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## Pensacola's Medical History: The Colonial Era, 1559-1821

by WILLIAM S. COKER

**A** number of studies have been written about various aspects of *Panzacola's* / Pensacola's medical history during the colonial era, which encompasses the first Spanish period (1559-1763), the British era (1763-1781), and the second Spanish presence (1781-1821). This essay attempts to synthesize the disparate studies of hospitals, doctors, patients, medicines, illnesses, diseases, and medical practices of colonial Pensacola. The cumulative record indicates that, despite their best efforts, medical practitioners encountered numerous problems, among them a shortage of personnel, funds, and medicines, as well as the prevalent fevers, over which they had no control.

When the 1,500-member expedition of Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano came to Pensacola Bay, then called *Santa María Filipina*, in 1559, medical personnel undoubtedly accompanied the expedition. However, the documents related to the excursion do not identify any of them, nor do they mention any hospital or infirmary.<sup>1</sup> After the Spaniards evacuated *Santa María Filipina* 1561, no settlement existed at Pensacola Bay until 1698.

Records pertaining to medical personnel and hospitals exist for the period following the establishment of the *Presidio Santa María de Galve* (on the grounds of the present-day Naval Air Station) in 1698. In 1701, Governor Andrés de Arriola built a hospital, *Nuestra Señora de las Angustias* (Our Lady of Afflictions), near Fort *San Carlos de Austria*.<sup>2</sup> Several surgeon-friars of the Order of Sun

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1. A careful review of Herbert Ingram Priestley, ed., *The Luna Papers: Documents Relating to the Expedition of Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano for the Conquest of La Florida in 1559-1561*, 2 vols. (DeLand, 1928), failed to uncover any references to doctors, hospitals, or medical services provided during the Luna expedition, 1559-61.
2. There are references to the hospital as both *San Juan de Dios* and *Santa María de Galve*. See William S. Coker and R. Wayne Childers, "Santa María de Galve: The First Permanent European Settlement on the Northern Gulf Coast, 1698-1722," in Virginia Parks, ed., *Santa María de Galve: A Story of Survival* (Pensacola, 1998), 26 n. 78, 35-37.

*Juan de Dios* served there, including Fr. Joseph Antonio de Espinosa Ocampo and Fr. Joseph de Salazar.<sup>3</sup> The large number of sick people— probably victims of malaria and yellow fever— prompted Arriola in 1702 to purchase a house from one of the soldiers to provide additional space for them.<sup>4</sup> By this time, however, the medicine was all gone “and the only cure possible was that of divine intervention.”<sup>5</sup>

In approximately 1708, the governor moved the hospital inside the fort and two medico-friars, Fr. Juan de Chavarria and Fr. Felipe de Orbalaes, also of the Order of *San Juan de Dios*, served there.<sup>6</sup> On September 1, 1712, three bands of enemy Indians ambushed a large detachment of Spaniards outside Fort *San Carlos de Austria*. Among others they killed Surgeon Friar Orbalaes.<sup>7</sup>

A 1713 map of the area by Fr. Francois Le Maire, a French priest from Mobile who served at *Panzacola* for several years, identifies a building within the fort as the “Ospital.” This is the only map that identifies any medical facilities at *Panzacola* during the first Spanish period, 1698-1719.<sup>8</sup> A 1699 map does show the location of the “*Entierro*,” or cemetery, which quickly grew in size because of the high death rate at the presidio.<sup>9</sup> Virtually nothing is known about the extent of illness and the number of deaths in the ensuing years except that both were high.

The French destroyed Fort *San Carlos de Austria* in 1719 and occupied Pensacola until 1722. In December of 1722, the Spaniards returned and established their new presidio on Santa Rosa Island. The Spaniards built a hospital there. The hurricane of November 3, 1752, destroyed all of the buildings except the storehouse and

3. Names of other friars who served at *Panzacola* during the first Spanish period, 1698-1719, and data on the hospitals are in *Ibid.*, 21-56ff.

4. *Ibid.*, 26.

5. W. B. Griffin, “Spanish Pensacola, 1700-1763,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (January-April 1959), 251.

