Persons, Houses, and Material Possessions: Second Spanish Period St. Augustine Society

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PERSONS, HOUSES, AND MATERIAL POSSESSIONS: SECOND SPANISH PERIOD ST.
AUGUSTINE SOCIETY

by

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ABSTRACT

St. Augustine in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a prosperous, multi-ethnic community that boasted trade connections throughout the Atlantic world. Shipping records demonstrate that St. Augustine had access to a wide variety of goods, giving residents choices in what they purchased, and allowing them to utilize their material possessions to display and reinforce their status. Likewise, their choice of residential design and location allowed them to make statements in regards to their place in the social order. St. Augustine was a unique city in the Spanish Empire; the realities of frontier living meant that inter-ethnic connection were common and often necessary for survival and social advancement. Inhabitants enjoyed a high degree of social mobility based on wealth rather than ethnicity or place of origin. Through entrepreneurship and hard work, many St. Augustinians took advantage of the city’s newfound prosperity and fluid social structure to better their economic and societal position. In sum, St. Augustine in the Second Spanish Period (1783-1821) was not a city in decay as the traditional historiography holds; rather, it was a vibrant community characterized by a frontier cosmopolitanism where genteel aspirations and local realities mixed to define the social order.
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INTRODUCTION

“One man must be enough to set fire to all at one run,” wrote engineer Manuel de Hita in his recommendations for new construction in St. Augustine in 1807.¹ He urged that masons should only erect new buildings adjacent to the road, to enable one person to swiftly burn down any structures that might otherwise provide artillery cover to an invading force. Throughout St. Augustine’s existence as a Spanish town, it faced a constant threat of invasion from the north, first by the British colonies and later by the United States. Despite living under uncertain conditions, the people of St. Augustine created a flourishing society during the last decades of Spanish rule. As trade with American and Caribbean ports expanded in the Second Spanish Period (1783-1821), the city was able to grow beyond the financial limits of the royal support payments, or situado.² Furthermore, Florida’s previous tenure as a British colony and immigration during the Second Spanish Period resulted in a high degree of urban ethnic diversity. These factors combined to make St. Augustine wealthier and more economically stable in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries than ever before under Spanish rule.

As both a relatively busy port city and a fringe settlement in the Spanish borderlands, this study contends that life in St. Augustine is best explained by understanding this dichotomy.

It is important to illuminate St. Augustine’s Second Spanish Period society in order to dispel the notion prevalent in the historiography that, in essence, describes the city as a sleepy town in decay. That interpretation of this period in Florida’s history developed between the

¹ Manuel de Hita to Governor Enrique White, April 1, 1807, East Florida Papers, Reel 162, St. Augustine Historical Society and Research Library, St. Augustine, FL (hereinafter SAHS).
² The situado would continue to be important as the main influx of money into Spanish Florida; however, St. Augustinians often circumvented its irregularity during the Second Spanish Period as the colony’s economy became increasingly more diverse. See James Gregory Cusick, “Across the Border Commodity Flow and Merchants in Spanish St. Augustine,” Florida Historical Quarterly 69, no. 3 (January 1991): 277-99; and Amy Turner Bushnell, Situado and Sabana: Spain’s System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994).
1940s and 1960s as part of the Consensus history trend that tended to emphasize and celebrate American exceptionalism at the expense of other stories in America’s diverse past. Historians of the period viewed Florida’s Spanish past merely as a staging ground for the eventual American takeover. St. Augustinians, however, were not a dormant people awaiting the liberating forces of Andrew Jackson in 1821. This study demonstrates that St. Augustinians were in fact a shrewd and industrious people who took their destinies into their own hands.

As the capital of East Florida, a land physically and demographically wedged between an old, monarchical empire and a young, democratic nation, St. Augustine was a unique city that featured trade and cultural connections throughout the Atlantic world. In order to paint a more complete picture of life in this settlement, this study provides a vantage point on the social order of the city by illuminating the characteristics that defined the diverse community that developed between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. St. Augustine’s society became increasingly complex during this time, as the new economic prosperity and multiethnic population in Spanish Florida had important social ramifications. Although traditional ethnic and racial factors still held sway, wealth gradually developed as the most decisive element of both social division and social mobility. Consequently, entrepreneurship and business savvy were significant factors that determined a person’s potential for advancement.

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4 The social mobility and status afforded by wealth in East Florida is striking when compared to other Spanish Caribbean colonies, such as Cuba. After 1763, Havana became the administrative, commercial, and military center of the Spanish Bourbons for the Americas; the high degree of metropolitan involvement on the island effectively made Cuba less socially flexible than fringe settlements such as St. Augustine. See Sherry Johnson, *The Social Transformation of Eighteenth Century Cuba* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001).
Additionally, the people of St. Augustine reveal a high degree of adaptability and cosmopolitanism, which was central to their survival and success on the Spanish frontier. Inter-ethnic kinship connections and other associations developed, which proved useful for social advancement. Finally, exposure to transatlantic ideas of gentility and comportment, and the Spanish government’s efforts to re-establish Spanish cultural norms, resulted in St. Augustinians exhibiting their status through architecture and setting, and through display of material possessions. As a result, St. Augustine’s colonial built environment reflected the city’s social order.

The term “built environment” refers to the human-made surroundings that provide the setting for everyday activities. Broadly, it invokes cities, infrastructure, public buildings, military structures, and, for this study in particular, domestic buildings. Housing, as a medium for the assertion of social identity, enhances our understanding of colonial St. Augustine’s urban society. St. Augustinians employed houses as symbolic representations of self and community in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, both to demonstrate their acceptance and participation in Spanish culture, and to differentiate themselves socially. Although St. Augustinian architecture was, to a large degree, a product of the climate and environmental

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5 Gentility is used here in the manner defined by Richard Bushman in *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992). Bushman holds that throughout the eighteenth century, the consumer revolution—the influx of manufactured goods into the British North American colonies—had the effect of refining all aspects of life for the gentry and middling classes, including modes of speech, dress, body carriage, and manners. This, in turn, deepened social divisions, as “the line that once divided the gentry from the rest of society now dropped to a lower level and separated the middle class from workers and marginal people,” xv. Benefiting from a transatlantic trade network, the people of St. Augustine adopted genteel living as best they could.

conditions of Florida, vernacular buildings acquired certain architectural features in the late eighteenth century that were meant to reflect wealth and Spanish provenance. By employing stone materials to build their homes, retaining European-influenced residential designs, and possessing an array of foreign material possessions, white St. Augustinians displayed a form of European gentility that reinforced their higher social status.

