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## SPANISH INTEREST IN TAMPA BAY DURING THE 18th CENTURY

by Jack D. L. Holmes

Initial Spanish interest in Tampa Bay probably originated with the sixteenth-century voyages of Hernando de Soto and Pánfilo de Narváez. While there is some doubt about identifying the Bahía de Espiritu Santo as Tampa Bay, there is little doubt that Spanish interest in Tampa Bay during the eighteenth century can be documented with certainty.<sup>1</sup> As early as 1754, interim Spanish Governor Fulgencio Garcia at St. Augustine urged the establishment of military outposts at Tampa, Charlotte Harbor and Espiritu Santo Bay to check English attempts to win over the Florida Indians.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Spanish crown felt the three hundred soldiers at St. Augustine were needed there more than in the Florida wilderness, Havana shipbuilders searching for a good supply of timber for masts and spars sponsored an exploratory voyage in 1756 under the command of Juan Baptista Franco. After describing the Tampa Bay area in detail and noting that the bountiful forests could provide timber “most useful for the construction of vessels,” he waxed eloquent on the advantages of settling the area: “We could not find a more delightful and comfortable place for everything.” He warned that if Spain did not take possession, foreigners would; this would be a serious blow to Spanish power in the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>3</sup>

Franco, a skilled draftsman, returned to Tampa Bay the following year in an expedition commanded by Francisco Maria Celi in order to survey the area around Tampa Bay and to determine whether there was sufficient timber there for the Havana shipyards.<sup>4</sup> Aboard the *San Francisco de Asis*, a shallow-draft, three-masted, lateen-rigged craft known as *xebec*, the party left Havana on Easter Sunday, April 10, 1757 and, after a careful examination of Tampa Bay which began on April 13, the observers noted San Blas and Barreda (present-day Egmont Key) and drew up a colorful and fairly-accurate chart. They began the return voyage on May 7, arriving at Havana one month to the day from the time they departed, on May 10, 1757.<sup>5</sup> Captain John D. Ware, an authority on Celi, praised his ethnographical data on the Indians, the description of the flora and fauna and “the day-by-day activities of a group of men who made a contribution, however modest, to the history, tradition, and development of the Tampa Bay area.”<sup>6</sup>

Spanish interest in Florida as a source of timber for shipbuilding certainly paralleled similar efforts by Spain’s traditional enemy, England, as the two foes locked in deadly combat during the French and Indian War (1754-1763). After that significant conflict, England obtained all of Florida and created East Florida with its capital at St. Augustine. The Proclamation of 1763 opened West Florida to immigration by the restless frontiersmen of England’s seaboard colonies, particularly to the capital of Pensacola, but also further westward to Natchez, Baton Rouge and Mobile. English interest in Tampa Bay led to its exploration and mapping by one of her greatest eighteenth-century naval masters, George Gauld, a true representative of the Scottish Renaissance.<sup>7</sup> “Tampa Bay according to the Spaniards” forms part of a 1769 map published by

Thomas Jefferys.<sup>8</sup> Still another example of English cartography of the Tampa Bay area is the one printed for Sayer and entitled “A Plan of the Entrances of Tampa Bay on the West Coast of East Florida.”<sup>9</sup>

English interest in lumber and naval stores seems to have centered in East Florida around the capital of St. Augustine, as accurately pictured in a Spanish naval officer’s report of 1786. After the crown ordered Francisco Javier de Morales in Cuba to investigate the possible use of Florida shipbuilding timber, José del Río Cosa sailed along the east coast, exploring the region from the St. Mary’s River to St. Augustine. He mentioned Charles Bay (Charlotte Harbor) and “Tampa, or Holy Ghost Bay,”<sup>10</sup> but did not go into much detail because the English had apparently done nothing in the area. Rather, don José described what the English had done from 1763 to 1783 when they were masters of the area around St. Augustine. He concluded with a plea that Spain develop the timber business as the English had done, not only to stimulate active trade, but to score a mercantilistic victory by encouraging the production of pitch, resin and tar for Spain and all of Europe without increasing the number of working hands.<sup>11</sup>

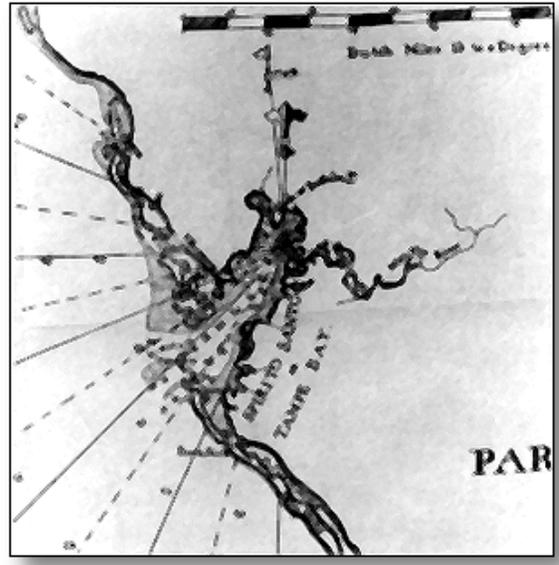
Spain also exploited the boundless quantities of fish found on Florida’s gulf coast. Indeed, George Gauld, who explored Tampa Bay for England in the 1760’s, noted the presence of Spanish fishing “ranches” at Tampa and Charlotte bays. Nine people lived in three or four “snug palmetto-huts” and displayed their carp and other fish on hooks. “They begin by pressing the fish with a great weight,” he explained, “after it is split and salted, they hang it up to dry in the manner above mentioned.” Once dried and packed in bundles convenient for shipping, the fish were shipped to Havana and other Spanish settlements in the West Indies, particularly during the Lent season, just as the banks of Newfoundland provided salt cod for the Mediterranean markets. “It is a very lucrative branch of trade,” concluded Gauld.<sup>12</sup>

Bernard Romans, who spent six weeks surveying Tampa Bay in the early 1770’s, praised the abundance of “wood, water, fish, oysters, clams, venison, ‘turkies’, large and small water-fowl, etc.” He discovered on Mullet Key a number of Spanish huts used for the purpose of fishing.<sup>13</sup> Spring was the fishing season for the Spanish fishing fleets which anchored along the coast to catch tons of mullet, bass and drum fish to sell in Havana. “In little smokehouses along the beach, they cured fish over corn cob fires and preserved some varieties in barrels of salt so that they would be in good condition at the end of a six weeks expedition.” Romans also described a modest trade between the fishermen and nearby Indians and was surprised to learn that the Indians in their cypress-log canoes could paddle to Cuba from the keys in less than twenty-four hours. This regional economic activity, begun in the sixteenth century, continued throughout the colonial period and into the mid-nineteenth century when Florida was an American territory.<sup>14</sup>

It was not for lumber, pitch-pine or fish that José de Evia visited Tampa Bay in 1783, however, but as a result of Spanish dissatisfaction with the charts in use for navigation of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. No one was more aware of this deficiency than Bernardo, Conde de Gálvez, captain-general of Cuba, Louisiana and West Florida. Because of faulty knowledge, he had experienced ships in his squadron running aground in the campaign for Mobile in 1780, and Spanish pilots were even hazy about Pensacola when the Spanish squadron attempted to enter the bay the following year. Gálvez’s uncle was José de Gálvez, Minister of the Indies, and at the nephew’s urging the Conde de Gálvez was given permission to “appoint someone capable

of inspecting the ports of West Florida with the greatest care, draw up suitable charts and locate the true configuration of the coastline, its sand banks and to measure the depth with proper soundings over the bars.”<sup>15</sup> For that purpose, the Conde de Gálvez purchased a lugger christened the Comendador de Marsella.<sup>16</sup> To command the expedition, which would take from 1783 until 1786, the Conde de Gálvez named a young naval officer who had served with valor in the Mississippi and Mobile campaigns.

