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## THE 1789 SAINT AUGUSTINE CELEBRATION

by HELEN HORNBECK TANNER

ONE OF THE MOST elaborate celebrations of Saint Augustine's colonial history occurred in December, 1789, when the civilian and military populations joined in honoring Charles IV's ascension to the Spanish throne. Parades, theatricals, religious services and *soirees* with dancing till dawn were features of the three day festival beginning the afternoon of December 2.<sup>1</sup>

The celebration was planned by Governor Vicente Manuel de Zepedes who had come to Saint Augustine in June, 1784, to re-establish Spanish rule in East Florida following a twenty year interval of British occupation. In the seesaw of eighteenth-century warfare, England secured East and West Florida by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, but returned both provinces to Spain at the close of the American Revolution as one of the provisions of the treaty signed in 1783. Zepedes viewed the ceremonies in December, 1789, as a climax to his term of governorship. He expected his successor, appointed in March, 1789, to arrive within a few months, permitting him to return to Havana, his home for most of the years since his regiment left Spain in 1740.

Aside from his own characteristically Spanish love of colorful ceremonies, Zepedes had several reasons for making the formal coronation of Charles IV a memorable event in East Florida's history. Of course, he was eager to impress the new king and his officials in Madrid with the loyalty of a remote province occupying a strategic coastal position at one end of the lengthy Spanish-American frontier. The home administration, faced with a situation of increasing tension throughout the year, needed reassurance. The basic principle of monarchy had been successfully challenged by the thirteen British colonies in the recent American Revolution. Since then, liberty rather than loyalty had become the patriotic appeal of increasing numbers of Frenchmen, threatening the Bourbon ruler of France and alarming the Bourbon

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1. The celebration is described in a seven page document written by the notary Domingo Rodriguez de Leon, Saint Augustine, Dec. 9, 1789. East Florida Papers, Box 43 D1, Library of Congress. Draft of covering letter to colonial secretary Antonio de Valdez is dated Dec. 12, 1789. Draft of a similar letter to the king is in Box 44.

ruler of Spain. In July, 1789, a Parisian mob stormed the Bastille and soon held the royal family as virtual prisoners in the Tuileries Palace. Signs of similar restiveness in the Spanish Indies reached Madrid, impelling the ministry to warn all colonial governors to watch carefully for revolutionary symptoms.

The Spanish monarchy was confronted with further hostility in the international sphere. In 1789, the American states adopted a new constitution strengthening their position as an independent nation. Anti-monarchic Americans spoke boldly of seizing the Floridas and Louisiana as a prelude to the conquest of Mexico and the Spanish Caribbean islands.<sup>2</sup> In June, 1789, the Spanish representative to the American states left New York after four years of futile effort to negotiate a treaty concerning navigation of the Mississippi River and the northern border for West Florida. Aware of all these factors, Governor Zespedes was determined that the new Spanish monarch should be impressed by the demonstrations of affection and loyalty in Saint Augustine, a provincial capital only fifty miles from American territory.

The coronation of Charles IV also provided an opportunity for Governor Zespedes to infuse the local residents with enthusiasm for the Spanish crown. Only five of the two hundred families in the civilian population were native Spaniards. At the beginning of Zespedes' governorship, a dozen families who had left Saint Augustine in 1763 returned, along with a few Cuban families. The five Canary Island families transferred from Pensacola at government expense in 1785 were generally considered a public burden. Half of the community were Minorcan, Greek and Italian-survivors of a British colonial expedition reaching Florida in 1768 when Minorca was a British possession. Since the Treaty of Paris in 1783 returned Minorca as well as the Floridas to Spain, Zespedes accepted the Minorcans as natural subjects of the Spanish crown. Still, he felt they needed an incentive to rekindle their patriotism, particularly since the Balaeric Islands shared the Catalan spirit of independence.

