

## RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS: WEST FLORIDA, 1781–1821

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ESTABLISHING BOUNDARIES FOR SPANISH WEST FLORIDA IS NO SIMPLE MATTER. Under consideration is not the entire province of Spanish West Florida stretching to the Mississippi but the smaller region bounded on the west by the Perdido River, the Suwannee River on the east, the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and the uncertain boundary with the United States on the north. Pensacola and San Marcos are two principal settlements, and this area approximates the western panhandle of the present-day state of Florida. When Spain acquired West Florida in 1783 the British boundary was the Apalachicola River, but Spain in 1785 moved it eastward to the Suwannee River.<sup>1</sup> (Few maps indicate this eastward shift.) The purpose of making the Suwannee River the eastern boundary was to transfer San Marcos and the province of Apalachee from East Florida to West Florida. After the 1795 Pinckney Treaty Spain and the United States agreed that the northern boundary was the thirty-first parallel west from the Chattahoochee River and the parallel intersecting the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers running eastward. Until after the Pinckney Treaty went into effect in the late 1790s, Spanish West Florida's northern boundary was indefinite. Spain regarded the Yazoo parallel, the Tennessee, Cumberland, or even Ohio rivers as the northern limit. This meant that for well over a decade Spain considered the western part of Georgia, the eastern part of Alabama, along with bits of Tennessee and North Carolina, as part of West Florida.

The entire province stretched from the Suwannee to the Mississippi. The United States claimed it all; in 1810 made good her claim to the segment between the Mississippi and the Pearl rivers; in 1813 to the segment between the Pearl and Perdido rivers; and the remaining segment between the Perdido and Suwannee rivers is the subject of this article. It existed as a territorial entity from 1813 until 1821 when the United States took possession. At that time the United States added it to East Florida and organized both into a territory which subsequently became the state of Florida.

Dates for the second Spanish period of West Florida are more clearly delineated than boundaries. Spain captured Pensacola in 1781 and Spanish dominion in Pensacola's environs began at that time. The Anglo-Spanish treaty ceding British West Florida was signed in 1783, and thereafter, perhaps as late as 1787, Spain occupied San Marcos. Spanish dominion began in the province of Apalachee no later than 1787. Spanish rule over San Marcos and Pensacola ceased abruptly in the aftermath of the 1821 Adams-Onís Treaty ceding all Florida to the United States.

There were two principal settlements in Spanish West Florida: Pensacola and San Marcos. Pensacola was the capital of the entire province, with an excellent

harbor, and with public buildings, fortifications, and private houses. Ft. San Marcos was a stone structure on a navigable river, almost two-hundred miles from any white settlement, and maintained a lonely vigil to overawe the Indians and to facilitate commerce with them. Both are ports and drew on as extensive a hinterland as the United States and Indians permitted. Those interested in the history of the Pensacola-San Marcos region during the second Spanish period will do well to start with two assumptions: that little has been written about its history and that almost no original documents are preserved in this region. Both statements are exaggerations, but not much so. Historians who have touched on West Florida's history during the second Spanish period with few exceptions have dealt with diplomatic-military affairs. Despite the swamps and piney barrens, Spanish West Florida played a prominent role in international diplomacy and military campaigns. Starting with the 1781 conquest of Pensacola there are Caughey's *Gálvez* (1934) and Rush's *Battle of Pensacola* (1966). Morris, *The Peacemakers* (1965) is the most recent, and for West Florida, the most discerning of the numerous works dealing with the diplomacy of the Revolutionary period. From 1781 on it was widely assumed that Spain would lose her grip on West Florida. The question that intrigued contemporaries—and has interested historians—was which country, the United States, Britain, or France, would acquire it. Arthur P. Whitaker (1927b, 1934b) analyzes American expansion into the Old Southwest in the 1783–1803 period. Isaac J. Cox (1918) and Rembert Patrick (1954) consider the post-1803 period. From all these studies, especially Whitaker's, the reader gets glimpses of Pensacola, San Marcos, and the nearby Indian country. Attention has been focused on Andrew Jackson's two West Florida invasions, one in 1814 and the other in 1818. The biographies of Jackson by Marquis James (1933, 1937), John S. Bassett (1916), and the *American State Papers* (U.S. Congress 1832–61) abound with details, though the sources are primarily English and present the American point of view. The Adams-Onís Treaty, ratified in 1821, ended the second Spanish period, and there are several excellent works, including Philip C. Brooks (1939) and the *Memoria* by Luis de Onís (1969).