José Antonio de Evia was born in the Galician town of La Graña and baptized in the parish church in July 1740. His father was Simón de Evia, a native of Sevilla who had gone to the naval school there and who, in 1736, had charted the Gulf of Mexico, particularly French settlements at Mobile Bay and along the Louisiana coast.<sup>17</sup> Simón had married doña Felipa Gántes y Pravio, a native of La Coruña. Their son, José, followed his father’s footsteps in a naval career which found him named captain of the Port of New Orleans and commander of the Spanish Coast Guard following his epic-making navigation of the Gulf coast.<sup>18</sup>



**Map by Bernard Romans, who spent six weeks surveying Tampa Bay in the early 1770s.**

Courtesy of the Florida Collection, USF Library.

Evia sailed from Havana to the keys and up the west coast of Florida to Carlos Bay (Charlotte Harbor), and by October 22, 1783, he cast his anchor in Tampa Bay. “The water over the bar,” he wrote, “is sufficient for any warship up to 60-cannon, the most shallow spot being 26 Spanish feet, while inside the bay the depth ranges from 30 to 36 feet.” Evia found that there was an abundance of fresh water, particularly during winter. Its large size sheltered all but the largest warships, and the sandy, sloping bottom was said to hold the anchors well. Nearby were lush forests containing oak, red cedar and pine of greater size than those found along Charlotte Harbor. Both bays teemed with fish, and Evia noted the steady run of at least ten fishing smacks between Havana and Tampa throughout the year. While he was drawing up his chart of Tampa Bay, Evia said there were six of the Havana fishing boats anchored nearby.

That times had changed from the bloody confrontations between Spaniards and southern Florida Indians since the sixteenth century is indicated in Evia’s comments: “The Indians are peaceful enough and carry on a regular trade with the Spaniards, whom they regard with cordial feelings. They regularly board our ships, trade their bear and deer meat and pelts for our honey, corn, rum and other things. When they get the urge, they sometimes board the fishing smacks and return to Havana with the crews.”<sup>19</sup>

Evia wrote to the Conde de Gálvez about his troubles – with the weather on the one hand and with Cuban naval officials on the other. “I left Tampa Bay on November 13,” he wrote, “to

inspect the coast of West Florida as far as Apalachee and Pensacola, but contrary winds and current slowed my approach to Cape San Blas until the 20th. Then, strong western winds and a storm forced me to retrace my route to Tampa Bay. Another storm almost drove me on the shoals, and I dropped my sails and let the winds blow me as far as the Marquesas. With such adverse weather, I realized my only recourse was to return to Havana, where I anchored on December 9.” Evia reported that the Cuban naval commander constantly interfered with him, although don José was working hard on completing his charts of Carlos and Tampa Bays, along with his overall description of the Gulf coast.<sup>20</sup>

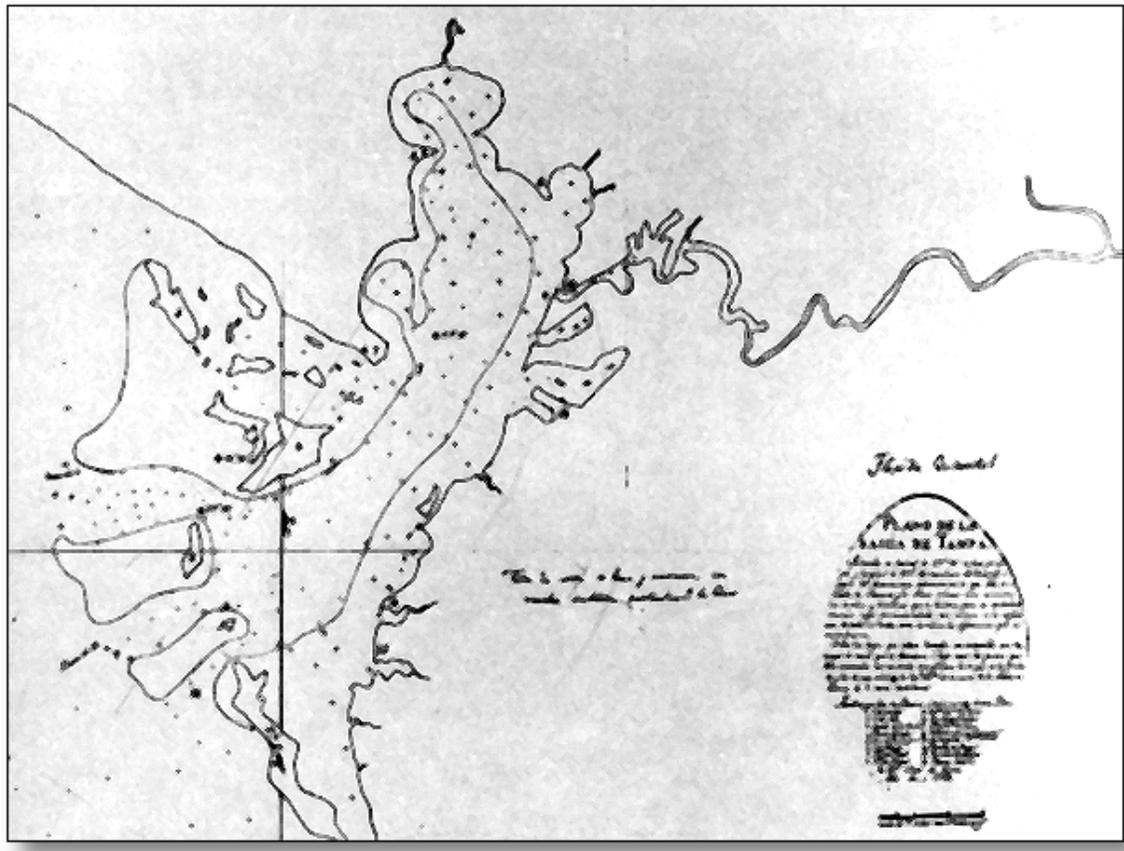
After Evia completed his three-year inspection of the Gulf coast along Mexico, he filed his general report in Mexico City, where the Conde de Gálvez had become viceroy. The most exposed, vulnerable and deserted bays along the gulf coast from south Florida to Matagorda Bay, Texas, included Tampa and Apalachee Bays in East and West Florida, respectively.<sup>21</sup> As for Tampa, Evia wrote that it was a fine roadstead with a depth of eighteen feet over the bar at the entrance and between five and six fathoms inside. All along the bay the bottom was sandy, with sand bars near the shore and fine stands of timber. Evia noted only two of the three rivers flowing into the bay and also a trail which communicated with St. Augustine. August and September were hurricane months, but the rest of the summer there were breezes and gusts alternating between land and sea. Winter threatened the mariner because of north winds and the westerlies. Tides increased two or three feet depending on the force of the wind, and there was considerable variation in the hour of the ebb and flow. “The entire coast is clean with a good bottom until you reach Anclote Key, which is twelve leagues to the north,” he concluded.<sup>22</sup>

Evia’s 1783 map of Tampa Bay consists of at least two versions.<sup>23</sup> Because it is detailed and gives location of various points, it may be the best colonial map of Tampa Bay surviving to this day.