Governor Zespedes also hoped that the coronation celebration would help to draw the twenty British families of Saint Augustine into the Spanish cultural pattern. The former British sub-

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2. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "Zespedes and the Southern Conspiracies," in *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII (July, 1959), 15-28.

jects were an economically influential population group, the owners of most of the three hundred slaves in the vicinity. A few had established plantations in Florida prior to the American Revolution and had decided to remain under Spanish protection rather than emigrate to some unfamiliar area. The six or eight large establishments along the St. Johns River accounted for about three quarters of the four hundred slaves living in the outlying area of East Florida. The so-called British were diverse in religion and origin, including people born in the American colonies as well as France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, England and Ireland. The departing English left behind a few free Negroes and Mulattoes, some of them former soldiers. The governor counted on a dramatic display of Spanish medieval pageantry and attendant excitement to arouse in the former British subjects some warmth toward a distant monarch for whom they had a traditional animosity.

Zespedes was confident he could influence the foreign element residing in the Saint Augustine vicinity, but was frankly doubtful concerning the allegiance of the two hundred and fifty Anglo-Americans living along the St. Marys River and the coastal islands, remote from the provincial capital. The majority of these people were remnants of the ten thousand refugees from northern colonies who inundated East Florida during the latter years of the American revolution. In 1789, the Anglo-Americans had not yet taken a formal oath of allegiance to the Spanish crown. Regulations for establishing civil government in East Florida had never been completed, owing to frequent changes and the illness of higher officials in Cuba. Meanwhile, the inhabitants were waiting for the arrival of a surveyor and for definite word concerning the land grant policy and commercial regulations. Zespedes had managed affairs on a temporary basis for five years, because of delays in official procedure, a common problem in Spanish colonial administration. But by the time of the celebration for Charles IV, he was able to offer assurance that his successor would be authorized to establish the permanent government. This alone was cause for rejoicing.

Zespedes certainly hoped a rousing coronation festival would strengthen the tenuous attachment of the former British subjects to the Spanish regime. He could scarcely influence the element

of the population living along the St. Marys River, except for those visiting Saint Augustine for the great event. Active participation in the celebration was limited to the scant one thousand people comprising the civilian population of the capital: approximately 35 Spaniards, 25 Canary Islanders, 60 *Floridanos*, 460 predominantly Minorcan, 100 Anglo-Americans, and 300 Negroes and Mulattoes.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the curiously polyglot group (minorities included a Hindu servant and a family of Mexican Indians), the town had a definitely Spanish air. Civilian diversity was balanced by the presence of 460 uniformed Spanish soldiers of the garrison, and the families of officials on the governor's staff, the royal hospital and the treasury and supply department, totalling about 1800 people with government connections.

In physical appearance, the town resembled a village in Andalusia, except where British peaked roofs replaced the flat *azoteas* of traditional Spanish and Arabic architecture. A glance down any one of the town's three main streets brought into view a solid line of walls and garden fences bordering the street, with wooden balconies projecting above the narrow roadway. These streets, paralleling the river, continued south to the Saint Francis Barracks, a structure that had been a monastery prior to the British arrival in 1763. Three quarters of a mile north at the opposite end of the town, the skyline was dominated by the Castillo de San Marcos, symbol of Spain's three-century hold on the desolate Florida peninsula. Military officers stationed at the fortress and soldiers living in the barracks were principal figures in the local ceremonies honoring Charles IV.

Many months of planning preceded the celebration occurring on December 2, 3, and 4, 1789. The official letter announcing the death of Charles III and succession of his son was written in Madrid on December 24, 1788. An accompanying royal order decreed that the ascension of the new monarch should be celebrated with all customary ceremonies. The following February,

3. Population estimates are based on three sources: I. *Descripcion de la Florida Oriental*, St. Augustine, May 12, 1787, in the Stetson Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville; II. Census Returns for 1786 and 1793, Lockey Transcripts, P. K. Yonge Library; and III. Michael J. Curley, *Church and State in Spanish Florida, 1783-1822* (Washington, 1940), see p. 200 for statistics given visiting bishop in Sept., 1788.

this news was forwarded from Havana to Saint Augustine, where a six months period of mourning commenced on March 11. Funeral obsequies for Charles III took place nine successive days, beginning March 22.<sup>4</sup> In Madrid, the formal entry of Charles IV into the capital was scheduled for September 23, 1789. Originally, Governor Zespedes planned the celebration in Saint Augustine to coincide with festivities in Spain, but in October he had to postpone local ceremonies because official portraits and royal ensigns of the new monarchs had not arrived.<sup>5</sup> The ship from Cuba did not bring these necessary items until November 23, 1789.