6. “Autos made upon the Measures taken for the Occupation and Fortification of *Santa Maria de Galve*,” William Edward Dunn Transcripts, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

7. Governor Salinas de Varona to the Viceroy of New Spain, September 17, 1712, *Archivo General de Indias, Contaduría* 803, Sevilla, Spain.

8. Joseph Le Moyne de Sérigny’s map and plan of Pensacola of 1720 identifies the buildings within the fort, but there is no reference to a hospital. See *NL, Cartes Marines #85 (Ms. Map) 135*, Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

9. See William S. Coker, “The Village on the Red Cliffs,” *Pensacola History Illustrated* 1 (1984), 24, for a reprint of the 1699 map.

hospital. Phelipe Feringan Cortes' map of 1755 shows the location of the hospital on the island. Obviously, some medical personnel and perhaps a doctor or two served there. In 1756, the Spaniards officially moved to the area of present-day downtown Pensacola.

In 1757, the new governor, Colonel Don Miguel Ramón de Castilla, began construction of a stockade within which a number of buildings were to be built including a hospital. The Spaniards completed much of the work by the summer of 1760. However, a hurricane in August of that year and a devastating attack by Indians the following spring "left the buildings in shambles." After the arrival of the new governor, Colonel Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, in October 1761, reconstruction of the buildings commenced, but by the time the British arrived in the summer of 1763, the Spaniards had accomplished little.<sup>10</sup>

More records concerning hospitals and medical personnel exist for the British period. In 1764, a surgeon, Dr. Samuel Fontinelle, and six mates composed the medical staff in British West Florida. Virtually nothing, however, is known about Dr. Fontinelle. In August 1765, Dr. John Lorimer came to Pensacola from London as the surgeon for the military hospitals in West Florida. He remained in West Florida for the next seventeen years. Unfortunately, he had arrived at a bad time.<sup>11</sup>

In August and September 1765, Pensacola residents suffered from a series of epidemics: yellow fever ("putrid bilious fever"), dysentery ("flux"), typhus ("hospital" or "jail fever"), typhoid, and malaria. By September, the diseases had killed four officers, five out of six officers' wives, and some 100 men— twenty per cent of Pensacola's population. The residents blamed part of the problem upon a shortage of medicine.<sup>12</sup>

The following year, 1766, showed no improvement. The British used a barracks as the hospital, but the roof leaked and the windows remained uncovered. The hospital had no kitchen or chim-

10. A. B. Thomas, *Report on Documentary Evidence Bearing on Early Colonial Structures in the Historic District*, Historic Preservation Planning Study (CPA-P122) (Pensacola, 1971), 2. References to the hospital on Santa Rosa Island are in Stanley Faye, "The Spanish and British Fortifications of Pensacola, 1698-1821," *Pensacola Historical Society Quarterly* 6 (April 1972), 163-64. For a convenient survey of Pensacola's history, 1698-1763, see William S. Coker and Jerrell H. Shofner, *Florida: From the Beginning to 1992* (Houston, 1992), 34-39.

11. Robert R. Rea, "'Graveyard for Britons,' West Florida, 1763-1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 47 (April 1969), 346-47.

12. *Ibid.*, 348.

ney. In November 1766, the General Assembly of British West Florida estimated the cost of hospitals for Pensacola and Mobile at £1,500. In comparison, they estimated the cost of the governor's house in Pensacola at £2,500.<sup>13</sup> Thus £1,500 would not have built much of a hospital.