What happened to the detailed map drawn up by Captain Vicente Folch y Juan in 1793? A careful examination of the sources yielded no map to Lawrence Kinnaird, Charles Arnade, or this writer, but it is clear from Folch’s detailed reports on his examination of Tampa Bay that a map *was* drawn, but it remains a mystery as to where it might be today.<sup>24</sup>

Spanish interest in Tampa Bay heightened during the 1790s as a result of foreign aggression in the area of the Gulf of Mexico. It was an old story, almost as if history was repeating itself from the era of the buccaneers when English, French, and Dutch pirates with government license preyed on Spanish shipping and nibbled away at its prior claims in America. Once again, Spain’s hold on her *mare nostrum* – the Gulf of Mexico – was threatened. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era found Jacobin agents such as Edmond Genet trying to organize privateers with American recruits as crew, despite the Proclamation of Neutrality. George Rogers Clark threatened to organize a force of disgruntled frontiersmen to force Spain to give up New Orleans. French privateers preyed on Spanish and American shipping in the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>25</sup>

When the 1795 Treaty of Basel caused Spain to withdraw from the anti-French coalition, England promptly declared war and the English minister to the United States sought to organize an expedition against Spanish Louisiana in collaboration with U.S. Senator William Blount.<sup>26</sup>



**José de Evia's 1783 Map of Tampa Bay.**

Courtesy of the Florida Collection, USF Library.

As if danger from France and England was not enough, William Augustus Bowles, a Maryland loyalist who had himself named Director of the Muskogee Nation, organized Seminoles and other Florida Indians into an anti-Spanish force which threatened peace on the frontier and challenged the powerful firm of Panton, Leslie and Company, which supplied the southeastern Indians from Nassau and Jamaica.<sup>27</sup>

An engineer stationed at Fort San Marcos de Apalachee, Luis Bertucat, searched West Florida in 1791 in an attempt to apprehend Bowles, who had become dangerous to Spanish influence with the Indian tribes. The following year Bowles struck at Panton's trading post at San Marcos and looted it.<sup>28</sup> New Orleans Port Captain José de Evia – the same who had described Tampa Bay in 1783 led an expedition which captured Bowles and returned him to New Orleans for the beginning of an incarceration in various Spanish military prisons for many years.<sup>29</sup> But Spain had not seen the last of Bowles. He “miraculously” escaped from custody while being moved to a prison in Manila and returned to Florida. On October 31, 1799, he solemnly declared war on Spain and warned all persons “addicted to Spain or the United States” to leave his State of Muskogee.<sup>30</sup>

The scenario sounds fictional, but in the case of Bowles, truth really was stranger than fiction! Bowles issued letters of marque to an international collection of pirates who now became privateers for the sovereign State of Muskogee. Spanish ships were fair game for the privateers who gathered provisions and water from the off-shore islands along the Gulf coast of Florida. The Seminole pirate fleet numbered between twelve and four teen ships at one time and had colorful banners of scarlet and blue. They carried their captured prizes into “neutral” ports to sell and share the booty, and in general kept the Gulf of Mexico in a terrible turmoil for almost a decade.<sup>31</sup>

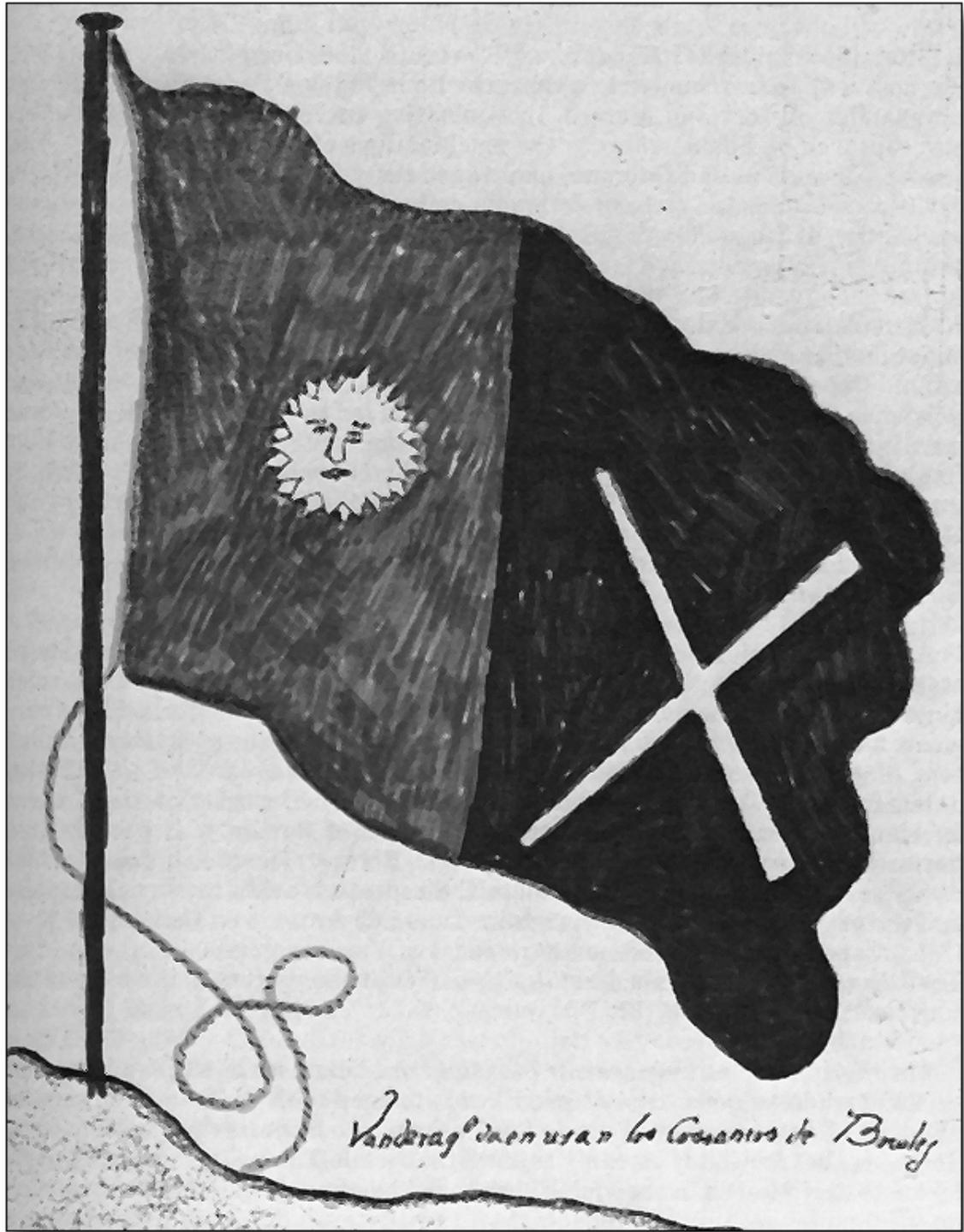
In 1800 Bowles and his Seminole warriors once again attacked Fort San Marcos post, this time capturing not only Pantón’s store, but the military bastion as well. To lead the counter-attack which almost succeeded in capturing Bowles himself, Lieutenant-colonel Vicente Folch y Juan joined the Spanish squadron which sailed from Pensacola on June 18, and returned there on July 15, 1800.<sup>32</sup> It was not the first time Folch had rendered valuable contributions to the defenses of Spanish Florida, but it was one of the most colorful military campaigns, as a result of which, Folch won promotion to the rank of colonel on October 5, 1802.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, as a result of offering a bounty of \$4,500 for the capture of Bowles, Folch ultimately had the satisfaction of seeing his nemesis apprehended, delivered at Pensacola, and finally sent to prison in the Morro Castle at Havana, where he died on December 23, 1805.<sup>34</sup>

Bowles had been encouraged, supplied and abetted by John Murray, Fourth Lord of Dunmore (1732-1809), unpopular Scottish governor of New York and Virginia who had ravaged the coasts after being forced to withdraw in 1775. As governor of the Bahamas from 1787, Lord Dunmore continued his turbulent ways, listened to plots against Spanish Louisiana, and saw in Bowles a chance to break the power of Pantón, Leslie and Company and Spanish influence in the southeast with a single stroke.<sup>35</sup> Governor-general Francisco Luis Héctor, Baron de Carondelet (1747-1807), wrote Spanish Minister of State Manuel de Godoy from New Orleans in 1793, that the Spanish ambassador to England should request the removal of Dunmore or at the very least, “his correction.” He pointed out that the Spanish coast-guard had captured a bilander, *Resolution*, sent by Lord Dunmore to Bowles and his followers in an effort to open trade with the Seminoles.<sup>36</sup>



**William Augustus Bowles, Director of the Muskogee Nation.**

Photograph courtesy of the University of Georgia Press.