France displayed a surprising interest in Spanish West Florida. Spain, after conquering Pensacola in 1781 with French help, unsuccessfully tried to make arrangements with a French firm for a monopoly of West Florida's commerce. Details, with supporting documents, are in Whitaker (1931). When citizen Edmond Genêt landed in Charleston in 1793 he attempted to raise a republican legion and plant the tricolor in Spanish West Florida. Both E. Wilson Lyon (1934) and Richard K. Murdoch (1951) discuss French designs on Florida. LeClerc de Milfort, Alexander McGillivray's brother-in-law, was one of the Frenchmen actively working to restore French rule in Spanish West Florida. His *Memoir* edited by Ben C. McCary (1959) gives an insight into French intrigues and Indian life. Throughout the 1790s up until the Louisiana Purchase, France threatened to reestablish herself in Florida. The best secondary accounts are by Lyon (1934, 1942). Even after 1803 France displayed a lively interest in Spanish West Florida. The best introduction is by Clifford L. Egan (1969).

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The British played a far more important role in West Florida during the second Spanish period. An undetermined number of British subjects (loyalists) remained here after the British evacuated. Both Barton Starr's partially completed Ph.D. dissertation at Florida State University and the uncompleted study of Professor Lucille Griffith (University of Montevallo) deal with West Florida loyalists and will help clarify what happened to them after Pensacola's conquest. The British firm of Panton, Leslie and Company dominated the Indian trade not only in West Florida but throughout the entire Old Southwest. Panton, who had a large house in Pensacola, was probably its most wealthy citizen. In addition to a Pensacola warehouse, the firm had one near Ft. San Marcos, at Prospect Bluff on the Apalachicola River, and elsewhere. This firm, given in effect a monopoly of Spanish West Florida's Indian trade in the 1780s, remained in West Florida (later reorganized as Forbes and Company) throughout the entire period. Members of this firm were British and played a significant role in the history of Pensacola, San Marcos, and the interior Indian country; and before the end of the second Spanish period this company owned roughly one-tenth of the land in Spanish West Florida (the Forbes Purchase). Several accounts deal with the Forbes Purchase, and that by John C. Upchurch (1965) emphasizes the second Spanish period. There is no satisfactory account of Panton, Leslie and Company. Whitaker's previously mentioned works (1927b, 1934b), Caughey's *McGillivray* (1938), Marie T. Greenslade on Panton (1935), and John V. Sherlock's M.A. thesis (1948) on Panton, Leslie and Company, are of value.

From immediately after Pensacola's capture in 1781 until West Florida's cession in 1821, Britain threatened to acquire this province by force or diplomacy. A good example was in 1814 when thousands of British soldiers and ships appeared in Pensacola Bay and the Apalachicola River. Military histories of the War of 1812 and Jackson's biographers have touched on Old Hickory's 1814 capture of Pensacola to deny it to Britain, and they have analyzed in depth the New Orleans campaign. But no work, including Reginald Horsman (1969), satisfactorily interprets Britain's role in Spanish West Florida during this conflict. The British presence continued in Spanish West Florida after 1815. The best indication was when Jackson in 1818 again invaded this colony, seized Ft. San Marcos, captured two British subjects, merchant Alexander Arbuthnot and soldier Robert Ambrister, and executed both. One can follow the ensuing diplomatic controversy involving the United States, Britain, and Spain in Jackson's biographies (Bassett 1916, James 1933, 1937), *American State Papers* (U.S. Congress 1832-61), *British and Foreign State Papers* (Great Britain 1841-), and in J. Leitch Wright, Jr., on the First Seminole War (1968). Some light is shed on Spanish West Florida but more on the nature of incipient American "Manifest Destiny." Two works dealing with British involvement in Spanish West Florida are Wright's *William Augustus Bowles* (1967) and his *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America* (1971).

Those historians who have interested themselves in Spanish West Florida have concentrated on diplomatic and military aspects and few have made much use of Spanish documents. Except for religious matters, little of a significant interpretative

nature, based on primary sources, has been written about West Florida. Historians inclined to do research into Spanish West Florida's history frequently were hampered by a language barrier and, until recent decades, by the inaccessibility of Spanish sources; the Spanish American historians, better qualified to do this research, have turned their attention elsewhere. The result has been unfortunate for the history of Spanish West Florida.

