . . . What the deserter told us didn't happen since in the night there wasn't the slightest movement, but it was seen by daylight that an encampment and intrenchment had been established on the glacis within 300 toises of Fort George.<sup>5</sup> Four

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5. A toise equals 2.1315 yards.

hundred men have left with the quartermaster to consider changing the encampment to a small hill and there to prepare for attack, they having seen a detachment of cavalry which seems to have the same object in mind. Since then they saw some troops withdrawn. Two deserters and a sergeant that arrived afterwards from the main body have come from the Waldeck regiment.

2 . . . The artillery supplies and provisions continued to be unloaded from the boats until two. Eight deserters from various English regiments have arrived and [we] have ascertained that [the enemy will] begin firing from the fortifications at 3:30 P.M. With this information and seeing that the army [would be] endangered by the firing, the general decided to reembark the artillery, arms and food at intervals and to move out of the entrenchments and forward some distance without being seen by the enemy. They would conceal themselves keeping the food and large supplies in their places until darkness, when with better speed they could strike [camp], going as far as the campground called the Baya, which was a distance of a league or a cannon shot away from the forts, relying on the sea for communications with the ships, retaining only a garrison of 100 men in the house. Finally, the troops that were on the island of Santa Rosa withdrew.

3 . . . Today the troops worked to construct the entrenchment that was necessary for all camps because of the Indians. In order to make sure it would be exact, they have sent from the frigate of war three [local] inhabitants that escaped last night in a schooner. They have begun to land munitions and to take advantage of the opportunity the bay offers the launches for attack. Three Talapuse Indians have presented themselves to offer their nation to the general. At 11:30 the advance guard of the line has fired on the Indian allies of the English who came to fire on the encampment. The four English ships [abandoned by them], their mooring lines cut, have been towed by our launches to the center of the squadron; in one of them [we] discovered the presence of [Spanish] prisoners totaling 72, including the lieutenant of the Prince Galiano, and that their artillery was torn down and made useless.

4 . . . The Major General and the Quartermaster have left

with a guard to reconnoiter the countryside in order to enlarge [the territory] which the army occupies.

5 . . . A flag of truce has arrived on behalf of the political congress [town council of Pensacola]; and according to news, it seems that Cambel wants to oblige the inhabitants to take up arms. A deserter of the Sixteenth Regiment has come. All night the Indians have been firing on the camp wounding various, such as the Captain of Navarra Samaniego and three soldiers. The general with the Quartermaster has left to see the new entrenchment in order to plan the attack [on the fort]. We consist of an army of close to 3500 foot soldiers, with 20 dead and 13 wounded without yet having even offended the enemy. There has been a meeting of commanders to consider running together three redoubts and another near the Bay for the security of the launches and the naval garrison. Tonight the Indians have fired on the camp wounding two in their tents and disturbing the whole army.

7 . . . Last night the brigantine *Galvezton* that was stationed in the Bay of Escambel [Escambia] to prevent the escape of enemies who were located to the North, caught and transferred [to us] five inhabitants that were escaping in a schooner-among them was one from Mobile who had signed his word not to take up arms, etc. But according to the Indians, it seems he left the Commissary to approach the Indians with gifts of paints, woolen blankets, insignia, and medals. Also there came an officer of the [loyalist] Regiment from Pennsylvania who presented himself desiring to serve in the [Spanish] army since he had been discharged from the services of S.M. Bretanica in consequence of a disagreement. Because he had been in the Plaza, he was permitted to remain in the army of freemen (adventurers). The inhabitants have been taken on board with the commissary responsible for them.

8 . . . Two deserting soldiers have come this morning; and the landing of provisions and munitions continued.

9 . . . They continue [constructing] the two redoubts, and still the site where the final fortification has to be built has not been determined. At 9 a parliamentarian of the town council came to our general detaining him with his proposal, conferring with him from this time until 4 P.M. when he left. Cambel has sent 18 prisoners that were convalescing from illness, asking our

general to give his word that they would not take up arms. He refused, answering that [since] he had them there, that he might free them; nevertheless they remained in camp. A deserter has come from the enemy saying that tonight 300 Indians are coming to harass us and that the number of those in the Plaza is 1200. With this information 3 companies of scouts and 4 cannons were stationed in the forward post to guard the gate. The sentence has been carried out for the execution of the grenadiers that mistreated their work sergeant from the Prince's regiment.