Flag used by Bowles' privateers, from the Mississippi Department of Archives and History Packson).

This copy courtesy of Mrs. Yulee Lazarus.

After the Spaniards had captured Bowles in 1792, Lord Dunmore proposed the best way to free

him was to capture either William Panton or the Spanish commander of Fort San Marcos. Incriminating correspondence to this effect was captured by Spain, whereby the machinations of Lord Dunmore were well known. Carondelet and Dunmore exchanged testy letters involving the seizure of the *Resolution*, and Carondelet explained the ship was carrying contraband in violation of Spanish law; the coast guard was justified in seizing the English ship.<sup>37</sup>

Carondelet and Evia both agreed that a strong coast guard was essential to maintain Spanish control over the vast, unsettled Florida coast, not only around Cape San Blas and Apalachee Bay, but further south.<sup>38</sup> The activities of Bowles in Florida and Lord Dunmore in Nassau led to the increase in ships and men for the Spanish coast guard, all under the control of New Orleans Port Captain Evia after 1787. Folch participated in this naval action, although he was a career army officer. The irony was that the Spanish Squadron of the Mississippi was, with the exception of Evia, composed of *army* officers such as Folch, and the commandants of the unit, Pierre George Rousseau and Manuel García y Muñiz.<sup>39</sup>

A natural development of the coast guard was the interest in establishing a station at Tampa Bay to help in blocking the English efforts to break Spanish hegemony over the southeastern Indians. Engineer Joaquín María de la Torre wrote a treatise on how to crush the privateers and pirates operating with letters of marque from Bowles and his State of Muskogee: land an infantry detachment at Tampa Bay and establish a fortified post and then march overland to create a diversion among the allies of Bowles who were located between Tampa Bay and the Apalachicola River.<sup>40</sup> The three points which Spain sought to control and eliminate the repeated losses to French corsairs and the privateers of Bowles were from Cape San Antonio on the eastern tip of Cuba, Cape Catoche on the northern coast of Yucatán peninsula, and the Dry Tortugas which were favorite stopping places of the pirates to the west of the Florida Keys.<sup>41</sup>

Through this relatively-narrow passage Lord Dunmore had to send ammunition and trading goods to Bowles in Florida to keep the anti-Spanish movement alive, and Captain-general Luis de Las Casas wrote from Havana to Minister of State Manuel de Godoy as early as 1793 that while Tampa's roadstead was inferior to that offered in the vicinity of Apalachee Bay, "it is for other purposes no less important, for the reason that its situation affords, in time of war, a shelter for the enemy from which they could harass infinitely the navigation of, vessels from Veracruz, Campeche, etc. passing through Tortuga Sound."<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the Havana fishing fleet got around the restrictions on importing foreign salted cod by obtaining around Tampa the fish so needed by Cuban Catholics during the Lenten season.<sup>43</sup>

Since Lord Dunmore and Bowles worked in close harmony to break the monopoly of Indian trade held by the firm of Panton, Leslie and Co., it would seem to William Panton's advantage to fortify Tampa Bay and block communication between the two Spanish foes; but, Panton did not believe the Indian trade around Tampa Bay would be significant when compared to other operations of the firm in Louisiana and West Florida. He did agree to build a trading post if the Spanish government would extend commercial advantages to his firm.<sup>44</sup>

Captain-general Luis de Las Casas wrote Godoy that the Cuban fishermen brought back descriptions of Tampa Bay and that it was capable of protecting vessels of considerable tonnage and large draught, while an abundance of drinking water was nearby. Frigate captain Miguel

Sapiaín had inspected the bay during the Anglo-Spanish War of 1779-1783, and he had reported favorably on the useful lumber which could be obtained for the Havana arsenals. He had helped rebuild the Cuban shipbuilding yards which the English had destroyed after occupying the island in 1762.<sup>45</sup>

What finally convinced the Spanish government to undertake a more extensive inspection of Tampa Bay in 1793 was the arrival in Havana of several Indians from the peninsula who urged the Spaniards to build a trading post at Tampa Bay.<sup>46</sup> Governor Enrique White at Pensacola wondered about the attitude of the Indians so he wrote to a trader among the Lower Creeks, James Durouzeaux, asking him to “sound out” the Indians about such a move. Panton at Pensacola agreed: “It would be better if the proposal should come from the Indians themselves.”<sup>47</sup>

It seems strange that Indians would request white men to build such a trading post, given the experience of the Cherokees and Creeks with the United States, but Spanish policy toward the southern Indians was totally different from that of the United States. Where the Americans sought to make treaties with the Indians which would result in their removal west of the Mississippi, Spain made treaties with the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Creeks which ceded small, but strategically-located, sections of land where Spain could build forts to protect a Panton trading post. Such posts would give the Indians a place to pick up their annual presents, guaranteed to the southeastern Indians as a result of treaties Spain signed with them at Pensacola and Mobile in 1784 and at Los Nogales in 1793. Moreover, such frontier posts could supply the Indians with ammunition and create a formidable barrier against American expansion into the Old Southwest, in much the same way as the French at Mobile had blocked English expansion prior to 1763.<sup>48</sup>

The Indians had a decade of experience with both the United States and Spain upon which to judge the ambitions of both powers. When the Spaniards began to build Fort Nogales on the Walnut Hills in 1791 and Chief Franchimastabé objected on behalf of the Choctaws, Natchez Governor Manuel Gayoso de Lemos called both the Chickasaws and Choctaws to a conference at Natchez in 1792. Subsequently, they consented for Spain to build Fort Nogales (present-day Vicksburg) to protect Panton’s trading post, but not to permit white farmers to settle there. In 1793, the Choctaws pleaded with Spanish commissioner Juan de la Villebeuvre to build a fort at the site of Old French Tombigbee on the upper reaches of that vital stream which allowed settlers to descend the Tennessee and Tombigbee Rivers to the Gulf of Mexico via Mobile Bay – the same route chosen for the Tennessee-Tombigbee canal today. The resulting Treaty of Boucfouca (1793) enabled Spain to build Fort Confederación at the site. Finally, in 1795, Governor Gayoso persuaded a pro-Spanish faction of the Chickasaws to cede a portion of present-day downtown Memphis to Spain for the construction of Fort San Fernando de las Barrancas, again, not for white farmers to settle and clear the land, but to establish a chain of posts, protected by artillery and the guns of the mobile Mississippi Squadron of Galleys. The end result of this Spanish Indian policy was to protect the Indian hunting lands against usurpation by the greedy American “Ecunnaunnulgee” – a Creek word given to “people greedily grasping after all their lands.”<sup>49</sup>

Thus, the Florida Indians not only did not fear a Spanish post at Tampa Bay, but they actually encouraged it! One of the traders in the Creek nation, James Burgess, wrote Durouzeaux that the

Indians who went to Havana were from the old fork town of the Apalachicola, Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers known as Uchisi or Uchesee. “The place,” he wrote, “is down in the Point of Florida, where the Spaniards always fish, and where the Indians take Vessels to cross over to the Havana: The Indians call it Pea Creek,” he added, “which I believe is called in the Maps Tampa Bay.”<sup>50</sup> The officer which Captain-general Luis de Las Casas chose to undertake the mission to Tampa Bay was Captain Vicente Folch y Juan, a brilliant career-army officer, who was rumored to be the man Spain was going to name commandant of the post at Tampa Bay.<sup>51</sup>