The arrival of Brigadier General Frederick Haldimand in March 1767 brought some improvement in the town and in the soldiers' living conditions. Construction on a new hospital began in May; the work was completed and the hospital ready for use by the end of the month. In addition, the workers widened the walls of the fort to increase circulation, constructed privies, drained the swamp around the town, developed gardens, and improved the water supply. Haldimand believed these changes would reduce illness in Pensacola.<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Lorimer also wrote to General Haldimand with some ideas on maintaining the soldiers' and workers' health. Lorimer recommended the construction of a two-story barracks to foster better circulation. He demanded that greater attention be paid to cleanliness. Drinking water obtained from the nearby swamps should be boiled. Beer should be brewed and, along with rum and grog, made available to the men. Beef, wild fowl, venison, fish, and fresh vegetables should be procured. "Mustard & vinegar or sour Crout" ought to be provided to accompany the salt meat in the messes, and "Portable Soup" prepared for the sick. The hospitals should be allowed wine, brown sugar, and lime or orange juice with barley or oatmeal. Lorimer even prescribed a week's menu for one man. He believed extra rations of rum would also be helpful. In practice, Lorimer substituted Madeira wine for rum for the patients. The patients overindulged, however, and Haldimand cut off the supply.<sup>15</sup> Although too early to tell whether Haldimand's improvements and Lorimer's recommendations helped, statistics from July 1765 to July 1767 show a high death rate for Pensacola:

13. *Ibid.*, 345-49; Robert R. Rea and Milo B. Howard Jr., compilers, *The Minutes, Journals, and Acts of the General Assembly of British West Florida* (Tuscaloosa, 1979), 45-50; Robert Edward Gray, "Elias Durnford, 1739-1794: Engineer, Soldier, Administrator" (master's thesis, Auburn University, 1971), 32-33.

14. Rea, "'Graveyard for Britons,'" 351.

15. "A Letter from a British Surgeon," in James R. McGovern, ed., *Colonial Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1974), 86-87. The letter was dated April 1, 1767. Haldimand switched the sick from wine back to rum. See Rea, "'Graveyard for Britons,'" 352.

196 officers and men, 28 women, and 44 children. Although they also blamed other diseases for the high death count, the medical officers believed the principal cause of fatalities came from "malignant and bilious fever."<sup>16</sup>

The medical personnel believed most illnesses to be a type of "fever," and because fevers ran high during the summer months, Dr. Lorimer met with General Haldimand and his staff and recommended that no troops be sent to Pensacola between May and September. The winter months, he believed, would be the best time for new troops to arrive. Whether this recommendation was ever put into effect is unknown.<sup>17</sup>

Eventually, and despite the large number of patients, General Haldimand received orders to reduce the hospital staff. He ordered Dr. Lorimer to Mobile where the sickness rate ran higher than in Pensacola. He further instructed Dr. Lorimer to keep a journal and report on how the soldiers and newly arrived settlers could improve their health. Although Dr. Lorimer protested his transfer to higher authority, he did move to Mobile temporarily. While there he came down with a serious attack of fever. After recovering from this sickness, he asked to return to Pensacola. By late August 1769, he again resided there. He wrote his report about his experience in Mobile in December 1769.<sup>18</sup> During the remainder of the British presence in West Florida, the sickness rate did not improve significantly.

Only "military" (and not "civilian") hospitals existed in Pensacola during the British era. As might be anticipated, the available statistics show a much higher death rate for civilian residents than for military personnel.<sup>19</sup>

When the Spaniards captured Pensacola from the British in May of 1781, both sides suffered numerous casualties. The medical staffs of both armies became hard pressed to care adequately for the wounded. Although the figures vary depending upon the

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16. Rea, "'Graveyard for Britons,'" 353.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., 356-60. Dr. Lorimer's report on Mobile may be read in Laura D. S. Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 41 (November-December, 1967), 545-46. Harrel's article contains a good overview of the medical situation at Mobile. See pp. 539-47.

19. Harrel, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida," 557-58.

sources consulted, the Spaniards suffered 96 killed and 202 wounded, while the British incurred 90 dead and 83 wounded.<sup>20</sup> "Graveyard for Britons," the name given to Mobile by the British, was soon expanded to include all of West Florida. More precisely, the name should have been "Graveyard for Britons and Spaniards."<sup>21</sup> Dr. Lorimer and two assistant surgeons, Jonathan Ogden and John Ramsay, and the assistant surgeon from the British Royal Navy Redoubt, Michael Grant, became prisoners-of-war at the time of the British surrender on May 10, 1781. Even so, they continued their medical work. A reference to an assistant surgeon at the Royal Navy Redoubt, located on or near the site of the old Spanish Fort *San Carlos de Austria*, indicates that the British supplied medical care to persons in that area. At the time of the siege in 1781, 139 persons occupied the Redoubt.<sup>22</sup> What kind of facility they used as the hospital is unknown. It probably consisted of no more than a room, or at most a small building.