10. . . The Quartermaster left this afternoon to mark off the new encampment, but it wasn't completed because of some suggestions made that it offered no advantage. In consequence this operation has been suspended and the order [issued] to situate the camp in another place more advanced than [this one] in which we are supported by the navy by means of the bay that projects [inland] for a half-mile. The redoubts have been finished and 4 cannons from the warships have been placed in each one.

11. . . The landing of the food and a special 24-pounder cannon and much ammunition continues. A deserter has come.

12. . . At 5:30 the march to the other camp was ordered leaving a sufficient guard for the protection of the fortification and for the embarkation of the artillery and ammunition. Then the troop arrived at the [new] location and began to intrench itself and at 11 the advance guards noticed that some English and Indians left the fort with two cannons. For this reason Major General Espeleta with 6 companies of cazadores went out noticing that the enemy column was remaining under the protection of their artillery, waiting for them to advance. This did not result in [our] pursuit [into the forest] to answer the fire of those that molest us so, which they intended.

13. . . Various artillery pieces have been convoyed along with 3 more 24-pounder cannons from the bay. A deserter has arrived and according to his answers he doesn't come on good faith for which reason he has been conducted on board the warships.

14. . . The work of making fascines and trenches was begun and the excavation for the deposit of 8 barrels of gunpowder located in square at the depth of 3 to control and prevent danger and humidity. A deserter has arrived and he says that the general [Campbell] has proclaimed that deserters were treated very badly.

15 . . . This afternoon 69 Chataes Indians with their chiefs have arrived and camped outside the lines. At five a deserter of the cavalry of the company called Christi came and confirmed the death of his lieutenant and the rest of the wounded.

16 . . . Three soldier deserters of the 60th and 61st Regiments have come today. At two again was sighted an enemy reinforcement column which advanced rapidly with the commencement of cannonfire from the Plaza. The battalion at the head of the column, returning the fire from our companies of cazadores and field artillery, being on our flank caused the wounding of our general on one finger and a superficial wound [creasing] on the stomach. Besides 6 soldiers were wounded and a sailor killed in the bay. The fire lasted until 6:30 at which time a deserter came asserting that 500 Indian reinforcements had entered [the fort] the night before. The cannon shots of the fort have entered the encampment from a high angle, being 28 calibre. The general decided to call upon some of the Indians from Mobile to [assist] the engineers who have gone out to locate the breach in the fortifications that appeared to have been made. This past night a sergeant of the Flanders Regiment has deserted. He was well informed and with evidence of some intelligence.

17 . . . The reconnaissance company of cazadores has taken as prisoner an Englishman [headed for] the Barrancas fort who was found to have food and letters [one of which contained] an offer of help from Jamaica. Four 24-pounder cannons were mounted and located on the flanks of the intrenchment [in consequence of] the information from the sergeant deserter and two companies of cazadores were posted for the same reason.

18 . . . A settee [ship] has arrived from Havana with news of the recapture of Nicaragua [by Galvez's father],<sup>6</sup> and with this so likely [news] a triple salute was [fired by] the navy and the artillery in the redoubts. Three deserters have arrived from the 60th and 61st Regiment and they confirmed the prolific account given by the sergeant deserter that they had believed us to be composed of 500 [5000-?] men rather than 3500. From Orleans is learned of the English seizure of the frigate *Luz*, which left from that port conveying 120 men, 6 officers and a captain

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6. Matias de Galvez, at that time Presidente de Guatemala. This may account for the presence of the diary in the archives of Guatemala.

of the Regiment of Navarra. Tonight the Indians have fired on the camp, but there have been no mishaps.

19 . . . Twenty-six Indians of the Talapases [Tallapoosa] nation have come to offer their nation which has camped outside the line separate from the Chataes. The Indians brought 42 head of cattle. The officers of the engineers and artillery have left for the place where the circular battery is situated and it seems to them to be the place best suited for the attack offered by that terrain. At 3 P.M. the frigates signalled that about 200 ships had been sighted which caused no little alarm that perhaps they would be reinforcement for the enemy. Consequently a detachment immediately left camp to reinforce and defend the redoubts and the [Quartermaster] Major General went on board the [flagship] of the Port Commander to obtain for the General all possible information about the nature of the ships. At 9 P.M. the Major General returned to the camp from this assignment with the news that these were frigates and ships sent from Havana with 1600 reinforcements which calmed the spirits of all.