For here is a region with a rich history, largely a frontier province with a polyglot population, strategically located with good harbors on the Gulf of Mexico, and a source of international haggling throughout the second Spanish period. The historian beginning research into Spanish West Florida, except for diplomatic, military and church history, is entering an almost virgin field with few secondary guides. West Florida was part of the Spanish empire and the great body of primary sources is in Spanish archives and in those of Cuba and Mexico. The most important ones in Spain are the *Archivo General de Indias* (Seville), the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* (Madrid), the *Archivo General de Simancas* (Simancas), the *Archivo del Servicio Histórico Militar* (Madrid), *Archivo del Servicio Geográfico del Ejército* (Madrid), and the *Museo Naval* (Madrid). Guides to these archives are listed in de la Peña (1968), Gómez Canedo (1961), Hill (1916), and Holmes (1970a). It is important that the researcher familiarize himself with the sources in the various Spanish archives, even if he will not visit Spain. Because of transcripts and photoreproductions in the United States, fortunately this is not always necessary. The archive with the richest holdings for Spanish West Florida is the AGI, because here are *Sección XI (Cuba)* and *Sección V (Gobierno, Audiencia de Santo Domingo)* which hold many secrets about West Florida's history. On account of its importance, this archive will be discussed in some detail. The best guides to these two *secciones* are in Hill (1916) and de la Peña (1968).

There are many facets of West Florida's history about which almost nothing is known and which can be explored by any scholar who will go to Seville and examine the sources (or their numerous photoreproductions and transcripts scattered throughout the United States). Only a few topics needing investigation, about which there are extensive sources in the AGI, can be included in this essay. One is West Florida's political history. In a controversial action Andrew Jackson imprisoned Pensacola Governor José María Callava in 1821, but other than the fact that he crossed Jackson little is known about Callava or any other Spanish West Florida governor. There were twelve governors at Pensacola and there is not a biography of a single one. West Florida was under the jurisdiction of authorities in New Orleans, and fortunately there are studies of three Louisiana governors: Caughey, *Gálvez* (1934), Burson, *Miró* (1940), and Holmes, *Gayoso* (1965b), but they emphasize Louisiana rather than Pensacola. Arturo O'Neill and Enrique White, two Irishmen who entered Spanish military service, were among the governors at Pensacola. Holmes (1964f) analyzes the importance of Irish officers commanding on the Gulf Coast, but Pensacola is slighted. There are far more questions than answers about White (Harlan 1971), O'Neill, or any Pensacola governor.

The position of Spanish West Florida in the Spanish empire, its relationship to Louisiana, Cuba, Mexico, and the mother country, is understood only in general terms, if at all. Duvon C. Corbitt (1942) has written the best introduction. *Legajos* in the AGI contain many of the answers. After Pensacola's capture in 1781, West Florida became part of the Captaincy General of Louisiana and the Floridas. Several years later this Captaincy General was merged into the Captaincy General of Cuba, whose center was Havana. The New Orleans intendant had jurisdiction over West Florida. After the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, the Pensacola governor, no longer responsible to any superior in New Orleans, was more independent, though his immediate superior was the Cuban governor. The intendant, Juan Ventura Morales, to the dismay of the governor, after 1803 moved to Pensacola, and from the beginning these two clashed. The restructuring of the Spanish empire as a result of the constitution of 1812 was reflected briefly in Pensacola. The authority of the Pensacola governor and the exact status of West Florida in the Spanish empire at any given moment have to be clarified.

The military commander at San Marcos was simultaneously responsible to authorities in Pensacola, New Orleans, and Havana, though the Pensacola governor was his immediate superior. It would be interesting to know more about these commandants' political and military authority, their background and overall ability, their political bickerings, why they failed to exploit Apalachee's potentially rich resources, and the like. If for no other reason this would give us a better understanding of the commandant's position and the status of Apalachee when Bowles captured Ft. San Marcos in 1800 and Jackson in 1818.