“Visens María Joan Estanislao” Folch y Juan was born and baptized at the parish church of St. Peter in the town of Reus, province of Tarragona, on March 8, 1754. His parents, Felipe Folch, Jr. and doña Isabel de Juan, were landed gentry from the highly-individualistic area of Cataluna in northeastern Spain, a region invaded by Charlemagne in 777. The Folch family was descended from Charlemagne’s sister.<sup>52</sup> The youth enlisted in the Cataluña Light Infantry at the age of seventeen and studied at the Royal Military Academy at Barcelona. He came to America in the Army of Operations of 1780, planned to destroy English power in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean. Folch missed those campaigns led by Gálvez in 1779-1781, but he cared for the injured and ailing at hospitals in the Windward Islands. In 1784, he came to Louisiana and transferred to the Louisiana Infantry Regiment. He commanded the new post at the mouth of the Mississippi known as La Balize during 1786-1787, and did so well he was picked to command at Mobile from 1787 to 1792. He had been relieved by Captain Manuel de Lanzós just prior to the 1793 mission to Tampa Bay.<sup>53</sup>

Captain-general Luis de Las Casas drafted nine articles covering the “orders for the officer commissioned to Tampa Bay.” He wrote Folch that the major object was to inspect Tampa Bay in the event that should it be decided to occupy the area, Spanish officials would have sufficient information to aid the enterprise. Should a French ship be sighted, it was to be captured – Spain and France being at war – but if a neutral, then the Spanish captain would use his own judgement about capturing it if it carried contraband. The bay and surrounding coast were to be sounded and maps indicating dangerous bars or reefs clearly marked. In this task, a fishing boat captain already sent from Havana to the vicinity of Tampa Bay, F. Merinudez, would be able to help since he had fished there frequently and knew the environs. Spanish officials were particularly interested in the quality of soil and the type of timber available for naval stores and shipbuilding. Another object was to take a general census of the Indian villages or “ranches,” the distance from each other, and ethnological observations concerning their trade, economic activities, and whether they would welcome Spanish settlements at Tampa Bay. A proposed fort should be located and drawn according to the most recent engineering techniques and the availability of local raw materials such as timber, limestone, and mud for bricks. “You shall treat the Indians with much care,” wrote the captain-general, showing an obvious change in Spanish-Indian relations since the time of Juan Ponce de León.<sup>54</sup>

Folch’s galley was recently launched at New Orleans. Christened *La Leal* (The Loyal) in honor of the officers from the Louisiana Infantry Regiment who had donated funds with which to build it, the vessel was powered by sails and, during calm or maneuvering up small rivers, by thirty-four oars. Its armament varied, but in 1799 it boasted two 12-pounders, six 4-pounders and two swivelguns (*pedreros*).<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, the ship was better suited for carrying troops and supplies in the open Gulf of Mexico than in maneuvering the rivers of West Florida, as noted by

its commander, Captain Manuel García y Muñiz.<sup>56</sup> Folch reported himself that the galley was much larger than required for the Tampa operations, and he glumly watched it run aground the day after he arrived! He also lost his anchor rope and, had the sea and wind not calmed, he said he would have lost the ship as well.<sup>57</sup>

Folch described how it was to be a Spanish “tourist” at Tampa Bay in 1793:

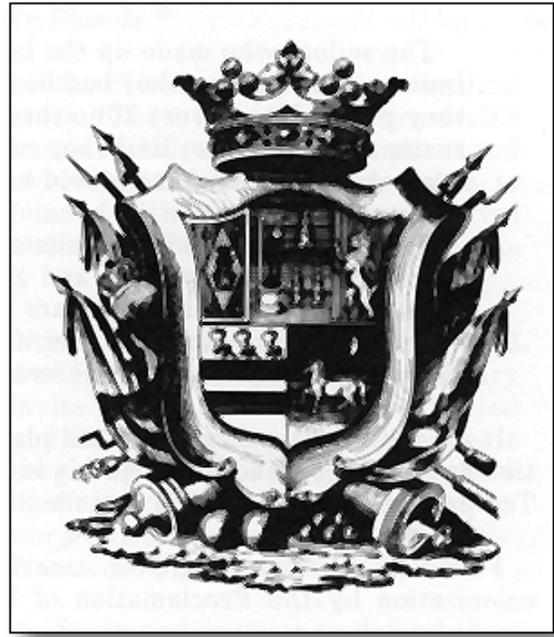
We found a safe anchorage for the *Leal* and lowered the long-boat so as to take soundings and gather information for drawing up our charts. Unfortunately, it was so shallow near the shore that we had to beach the boat and continue on foot. Through swamps and uneven country, at times bogged down to my waist, I struggled to keep the instruments dry by putting them on my head as the water lapped my neck. I took better care of them than of my own person! When night fell, I chose a dry spot of land above water to await the dawn of another day and a resumption of my difficult chore.

The sailors who made up the launch’s crew were so afraid of the Indians and the tales they had heard of their barbarous cruelty that they panicked [sic] every time they saw a wisp of smoke or heard a rustle in the bushes. Had they not been more afraid of my loaded musket and pistols, they would have fled from our camp....

By day I traversed the country through thistles and thickets, brambles, thorns, swamps and ponds. At night I joined the exhausted men asleep at their oars in the launch with the boat’s rudder as my only pillow because if I had not been with them, they would have fled into these deserted forests.<sup>58</sup>

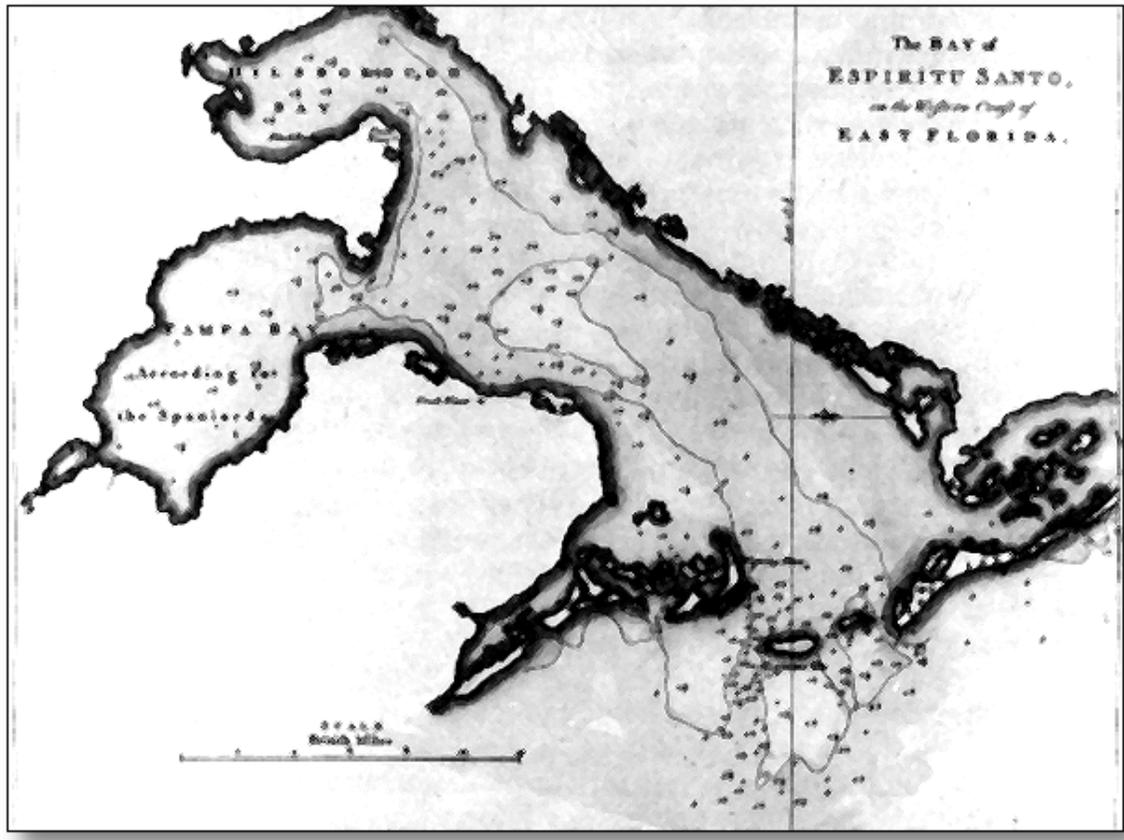
It is worth noting that Folch had planned to make Tampa a flourishing settlement, however, and although his ideas are expressed in his description of Tampa Bay, the colonization feature has not been stressed.<sup>59</sup>