20 . . . Today senior officers of the Spanish and French navy and of the army have come to discuss the landing of Field Marshal Don Juan Manuel Cagigal, commanding general of the reinforcement troops, and of Don Joseph Solano and Major Monteil of the troops that came from Havana in the ships-of-the-line and the frigates. Also they discussed what each navy offered for the undertaking, stating that their coming arose from a fear in Havana that 8 English warships which had passed the tip of San Antonio were coming to the relief of Pensacola. The general joined [in planning] the landing of all the troops and the camp was extended 400 brazas.

21 . . . This afternoon Field Marshal Don Juan Cagigal has arrived at the camp with some officers of the reinforcement troops, with the news that all had landed by night [from] the island of Santa Rosa.

22 . . . The chasseurs of the French Company of Brigade Artillery have arrived, and following them other reinforcement troops have landed. The engineer and artillery officers together with Field Marshal Don Juan Gagigal and the Major General [Quartermaster] have left to examine the terrain in order to find the most advantageous spot for attack. The forts fired some [shots] from which resulted [in] the death of a soldier from Sorias.

In the afternoon. Brigadier General Geronimo Giron arrived with 1600 men, followed by the naval [force] consisting of 1322 commanded by three naval captains and 800 French commanded by another captain of the French navy.

23 . . . A soldier of the 60th Regiment has deserted and says that the Indians that left our camp on the 21st to attack the enemy camp killed two enemy soldiers that went for -----.

In the afternoon the four brigades and a body of reserves have been designated and for their accommodation a tent camp was constructed. The army is composed today of 7665.

24 . . . A drummer deserter has come from the enemy. Four companies and Brigadier Don Geronimo Giron and officers of engineers left to survey the location of the batteries, and then the enemy seeing them began to fire with cannon, and Indian fire continued. Four detachments killed some Indians but [they] have wounded the Second Lieutenant of Ivernia Don Phelipe O'Reilly and nine soldiers. At noon General Cagigal left to board the bombardment brigantine with the purpose of drawing nearer to the enemy batteries and to see the scope of the shots from the 24-pounder cannon that was mounted and fired, and didn't hit, but were sufficient to worry them and get their attention. Tonight was heard a general discharge in the enemy bastions of artillery and [small] arms.

[Around this time the Spanish command decided upon a definite plan of attack. The English fortifications were too strong for direct assault without excessive casualties; first they must be softened by bombardment. The scouting of the terrain had revealed the best locations for emplacement of siege guns. The first step was the building of an approach-part road, part trench, part tunnel-E by NE from the Spanish encampment to a line of hills overlooking the enemy strongholds some 400 toises away, closest to the Half-Moon fort, the point of concentration. On one hill the Spaniards established an entrenchment with a battery of 6 cannons and 4 mortars. They extended it to the left (N by NW) approximately 200 toises and then right (NE) an equal distance almost directly toward the enemy, constructing a final redoubt with 2 cannons and 2 howitzers less than 200 toises from the forts.]

25 . . . The engineers have left to be more sure of the range at which they should place the batteries. The enemies who

were on guard began to fire with a field artillery cannon and the [small] arms of the Indians, which reached the companies of our cazadores and made them withdraw, wounding three soldiers of the King's [Regiment] and three of the Prince's. A deserter soldier of the company of Christi has arrived.

26 . . . It has been determined that tonight the entrenchment will be constructed for which the engineers have marked the location. At 9 P.M. was ordered the departure for this purpose of 700 workers and 800 armed men to protect them. But although we had the good fortune not to be heard the night was filled with such a strong rain that it wasn't possible to find the markers locating the entrenchment. As it happened 1:30 came, and the Quartermaster, aware that it was not possible for the troops to remain until dawn, was instructed by Brigadier Don Geronimo Giron to withdraw the workers and following them, the troops.