Answers to political questions about San Marcos and Pensacola are in the AGI. Here are preserved the official correspondence of the Pensacola governors and the San Marcos commandants for the entire second Spanish period. Included are *residencias* of Pensacola governors, correspondence of the intendants while they were at Pensacola, and a vast amount of routine material. Below the provincial level there are records of Pensacola's *ayuntamiento* and military records of all descriptions for the Pensacola and San Marcos garrison. Spanish soldiers were an important part of Pensacola's population, and included perhaps ninety percent of Apalachee's Spanish speaking population.

More, but not much, has been written about Spanish West Florida's economy than about its political history. The Spaniards granted Panton, Leslie and Company what amounted to a monopoly of the Indian trade. To a considerable extent the history of Spanish West Florida is a history of this company, and despite published works previously mentioned, the story of Panton, Leslie and Company remains to be told. There is a large amount of material in the AGI concerning this firm written in English and Spanish. Since it was a British company, it is not surprising that all the documents are not in Spanish archives. As far as it is known the papers of this firm's London supplier, James Strachen, James Mackenzie, Alexander Glennie, and Company (Penman and Shaw at a later date) have not been preserved, but it would be interesting to compare what Panton told the Spaniards with what he told these

London merchants, Panton, Leslie and Company, and British merchants associated with Bowles or Arbutnot, almost exclusively exploited the Indian trade. The presence of Panton and Forbes in Pensacola was important for that city's commercial life, but there was more to Pensacola's economy than exportation of deerskins. All the luxuries and goods arriving at Panton's Pensacola warehouse were not destined for the Indian country. Did this firm have a larger stake in the city's commerce than Spanish merchants? To what extent were Spanish merchants located in Pensacola or those trading with Pensacola affected by the overall eighteenth-century commercial revival in the Spanish empire? Who were West Florida's farmers and did they export any of their crops? There was a nascent cattle industry, but were the beef and hides exported or used locally? The same question can be asked about timber, cotton, and naval stores. Again the best place to look for answers are in the thousands of AGI *legajos*, for here are Pensacola's budgets, correspondence of the intendants, documents pertaining to legal and contraband trade, accounts of the *situado*, property transactions, warehouse inventories, service records of treasury officials, and much other routine financial and commercial correspondence.

Another area that is little understood is who were Spanish West Florida's inhabitants, how numerous were they, where did they come from, and what happened to them after 1812? Some, though probably not a majority, were native-born Spaniards or creoles. There were British loyalists, frequently Scots involved in the Indian trade. Frenchmen made up an important percentage of the population. The origins of some dated back to the period of French rule in Louisiana; others were recent Acadian immigrants or newcomers from the French West Indies. In addition there were Canary Islanders, Negroes both slave and free, and non-loyalist immigrants from the United States. Pensacola's censuses, muster rolls, land records, and judicial records preserved in the AGI hold many of the secrets of Pensacola's and San Marcos' population. Dian Shelley (1971) has just finished work on an M.A. thesis at the University of West Florida on the "Creole Colored" in Pensacola and Mobile from ca. 1803–1860. She has completed a brief survey of St. Michael's cemetery (1970b) including burial practices which date back to the Spanish years. Duvon C. Corbitt's work on the last Spanish census of Pensacola (1945) suggests the possibilities of a demographic study of Spanish West Florida, while Holmes' scheduled publication of *Pensacola Settlers* (1972b) will help fill an obvious need.

Studies about labor in Spanish West Florida have been slighted. The Indians did the hunting and trapping, and whites and half-breeds living among them were factors. Works dealing with the southern Indians, such as Caughey's *McGillivray* (1938), discuss aspects of this commerce. But one can only guess at the working conditions, tools, methods of labor, etc. in lumbering, agriculture, and cattle raising, and there are almost no studies of cigarmakers, blacksmiths, silversmiths, and other artisans in Spanish Pensacola. William C. Lazarus (1965) has some information on brickmaking during the Spanish period, and Lucius Ellsworth and Pat Dodson are at work on the brick industry at Pensacola from ca. 1750 to World War I. During the second Spanish period the government built or repaired such public buildings as

forts San Miguel and San Carlos de Barrancas at Pensacola and San Marcos in Apalachee. It employed Negro slaves, criminals, and free labor, but it is not known to what extent. There were hundreds of Negroes in Spanish West Florida, and whatever their status and condition of servitude, it is safe to assume that it was not typical of Negroes either in Spanish America or the United States. It would be interesting to know how much Spain had to rely on criminal labor in West Florida. Military and treasury records, Pantón, Leslie and Company correspondence, and other documents in the AGI hold many of the answers.