In the meantime, Governor Zespedes made some preparations of his own. The mail packet bringing news of Charles III's death also brought word to the governor that his income would be materially increased, in response to his pleas to the colonial secretary. His official salary was not altered, but a royal order decreed that the 4,000 pesos annual payment would be exempt from a special tax deduction, and provided for the return of deductions made during the previous five years. The prospective refund from the Havana treasury amounted to over 6,000 pesos.<sup>6</sup> In a prosperous and grateful mood, Zespedes ordered a quantity of silver medals for distribution during the celebration honoring the new monarch.

The medals, weighing about a half peso, were cast according to his own design, probably in Mexico.<sup>7</sup> When he was selecting appropriate symbols for his commemorative medal, Governor Zespedes sincerely regretted that Saint Augustine had no munic-

4. Zespedes to Jose de Ezpeleta, Captain-General of Cuba, St. Augustine, April 8, 1789. Archivo General de las Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 1395. Transcript in Lockey Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
5. Proclamation No. 6, St. Augustine, Oct. 2, 1789. East Florida Papers, Box 278 O 13, Library of Congress.
6. Royal Order, signed at San Lorenzo on Oct. 28, 1788. Also, List of annual salary deductions, St. Augustine, Jan. 21, 1788, Stetson Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. The deductions were approximately: 12 pesos contribution to fund for invalid soldiers, 11 pesos for widows and orphans fund, and 1192 pesos for the *media anata*, a tax levied on nobility for defense purposes, but from which military men were usually excused. The amount of the *media anata* was returned to Zespedes.
7. One of these coins is in the possession of Mr. Harley Freeman of Ormond Beach, who supplied photographs for the author. Medals commemorating special events were fairly common, but this is the only medal struck for Florida of which there is authentic proof.

pal coat of arms, although the city was one of the oldest in the Indies. One face of the coin naturally featured a profile of Charles IV with his name inscribed and the year 1789. On the reverse side, the center was occupied by a large floral representation of a jasmine blossom, selected as an emblem of Florida.<sup>8</sup> Above and below were a lion and a castle, the traditional emblems of Castile, the single Spanish kingdom to whom the overseas possessions belonged. Aragon and other divisions of the Spanish peninsula did not share in control of the colonies. The Spanish nation was loosely coordinated in the eighteenth century, still dominated by Castile, the region Zespedes was proud to claim as his native land. Following the custom of his contemporaries, he always referred to "The Spains," never using the noun in the singular.

Among his other responsibilities in conjunction with Saint Augustine's observation of Charles IV's ascent to the throne, Governor Zespedes had to choose officials to perform special ceremonial functions. He bestowed the principal honor, that of royal standard bearer, on his son, Lieutenant Vincent Domingo de Zespedes of the Havana regiment. Ordinarily this distinction would go to some important civil or municipal official, but Saint Augustine had only a military command without accompanying government bureaus, courts of justice or even a town council. Furthermore, he thought this was a fine opportunity to promote Vincent's career. Zespedes raised all four of his sons in the tradition of royal service. The two eldest served in regiments in Spain and Cuba. Vincent and his younger brother Antonio began their professional training in their father's regiment and accompanied him to Florida on assignment to the local garrison. Their two sisters soon married officers stationed in Saint Augustine. Vincent had proved his ability in 1787 as a member of the party accompanying the governor on a four hundred mile tour of the backlands along the St. Johns and St. Marys rivers. Now the governor