A brief record exists of the treatment prescribed for Joseph Molina by Dr. Lorimer and three assistant surgeons. Molina was seriously wounded on May 6, 1781; the date of the treatment is listed as May 30. Although not unusual, it is interesting that Molina, a Spaniard and a lieutenant in the Aragon Regiment, was treated by British surgeons. They moved the patient into a room which, they directed, should be kept clean and cool. The wound should be wiped clean "and dressed with [the] finest dry lint," with a warm poultice consisting of "oatmeal softened with olive oil" applied twice daily. They ordered that every twenty-four hours he should receive a warm bath in which he should remain for ten minutes "if his strength will admit." He should also receive opium and an equal quantity of wine. Every half hour, or as often as he could take it, he

20. William S. and Hazel P. Coker, *Siege of Pensacola, 1781, in Maps with Data on Troop Strength, Military Units, Ships, Casualties, and Related Statistics* (Pensacola, 1981), 120-21.

21. Rea, "'Graveyard for Britons,'" 345-64. Rea states that the British gave the term "Graveyard for Britons" to West Florida because "it shared with the West Indies a host of fevers, agues, and complaints for which the eighteenth century had no effective remedies." See Robert R. Rea, "Pensacola Under the British (1763-1781)" in McGovern, ed., *Colonial Pensacola*, 75. For diseases in East and West Florida during the British period see Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775; reprint, New Orleans, 1961), 151-72. Romans visited Pensacola in 1771. For diseases affecting slaves in West Florida such as yaws, leprosy, and elephantiasis see Robin F. A. Fabel, *The Economy of British West Florida, 1763-1783* (Tuscaloosa, 1988), 45.

22. Coker and Coker, *Siege of Pensacola*, 118-19, 123.

should be given a pint of "Peruvian Bark" [*cinchona*]. They further directed that he be fed "light Broths," a generous glass of wine three or four times a day, and his body "kept open with Emollient clysters [enemas]." "The Patient should be frequently shifted with clean linen, which should first be well air'd."<sup>23</sup> From this example, it is obvious that the British surgeons showed concern for their patients whether friend or foe. Available information does not indicate whether Lt. Molina survived.

Along with the other prisoners, Dr. Lorimer and the medical officers soon received parole and left Pensacola for New York in early June 1781.<sup>24</sup> Although the British did not officially give Pensacola back to Spain until 1783, the Spaniards occupied it from May 10, 1781, until July 17, 1821.

Where did the British build their hospitals in Pensacola? The so-called Elias Durnford maps of 1763, 1765, 1767, and 1778 show four different sites for the British hospitals. Since Durnford, the engineer and surveyor for British West Florida, did not arrive until 1764, he could not have drawn the 1763 map, which is credited to him. The hospitals were either located within the walls of the fort or nearby. All, however, existed in today's downtown historic district. One investigator concluded: "From this picture of changing location, it is evident that the hospital was not a specialized structure but was whatever convenient unused building was available for the purpose."<sup>25</sup>

23. "1781 Doctors' Orders," in McGovern, ed., *Colonial Pensacola*, 118. The "opinion" was signed by J. Lorimer, chief surgeon, W. Grant, assistant, John Ramsay, and Park Maxwell. For the identification of the patient as a Spaniard see Jack D. L. Holmes, "Spanish Medical Care in the Mobile District: Advance or Retarded," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 71 (July 1984), 467; and Holmes, "Pensacola Settlers, 1781-1821," unpublished manuscript (1970), 72, copy in Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola. See this manuscript, pp. 71-79, for some of the medical officers at the siege of Pensacola and for those who served at Pensacola, 1781-1821. Holmes spent much time and effort recording the medical history of Spain on the Gulf Coast. In addition to the manuscripts already mentioned, see "Medical Practice in Louisiana, 1769-1806," paper delivered at the Louisiana Historical Association Meeting, Thibodaux, Louisiana, in March 1984. Copy in possession of William M. Straight, Miami.