The social, cultural, and intellectual life of Spanish West Florida, so far gleaned from visitors such as John Pope (1792) and Andrew Ellicott (1814) has yet to be written. The Spaniards apparently established schools in Pensacola, but details about the pupils, curriculum, location, and teachers are sketchy. Information on Pensacola's libraries, theatrical productions, and public lectures are lacking, perhaps for an obvious reason. It is probably not accidental that there are more references to Pensacola's bawdy houses and the high percentage of "laundresses" than to libraries. This city was a port, with a transient population of sailors and Indian traders, and it retained under the Spaniards its pre-1781 reputation as a city of sin. The Spaniards established hospitals both at Pensacola and San Marcos. One would like to know something about the practice of medicine, the surgeons and physicians' background, and how the patients fared. It is hard to imagine that the mortality rate was any higher than it had been under the British. Robert R. Rea, "Graveyard for Britons" (1969) is the most recent account of medicine in British West Florida. Almost the only thing published touching on the second Spanish period is the short piece by Mary C. Smith on hospitals and medicine in Pensacola (1969). An examination of the military, treasury, *ayuntamiento*, ecclesiastic, and court records in the AGI can round out the picture of medicine, prostitution, education, and the like in Spanish West Florida.

Fortunately there are studies of the church during the second Spanish period. Michael J. Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas* (1940) is a reliable work. Priests arrived in Pensacola in the 1780s and began ministering to the parishioners. But there are still questions about the organization and administration of the church in West Florida; its relationship with secular authority; the extent, if any, it attempted to reestablish Indian missions; and the degree to which there was toleration for Protestants. Though documents in the AGI are the most valuable source, one should not overlook the Records of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, 1576–1803, at the University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, Indiana, described in Coker and Holmes (1971).

The Indians were the most numerous group in Spanish West Florida. They were usually known as Creeks or Seminoles, and frequently it was hard to make the distinction. What became known as the Seminole nation was being created during the second Spanish period largely in West Florida. There was a constant southward migration of Indians—and Negroes—into West Florida. The thousands of Red Sticks who survived the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in 1814 were the largest single

group and arrived in West Florida at the end of the second Spanish period. There is a mass of documentation in the AGI concerning trade, military engagements, peace conferences, foreign intrigue, and Indian customs which is the best source for increasing our understanding of Seminole development during its most formative period. The most reliable account to date is Charles H. Fairbanks' unpublished report on the "Ethnohistory of the Florida Indians" (1957), but much remains to be done. The Negroes were a minority group living among the Seminoles and they were sometimes considered Seminoles. They lived in autonomous free communities, such as at the British (Negro) Fort on the Apalachicola River blown up by the Americans in 1816, or as slaves of Indians. Kenneth W. Porter's numerous articles listed in the bibliography of John Mahon's study of the Second Seminole War (1967) are the best published accounts, though they emphasize the post-1821 period. Much remains to be done on these Negroes in the Spanish period.

There are two other areas that need investigation, one at the beginning of the second Spanish period, the other at the end. The effect of transfer from British to Spanish rule in 1781 and from Spanish to American dominion in 1821 remains to be analyzed. Caughey's *Gálvez* (1934) and Rush's *Battle of Pensacola* (1966) barely go beyond the British surrender in 1781. The fate of Pensacola's civilian population, transfer of land, etc. is not known. The same is true for the 1821 period. What is needed for both 1781 and 1821 is a study such as Robert Gold's (1969) analysis of Florida's transfer to British rule at the end of the Seven Years' War.