8. Jasmine, not a native Florida plant, is an interesting selection. According to Dr. Herbert S. Wolfe, Professor of Horticulture, University of Florida, Zespedes was probably referring either to the Poets Jasmine, sometimes called Spanish Jasmine (*Jasminum officinale* var. *grandiflorum*), or to the Azores Jasmine (*J. azoricum*) from the Canary Islands. Plants could have come directly from Spain, or have been brought by Canary Island colonists arriving in 1762. Both varieties are generally five petalled, scarcely resembling the stylized floral symbol with six petals shown on the coin.

assigned him a prominent role in the celebration, knowing that official reports would bring his name to the attention of superior officers.

The coronation ceremonies called for two additional honorary titles, the "*reyes de armas*," a term surviving from medieval times to signify the officials in charge of public ceremonies, whose actual function might be classified as parade marshals. These honors were granted to Colonel Bartolome de Morales and Captain Joseph de Saavedra of the Third Battalion of Cuba, a unit recently created for permanent assignment to the Saint Augustine garrison. The establishment of permanent or "*fijo*" units in the colonies to replace rotating Spanish regiments was one of the important military reforms of Charles III's reign.<sup>9</sup> Governor Zespedes appealed for the creation of a fixed regiment in East Florida soon after his arrival, citing the expense and loss of life incurred in transferring troops back and forth to Havana. He had substantiated his position by pointing out that during the first Spanish regime, the garrison personnel were not subject to rotation. He was pleased to welcome the Third Battalion of Cuba, whose members arrived in time to participate in the local festivities honoring Charles IV. On December 2, Colonel Morales, new commandant of the garrison, made his first public appearance in East Florida. From April to July, 1795, he temporarily served as governor of the province during the illness of Zespedes' successor, Juan Nepomuceno Quesada.<sup>10</sup>

Although their replacements were on hand, soldiers in the retiring Havana regiment remained in Saint Augustine to join in the celebration anticipated for so many weeks in the fall of 1789. As their contribution, they were rehearsing a play entitled "*Amigo, Amante y Leal*" (Loving and Loyal Friend), written one hundred and fifty years earlier by Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca, a leading representative of the Golden Age of Spanish drama. This play was first published in 1653 as part of a collection of contemporary comedies by various authors, although it was probably written about 1630.<sup>11</sup> Calderon's comedies were

9. Lyle N. McAlister, *The "Fuero Militar" in New Spain, 1764-1800* (Gainesville, 1957), pp. 2-4.

10. Caroline Brevard, *A History of Florida* (Deland, 1924), II, 248.

11. Harry Warren Hilborn, *A Chronology of the plays of D. Pedro Calderon de la Barca* (Toronto, 1938), pp. 13-15.



favorite theatrical entertainment in the Spanish colonies throughout the eighteenth century, and enjoyed a brief vogue for London and Philadelphia audiences in the 1760's. "*Amigo, Amante y Leal*" was sufficiently familiar so that Zespedes considered it unnecessary even to mention the author's name in writing his report of the festivities honoring Charles IV. Calderon's continuing popularity in the Caribbean area is attested by the fact that a collection of his comedies was published in Cuba in 1839.<sup>12</sup>

Comedies performed in the town square were a favorite form of recreation for Spanish soldiers, although this form of entertainment temporarily lost popularity in Saint Augustine after cloaked or costumed figures stabbed an Irish lieutenant one evening in November, 1785, following a play rehearsal. This unpleasantness was far enough in the past so that the entire community was looking forward to the farewell production of the Havana regiment whose ships were waiting in the harbor to sail for Cuba.