24. For casualty and prisoner figures see Coker and Coker, *Siege of Pensacola*, 88, 120-23; J. Barton Starr, *Tories, Dons, and Rebels: The American Revolution in British West Florida* (Gainesville, 1976), 212.

25. James B. Shaeffer, *Historical District Archaeology Survey*, Historic Preservation Planning Study (CPA-P122) (Pensacola, 1971), 10.



The Spaniards called the first Spanish hospital in Pensacola in 1781 a “makeshift campaign hospital,” which they soon made into a permanent building. The Spaniards then named it the “Royal Hospital of Our Lady of Carmen.” But like similar hospitals on the Spanish frontier, it proved to be primitive at best. The Spaniards occupied Pensacola in mid-May, a typically unhealthy season. Victims of the constant epidemics quickly filled the hospital. In desperation, nearby buildings such as a blockhouse and the lower floors of the barracks soon filled with patients.<sup>26</sup>

As might be anticipated, money for hospitals and medical staff remained scarce, and Pensacola never seemed to have enough of either. Early hospital staff included a comptroller, director of admissions, surgeon-general, chief medic, two surgical medics, an apothecary with an assistant, two orderlies, two male nurses, and a cook. The monthly payroll of \$5,040 was paid from Spain. That disbursement did not include the cost of food and medicine, which the government also covered.<sup>27</sup>

By 1799, the Pensacola hospital remained in dire circumstances, and the governor expressed displeasure with the head surgeon. In that year, Governor Vicente Folch y Juan requested \$3,000 for repairs to the building. If the work remained undone, he reported, “the patients would continue to lie in muddy puddles when it rained and be exposed to being buried alive should a hurricane’s breath touch the dilapidated hospital.” He also recommended that the head surgeon be replaced. The governor complained that the surgeon was too old and refused to see patients at night. Folch wrote: “[T]o have no doctor is less harmful than to acquire an ignoramus, and since the salary is a good one, and since the town has no other doctor, we ought to be able to bestow the position on a person well-known for his ability.”<sup>28</sup> Finally, in 1804, Folch received word from his superiors that they recognized the need to build a new hospital and pharmacy in Pensacola, and that they planned to submit the request to do so to the king.<sup>29</sup>

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26. Jack D. L. Holmes, “Medical Highlights and Personalities,” unpublished manuscript (n.d.) 1-2, Pensacola Historic Preservation Board.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*, 1. On Folch’s very unhappy report about the medical facilities, the surgeon, etc., see Jack D. L. Holmes “Hospital Conditions in Pensacola, 1799,” 1-4. See also Holmes, “Pensacola Settlers, 1781-1821,” 72-73. All of these are unpublished manuscripts on file at the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board.

29. Holmes, “Pensacola Settlers, 1781-1821,” 72-73.

Details are not available about the construction of the Spanish hospital in Pensacola. Two hospitals existed in the Pensacola area during the latter years of the Spanish occupation, one in the town of *Panzacola*, and a second near the new Fort *San Carlos de Barrancas* on the grounds of the present-day Naval Air Station. The United States Navy built its first hospital on the Pensacola Navy Yard during the years 1832 to 1834. One author, Edmund P. Halley, notes that a hospital on the hill at Barrancas was in too poor a condition to warrant repair.<sup>30</sup> This obviously refers to the Spanish military hospital. The Spanish hospital in Pensacola was named "Royal Hospital of Our Lady of Carmen," but no name has been discovered for the hospital near the fort.<sup>31</sup>

It is unclear how the Spaniards obtained their medicine. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the Scottish merchants of John Forbes and Company, among them James Innerarity, supplied the medicine for the Mobile hospital and probably for Pensacola, too.<sup>32</sup> Prior to that, its predecessor, Panton, Leslie and Company, also a Scottish firm, may have acquired the medicine for the Spanish hospitals in West Florida.<sup>33</sup> Medicines known to have been used include "Glover's [Glauber's] salt, powdered quinine, cream of tartar, LaMar, Storax, digestive unguents, Epsom salts, mercury and vitriol." They used two medicines, tincture of mercury and Olvenza's powder, to treat syphilitic herpes.<sup>34</sup>

By 1815, Desiderio Quina, of Genoa, Italy, at one time an employee of John Forbes and Company, served as Pensacola's apothecary. He used his home on South Alcaniz Street as his pharmacy.