The documents in the AGI have been discussed in detail because they are the most important sources for Spanish West Florida's history. The *Archivo Histórico Nacional* at Madrid is second only in importance to the AGI. Though there is much overlap and duplication in the two archives, *legajos* in the AHN place more emphasis on diplomatic matters. The correspondence of Diego de Gardoqui, Marqués de Casa Irujo and other Spanish ministers to the United States is preserved in the AHN, and the scholar interested in events leading up to the Pinckney Treaty, for example, would do well to start in this archive. The *Archivo General de Simancas* has documents similar to those in the AGI. The *Secretaría de Guerra, Siglo XVIII*, containing Gálvez's diary of the siege of Pensacola, is the most valuable section in Simancas. To a large degree Spanish West Florida was a military colony, and the holdings in the *Archivo del Servicio Histórico Militar*, *Archivo del Servicio Geográfico del Ejército*, and *the Museo Naval*, all in Madrid, should not be overlooked. The *Archivo Nacional de Cuba* (ANC) in Havana (Pérez 1907) contains West Florida material, much of which duplicates documents in Spanish archives but in some instances contains information not available elsewhere. The Library of Congress fortunately has transcripts of some of the ANC documents pertaining to West Florida. In a vague way Spanish West Florida was part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, and there is some material in Mexico, usually of a military, naval and diplomatic nature or dealing with the *situado*. The viceroy, however, concerned himself with Spanish West Florida no more than was necessary.

Spanish West Florida was a diplomatic pawn during its entire existence. For-



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eigners dominated its commerce, and as a result there are many sources in foreign archives. Britain, and especially the British colony in the Bahamas, played a key role in the history of Spanish West Florida. Panton, Leslie and Company had a warehouse in Nassau, and Arbuthnot and Armbrister were Bahamians. The most important Bahamian records pertaining to West Florida are in the Public Record Office in London. Here is the official colonial correspondence between the British government and authorities in the Bahamas which contains much West Florida information. Britain's diplomatic correspondence with the United States and Spain is in the PRO also and has, for example, details of the Arbuthnot-Armbrister affair. The War Office and Admiralty groups include many documents which clarify Britain's policy toward Spanish West Florida during the War of 1812. The *Bahama Gazette* is an important source for Spanish West Florida.<sup>2</sup> The National Maritime Museum at Greenwich contains several collections, notably the Sir John Borlase Warren Papers which help explain British policy in the Gulf of Mexico during the War of 1812. The Sir Alexander Cochrane Papers at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, are particularly significant for events on the Apalachicola River during 1814–1815.

France was involved with Spanish West Florida for most of its existence. The Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has diplomatic correspondence with Spain, the United States, and Britain and is the most valuable source for the entire 1781–1821 period (Leland *et al.*, 1943). There is information on French participation in the 1781 attack on Pensacola in the collection of Margry in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

United States depositories, notably the Library of Congress and the National Archives, have much West Florida material. The National Archives contains the diplomatic correspondence with Spain, Britain, and France and the territorial papers of Florida and her neighbors. Both the Library of Congress and the National Archives have presidential papers from Washington to Jackson which have Spanish West Florida material not always included in the published papers of the presidents. The Library of Congress has the East Florida Papers, one of the most important collections for Spanish West Florida. The same types of documents are found here as in the AGI. Though the East Florida Papers' emphasis is on East Florida, there is much correspondence with West Florida officials and members of Panton, Leslie and Company. The National Archives in 1968 assembled a collection of West Florida Papers, and the Library of Congress assembled its own collection of West Florida Papers. Both contain material for the second Spanish period. The East Florida Papers and the Library of Congress' West Florida Papers are on microfilm with copies available at the University of Florida and Florida State University. The General Services Administration (East Point, Georgia) has microfilm copies of important National Archive collections. These microfilms possibly will become available on interlibrary loan. Of special interest are Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Territorial Papers, Florida, 1777–1824; and Letterbook of the Creek Trading House, 1795–1816. The forthcoming *Guide to Pre-Federal Records in the National Archives* will aid in finding documents in the National Archives and in the East Point branch.

There is source material in depositories of states bordering Florida. The Georgia Department of Archives and History (Atlanta) has the correspondence of early Georgia governors, which includes some correspondence with Florida officials. The most important collections for Spanish West Florida are "East and West Florida, 1764–1850," and "Creek Indian Letters, Talks, and Treaties." The Auburn University Archives, Auburn, Alabama has a project underway to assemble and index all Panton, Leslie and Company papers on microfilm. The Mobile Public Library has the Forbes papers, a key source for Panton, Leslie and Company (microfilm copy at Auburn University Archives). There is a small Innerarity collection at the Louisiana State University Archives valuable for Panton, Leslie and Company.