Throughout the Second Spanish Period, a tension is evident between the adaptability and toleration necessary for survival on the frontier and the apparent need for social distinction brought on by participation in the Atlantic world’s trade and cultural networks. It was often necessary for St. Augustinians to venture outside of their own ethnic group in order to achieve a higher social position, and inter-ethnic kinship connections became common. On the other hand, imbued with transatlantic ideas regarding the outward display of status, the population sought to differentiate themselves through active displays of wealth, which often translated to their choice of house location and design. St. Augustinians of all ranks utilized architecture and material possessions to assert their place in the social order. Recognizing that full participation in this society was restricted along racial lines, this study argues that a type of frontier cosmopolitanism defined life in St. Augustine, in which transatlantic ideas of consumerism and gentility met with the local realities of a multi-ethnic, fringe garrison-town.

Several factors converged to shape Second Spanish Period St. Augustine society, the most important of which were the dramatic changes of the mid-eighteenth century. The city served as the capital of Spanish Florida from 1565 until 1763.\footnote{The territory originally claimed by the Spanish in the sixteenth century under the name \textit{La Florida} encompassed most of the present-day southeastern United States, from Florida to North Carolina, and west to Texas, where it met with the northern fringes of New Spain. Eventually, British settlements along the North American Atlantic seaboard and French settlements around the Mississippi encroached on Spain’s territory. By the end of the First Spanish Period (1565-1763), Spanish Florida was only slightly larger than the present-day state of Florida, comprising parts of southern Georgia and Alabama. The erosion of Spanish territory would accelerate after the
attempts to take Florida by force throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, the British obtained the territory in the aftermath of The Seven Years’ War. Having lost Havana to the British in the course of the war, Spain gladly traded its most valuable Caribbean colony for Florida. Florida’s transition into its British period was not an easy one; with this change of flags, the Spanish government relocated nearly all of St. Augustine’s inhabitants to Havana. Finding their new Florida holdings too large to administer from St. Augustine, the British divided the territory into two colonies, East and West Florida, with the Apalachicola River as the boundary. St. Augustine became the capital of East Florida, while the smaller settlement of Pensacola became the capital of West Florida. The Spanish kept the two colonies separate upon their return twenty years later.

More important were the demographic and economic changes brought about by the change of flags. James Grant, the first governor of British East Florida, found a nearly desolate colony upon his arrival in St. Augustine as most of the population had left with the Spanish government. This included the black population in and around the city, as well as the remnants of Florida’s original indigenous inhabitants, who were fearful of enslavement or mistreatment under British rule. The British stimulated migration to East Florida with attractive land grants formation of the United States. See Paul E. Hoffman, Florida’s Frontiers (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).  

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8 Imperial rivalries between Britain and Spain brought trouble to Florida throughout the First Spanish Period. The British felt that their Spanish neighbors posed a threat to their American colonies, which led to several unsuccessful attempts to take St. Augustine through military campaigns. The construction of St. Augustine’s stone fort in 1695, the Castillo de San Marcos, allowed St. Augustine to defend itself effectively. The fortress prevented invasions most notably during the 1702 siege by South Carolina governor James Moore, and the 1740 siege by Georgia founder James Oglethorpe. It was diplomacy, not force, which finally saw the British flag rise above the Castillo. See Charles W. Arnade, “Raids, Sieges, and International Wars,” in The New History of Florida, ed. Michael Gannon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 101-48.

9 Tebeau, 65-79.

10 Lacking plantations or any form of labor-intensive farming operations, slavery was not an established practice in Florida during the First Spanish Period. However, many persons of African descent did reside in the colony, many of whom served in the Spanish military. Others were refugees, escaped slaves from the British colonies to the north who had found sanctuary in Florida. The Spanish government established a small town just
for settlers. Most of the incoming settlers were British (English or Scottish), though some Irish and American families also made the journey to Florida. At the encouragement of the British government, the settlers acquired African slaves and soon a plantation-style economy began to take hold, with indigo as the primary crop. Additionally, during the American Revolutionary War, East Florida’s population swelled with loyalists, particularly in St. Augustine. Lastly, Creek and Seminole Indians, pushed off their lands by American settlers, and attracted by the prospect of British gifts and trade, settled in the northern parts of the colony.  

In terms of the future population of Second Spanish Period St. Augustine, the most significant influx of people came in 1768 to the New Smyrna plantation, about seventy miles south of St. Augustine. The Scottish physician and diplomat Andrew Turnbull organized one of the largest colonization efforts of the New World ever attempted by the British when he brought nearly 1,400 colonists to his 100,000 acre land grant. The New Smyrna colonists originated from places around the Mediterranean, such as Turkey, Greece, Italy, and France. The British recruited the largest group of colonists from Minorca, an island off the coast of Spain. For simplicity, officials referred to all of these colonists collectively as Minorcans, regardless of origin. In 1777, after heavy losses caused by tropical diseases and Indian attacks, as well as the brutality of Turnbull’s overseers, the vast plantation had failed. The British Governor Patrick Tonyn granted the Minorcan survivors, numbering fewer than 400, sanctuary in St. Augustine, north of St. Augustine, Fort Mose, to house black refugees. It also conveniently acted as a bulwark and first line of defense against British invasions. As for Florida’s native peoples, disease and warfare throughout the First Spanish Period dwindled their numbers; by 1763, most of the survivors lived in villages near St. Augustine. Jane Landers, “Black Frontier Settlements in Spanish Colonial Florida,” OAH Magazine of History 3, no. 2 (Spring, 1988): 28-29; Tebeau, 49-64.

11 Tebeau, 65-79.
where they later became a permanent part of the urban population during the Second Spanish Period.¹²

For the urban white population, ethnicity and place of origin did not bar social movement in St. Augustine’s society, as will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters. However, race was a significant factor; a legacy of the British years when East Florida developed a cash-crop, plantation economy backed by slave labor. During the First Spanish Period, Florida was a slave sanctuary, as the government granted any runaway slaves that made it to Florida their freedom. The policy’s aim was to annoy the British colonists to the north. Recognizing the economic gains of the British period, the Second Spanish Period government opted to continue the plantation economy with its emphasis on chattel slavery. The black population of East Florida increased dramatically in subsequent years as the slave trade continued in Florida. American immigration to the East Florida countryside also contributed to the growth of the slave population because most American families brought slaves with them. Combined with the free blacks, the black population of East Florida eventually surpassed the white population.¹³ Enslaved blacks made up a majority of the black population, since most of the free blacks of the First Spanish Period left for Cuba in 1763 along with the Spanish. The few that remained in Florida intermarried with the Seminole tribes near the American border.¹⁴ Thus, as social divisions loosened along ethnic lines during the Second Spanish Period, they became sharper along racial lines.