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30. Edmund P. Halley, *The U.S. Naval Hospital, Pensacola, Florida, and Its Historical Heritage* (Pensacola, 1946), n.p.

31. That two hospitals existed can be noted by references to Dr. Fernando Moreno moving back and forth between them. See Regina Moreno Kirchoff Mandrell, *Our Family, Facts and Fancies: The Moreno and Related Families* (Pensacola, 1988). See also Holmes, "Pensacola Settlers, 1781-1821," 75-76.

32. James Innerarity was in charge of John Forbes and Company in Mobile for many years. See William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* (Gainesville, 1986), 276, 279, 312.

33. Holmes, "Spanish Medical Care in the Mobile District," 466. John Forbes and Company, the successor firm to Panton, Leslie and Company, controlled much of the Mobile and Pensacola trade during the second Spanish period, 1801-1821. Coker and Watson, *Indian Trade of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands*, 235-349.

34. William M. Straight to author, January 6, 1996. Mary Catherine Smith, "Hospitals and the Practice of Medicine in Spanish Pensacola," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 56 (August 1969), 631.

There persons could purchase a variety of herbs and medicines, and it became one of the busiest places in town.<sup>35</sup>

Pensacolans also suffered from a constant shortage of trained medical personnel which, in part, may be attributed to the strict licensing regulations. The law required that all physicians, surgeons, and pharmacists pass an examination. In fact, in 1795, King Carlos IV of Spain issued a decree requiring all surgeons to have a bachelor's degree and to be examined by a medical board.<sup>36</sup>

Regulations also required the doctors to make regular visits to see their patients: during the summer they were to call at 5 A.M. and 3 P.M., and in the winter at 6 A.M. and 2 P.M. The regulations also set the standards for beds, mattresses, sheets, and pillows. The beds had to be changed whenever the sheets became soiled and the wool mattresses removed if the weather got too warm.<sup>37</sup>

There is little doubt that fevers created the most serious medical problems, especially *vómito negro*, or yellow fever, and malaria. A noted Cuban physician, Dr. Tomás Romay, in 1804, blamed yellow fever upon "the internal and diabolical essence in the atmosphere of the Americas."<sup>38</sup> Not until 1900 did researchers identify the mosquito as the carrier of this dreaded disease. But Pensacola did not lack for visitors who expressed their opinions about the town's unhealthy conditions.

Colonel John Pope, a Revolutionary War veteran, made an extensive tour of Indian and Spanish territory in 1790-1791. He stopped at Pensacola in May 1791. He noted that while the governor, Colonel Arturo O'Neill, had not been sick in nearly eleven years at Pensacola, the same could not be said for the troops. The soldiers, Pope wrote, "whose Mode of Living, will, at all times and in all Places, be productive of complicated Diseases. Inordinate Use of Ardent Spirits and bad Wine, superadded to high seasoned Meats and promiscuous Intercourse with lewd women will disorder any but the most robust Habit of Body."<sup>39</sup>

35. See foreword, "Medical Receipts of Yesteryear," pamphlet, n.d., in Medical File, Pensacola Historical Society.

36. Holmes, "Spanish Medical Care in the Mobile District," 466.

37. *Ibid.*

38. William S. Coker and John R. McNeill, "Dr. Tomás Romay's unpublished manuscript on yellow fever, June 27, 1804," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 71 (July 1984), 459.

39. John Pope, *A Tour through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of America*. A facsimile reproduction of the 1792 edition with an introduction and indexes by J. Barton Starr (Gainesville, 1979), XVIII, 44.