There are few original documents pertaining to West Florida in Florida depositories. The Florida Historical Society collection at the University of South Florida, Tampa, has the Heloise H. Cruzat Papers and the Marie Taylor Greenslade Papers (transcripts) dealing with Panton, Leslie and Company. The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, has the Joseph B. Lockey Collection including transcripts from the AGI, Mexican and British archives, and state archives in the United States. (A copy of this collection is at the University of California at Los Angeles.) It is the most convenient and representative starting point for Spanish West Florida's history. The Trustees of the Florida Internal Improvement Commission (Tallahassee) have a small collection of West Florida Papers, the remnants of documents left by Spain after evacuating Pensacola, dealing primarily with land titles. The Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management (Tallahassee) is planning to compile a union catalog of all archival holdings relating to the history of Florida and to acquire photoreproductions of the more important collections. The Mark F. Boyd collection of transcripts and photostats from Spanish archives is at the Florida State University Library, and has documents and maps, some of which are particularly important for San Marcos. The Pensacola Historical Museum has the business papers of Dr. Juan Brosnaham and Joseph Sierra and small collection of Bonifay, Lavalley, de Rio Boo, and Gonzalez family papers for the 1812–1814 period. The Escambia County Court House (Pensacola), in Deed Book A and in the circuit court records, has sources for 1810–1820 land transactions.

As can be readily seen, there are abundant original sources for Spanish West Florida's history, but most of them are preserved outside the state. Fortunately, many of them have been microfilmed and are available in Florida libraries. The P. K. Yonge Library has microfilm selections of the Cuban Papers, the East Florida Papers, the Spanish Records of the North Carolina Historical Commission, the Stetson Collection, and the Lockey Collection (transcripts), all containing copies of Spanish documents. The East Florida Papers and the Spanish Records of the North Carolina Historical Commission are also available at the Florida State University Library. A list of microfilms pertaining to Spanish West Florida is in Coker and Holmes (1971). The published papers read at the First Annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, Pensacola, December 1969 (Dibble and Newton,

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1970), contain numerous references to primary and secondary materials and their location for both the Spanish and British eras. The papers from the Second Annual Conference held in December 1970, covering such topics as French, British, and Spanish Indian policy, the French revolt at New Orleans in the 1760's, and Gulf Coast colonial architecture, were published in 1971 (Dibble and Newton).

The Library of Congress has an enormous mass of microfilms, transcripts, and photostats of documents from Spanish, Cuban, Mexican, French, and British archives. This includes Henry Adams' transcripts from Spanish archives, photoreproductions of the Cuban Papers in the AGI, selections of the diplomatic correspondence preserved in the AHN, and transcripts from the ANC in Cuba (Martin 1929, 1930). The originals of the East Florida Papers and correspondence of the early presidents are in the Library of Congress. Many of the holdings of the National Archives are on microfilm.

Some of the original manuscripts mentioned have been printed: Kinnaird (1946–49), Caughey (1938), *American State Papers* (U.S. Congress 1832–61), Whitaker (1931), Carter (1934–), Bassett (1926–35), and the published papers of all the early presidents, Caughey (1949), and Corbitt (1936–41, 1937), are representative selections. Archaeological sources should not be overlooked. There are remains of Spanish forts San Carlos de Barrancas and San Miguel and several houses dating from the second Spanish period at or near Pensacola; the fort and Panton, Leslie and Company's nearby warehouse at San Marcos; and the British fort at Prospect Bluff. Reports on Spanish West Florida archaeology include Pheriba K. Stacy (1967) on the Panton, Leslie and Company trading post site, Earle Newton and Blair Reeves (1969) on Pensacola's historic architecture, Stephen R. Poe's study of archaeological excavations at Fort Gadsden, Florida (1963), and Dorris L. Olds' (1962) work on Fort Saint Marks.

Except for military affairs, diplomacy, church history, and archaeology, not much has been done about Spanish West Florida. The reason is not that original sources, or microfilm and transcripts of them, are not available, but simply that historians have not made much use of them. There is much that needs investigation and analysis, and fortunately there are indications that *Clio* will smile more favorably on Spanish West Florida in the future.

### NOTES

1. It was some time after 1785 before it was clearly established that Suwannee was the new eastern boundary of the province of Apalachee.
2. The Monroe County (Key West) Public Library has microfilm copies of the *Bahama Gazette*, and also the Bahama Government Records: Official Records of Registrar Generals Office. The latter might contain important information for Spanish West Florida.