Little is known of Florida’s late eighteenth century slave society. It was diverse, as the British imported slaves from Africa and their Caribbean colonies during their tenure in Florida

¹² Ibid.
and the Spanish brought slaves from Cuba. Additionally, American settlers brought their own slaves from the United States. Some evidence suggests that a sizeable Congolese population existed among the African slaves of East Florida; linguistic and cultural similarities among them may have facilitated the creation of complex slave communities within the plantation system.\textsuperscript{15} Regardless of origin, slaves laboring in plantations and urban slaves serving wealthy St. Augustinians probably created communities within their groups, as they did in other areas such as Louisiana and South Carolina. As in other slave societies, the development of a common slave identity among the enslaved on different plantations and between the rural and urban slave populations would have been difficult due to restrictions on mobility.\textsuperscript{16}

Free blacks present a different story. The treatment of free blacks was actually a dilemma for the Spanish in Florida and other frontier Spanish colonies. Although Spanish officials might disparage blacks, they needed them in order to maintain a tenuous sovereignty. Faced with a chronic shortage of worthy regular troops and inadequate financial and material resources, the governors of Spanish territories often augmented their forces with black militias. Blacks recognized their circumstances and sought their own advantages by navigating the tangled politics of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{17}

Outside of St. Augustine, the free black experience may have been more favorable. Despite a lack of general recognition, free blacks carved out a piece of Florida’s prosperity for themselves, becoming property owners in the communities outside the city. They avoided the Anglo plantations established around St. Augustine and the St. Johns River, given the plantation

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 158-169.
\textsuperscript{17} Landers, \textit{Black Society}, 93.
owners’ hostility toward free blacks. Many preferred to live in rural areas of East Florida, particularly Fernandina. There the opportunities of Second Spanish Period Florida were not lost on this population; despite strict racial norms, they used their freedom and skills to create a community on Fernandina, where they found employment and “where a man’s talents counted more than his skin color.”

They joined American settlers in the town, eventually outnumbering the white population. Many free black families ran successful businesses, such as Fernandina’s sawmill, and even purchased their own slaves. Ambitious blacks who had distinguished themselves in the free black militia applied for, and received, land grants in Fernandina from the Spanish government. When the United States outlawed the slave trade, Fernandina became the main harbor from which new slaves were smuggled into the young nation, which turned the small town into a busy port. Free blacks profited and participated in the slave trade.

Fernandina and other rural communities afforded free blacks a higher degree of prosperity and social distinctions. Thus, St. Augustine did not feature a large free black presence.

East Florida was not only a slave society; it was also a settlement within the northern Spanish borderlands. An analysis of a frontier settlement like St. Augustine necessitates a discussion of the indigenous peoples within that frontier. Although the East Florida colony officially encompassed most of the present-day Florida peninsula, the Spanish de facto authority did not extend beyond St. Augustine and its surrounding plantations and townships. The latter were small settlements that dotted the coast and islands north of St. Augustine. Beyond this area, there existed a vast territory where native tribes such as the Timucua once thrived. By the second Spanish Period, the original native peoples of Florida were extinct. After centuries of

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18 Ibid., 238.
19 Ibid., 238-243.
massive population decline due to disease, what remained of these tribes settled near St. Augustine to benefit from trade with the Spanish. These tribes left with the Spanish government in 1763 and settled in Cuba, preferring to migrate rather than risk enslavement under British rule.\textsuperscript{21}

Florida was not left devoid of Indians, however. Other tribes settled in the West Florida colony and the northern and western parts of East Florida. The Seminole and various Creek tribes arrived in the Florida colonies during the eighteenth century, pushed by British and later American expansion. The Seminoles in particular became powerful and prospered from trade with Europeans during the British Period. Despite the fact that Indians controlled areas distant from St. Augustine and its environs, the returning Spanish government desired to maintain peaceful relations with the tribes, recognizing that the Indians might prove their best allies in the region.\textsuperscript{22} The task of cultivating friendships with the Seminole and Creek tribes fell mostly on West Florida. In general, St. Augustine was seldom affected directly by Indian affairs. As a port city, its trade and cultural connections throughout the Atlantic world ensured that its focus remained overseas. West Florida’s proximity to the Indian tribes and to the newly created United States made the Spanish governor, Arturo O’Neill, anxious about the colony’s security. In 1783, he recommended that Panton, Leslie, and Company, the English firm that handled the Indian trade during the British period, should continue its monopoly.\textsuperscript{23} Spain was unable to supply the quantities of goods required to maintain the Indian trade, and though they would


\textsuperscript{22} Tebeau, 80, 83.

\textsuperscript{23} For the Spanish, the loss of trade revenue was compensated by services provided by John Leslie and other members of the firm as intelligence agents for the Spanish regarding United States-Indian relations. See Thomas Davis Watson, “Merchant Adventurer in the Old Southwest: William Panton, the Spanish Years, 1783-1807,” Texas Tech University Dissertation (1972), 84; and William S. Cocker, Thomas D. Watson, J. Leitch Wright, \textit{Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847} (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1986).
never acknowledge it, the government no doubt realized that English goods were of better
quality.\footnote{In losing possible profit from direct trade, the Spanish hoped to gain the allegiance of the nearly 45,000 Creeks, Chicksaws, Choctaws, Cherokees, and Seminoles living in an area that spanned from Northern Florida to the Tennessee River. A half-Creek, half-Scott Creek chief named Alexander McGillivray had recently organized these tribes into a loose confederation. See Tebeau, 84. Furthermore, the Indians were keen on maintaining trade with the English. In a letter to Governor O’Neill, Alexander McGillivray asked for Spanish protection from American encroachment, but also pressed for the continuation of business with English traders. McGillivray to O’Neill, September 1783, St. Augustine Research Library, St. Augustine, FL.} For the Florida colonies, it was more important to befriend the Indians in the best way possible than to risk losing their only regional ally against American expansion.