27 . . . At 10 the enemy began to fire on three companies that supported the workers clearing the road and the location where the entrenchment has to be established, this cannonading and small arms fire of the forts being very continuous, with more fire from a detachment that sallied forth from the English [fort] which, using grapeshot, killed four of us and wounded 12 including the Lieutenant from Guadalajara Don Francisco Casteron, a French officer. This fire continued until 12:30. At dark it was decided to begin the entrenchment but due to the desertion of a soldier from Luciana it was suspended. It was observed at dark that there were Indians in the trees, perhaps to observe the activities of the camp.

28 . . . Two soldiers of the companies from Luciana have deserted, but nevertheless it was ordered to open the entrenchment tonight, in the same locations that had been determined before, at the beginning of the evening and very quietly. At 10:15 the work began without being observed despite the clarity of the moon and the natural noise of the shovels with no misfortune other than one or more soldiers being injured by shovels while hurriedly digging. The distance of the entrenchment from the camp is something like 500 toises and to the enemy forts, something like 400. There are 555 men working tonight.

29 . . . When the enemy became aware of the work that had been done in the night, they began to fire cannon, following

with mortar fire and grenades from the circular fort and [there was] some [fire] from the opposite side with 22-pounder cannon that we defended with four small cannon placed to the left of the entrenchment. They made mortar, grenade and cannonfire until 7:30 in the morning with the object of disturbing the work of the battery. It commenced with four mortars and six 24-pounder cannons, resulting all day in not more than three wounded and one killed. One soldier from Luciana deserted.

30 . . . There was work on the foremost batteries and the entrenchment was repaired extending the branch communicating with the covered passage to the entrenchment. Last night the enemy shot with some sluggishness, gravely wounding the Second Lieutenant from Luciana Don Francisco Godo and a sergeant. The Indians have shot at the camp and killed on the parapet a soldier of the Second of Cataluna, wounding two more. Also the English sallied forth toward the entrenchment with two cannons, but the fire from our 4 and 8 calibre [cannons] on our left repelled them, [although] the firing upon the protecting troop left no doubt about their being seen. At 11 they ceased firing and the Battery began the construction of esplanades and a platform completing the interior of the same. A soldier deserter of the enemy has come and says that they believed that the reason for the entrenchment [activity] was to persuade them that the attack would come from the other side [of the defenses], as [was] indicated in a document [that they] found at the foot of a tree, which described in rough draft the direction of one part of the assaults, lost deliberately by the Volunteer Engineer Don Gilverto Gilman with some sketches of the location of the Pino Gordo, which was situated exactly where the last redoubt was constructed.

May 1 . . . They have fired various cannonades, bombs and grenades with the purpose of stopping the work of emplacing the cannons and the mortars at the Battery, for which reason the work was suspended until dark. A Portuguese sutler was caught through information from a deserter. In the afternoon the fire quickened as never before, killing a French artilleryman and wounding two, consisting mainly of mortars and grenades. This continued immoderately all night, killing a soldier and wounding seven.

2 . . . It was ordered to put in the battery the six 24-pounder

cannons and four mortars, two g-pounders and two 12-pounders, beginning fire at 9 A.M. at which time the enemy returned the fire continuing all day without stopping, resulting in three wounded and one dead. A deserter from the 60th Regiment has come. At night they have suspended fire doubtlessly with the object of repairing their merlons since we are sure that they have some damage to their parapets from our recent heavy fire. One [company] left to continue [digging] a connecting road to the entrenchment toward the defenses of Fort George so as to establish a battery. A native has died in the camp as the result of a quarrel.

3 . . . There was fire all last night and it was observed that they had done some work on their fortifications and also the repair of their merlons that had been damaged. Our entrenchment was built with a branch of 7000 [700 toises?] toward the left in order to establish the battery. Firing began with shot and bombs by the enemy which they continued all day, resulting in eight wounded and one dead. Our battery of cannons and mortars have fired and according to information from deserters it was concluded that we had done some damage. In the redoubt there was no more difference from the night before than to have some merlons in place of braces. The emplacement of the field artillery was worked on also. Today there have been two killed and five wounded including in the latter Captain Fixo [regular rank] Juan Joseph Oneco. Because of the rain the work on the entrenchment was suspended.