Florida had been a refuge for Americans since England opened the area to colonization by the Proclamation of 1763. Folch had been commandant of Mobile at a time when hundreds of Americans sought refuge in West Florida away from the monumental struggle between Tories and patriots in the American Revolution. Therefore, Folch was familiar with Spanish procedures for granting lands and certifying loyalty oaths for Anglo-American settlers who agreed to become Spanish vassals in Florida.<sup>60</sup>



**Coat of Arms of Vicente Folch y Juan, redrawn from original letterhead of Folch in Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, legajo 221-B.**

Supplied by the author.



An early British map of Tampa Bay, drafted by Thomas Jeffreys around 1769.

Photograph courtesy of the Florida Collection, USF Library.

Since there were a number of islands off the Florida coast, Folch recognized they would be an ideal place to raise livestock: "These islands are very suitable for the raising of livestock of all kinds because of their richness in pastures and abundance of water." Moreover, they were located on the trade route to Havana where salted meat had a good demand with corresponding attractive prices. Livestock raising would be, according to Folch, the basis of the proposed settlement for Tampa Bay.<sup>61</sup>

Considering the growing strain in relations between Spain and the United States over boundaries, territory, and over Indian affairs, it is extraordinary that Folch would suggest that Spain invite fifty families from the United States to settle at Tampa Bay. Folch urged the publication of advertisements in newspapers from New England to Georgia designed to feature the attractive advantages of Florida living. If not the first or last Florida real estate promoter, Folch certainly has to be listed among those who recognized quality living in Florida and proposed to bring in Yankees to settle the area!<sup>62</sup>

The settlers should swear allegiance to Spain and promise to defend their new homes against foreign attack, even if it meant taking arms against their former countrymen. The government would grant “to the first fifty families who sign up” provisions for an entire year, twelve cattle and sufficient land. Families signing up after the “first fifty” would get land, but provisions for only six months. Settlers would be exempt from taxation on their exports to Havana and other Spanish ports. Because salted meat was expected to be their economic staple, settlers could expect to buy sufficient quantities of salt from the government at cost.<sup>63</sup>

If Spain would support such a settlement, Folch argued, the potential enemies would not discover a deserted coast and cause Spain to lose, as had happened with England on the northwestern Pacific coast at Nootka Sound in 1789-1790.<sup>64</sup> If nature abhorred a vacuum, Folch reasoned, the best way to prevent foreigners from occupying Tampa Bay was for Spain to do it first.<sup>65</sup>

As for the advantages of a Tampa Bay settlement to the Indian trade, Folch argued that since the Indians lived by hunting, the proceeds from which were insufficient to buy what they needed, the Spanish government often felt obliged to give them presents to prevent them from stealing from their white neighbors or destroying their farms. On the other hand, if the Tampa settlers traded for Indian cattle (at a low price, since Folch claimed the Indians did not know the value of goods or cattle), the settlers would soon dominate the Indian trade against all other competition. Any money spent by the government to support such a settlement would be well worth the cost.

How much did Folch think it would cost? Using the Mobile District as a yardstick, as he had commanded there, Folch claimed they needed a frontier-type stockade capable of defense against musket fire or Indian arrows. A garrison of fifty men would guard the fort, in addition to a gunnery corporal and four gunners, a chaplain, surgeon, medic, quarter-master, gunsmith, mason, carpenter, caulker, baker, blacksmith, interpreter for Indian languages, two shipmasters and twelve sailors. The bureaucracy would cost about \$500 per year in salaries plus daily rations and \$100 additional for the commandant. Labor for the fort could be obtained from prisoners in the Havana jails, thus costing only their rations. Only if Spain intended to make Tampa a formidable post should such an expenditure be taken, Folch concluded, and then only if sufficient immigrants could be brought from the United States.<sup>66</sup>

A good idea, but in the wrong time. Spain’s extraordinary expenses for defense of the Mississippi Valley due to French and English invasion threats, the reorganization of the Louisiana militia, the expenses for ships and men in the squadron, and a host of other costs all worked against the Tampa plan. The French Revolution turned into the Napoleonic Wars, and these, in turn, led to the independence of Mexico and all of Latin America. Spain’s golden opportunity, if one existed, had come and gone in the decade between Evia’s exploration of Tampa Bay in 1783 and Folch’s plan for settling it in 1793.

Evia died in Havana in 1815; Folch followed to a Havana grave in 1829. The Spanish interest in Tampa Bay died, just as the two men who had known the unforgettable sunset there. Folch’s dream of an economically-sound settlement at Tampa would wait for another generation of Yankee farmers. Perhaps, almost two centuries later, we can admire their good sense and

wonder, what might have been had Spain supported a strong settlement in southern Florida in 1819.

<sup>1</sup> See A.H. Phinney, "Narvaez and De Soto, Their Landing Places and the Town of Espirito Santo," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 3 (January, 1925): 15-21; and Rolfe F. Schell, *De Soto Didn't Land at Tampa* (Fort Myers Beach, Florida: Island Press, 1966).

<sup>2</sup> John Jay TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964), p. 223. TePaske notes that Tampa Bay was called Tocobaga in 1565 when Pedro Menéndez de Avilés established a small garrison there: *ibid.*, p. 4; and Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menendez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest, 1565-1568* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Jack D.L. Holmes and John D. Ware, "Juan Baptista Franco and Tampa Bay, 1756," and Charles W. Arnade, "The Juan Baptista Franco Document of Tampa Bay, 1756," both in *Tequesta*, 28 (1968): 91-97, and 99-101 respectively.

<sup>4</sup> In the fall of 1756, Ferdinand VI granted permission to cut the royal timber of Florida for the Havana shipbuilding industry. TePaske, *Governorship of Spanish Florida*, p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> The chart is printed opposite p. 14 of Captain John D. Ware, "A View of Celi's Journal of Surveys and Chart of 1757," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 47 (July, 1968). See also, pp. 18-19 for a discussion of the chart and the useful article in the same issue by Charles W. Arnade, "Celi's Expedition to Tampa Bay: A Historical Analysis," pp. 4-6. Other articles dealing with the Celi expedition by the late Captain Ware are "Tampa Bay in 1757: Francisco Maria Celi's Journal and Logbook, Part I" *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 50 (October, 1971): 158-179; and "...Part II," in *ibid.*, 50 (January, 1972): 262-277.

<sup>6</sup> "Celi noted that in every instance the Indians came to the vessel of their own accord and that they had no fear of the white intruders." Ware, "View of Celi's Journal," 16. See also p. 4, contact with the same tribes of Indians.

<sup>7</sup> Gauld (1732-1782) was shamefully plagiarized by his contemporaries, Captain Philip Pittman and Bernard Romans. His *An Account of the Surveys of Florida* (London: William Faden, 1790), was published posthumously. The most complete study of Gauld is also posthumous: Captain John D. Ware, *George Gauld, Surveyor and Cartographer of the Gulf Coast*, revised and completed by Robert R. Rea (Gainesville and Tampa: University of Florida and University of South Florida, 1982). An early sketch is Charles A. Gauld, "A Scottish View of West Florida in 1769," *Tequesta*, 29 (1969): 61-66.