Since Panton, Leslie, and Co. was a British company, the Spanish did not benefit financially from the trade. Originally headquartered in St. Augustine, the firm moved to Pensacola to be closer to their trade routes. This action removed the last link between St. Augustine and Florida’s Indians, solidifying the separation of the two worlds.\footnote{The Seminoles and other Indian tribes had more frequent contact with the British and later the American settlers in the Georgia colony than with the people of St. Augustine. Ironically, the Spanish lack of control of the region would lead to their loss of the two Floridas, since conflict between Americans and Florida Indians would give the U.S. the excuse to invade the 1810s.} By September 1784, the closest point of contact between St. Augustinians and Indians was a recently established trading post at the north end of the St. Johns River.\footnote{Beyond the trading post, the only regular contact between St. Augustinians and Indians were the visits of Indian leaders to the city. They would come from villages more than fifty miles away from the St. Johns trading post to meet with Luciano de Herrera, a Spaniard in charge of Indian Relations in East Florida. Herrera’s meticulous records reveal his efforts in controlling the Indians during their visits. Aside from detailing arrival and departure dates, number of trade items and gifts given from the Panton and Leslie warehouse, and withdrawals of provisions and supplies from the king’s storehouse; Herrera also kept Indians from taverns, attempted to prevent tavern keepers from serving them alcohol in any way, and arranged for careful overnight care of the few Indian guests that managed to become intoxicated. Beside these carefully watched visits, St. Augustinians seldom encountered Indians. The East Florida Frontier was hardly one of acculturation between Europeans and Indians. Don Luciano de Herrera to the Governor of East Florida, November 15, 1785, Reel 73, East Florida Papers, SAHS; Accounts of Presents to the Indians, 1785-1788, Reel 167, SAHS.} Throughout the Second Spanish Period, the maintaining of Indian relations fell largely upon West Florida.

Rather than Indian affairs, Spanish authorities in East Florida were preoccupied with making the colony a profitable endeavor, and with the advancement of American settlers in East
Florida. By the start of the Second Spanish Period, the United States had gained independence from Great Britain. East Florida’s relationship with its new neighbor was wrought with conflict, caused by American encroachment in northern Florida, Florida’s Seminoles’ raids in Georgia, and the Spanish military’s inability to prevent either. Fueling tensions further was Florida’s role as a heaven for runaway slaves from Georgia and the Carolinas. The tensions led to a series of American invasions in the early nineteenth century that eventually culminated in the Adam-Onis Treaty of 1819, which transferred Florida to the United States. Despite these conditions, St. Augustine’s society flourished during the Second Spanish Period. If anything, East Florida’s instability created opportunities for ambitious people to assert themselves.

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CHAPTER ONE

Figure 1: Map of St. Augustine in 1788
The map shows the central plaza, the site of the future cathedral basilica, and city blocks with the Minorcan Quarter designated by shading. Based on the 1788 town plan by Mariano de la Rocque, redrawn by Marjorie A. Niblack for Patricia Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach: The Minorcans of Florida, 1768-1788*, 1991. Copy available at the University of Florida Library.

The Spanish regained control of East and West Florida after the British defeat in 1783. The Spanish re-established their colonial government and regained full control of St. Augustine by 1785. However, as outlined previously, Florida had changed dramatically during the British Period. By the time of the British departure, Florida’s population included Britons, Americans, and Minorcans of varied origins, many of whom chose to remain and accept Spanish rule. Economically, Florida successfully integrated into the British system of plantation agriculture, which the returning Spanish inherited and accepted. Although it never reached the scale of

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29 The British government took nearly two years to finalize their affairs in Florida and leave. Tebeau, 78-83.
production evident in other British colonies, cash crops such as indigo, hemp, and rum produced in East Florida greatly aided the local economy. Merchants in St. Augustine profited from the shipping needs of Florida’s plantations, and the sizeable population left behind by the British found other means to participate in the local economy, not the least of which was construction, which catered to the needs of a growing population. Thus, St. Augustine in the Second Spanish Period did not need to rely so heavily on the situado to support its population. Lastly, reforms enacted by the Spanish Bourbon monarchs opened trade between Spanish ports and non-Spanish ports, which greatly benefited St. Augustine economically and provided the city with a higher degree of interconnectivity throughout the Atlantic world. The result was an influx of ideas and material goods to St. Augustine.

Efforts to attract settlers from Spain or from other Spanish holdings were unsuccessful, even with the promise of land grants. Governor Zéspedes was strict regarding the conversion of British persons remaining in St. Augustine to Catholicism, but he eventually understood the futility of attempts to convert the rural population. Given the irregularity of the situado, the crown’s payment for the maintenance of the colony, protestant plantation owners knew that their regular production of foodstuff and export crops gave them bargaining power. By 1786, Zéspedes enacted a law that permitted foreigners to own land in East Florida, including British subjects who were not Catholics. Another law in 1788 invited settlers to become Spanish

30 Elsbeth Gordon argues that St. Augustine’s population diversity afforded the city a variety of skilled workers, giving way to a prospering construction industry. The construction business was on the rise in the late eighteenth century, allowing contractors to accumulate properties and wealth. See Elsbeth Gordon, Florida’s Colonial Architectural Heritage (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2002), 87.
31 But even the situado became a means for profit for business-savvy St. Augustinians. Given the irregularity and inconsistency of the situado, which included the salary for the town’s garrison, many civilians made small fortunes by lending money, at considerable interest, to St. Augustine’s military personnel. See Bushnell, iii, 42.
subjects and obtain free land. This attracted many American families from 1790 to 1804, most of whom brought slaves to work the land. The Spanish were wary of American immigration, but they tolerated it if it meant making East Florida productive. The colony’s population increased to 4,445, more than half of which were slaves.  

Among the returning Spaniards were several old Floridano families that had left their properties behind in 1763. Upon disembarking at the harbor, they would have seen a strikingly different city. In terms of population, St. Augustine by the 1780s had become a rather cosmopolitan place: the city’s inhabitants numbered around 1,600, a mélange of people of various ethnic origins. The urban population included 87 former Britons, 469 people of Mediterranean origin, 216 permanent residents of Spanish or Spanish-American origin, 330 to 350 Spanish soldiers, 30 free black persons, and 450 black slaves. Additionally, there were a few persons of other nationalities/ethnicities, including some Frenchmen, Italians, Corsicans, and a few Turks. Beyond the dozens of British citizens that elected to remain within St. Augustine, many more held on to the outlying plantations established during the British Period. In an effort to re-accluturate St. Augustine along Hispanic lines, the Spanish government required all persons in the city to convert to Catholicism. Several of the Britons that remained were already Catholic, while others avoided official conversion by marrying Catholics, and swearing to allow their children’s instruction in the faith. Officials did not allow any other form of worship in the city.