6 . . . A lively fire has continued between the sides for the rest of the night. In this fire there was wounded gravely Grenadier Lieutenant of Aragon Don Joseph Molina and some others. The Chastaes Indians who are partial to us have brought two English prisoners of the Barrancas garrison. At night the enemy increased their fire in which they wounded the Volunteer Engineer Don Gilverto Gilman, Captain of Navarra Don Bartolome Bargas, Captain of Aragon Don Matheo Arriola and Lieutenant of Navarra Don Ramon Garcia and 9 soldiers. All were wounded most gravely. At 12 midnight Brigadier Don Geronimo Giron went out with 800 men under orders to assault the fort called the Half Moon with everything needed to take it and burn it. This operation did not take place for contrary orders were given very close to the instant for the beginning of the action. There

commenced work in the entrenchment to carry out cotton [bales] and bags for dirt to construct a shelter for the battery that would fire on this fort, which is considered the principal one, to force surrender by the remainder.

7 . . . During the night Second Lieutenant of Ibernia Don Thomas de Festimaz [Fitzmaurice] died from the firing and the Major of the entrenchment Don Joseph Urraca from the Regiment of Soria was wounded plus 6 dead soldiers. The enemy continued the fire on the entrenchment and the redoubt. At 11:30 the Indians came to fire on the encampment, from which the Militia of Orleans went out in response. They withstood the [Indian] attack, but three were wounded and two were killed, with the usual cruelty of scalping them and cutting off their ears. Their fire on the entrenchment wounded an officer of the Regiment of the King Don Francisco Conget and 4 soldiers of the same regiment. The total number of wounded was 16 and all were serious. Tonight the [emplacement of the] battery of 8 cannons mentioned yesterday was continued, for which- purpose the materials were gathered. The firing has been the strongest experienced until now, with a great deal of cannon as well as mortar [fire] and [fire] from howitzers causing a great deal of damage. The Captain of Navarra Bargas has died of his wounds.

8 . . . Since midnight the firing from the fort has been sluggish. But when the firing resumed, it happened that one of the shells from the howitzers in our redoubt set fire to the gunpowder magazine of the Half Moon Fort (at 8:30), spreading to the other munitions. Flame was seen to cover it and the planking closest to it, scattering firebrands along the parapet and the stockade, whose ruin from loaded bombs, grenades and barrels of gunpowder killed 105 Englishmen including two exhausted officials who sought refuge in the place. As soon as we were aware of the burning of the fortification we formed a troop to enter the place promptly, commanded by Brigadier Don Geronimo Giron, who joined forces with the Major General Quartermaster, with all the companies of grenadiers and chasseurs, to advance on the fort and take possession of it. The maneuver was executed in two columns and 100 advance men with equipment to put out fires, and to guide the attack on the other forts; this was effected by the two columns which succeeded

in entering, there [being subjected to] lively fire through gunports from those who defended the fort, succeeding in wounding and killing many of us. Despite this fire, the [troops under] Quarter Master Don Franco de Naves succeeded in breaching part of a stockade that gave entrance to most of the moat as far as the gorge and to establish on the right flank a shelter by filling the moat with sand. And a chance was offered to begin constructing a battery behind it. These operations were supported by our fire from the cover of the merlons of the flank Battery until it [the new battery] could stop [the fire of the enemy] cannon and reduce the [fort's] gunfire. Equally there was firing upon the circular fort and on some tents which were on its glacis-2 howitzers and 2 of the 4 cannons which were emplaced over on the right as soon as our troops arrived and advanced to establish themselves on the right flank. At 2:30 P.M. a white flag was seen over Fort George. This was a surprise. At this time an officer on horseback appeared accompanied by a servant carrying a white flag. He advanced to be met on the left of the fort by the Major General and Major Decois, Officer of the French Navy, assistant to the artillery [commander], and from the right by the Quarter Master with his aide Don Franco del Rey, who were in the works just described. Upon meeting our men the English officer presented an open letter that General Cambel had sent. Because it was written in English the General ordered that it be translated to French. The letter asked for 24 hours suspension of hostilities to deal with the capitulation, but the General answered Senor Cambel that only three hours would be considered in which to arrange the suspension of hostilities. The English officer returned to the fort with assurance that all hostility and work would cease. A group of our men formed and advanced to the tree that the English indicated as the boundary. The General waited there for the results of the first letter, [which was] followed by three [more] letters written by each general. Our general remained at this spot, sending to the Plaza as hostage the Lieutenant of Iberria Don Cornalio, bringing another English officer to the camp.