With his medals, royal ensign and portraits all on hand by the end of November, 1789, Governor Zespedes soon completed final arrangements for the celebration. The general pattern was well established by custom. This was the third royal regime inaugurated during his lifetime. Born in 1720 during the reign of Philip V, first of the Bourbon line in Spain, he had previously celebrated the assumption of the throne by Ferdinand VI in 1746, and the entrance of Charles III into Madrid in 1760. The three day festival in Saint Augustine on December 2, 3, and 4, 1789, was a small scale reproduction of events taking place in Madrid when Charles IV made his triumphal entry on September 23 of the same year. In Madrid, there were private balls, an exhibition of regional dances, and an open air production of a special play written by the renowned Spanish dramatist, Ramon de la Cruz. Twenty thousand visitors flocked to the capital to see royalty parade through streets lined with embroidered tapestries hung from upper balconies.

Florida's famous mild winter weather graced Saint Augustine on the afternoon of December 2, 1789, when the stage was set for local observance of Charles IV's ascent to the Spanish throne. Doorways and balconies throughout the town were brightened

12. Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera y Leirado, *Catalogo bibliografico y biografico de teatro antiguo espanol, desde sus origines hasta mediados del siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1860), pp. 52-54.

with hangings, flags, flowers and greenery, or whatever the inhabitants could contrive in the way of decoration. The first event took place in front of the government buildings, the combination of residences, offices, storerooms, stables and lesser buildings enclosed in a large block between the rear defense line of the town and the plaza. The governor's residence faced one end of the oblong "Plaza de Armas" extending three blocks east to the wharf on the Matanzas river. Wooden balconies of the residence were draped with yards of scarlet silks. Outside the residence, against the wall facing the plaza, stood a canopy of crimson damask with plain satin drapes at the side and white taffeta curtains across the front. The canopy rested on a small carpeted platform with steps descending toward the plaza. Within this throne-like enclosure rested the portraits of Charles IV and his Italian-born queen, Maria Louisa of Parma. The honor of standing guard beside the royal portraits was assigned to the grenadiers, elite corps of the Third Battalion of Cuba.

Stationed at the four corners of the plaza were pickets of infantrymen. A small artillery squad occupied the side of the plaza toward the river, near the buildings serving as guard house, butchering area and farmers' market. In the center of the plaza, carpenters had erected a large square platform, with thick rugs spread over the floor and the steps along one side. The balustrades on the other three sides were decorated with ornamental tapestries.

About the middle of the afternoon, top-ranking military officers, leading officials of the finance and supply division, and a few prominent citizens assembled before the governor's residence. All were on horseback. Promptly at four o'clock Governor Zespedes appeared, sword at his side, mounted on a horse with richly ornamented trappings. The governor was wearing the bright red uniform of the Havana regiment, decorated with the gold emblems signifying his rank as brigadier of the royal armies of Spain. Accompanied by the waiting escort, the governor first paraded around the tree-bordered *Plaza de Armas*, returning to the official buildings in time to greet Lieutenant Zespedes as he rode through the gates on a gaily caparisoned steed, accompanied by Colonel Morales and Captain Saavedra, the two officers acting as *reyes de armas* for this occasion. Now the escorting

band formed a double file as the procession marched down the center toward the local parish church, located in the upper floor of a building on the south side of the plaza. Leading the procession were the first and second adjutants of the military staff, followed by the governor and his son who was bearing the royal ensign, and behind them came the *reyes de armas*. At the doors of the church building, the entire group dismounted and accompanied the royal ensign into the body of the church where it was consecrated in a brief ceremony.

The religious service was in charge of the vicar and ecclesiastical judge, Father Thomas Hassett, an Irish priest trained in Salamanca, who had administered two Negro schools in Philadelphia during the American Revolution before coming to Saint Augustine in 1784. He was assisted by other priests in the community: assistant presbyter Father Miguel O'Reilly, Irish troop chaplain who was a veteran of service in the Caribbean islands; Father Francisco Traconis, Havana-born hospital chaplain and primary school teacher; and Father Pedro Camps, frail and dedicated Minorcan missionary who had accompanied his countrymen to the New Smyrna colony in 1768.