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33 Leeila S. Copeland and J. E. Dovell, *La Florida: Its Land and People* (Austin, TX: Steck-Vaughn Company, 1957), 134-5, 139. The Spanish would later regret American immigration since the Americans would never become loyal Spanish subjects. Revolts in 1808 and later during the War of 1812 were attempts by Americans to annex Florida to the United States.
34 Census of 1788, Census Returns 1784-1814, Reel 148, Section 75, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
35 Census of 1793, Census Returns 1784-1814, Reel 148, Section 75, East Florida Papers, SAHS; Census of 1787, Census Returns 1784-1814, Reel 148, Section 75, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
36 Although Catholicism was officially the only religious allowed in the countryside, the Spanish found it difficult to enforce it there. Recognizing the importance of the plantations to Florida’s developing economy, the Spanish opted to turn a blind eye to the Protestantism prevalent outside of St. Augustine. Daniel L. Schafer,
The Hispanic entourage that followed the Spanish government to St. Augustine included Cubanos, Floridanos, a small number of Spaniards, and a few persons from other locations in the Spanish Caribbean. However, the largest group among the city’s free civilian inhabitants were the Minorcans, nearly all of whom chose to remain after the British departure.37 As Catholics, the Minorcans welcomed Spanish rule, and as the largest segment of the urban population, they were instrumental for the Spanish in re-acculturating St. Augustine. Another sizeable segment of the population was the soldiers that made up the city’s garrison. Although their presence was a clear sign of the Spanish control of the city, this group was too transient to exercise a strong cultural influence. Most Spanish officers in East Florida lived in St. Augustine permanently, but soldiers stationed there had limited terms of service in the region, generally ranging from six months to two years.38

To returning Floridanos, the altered state of the built environment was perhaps even more striking than the diversity of St. Augustine’s population in the Second Spanish Period. The British had repurposed many of St. Augustine’s landmarks. During the British Period, the Spanish hospital adjacent to the plaza became the British Courthouse, and the former palacio episcopal (the Bishop’s house) transformed into the neoclassical British Statehouse. At the southern end of the city, the Franciscan monastery turned into the British St. Francis Barracks; adjacent to it, a huge three-story building, simply called Pile of Barracks, was erected to house another battalion. While the Castillo dominated the city’s skyline and waterfront on the northern

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end of St. Augustine, Pile of Barracks dominated the southern tip. Alterations were also evident in domestic buildings. Although unnecessary in Florida’s climate, chimneys now adorned several buildings. Front doors at the street level added convenience, bypassing the traditional Spanish entrances preceded by arcades and courtyards. Sash glass windows, seldom employed by St. Augustinians in the First Spanish Period, now afforded a higher degree of indoor privacy. Lastly, to accommodate an expanding population, wooden second floors rose above some First Spanish Period, flat-roof stone buildings. British alterations also fall in line with what Richard Bushman terms “the beautification campaign” that British American colonies underwent as a result of the consumer revolution of the eighteenth century. Like in Delaware, the site of Bushman’s study, St. Augustine’s built environment saw a change between functional, simple, austere architecture to larger, ornate buildings beginning in the British Period. British cultural needs for their built environment are thus understood by their alterations, just as Spanish cultural needs for their surroundings are revealed by new construction in the Second Spanish Period.

Unfortunately, the strains of war and financial need caused the British to neglect St. Augustine during their last years in Florida. Thus, returning St. Augustinians encountered a town in a high degree of decay, as roofs were falling in and several structures were on the verge of crumbling. Still, many Floridanos and their descendants came back to St. Augustine to lay

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39 Mariano de la Rocque, “Key to the Detailed Plan of the City of San Agustin of East Florida,” April 25, 1788, SAHS; Gordon, 106.
40 De la Rocque, “Key to the City.”
41 Bushman, xiv, 100-11. The consumer revolution was a period marked by a departure from traditional frugality and the increased consumption of luxury items across social and economic backgrounds. Beginning in late seventeenth century England, the consumer revolution spread across the British American colonies throughout the eighteenth century. Bushman traces the roots of the mass consumption society of the twentieth century to the consumer revolution.
42 De la Rocque, “Key to the City.”
claim to property they had left behind in 1763.\textsuperscript{43} The legal proceedings involved in these efforts provide a wealth of sources on St. Augustine’s built environment and social history.

The initial disarray gave way to a thriving society in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, in an unusually diverse city, where Spaniards and their descendants had become a minority, Spanish architecture helped re-establish Spanish cultural dominance.\textsuperscript{44} After the repossession in 1783, Spanish officials focused on acculturating the city along Spanish customs and religious traditions. Repairs and new construction in the Second Spanish Period aimed to reflect Spanish power and culture. These efforts culminated in the 1797 construction of the Renaissance Revival and Spanish Colonial style cathedral of St. Augustine. The city’s inhabitants demonstrated their acceptance of Spanish culture norms by employing Spanish residential designs. Domestic architecture, in conjunction with material possessions, also reflected a person’s status within the community. However, given the ethnic diversity in Second Spanish Period St. Augustine, social status in the city was more closely linked to wealth than to ethnic origin.

Several historians have studied the social and architectural history of Florida during the Second Spanish Period, and each of their contributions aids in characterizing the society that developed. The following assessment of the literature on Second Spanish Period St. Augustine’s history focuses on the major contributions in the fields of social history, architecture and built environment, and material culture. Until the 1940s, few historians addressed the built

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{43} Tadeo de Arrivas, for example, was sent by his elderly aunt, Antonia de Avero, to recover her family’s four houses. Antonia was a descendant of an early eighteenth-century governor of Florida, and her family had enjoyed prestige and relative comfort during their time in St. Augustine. Life had been more difficult for refugees in Havana, and Tadeo wished to change that by reclaiming what he believed to be his inheritance. Houses Claimed by Jesse Fish, Tadeo de Arrivas to Governor Vicente Manuel de Zépedes, 1783, East Florida Papers, SAHS.\textsuperscript{44} The built environment is only one instrument for societal control, utilized in addition to other mechanisms such as trade restrictions and other government policies, language, and religion. See Johnson, “Spanish St. Augustine Community,” 53.}
environment of colonial St. Augustine, and studies of the town’s society did not appear until the 1960s. The first histories of the city’s colonial period appeared in the late nineteenth century, usually with the purpose of promoting St. Augustine as a tourist destination.\(^4\) Military and political histories became the primary focus throughout the first half of the twentieth century.\(^4\) Since the middle of the century, however, many contributions that engage St. Augustine’s colonial built environment and social history have appeared. Most of the works in that historiography are either architectural histories or archaeological studies, usually driven by restoration efforts. Greater emphasis is given here to the few works that address social history as they are the most pertinent to this study.