9 . . . The reciprocal exchange of letters continues in order to agree on articles. Some things were found unacceptable about the capitulation. But nevertheless, our general accepted the offer of Senor Cambel to go to the Town of Pensacola: accompanying

him were the Field Marshal Don Juan Manuel Cagigal and two companies of the King's Grenadiers for his guard.

10 . . . From very early [the troops] have been getting together a great deal of their equipment and continued [to do] so all day. At 3:30 four companies of grenadiers and one of French chasseurs departed for the ceremony of delivering the zone. At 5:45 the ceremony took place as planned. General Cambel left Fort George at the head of his troops accompanied by five aides-de-camp, and one person dressed in black. Following were detachments from the 16th regiment. Another two detachments from several regiments followed them. The captain of the frigate, Mr. Duis, with his sailors and a 3-pounder cannon on which was displayed the flag of the frigate. The political governor [of Pensacola] Piter Chestre [Peter Chester] with a town council then followed the Commander of Artillery, Mr. Thomson with all of his troops: another two detachments followed, supplying a rearguard for two covered carts and the Regiment of Waldeck with its two flags and two artillery pieces, all this troop turning to align with the breastworks of Fort George from which it emerged, with the 10 Companies of Grenadiers in battle formation before this. The generals advanced and after greeting each other, ours went with the first [commanding officer] of the King's Regiment to where the flags of Cambel were surrendered, and the captains of the Navy Don Felipe Lopez de Carrisola and Mr. Bolderic of the French Navy conducted them to our troops. Then the General remained with the same group [while] the Commander of the Navy surrendered the frigate to the General, who in turn gave it to the Baron de Quesel to add it to [the] others. Concluding the ceremony, the English Major ordered his troop to lay down their arms and giving a half turn to the right passed by a Cordon of Sentinels of our troops which took over the guard in the forts and raised the colors of Spain. At dawn the English troops withdrew from the fort and the naval forces fired a general salute with their cannons.

11 . . . All the companies of grenadiers and French chasseurs have left the camp for the Plaza. The officers of the army have left also for the celebration of the peace which was made official by the oaths taken by the English. Commanding officers from the rank of sergeant major up have been lodged in homes. In order to take possession of the Barrancas fort that defends the

entrance to the port a captain and two subordinates have left with 50 men to conduct as prisoners the approximately 130 soldiers and sailors that garrisoned the Barrancas. The number of cannons was nine. The houses of this town are of considerable curiosity and comfort. There are about 200 houses with good furnishings and crystal. There are two good pavilions for the officers and troops and various warehouses. It has four springs on a great plain with beaches of nice sand a mile distant from the fort. The warehouses and stores were looted by the Indians. The vicinity most afflicted by Fort George's hostilities is armed with 25 cannons and two howitzers plus 25 shell guns in the entrenchment, [not counting] a quantity of mortar stones and munitions. The Hat [fort] (so called because of its shape) has 10 cannons and the circular fort 8 cannons, 4 mortars and 4 howitzers completely conditioned and capable of defending the site for days, not having been a casualty of the fire. The dead the English have suffered in all this time is 150 and 105 wounded, some of which are officers. Their garrison, including troops and sailors, consists of 1700, not including Negroes and Indians that make up a total of 1500. Captain (regular rank) Don Francisco Subieta has died from sickness.

12 . . . It was proposed that the troops should not move from where the camp was, and that only the companies of grenadiers would enter the town, that the French board the frigate that was in the port. Colonel of Aragon Don Francisco Longoria has died of illness, this occurring after his arrival on the island.

13 . . . A saetia [sailboat] that has arrived from Havana reports having seen the squadron of Senor Solano 20 leagues north, below Mobile. Because of this all was prepared for the embarkation of the reinforcement troops. Also it has been reported by the Provisional Governor of Orleans that the Fort of Nachaz [Nachez] 100 leagues distant from the town has been taken by the inhabitants and some Indians. This town has a garrison with 14 cannons, a captain and two subalterns with 80 men. The general dispatched the companies of Grenadiers and Cazadores from Orleans [to take care of] this, but upon hearing of its surrender they abandoned their purpose. The number of dead and wounded that we have had from the beginning of the conquest is the following: 1 colonel, 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 3 second lieutenants, 3 sergeants and 108 soldiers dead; 6 captains,

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5 lieutenants, 4 second lieutenants, 9 sergeants, and 107 soldiers wounded-the major part will die due to serious wounds. A colonel of Aragon, a captain and a lieutenant (regular rank) and 43 soldiers have died of illness.