When the religious ceremony was over, the men in the procession again mounted their horses for the short ride from the church to the platform in the center of the plaza. By this time the crowd of onlookers had grown to sizable proportions. The governor and his son and the *reyes de armas* alighted by the steps leading up to the platform. The assembly was called to order by the sonorous intonation of the *reyes de armas* who announced: "Silence, hear, listen, attention!" At this moment, Lieutenant Zespedes raised the royal ensign and led the crowd in three cheers for "Castile!", while the portraits of the new monarchs were unveiled. Simultaneously the air was shaken by the discharge of the field pieces mounted at the end of the plaza, salutes from government and private ships in the harbor, the roll of drums by the infantrymen, pealing of church bells, and a triple salvo from the artillery in the Castillo de San Marcos. In the midst of this joyous din, Governor Zespedes flung into the crowd the silver medals commemorating the great occasion.

While the wave of excitement continued, the leading officials descended the steps from the platform, mounted their horses and

took their places for a grand parade around the town. The procession line lengthened with the addition of a contingent of dragoons and the four infantry pickets previously posted at the comers of the plaza. Marching in time to a band playing martial music, the parade headed down Saint George Street to the barracks located at the southern end of the residential district. Halting at the Saint Francis barracks, for a second time they shouted *vivas* for the new monarchs to the accompaniment of artillery fire. From this point, the parade turned toward the river, followed Marine Street back toward the plaza, then continued along San Carlos Street to the Castillo de San Marcos. On the grassy embankments outside, to the sound of cannon in the fortress, the acclamations of the king resounded for the third and final time. Again in motion, the procession passed beside the old line of fortification extending from the Castillo to the drawbridge and city gates, and returned along Hornabeque Street to the governor's residence. At the conclusion of the parade, the royal standard was placed between the royal portraits under the canopy outside the official buildings.

By this time, night was approaching and the general mood of merrymaking prevailed throughout the town. At dusk, bonfires were lighted in the plaza, their flames flickering through the border of orange trees; and candles appeared in the windows of the houses.<sup>13</sup> During the evening, specially talented clerks from the finance and supply department performed a dance around the bonfires, imitating the rhythmic Indian dances observed during Indian congresses held in the same plaza. The large platform in the center of the plaza became a theatrical stage in the evening, when the Havana regiment presented the opening night performance of "*Amigo, Amante y Leal.*"<sup>14</sup>

The title indicates the three-pronged problem facing the protagonist, Don Felix, caught in the midst of conflicting obligations to his closest friend, his lady love, and his overlord, the Prince of Parma. His initial bold action is to hand over his sweetheart

13. This "general illumination" was a common feature of Spanish festivities. For a description of a similar but more elaborate celebration, see Irving A. Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico* (Ann Arbor, 1959), p. 16, recounting ceremonial entry into Mexico City as Vice-roy made by Fray Garcia Guerra on June 19, 1611.

14. Modern readers can find the script in a new edition of Calderon's complete works: Pedro Calderon de la Barca, *Obras Completas*, Tomo II (Madrid, 1956).

to the unrestrainable desires of the reckless prince, solely in order to serve him with loyalty. The plot becomes almost insuperably entangled thereafter, requiring a few improbable twists to reach a solution. Emotional tension reaches a climax in the third act when Don Felix appears with a sword, begging his friend to kill him. Almost immediately his sweetheart, Aurora, comes on stage with dagger upraised, threatening suicide. In a swift denouement, the prince relinquishes his claims for Aurora, unwilling that Don Felix should suffer for his unreasonable indications of loyalty. Somehow Aurora survives her various encounters with her honor unblemished, and her mind undisillusioned by the wavering behavior of her principal admirer.

The moral was clearly apparent to the Saint Augustine audience in 1789; loyalty to a superior officer was more important than personal inclination toward any woman. "*Amigo, Amante y Leal*" proved to be an enjoyable play, with prettily embroidered phrases of the best baroque tradition in the lengthy speeches, as well as rapid interchanges of metrical dialogue. Interest was maintained with a liberal sprinkling of jokes, a servant-as usual -providing the comic relief. The production was such an outstanding success that repeat performances were scheduled for the two subsequent evenings.