In one of the earliest articles published by the Florida Historical Society (1908), “Old St. Augustine. Her Harbor Come Back to Its Own,” DeWitt Webb uses the story of the city’s harbor to provide a romanticized history of the city, typical of the early twentieth century.\(^4\) The focus is on the military invasions that the city suffered over the centuries, most of which came by sea, but he also describes the changing settings of the city’s harbor.\(^4\) He mentions the marshes, the clumps of trees on Anastasia Island, some of which he believes had been standing since Oglethorpe’s siege in 1740, and concludes that the general view of the bay has changed less than

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\(^4\) Published around the time that Henry Flagler was building magnificent hotels in St. Augustine, these works usually provide a romanticized account of the early exploration and settlement of Florida, and then go on to exalt contemporary St. Augustine’s climate and health benefits. For example, William W. Dewhurst’s account ends with a subsection titled “Climate—Advantages as a Health Resort.” See Dewhurst, The History of Saint Augustine, Florida (Rutland, VT: Academy Books, 1968, reprinted from the 1885 edition), 161.

\(^4\) Perhaps the most widely cited examples of this trend are Arnade, The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702 (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1959); and Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States (New York: Russell and Russell, 1959). Such works either sought to shed light on St. Augustine’s role in the Spanish Empire, or its place in American history.


any other in the country. Webb’s method is the simple narration of a story. He weaves some of the major events in the city’s history into a narrative that reads more like a literary piece.

Another early researcher, Jeannette Thurber Connor, wrote a two-part essay in 1926, “The Nine Old Wooden Forts of St. Augustine,” that details the history of the wooden forts built in St. Augustine prior to the construction of the Castillo de San Marcos. Like Webb, she was not a professional historian. She utilized a new research base, however: primary sources acquired for her private collection during a visit to Seville. She was able to deduce the approximate locations of St. Augustine’s sixteenth-century wooden forts, and the materials used to build them. In these articles she also contributed an interpretation of the Castillo, which she did not see merely as a defensive fortress, but as “the symbol, key and center of Spain’s power” in the region.

Both Connor and Webb write about physical structures of the settlement to frame their narratives of the city’s military history.

The formation of the St. Augustine Preservation and Restoration Association (SAPRA) in 1936 brought professional historians to St. Augustine to conduct research that could guide SAPRA’s restoration efforts. As a result, Verne E. Chatelain, the director of the program, produced *The Defenses of Spanish Florida* in 1941. Chatelain’s first publication concentrates on the development of colonial-era fortifications, and includes an account of the economic policy and political organization of Spanish Florida. Though this book’s methodology and style are more sophisticated and technical than the works by Webb and Connor, it is still mostly

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49 Ibid., 5.
50 Tradition often combined with historical research in many of the Society’s early publications, which might be the case in Webb’s article, as he did not provide his sources. Graham, 2.
descriptive. The author concludes that “the Spanish failed to develop a self-sufficient economy in Florida yet paved the way for the later British and American exploitation of Florida’s latent resources.”

His view of Spanish Florida as a launching point for British/American take-over, and his attempt to include it within an American grand narrative can be understood in light of the prevalent Consensus history of the time. However, Chatelain’s attempt to ground the history of the city and its defenses solely on documentary evidence is a valuable contribution to the historiography.

Also in 1941, Chatelain published one of the first interpretive works about St. Augustine, “Spanish Contributions in Florida to American Culture.” Chatelain celebrated that the St. Augustine colony demonstrated what he saw as pioneer characteristics of mind: courage, initiative, perseverance, and adaptability, which he argues were necessary for the successful conquest of the American frontier. He claims that the Spaniards in St. Augustine provided important lessons to other European nations regarding frontier affairs. This article is the first that addressed city-planning and other aspects of the built environment of colonial St. Augustine, praising the regularity of the streets, the pleasant plazas, the beautiful patios, the impressive churches and cathedrals, and other such features of the town’s built environment.

Chatelain’s

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56 Chatelain, “Spanish Contributions in Florida to American Culture,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (1941), 242.
57 Ibid., 217-21. Using eighteenth century maps and other records, Chatelain also described features of the landscape that were no longer clearly distinguishable, such as the remains of three parallel defense lines north of the city, the Fort Maze lines, and the moat that surrounded the city. He identified these defense features as having had a major influence in the general plan and growth of the town, but more important was the cedula of 1573, which “made provisions for the proper selection of sites and for the laying out of new towns in Spanish America... the first instance of city planning and zoning in what is now the United States.” The decree outlined the rules for the location and development of plazas, streets, churches, and public buildings.
writings, as the first penned by a professional historian, became seminal works on the history of St. Augustine.

After World War II, research on the colonial built environment of the city was slow until the state legislature created the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Board in 1959. Working as a consultant for that body, Charles W. Arnade published an article in 1961 titled “The Architecture of Spanish St. Augustine.” Arnade aided restoration efforts by providing details about the city’s eighteenth-century appearance, greatly contributing to our knowledge of St. Augustine’s architectural history. He relied on Chatelain’s earlier work on the history and architectural features of the Castillo and other public buildings, but he also used property appraisals, real estate claims, journals kept by priests, and reports from British surveyors to determine the location of Spanish houses that were still standing in St. Augustine. Though Arnade concluded that no complete First Spanish Period house was still standing, he was able to approximate the location of houses from that period. These findings opened new avenues for archaeological exploration.

Following the social history turn in the general field of history, Arnade published a second article in 1961 that was the first to discuss the city’s eighteenth-century inhabitants in relation to their built environment. “The Avero Story: An early St. Augustine Family with Many Daughters and Many Houses” traces the story of an influential eighteenth-century family to make several arguments about St. Augustine society. In eighteenth-century St. Augustine, according to Arnade, having a decent house to leave as patrimony for one’s children was

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58 Dow, 231-33.
considered great parental success; marrying widows and women that were children of home owners without male heirs was a method for men to gain or accumulate property; the geographic position of houses—proximity to the central square, the cathedral, or the Castillo—was as important as the building’s quality for conveying social status; and, unlike other Spanish colonial areas, wealth and social status were not intimately connected with large landed estates because St. Augustine’s main purpose was military, and because of the swampland that surrounded the city. Instead, “the town house or houses acquired greater importance as a symbol of status.”

Although other authors ascribed some meaning or interpretation to the Castillo, Arnade is the first to give meaning to colonial St. Augustine’s domestic buildings, and the first to address social history in relation to architecture.