*Note*

I have forgotten to include in the number of the wounded the Commander General Don Bernardo de Galvez, who is declaring the diary by day and action, and the Sergeant Major of Soria.

14 . . . The packet boat *Pio* was ordered to make ready to go to Spain after the *Chamberquin*, the first commanded by Don Joseph Maria Chacon and the second [by] Don Joseph Sernato, with the news of the surrender.

15 . . . Three companies of the garrison of Navarra have come to this town. The inventories of everything continues and the surrender as prisoners of war of 1300 men, who were taken to Charlestown for the duration of the war. Neither soldiers nor officers will bear arms against us or our allies; they [are permitted to] take their belongings; if they had to [remain here for perhaps] 8 months [they would be a burden] on the inhabitants. The surrendered armaments, munitions, etc., are added to those of the King. The present diary was completed on this 15 day of May, when I embarked on the Plaza of Pensacola for Havana in the cutter *Serpan* of the French nation on this day of the year 1781.

Names of the officers and cadets dead and wounded in the conquest from March 9, when the conquest began, until May 8, when the surrender occurred.

*Dead*

Colonel del Rey .....	Dn. Luis Rebolo	1
Capn. de Navarra .....	Dn. Bartholome Vargas	1
Capn. de Mayorca .....	Dn. Jph. Roguero	
	[Salvador Rueca]	1
Subt. idem .....	Dn. Thoms. Fiotomorz	
	[Thomas Fitzmaurice]	1
Subt. de Ibernia .....	Dn. Timot. O'Daly	1
otro Luciano .....	Dn. Franco Godo	
	[Francisco Godeau]	1
Tiente. [Teniente] Navarra .....	Dn. Ramon Garcia	1

*Of Illness*

Colonel Aragon .....	Dn. Franco Longoria	1
Capn. Fixo .....	Dn. Franco Suvieta	1
Tente. idem .....	Dn. Placio Figuerola	
	[Antonio Figueroa - ?]	1
	total dead .....	10

*Note*

The officers as well as the troops are dead from serious wounds. As they started to experiment they died of the results of the wounds, on the 11th of this month 9 soldiers and on the 14th of this month 5 soldiers.

*Wounded*

Comandte. Gral .....	Dn. Bernardo de Galvez	1
Tnte. Soria .....	Dn. Anto. Figueroa	1
Subtte. Dragons .....	Dn. Jph. Ursante	1
Capn. Navarra .....	Dn. Jph. Samaniego	
	[Sammaniega]	1
Ingo. Voluntario .....	Dn. Gilverto Guilmar	1
Subte. de Ibernia .....	Dn. Felipe Oreyle [O'Reilly]	1
Tente. Guarda [Guadalajara] ....	Dn. Franco Castanon	1
Ayudte. Frances .....	Dn. Preterson	1
Capn. Ibernia .....	Dn. Ugo Oconor	
	[Hugo O'Connor]	1
Tnte. Mayorca .....	Dn. Franco Garamillo	
	[Juan Xaramillo - ?]	1
Capn. idem. ....	Dn. Mateo Arriole	
	[Arreda - ?]	1
Tnte. de Aragn .....	Dn. Juan [Joseph - ?] Molina	1
Capn. Fixo .....	Dn. Franco Inero [Onoro - ?]	1
Subte. Rey .....	Dn. Franco	
	[Pascual - ?] Conget	1
Idem Soria .....	Dn. Juan Vigodet	1
Capn. Principe .....	Dn. Manl. Gutierre	1
Mayor [Sgte.] Soria .....	Dn. Jph. Urraca	1
Capn. Frances .....	Dn. Mc Elpee [Elpese - ?]	1
Otro .....	Mr. Villebuene	
	[Villeneuve - ?]	1

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Cadete Aragn .....	Dn. Juan Texade [Tejala - ?]	1
Otro Luciana .....	Dn. Juan Alcala	1
Otro Havana .....	Dn. Igno. Pizarro	1
Otro Flandes .....	Dn. Jph. Cordova	1
	Total wounded	23