Another visitor, C. C. Robin, arrived in Pensacola in 1803, one of the few years when Pensacola stayed relatively free of fevers. He noted that the pure air there attracted sick persons from as far away as Louisiana to recuperate. He also singled out "Madame d'Alva, a Frenchwoman originally from Louisiana, married to a Spaniard, who is director of the hospital. One could scarcely carry the virtues of nursing further. Her generous benevolence extends to everyone in the settlement who needs her."<sup>40</sup> Robin was referring to Victoria Lesassier, wife of Pedro de Alba.

The names of seventeen of those so employed are recorded, but there were probably others.<sup>41</sup> One source states that the Pensacola census of 1820 lists only one *médico* (doctor), Dr. Juan Brosnaham. However, that census also includes Eugenio Sierra, a surgeon. In addition, Pedro de Alba may still have been hospital director, and his wife, Victoria, a nurse; both are listed as "civil servant" in the 1820 census.<sup>42</sup>

One person, Dr. Fernando Moreno (1771-1830), served at Pensacola as a medical officer on several occasions between 1790 and 1819. Fernando's great-grandson, Dr. Stephen Russell Mallory Kennedy (1878-1923), also served as a medical officer at Pensacola.<sup>43</sup> Born in Malaga, Spain, in 1771, Fernando's family came to New Orleans when he was quite young. Although the details are thin, he came to Pensacola as a "medical intern" about 1790.<sup>44</sup> He then left Pensacola and served in hospitals in Louisiana for several years. In 1809, Dr. Moreno replaced Dr. Juan Gallegos as surgeon at the Hospital of Our Lady of Carmen in Pensacola. Three years later, he moved to the hospital at Fort *San Carlos de Barrancas* as surgeon with a salary of thirty-five pesos per month plus rations. They transferred him to the *Hospital de Sangre* [Hospital of Blood] at Mobile as interim surgeon, again replacing Dr. Gallegos, on April 4, 1813. However, General James Wilkinson of the U.S. Army took

40. C. C. Robin, *Voyage to Louisiana, 1803-1805*, trans. by Stuart O. Landry Jr. (New Orleans, 1966), 3-4.

41. See Holmes, "Pensacola Settlers, 1781-1821," 71-79, for biographical sketches of these seventeen.

42. Jack D. L. Holmes, "Spanish Dominion, 1781-1821," in McGovern, ed., *Colonial Pensacola*, 96; William S. Coker and G. Douglas Inglis, *Spanish Censuses of Pensacola, 1784-1820: A Genealogical Guide to Spanish Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1980), 102, 107, 122.

43. Biographical data on both Dr. Fernando Moreno and Dr. S. R. Mallory Kennedy may be found in Mandrell, *Our Family, Facts and Fancies*.

44. Medical training and terminology for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries differed from that used in the twentieth century.

Mobile from Spain on April 13, and Dr. Moreno returned to *San Carlos de Barrancas* on April 22.<sup>45</sup> In 1817, he became surgeon at the Pensacola hospital, replacing Dr. Juan Alech, who had moved to the *San Carlos de Barrancas* hospital. On April 30, 1817, Dr. Moreno applied for retirement. As of that date, he had served as medical trainee, intern, and surgeon in Louisiana and West Florida for a total of thirty-four years, five months.

But Spanish officials denied Dr. Moreno's request for retirement. Two years later, in 1819, he asked to be appointed Chief Pharmacist of the Royal Hospital of Our Lady of Carmen. Apparently, that request, too, was denied, because two months later, on June 23, 1819, Dr. Moreno appeared in Havana. He spent his last years there and died in Havana in 1830.<sup>46</sup>

The Spanish and British medical situation in Pensacola suffered from a shortage of funds, facilities, personnel, and the prevalent fevers. In spite of these problems, the medical staff worked hard to care for the sick and wounded. Unfortunately, they faced a "no win" situation.

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45. See H. Wesley Odom, "Cayetano Pérez and the Fall of Mobile," (master's thesis, University of West Florida, 1977), 58-61, for the name of the Mobile hospital and Wilkinson's stop there.

46. Mandrell, *Our Family, Facts and Fancies*, 2-30.