<sup>8</sup> Gauld's description of Tampa Bay is in Ware, *Gauld*, pp. 47-57. The Tampa Bay maps of Jefferys (1699-1775) accompanied William Roberts, *An Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida* (London: Thomas Jefferys, 1763); and William Stork, *A Description of East Florida* (London: Thomas Jefferys, 1769). A map similar to the second cited appeared in William Faden, *North American Atlas* (London: William Faden, 1777), No. 35.

<sup>9</sup> Reproduced in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* as "English Map of Tampa Bay, 1779," 4 (January, 1926): 112-113.

<sup>10</sup> Jack D.L. Holmes, "José del Rio Cosa," *Tequesta*, 26 (1966): 39-52.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48-52. On Spanish promotion of the production of naval stores, see Jack D.L. Holmes, "Naval Stores in Colonial Louisiana and the Floridas," *Louisiana Studies*, 7 (Winter, 1968): 295-309.

<sup>12</sup> George Gauld, *Observations on the Florida Kays, Reef and Gulf...* (London: William Faden, 1796), pp. 25-26 note.

<sup>13</sup> Captain Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida ....* (New York, 1775; reprinted, New Orleans: Pelican, 1961), pp. 281-283.

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<sup>14</sup> Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida, 1784-1790* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1963), p. 84.

<sup>15</sup> Bernardo de Gálvez to José de Evia, Havana, July 14, 1783, certified copy made at Havana, June 15, 1792, and enclosed in an *expediente* (dossier) on Evia (then called Hevia), Archivo General de Simancas (Spain), Guerra Moderna, Legajo 6932.

<sup>16</sup> A lugger was a shallow-draft coasting vessel with one or more lugsails. According to Webster's Dictionary, a lugsail was "a four-sided sail bent to a yard that hangs obliquely on a mast and is hoisted and lowered with the sail."

<sup>17</sup> Simón Joseph de Jesús de Evia was actually born across the Guadalquivir River from Sevilla and baptized in the parish church of Palomares. His map is in the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), M-I-142.

<sup>18</sup> This writer's research on José de Evia and his monumental navigation of the Gulf of Mexico appears in one book and several articles as follows: *José de Evia y sus reconocimientos del Golfo de México, 1783-1796*, 26, *Colección Chimalistac de Libros y Documentos acerca de la Nueva España* (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1968); "Gallegos notables en la Luisiana," *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* (Santiago de Compostela, Spain), Fascículo LVII (1964), pp. 110-113; "Two Spanish Expeditions to Southwest Florida, 1783-1793," *Tequesta*, 25 (1965): 97-103; "Dramatis Personae in Spanish Louisiana," *Louisiana Studies*, 6 (Summer, 1967): 177-180; and "José de Evia and his Activities in Mobile, 1780-1784," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, 34 (Summer, 1972): 105-112.

<sup>19</sup> Evia to Bernardo de Gálvez, Tampa Bay, November 2, 1783, Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, legajo 2360, and printed in Holmes, *José de Evia*, pp. 46-48.

<sup>20</sup> Evia to Bernardo de Gálvez, LaHabana, December 10, 1783, Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, legajo 2360, in Holmes, *José de Evia*, pp. 49-51.

<sup>21</sup> Tampa was considered part of East Florida; Apalachee Bay, West Florida. The Apalachicola River was the dividing line between the two Floridas as set up by the English in 1763. See the "Map of the New Governments of East & West Florida," *Gentleman's Magazine* (London), November, 1763.

<sup>22</sup> José de Evia's report, Mexico, March 17, 1786, in Museo Naval (Madrid), Mss. Vol. 469, folios 190-194, and printed in Holmes, *Evia*, pp. 132-138.

<sup>23</sup> Charles W. Arnade, "Three Early Spanish Tampa Bay Maps," *Tequesta*, 25 (1965): 83-96. Another version of Evia's map, which is published in Holmes, *Evia*, appendix, is based on the original in Museo Naval (Madrid), VI-A-8.

<sup>24</sup> Arnade, "Three Early Spanish Tampa Bay Maps," 94.

<sup>25</sup> French aggression and plans thereof are given in several studies of Frederick Jackson Turner, "Correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States, 1791-1797....," in *American Historical Association Annual Report for 1903* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904); "Documents on Relations of France to Louisiana, 1792-1795," *American Historical Review*, 3 (1898): 490-516; "The Origin of Genet's Projected Attack on Louisiana and the Floridas," in *ibid.*, 650-671; and "Policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams," *ibid.*, 10, (January, 1905); 249-279. The best study of Spanish reaction to the French threats is Ernest R. Liljegren, "Jacobinism in Spanish Louisiana, 1792-1797," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 22, (January, 1939): 47-97.

<sup>26</sup> A planned English invasion of Spanish Louisiana and West Florida for 1796-1797 was discovered by the Spanish ambassador to the Court of St. James, and documents thereon are in the British Foreign Office Papers, Legation Papers of Liston. See Liston to Grenville, February 13, 1797, and Grenville's reply of April 8, 1797. Perhaps to hide her duplicity, England sealed these documents in Foreign Office Records, America, II, Series 18, and as late as 1964 they were still sealed! See Charles Oscar Paullin and Frederick L. Paxon, *Guide to the Materials in London Archives for the History of the United States since 1783* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1914), p. 21. On the "Blount

Conspiracy” involving English espionage at this time, see Frederick Jackson Turner (ed.), “Documents on the Blount Conspiracy, 1795-1797,” *American Historical Review*, 10 (April, 1905): 574-606; *Correspondence qui devoile la trahison du Senateur Américain W. Blount, a printed pamphlet* (Philadelphia, 1797), copy enclosed in Casa Irujo (Spanish minister to the U.S.) to Prince of Peace (Manuel de Godoy, Spanish minister of state), No. 66, Philadelphia, July 20, 1797, Archivo Historico Nacional (Madrid), Sección de Estado, legajo 3889-bis; William H. Masterson, *William Blount* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954); and Thomas P. Abernethy, *The South in the New Nation, 1789-1819* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), pp. 169-191.

<sup>27</sup> The best biography of Bowles is J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *William Augustus Bowles, Director General of the Creek Nation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1967).

<sup>28</sup> Jack D.L. Holmes and J. Leitch Wright, Jr., “Luis Bertucat and William Augustus Bowles: West Florida Adversaries in 1791,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 49 (July, 1970): 49-62. Lawrence Kinnaird, “The Significance of William Augustus Bowles’ Seizure of Pantón’s Apalachee Store in 1792,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 9 (January, 1931): 156-192.

<sup>29</sup> Holmes, *Evia*, pp. 191-230.

<sup>30</sup> A copy of the declaration is in Archivo General de Indias, Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, legajo 216; and it was printed in the *Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State*, January 25, 1800. On the Seminoles joining Bowles, see *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser* (Georgia), January 21, 1800.

<sup>31</sup> Duvon C. Corbitt and John Tate Lanning (eds.), “A Letter of Marque Issued by William Augustus Bowles as Director General of the State of Muskogee,” *Journal of Southern History*, 11 (May, 1945): 246-261; Lyle N. McAlister (ed.), “The Marine Forces of William Augustus Bowles and His ‘State of Muskogee,’” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 32 (July, 1953): 3-27.

<sup>32</sup> Folch’s diary of the San Marcos de Apalachee campaign of 1800 accompanies his request for the rank of colonel, June 3, 1802, and is in the Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 2569.

<sup>33</sup> Folch’s service sheet (*hoja de servicios*), December 31, 1815, in the Archivo General Militar de Segovia (Spain).