Besides attending the productions staged in the plaza, the soldiers and townspeople were all gathering in private parties. The most outstanding social event of the evening was the open house at the governor's residence, where Lieutenant Zespedes acted as host to Saint Augustine's leading military officers, government officials and private families. Shortly after the parade's end, guests assembled for *refresco*, with Spain's famous wines served to the gentlemen, and punch, tea, coffee or chocolate for the ladies. Musicians arrived later to provide entertainment for listeners and dancers in a form of social entertainment called a *sarao*, a Portuguese term akin to the French *soiree*. Dancing customarily opened with a formal minuet, whose elegant steps were familiar to elite society throughout the continent and European colonies. But as the evening grew cooler and spirits gayer, the violin was replaced by the guitar and livelier *contredances* occupied the floor. Forming squares, lines or circles, couples glided and whirled and bowed in a swift succession of figures until

the approach of dawn. Late in the evening, an elaborate supper was served, probably featuring ham, cold turkey, olives, dates, figs, oranges and decorated cakes. The midnight buffet, called by the French word *ambigu*, was adopted by Spanish society in the later eighteenth century when so many French customs became fashionable among the upper classes.<sup>15</sup>

The spirit of revelry was even more animated in Saint Augustine's humbler residences, where guests followed the intricate regional dances of southern Spain, Minorca and the Canary Islands. But dance partners were not available for all the men in Saint Augustine, a town with a high military population temporarily increased by the lingering Havana regiment. All the wine shops were overflowing, as well as the convenient tavern opposite the gate to Saint Francis barracks. Boisterous groups of soldiers joined in singing popular songs, improvising a few solo lyrics, while their comrades played cards or dice in the background.

Only a brief period of repose was accorded the officialdom of Saint Augustine who managed to dance until dawn on the morning of December 3, 1789. At 9 o'clock in the morning, the governor and his coterie plus a representation of local residents were all present in the parish church for high mass chanted by Father Hasset. At the conclusion of the service, all joined in singing the "Te Deum," to give solemn thanks to God for the advent of a new and glorious reign. By afternoon, they were all ready for a siesta in preparation for a continuation of the festivities. The evenings of December 3 and 4, the plaza was again bright with the light of bonfires providing illumination for the second and third performances of "*Amigo, Amante y Leal*." Parties again took place in homes with candle-lit windows, and for two more nights there was wine and punch, supper and dancing till dawn at the governor's residence. Governor Zespedes, now in his seventieth year, was undoubtedly relieved to have his son assume the responsibilities of host for this social marathon.

The three day period of public rejoicing concluded on the evening of December 4, culminating with a triumphal float drawn through town by six horses. This magnificently decorated con-

15. Charles E. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid, 1750-1800* (Berkeley, 1932). See pp. 268-273 for discussion of the terms *refresco*, *sarao*, and *ambigu*.

struction was the work of the local carpenters' guild, a group with a large representation from the Minorcan population. It was large enough to carry all guild members, who sported red cockades in their broad hats and carried flaming torches in their hands. At every street corner they paused to give cheers for the new rulers, with echoing cheers from the little groups of observers.

By the morning of December 5, participants in these festivities were relieved to lapse into a less eventful pattern of existence. The following week, Governor Zespedes finally got around to sending notarized reports of the celebration to the king and colonial secretary, enclosing with each letter three of the commemorative medals. It may be difficult to determine the permanent results of this tremendous celebration on the local community of Saint Augustine. Adherence to the Spanish monarchy brought them scant physical comfort or security. Before the American flag was raised over the Castillo de San Marcos on July 10, 1821, the people endured many months without salary or local subsidy. Meanwhile they combatted Indian raids, pirate incursions, and the more serious revolutions and invasions along the Georgia border. In spite of these many vicissitudes, the Spanish officers and their successors, as well as the diversified townspeople and their descendants, maintained their unwavering loyalty to the Spanish crown, so enthusiastically displayed in December of 1789.