Arnade’s focus on social history in his 1961 article was not replicated in the decades that followed. Architectural history took center stage instead, fueled by restoration efforts. The most important work in that vein was Albert Manucy’s *The Houses of St. Augustine, 1565-1821*. He provided a catalog of the colonial architecture of St. Augustine going back to 1763, which included thorough descriptions of structural details and exceptional drawings and diagrams. Manucy’s research in Spain allowed him to examine the architectural influence of the home country on St. Augustine, though he also concluded that the local climate and availability of materials had a great effect on the development of the city’s architecture. Although

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61 Interest in restoration heightened with the approach of the quadricentennial celebration of St. Augustine’s founding in 1965.

62 Manucy, *The Houses of St. Augustine, 1565-1821* (St. Augustine: The St. Augustine Historical Society, 1962). Manucy’s catalog is thus similar to Arnade’s earlier work on the city’s architecture in terms of its historic restoration goals. It provided the St. Augustine Preservation Board, at a time when restoration and preservation efforts were rising to pre-WWII levels, with guidelines based on sound historical research for proper preservation, restoration, and reconstruction of the city’s historic architecture.

63 Ibid.
Manucy’s contribution was purely architectural, his work differed from the pre-war histories in its focus on domestic rather than public or military buildings.

The 1970s did not see a return to social history, but works by archaeologists contributed to our understanding of St. Augustine society. Most of the previous archaeological works were oriented toward the recovery of basic architectural and dating information necessary for restoration and preservation. Kathleen A. Deagan entertained some additional purposes and approached her archaeological research differently. Her work stressed the need in the field for “processual studies and the formulation of testable hypotheses” to allow more information to be gained about “Spanish colonial cultural processes, rather than the mere ordering of places and dates.” 64 She was interested in what archaeology could reveal about St. Augustine culture. In *Archaeology at the National Greek Orthodox Shrine*, Deagan focused on the understanding of “the spatial and temporal ranges” of St. Augustine material culture.65 This work continued previous traditions of tracing the architectural evolution of buildings under research—in this case the Avero building that also housed the National Greek Orthodox shrine.66 In addition to information concerning the original extent and layout of the building, its evolution, the construction techniques and materials used throughout its history, the authenticity of certain architectural features, and the dating of the building, Deagan makes conclusions regarding the material culture of the site’s inhabitants, which are highlighted by the different material findings in the criollo (people of purely Spanish ancestry) and mestizo (people of mixed Spanish and native ancestry) sites.67 Deagan’s research in archaeology not only confirmed historical data, but

65 Ibid.
66 Restoration and archeological research of this and a cluster of other Avero buildings was sparked by Arnade’s research in the early 1960s.
67 Deagan, *Archaeology at the Greek Orthodox Shrine*, 14, 80-4.
also added significantly to the store of structural information on St. Augustine architecture; most importantly, it revealed the use of archaeology coupled with a material culture approach in understanding ethnic relationships.

Rising international interest in St. Augustine’s history was reflected in an article published in a Spanish historical journal in 1980. Francois De Montequin’s purpose in “El Proceso de Urbanizacion en San Agustin de La Florida, 1565-1821: Arquitectura Civil y Militar” was to provide a glimpse into Spanish St. Augustine’s urban and architectural evolution. The author used sources not previously explored by American historians, held in archives in Seville, Mexico City, Havana, and Santo Domingo, to examine the principal characteristics of St. Augustine’s defenses and buildings, as well as the artistic and sociopolitical factors that influenced them. De Montequin provided details about the settlement’s early decades and the seventeenth century.

As for the city’s buildings, the author offered insight into construction methods employed for the city’s old church (destroyed in a flood) and the governor’s house. In addition, he presented documentary evidence for some of the buildings that were discovered within the Castillo’s courtyard in a 1950s archaeological excavation by Manucy, such as the polvorin de mamposteria (gunpowder storage). For the most part, his sources provide further historical context for the buildings and defenses of the city. He also contributed to what is known of the street layout in different periods and of the expansion of the main street and plaza in the eighteenth century. De Montequin concluded that the city’s frontier and military situations, its
geographical location, and historical events, including sieges, invasions, and floods, were the main factors that influenced the development of the city and its buildings.68

The 1980s saw further increase in the use of archaeology to study St. Augustine’s history and built environment. In “The Plaza II Site Excavation of a Colonial Spanish Well in St. Augustine, Florida,” John Bostwick presented a report on the large public monument excavated in the plaza, a well that was dated circa 1700 and which was used continuously through the British period.69 Further adding to the knowledge of the city’s built environment is another archaeological report by Kathleen Deagan, “Downtown Survey: The Discovery of Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine in an Urban Area.” Employing a “subsurface, modified systematic survey using a mechanical soil auger,” Deagan worked in conjunction with historians and planners to locate the boundaries of the 1565 Spanish settlement.70

Deagan continued her archaeological work in St. Augustine, becoming the City Archaeologist and a board member of the St. Augustine Historical Society. Her next major work, Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community took a broader view as Deagan used her own archaeological experience as well as the work of many other authors, including Manucy’s architectural descriptions, to perform her study.71 Deagan took an interdisciplinary approach, combining methodology from the fields of archaeology, history, architecture, and geography. In that sense, her contribution was to bring the essence of historical

archaeology to the study of St. Augustine’s past. Deagan contends that written documents give us a glimpse of past people’s mentalité, while archeological artifacts are what remain of what people did. By using both history and archaeology, one is then able to put the story together to understand the past.\textsuperscript{72}

In the case of St. Augustine, Deagan concluded that Spanish people who moved to the outpost made a serious effort to continue being Spanish, and so they did not entirely adapt to the new area. The culture that ensued maintained many elements of life in Spain in socially visible areas, such as modes of dress, ceramics used, and the style of architecture used in buildings. But in less socially visible areas, such as food consumption and child rearing, the Spanish in St. Augustine differed from their motherland greatly due to intermarriage with Native American women, the scarcity of Spanish women, and the different food opportunities in the new environment. Though the houses looked like those in the home country, the domestic life that went on inside was thus different in important ways.

The 1980s and 1990s were also fruitful in studies of St. Augustine’s society, and unlike Charles Arnade, most of these historians were not driven by historic restoration goals. Sherry Johnson’s article, “The Spanish St. Augustine Community, 1784-1795: A Reevaluation,” is an assessment of the demographic makeup of St. Augustine. Johnson utilizes the 1788 and 1793 censuses of the city to provide an account of the city’s population, and combines this research with secondary sources to make inferences about the society. She argues that St. Augustine’s society was similar to that of other Spanish American cities in that it was divided into distinct strata: the authorities, represented by the governor, bureaucrats, treasury officials, and military personnel; the clergy; merchants and others engaged in mercantile activities; and poor classes.