<sup>34</sup> Folch’s proclamation, Pensacola, November 28, 1799, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, legajo 216; Wright, *Bowles*, p. 171.

<sup>35</sup> Jack D.L. Holmes, “Robert Ross’ Plan for an English Invasion of Louisiana in 1782,” *Louisiana History*, 5 (Spring, 1964): 161-177. Ross proposed the invasion to Lord Dunmore.

<sup>36</sup> Carondelet to Duque de Alcudia (Godoy), No. 4, New Orleans, March 28, 1793, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Sección de Estado, legajo 3898.

<sup>37</sup> Carondelet to Duque de Alcudia (Manuel de Godoy), Nos. 16 and 17, confidential, New Orleans, August 30, 1793, in *ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Carondelet to Conde de Aranda, No. 27, confidential, New Orleans, January 8, 1793, in *ibid.* East Florida’s governor Quesada agreed with Carondelet: “I can find no more effective method of defense than to maintain a coast guard to cruise the bays, rivers, inlets and along the beaches of the vast, unsettled Florida coasts.” Jack D.L. Holmes (ed.), *Documentos inéditos para la historia de la Luisiana, 1792-1810*, Vol. XV, *Collección Chimalistac de Libros y Documentos acerca de la Nueva España* (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1963), 45 note.

<sup>39</sup> Jack D.L. Holmes, “Foreword” to *Rousseau – The Last Days of Spanish New Orleans*, by Raymond J. Martinez (rev. ed.; New Orleans: Hope Publications, 1975), v; Abraham P. Nasatir (ed.), *Spanish War Vessels on the Mississippi, 1792-1796* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

<sup>40</sup> Joaquin de la Torre, "Plan," n.p., n.d. (circa 1800?), in Archivo General de Indias, Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, legajo 1659.

<sup>41</sup> Benito Pérez to Pedro de Zevallos (Ceballos), Mérida de Yucatán, August 15, 1802, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Mexico, legajo 16.

<sup>42</sup> Luis de Las Casas to Duque de Alcudia (Godoy), No. 4, Havana, February 1, 1793, in Lawrence Kinnaird (trans. and ed.), *Problems of Frontier Defense, 1792-1794*, Part III, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794* (3 parts; vols. ii-iv, American Historical Association *Annual Report for 1945*; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946), IV, 135.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*; Jacobo de la Pezuela y Lobos, *Crónica de las Antillas* (Madrid: Rubio, Grilo y Vitturi, 1871), p. 100.

<sup>44</sup> Las Casas to Alcudia, February 1, 1793.

<sup>45</sup> Las Casas to Alcudia, February 1, 1793; Pezuela, *Crónica de las Antillas*, p. 100.

<sup>46</sup> Las Casas to Alcudia, February 1, 1793.

<sup>47</sup> Enrique White to Baron de Carondelet, Pensacola, August 17, 23, 1793, both in Kinnaird, *Problems of Frontier Defense*, IV, p. 200, p. 201.

<sup>48</sup> This policy is sketched in two essays by this writer: "Spanish Treaties with West Florida Indians, 1784-1802," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 48 (October, 1969): 140-154; and "Spanish Policy Toward the Southern Indians in the 1790's," in *Four Centuries of Southern Indians*, edited by Charles M. Hudson (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1975), pp. 65-82.

<sup>49</sup> In addition to the sources *supra*, note 48, see Jack D.L. Holmes, "Up the Tombigbee with the Spaniards: Juan de la Villebeuvre and the Treaty of Boucfouca (1793)," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, 40 (Spring-Summer, 1978): 51-61.

<sup>50</sup> Extract of letter, Burgess to Durouzeaux, Flint River, October 2, 1793, in Kinnaird, *Problems of Frontier Defense*, pp. 207-208.

<sup>51</sup> Enrique White to Baron de Carondelet, Pensacola, August 17, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>52</sup> Biographical data on Folch is based on a large number of primary sources in the Spanish archives, only a small number of which were used in this writer's sketch, "Three Early Memphis Commandants: Beauregard, deVille deGoutin, and Folch," *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, 18 (1964): 14-26. David H. White (July 13, 1922-November 30, 1977) gathered a number of notes on Folch in Spain, but death interrupted his plan to write a comprehensive biography. His widow published his notes posthumously without editorial changes or corrections as *Vicente Folch, Governor in Spanish Florida, 1787-1811* (Washington: University Press of America, 1981).

<sup>53</sup> Folch's military record is in Jack D.L. Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity: The Louisiana Infantry Regiment and the Louisiana Militia Companies, 1766-1821*, Vol. I, *Louisiana Collection Series of Books and Documents on Colonial Louisiana* (Birmingham: Jack D.L. Holmes, 1965), pp. 119-120, based on his *hoja de servicios* of December 31, 1815, in Archivo General Militar de Segovia. On the Folch-Cardona family line, see Alberto and Arturo Garcia Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos* (88 vols.; Madrid and Barcelona, 1919-1963), XXIII (Madrid: Antonio Marzo, 1926), pp. 172-201.

<sup>54</sup> Draft of instructions (Luis de Las Casas to Vicente Folch y Juan), Havana, August 21, 1793, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, legajo 1439, microfilm copy in the P.K. Yonge Library, University of Florida.

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<sup>55</sup> Documents concerning the building of the *Leal* are in Carondelet to Duque de Alcudia (Godoy), No. 15, confidential, New Orleans, August 27, 1793, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Sección de Estado, legajo 3898. Garcia described its good and bad points in a dispatch to Governor-general, Marques de Casa Calvo, No. 171, Galera *Leal* at Apalachee, February 21, 1800, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, legajo 71-A. See also, on its strength, "Report on the Mississippi Squadron of Galleys" by Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, enclosed in Gayoso to Francisco de Saavedra (Minister of State), No. 19, New Orleans, June 10, 1799, in Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Sección de Estado, legajo 3901. On the interesting naval squadron led by army officers, see Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity*, pp. 63-65.

<sup>56</sup> Garcia to Casa-Calvo, February 21, 1800.

<sup>57</sup> Folch to the crown, Pensacola, June 3, 1802, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 2569. This valuable summary of Folch's Tampa Bay inspection in 1793, when combined with the description in Kinnaird, *Problems of Frontier Defense*, pp. 237-242, gives an excellent account of what Folch did at Tampa in 1793.

<sup>58</sup> Folch to the Crown, June 3, 1802.

<sup>59</sup> Folch to Luis de Las Casas, Havana, December 17, 1793, in Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Estado, legajo 5, printed in Kinnaird, *Problems of Frontier Defense*, pp. 237-242.

<sup>60</sup> Spanish techniques for attracting American settlers to the Natchez and Mobile Districts are discussed in two of this writer's publications, respectively, *Gayoso: The Life of a Spanish Governor in the Mississippi Valley, 1789-1799* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965; reprinted, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1968), pp. 33-54; and "Alabama's Forgotten Settlers: Notes on the Spanish Mobile District, 1780-1813," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, 33 (Summer, 1971): 87-97.

<sup>61</sup> Folch to Las Casas, December 17, 1793. On Spanish support of cattle in Florida during the "first period," see Charles W. Arnade, "Cattle Raising in Spanish Florida, 1513-1763," *Agricultural History*, 25 (1961): 116-124. On Spanish support in the last period, see Jack D.L. Holmes, "Livestock in Spanish Natchez," *Journal of Mississippi History*, 23 (January, 1961): 15-37; and "Joseph Piernas and the Nascent Cattle Industry of Southwest Louisiana," *McNeese Review*, 17 (1966): 13-26.

<sup>62</sup> Folch to Las Casas, December 17, 1793.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, Warren L. Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1819* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 250.

<sup>65</sup> Folch to Las Casas, December 17, 1793.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* On Spanish administrative costs, see Holmes, *Gayoso*, pp. 50-54 and *passim*.