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
which consisted of farmers, fishermen, and sailors. At the bottom of the social scale were black slaves. The free black population is omitted in Johnson’s hierarchy, perhaps because the secondary literature that addressed that segment of the population was not available at the time of this article’s publication. Additionally, Johnson suggests that despite the multicultural nature of St. Augustine’s inhabitants, there was no ambiguity over what represented the dominant influence in society in the Second Spanish Period. The society was “mainly Spanish in character” because the mechanisms of societal control (government, language, and religion) could not help but emphasize that. 73 Aside from these assertions, Johnson’s most important contributions to the historiography are her presentation of the first profile of the St. Augustine community and her demographical analysis of its population. Researchers have utilized her figures since the article’s publication, including most of those discussed here.

In 1991, Patricia C. Griffin published what is still the most extensive history of the Minorcans of Florida available. *Mullet on the Beach: The Minorcans of Florida, 1768-1788,* narrates the story of how the Minorcans—and the smaller groups of settlers normally grouped under the term—came to the New Smyrna colony and eventually sought asylum in St. Augustine. Because only sparse primary documentation about the colony is available, Griffin’s was the first book about the subject published since 1919. 74 In order to illuminate life in the New Smyrna colony, Griffin provides insight into eighteenth-century Minorca, examining British archives for contemporary descriptions of cultural details and relating them to the larger Mediterranean world and the migration experience. The second half of the book relates to the Minorcan experience in St. Augustine until 1788, five years into the Second Spanish Period. Here, Griffin exploits the Spanish censuses, parish records, travelers’ accounts and other sources

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for her narrative. Because of more abundant sources she is able to paint a more complete picture of Minorcans’ life in Florida during the last years covered by her study. She claims the socially unifying element in the community was the Catholic Church. Furthermore, she describes the different occupations pursued by the Minorcans, such as subsistence farming, fishing, carpentry, masonry, and shop keeping. Joining the larger historiographical trend of the time, Griffin does not ignore the contributions of Minorcan women to the group’s history. Minorcan women kept alive certain traditions from the home country, such as festivals that honored the patron saints of Minorca.75 Although Mullet on the Beach is primarily descriptive, it is an important update to the story of late eighteenth century St. Augustine’s largest ethnic group. It is unfortunate that the book does not delve further than 1788, chronologically, as the Minorcans continued to thrive throughout the Second Spanish Period and beyond.

Continuing her work on St. Augustine’s social history, Johnson published another article in 1997 that addressed the city’s Second Spanish Period society.76 In “Marriage and Community Construction in St. Augustine, 1784-1804,” Johnson examines church marriage records and petitions received by the government for permission to marry to illuminate the importance of creole women in the creation of St. Augustine’s society. According to Johnson, women born in Florida or in Havana to Floridano parents were the most desirable spouses for Spaniard men of high status. These men were often government officials and military officers, forbidden by royal decrees from taking wives of lower status. In other areas of Spanish America, such rules created a dichotomy in the population between Spaniards and criollos. In St. Augustine, however,

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intermarriage between peninsular men and *criolla* women reveals the acceptability of these women as wives for high-ranking Spaniards. Thus, the scarcity of “suitable” Spanish women helped to loosen ethnic divisions between these two segments of the population. Furthermore, Johnson argues that marriage represented an important avenue for social advancement for creole families. By creating kinship linkages to peninsulars, creole women reinforced their family’s prestige within the local society. Although she does not state this, in this article Johnson demonstrates that frontier conditions such as an imbalanced sex ratio had important effects in shaping St. Augustine’s society. Furthermore, this article presents a good starting point for future studies of gender relations in St. Augustine during the Second Spanish Period.

Manucy published one more book of importance to the social history and built environment of colonial St. Augustine before his death in 1997. *Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine: The People and Their Homes* was a companion to his earlier book, *The Houses of St. Augustine*. In his last book, Manucy combined archeological evidence with historical research to depict life in sixteenth-century St. Augustine. The impetus for this research, beyond the author’s own interest, was the restoration efforts of the St. Augustine Restoration Foundation. This book began as a project to reconstruct an imagined sixteenth-century village, though the project was later abandoned. After taking a research trip to Spain, and based on the archaeological evidence discovered since his previous book, Manucy determined that the colonial houses of St. Augustine were related to the folk architecture of northern Spain (the home of St. Augustine founder Pedro Menendez de Aviles), with their overhead balconies fronting on

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the street and roomy ground-floor loggias open to the yard through an arcade.\textsuperscript{79} Similar to Chatelain, the author described the town’s harsh environment, unfit for farming or raising stock, which discouraged agricultural endeavors near St. Augustine; the location, however, was ideal for protecting the Spanish treasure fleet en-route to Spain. Manucy also described housing variations based on income level, detailing them with drawings of house plans, spatial arrangement, elevations, and building materials. Lastly, he identified native building materials used to construct shelters and fortifications.\textsuperscript{80} Manucy’s combination of archeological evidence with historical records has roots in the studies of Kathleen Deagan.

Another important work in social history was Jane Landers’ pioneering study of colonial Florida’s black population. Her book, \textit{Black Society in Spanish Florida}, inserts blacks into the history of colonial Florida, from its sixteenth-century beginnings with Estevan, the black Moor who traveled with explorer Cabeza de Vaca, to the thriving free black communities of Fort Mose and Fernandina in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Landers utilizes archival material from Spain, England, Cuba, and Florida for her detailed examination of several areas of black life: military service, the slave trade, religion, women, crime and punishment, and ownership of property and businesses. The unifying theme of the work is the argument that blacks fared better under Spanish rule than in Anglo America. For example, black slaves in Florida generally had more avenues to attain their freedom than their counterparts in Georgia or Carolina. Additionally, free blacks were able to own land, and many achieved distinction through military service. Furthermore, the Spanish in Florida granted sanctuary and freedom to runaway slaves from the colonies to the north until 1790. Landers argues that blacks in Florida manipulated Spanish laws and Catholic teachings to obtain social and economic opportunities, a situation that

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 5.  
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid.
ended when the United States acquired the province.\textsuperscript{81} Her significant contribution to the historiography of colonial Florida society is clear; she brought black Floridians into the narrative and revealed the agency they possessed.\textsuperscript{82}

Cusick’s 2000 article “Creolization and the Borderlands,” is a representative work of the author’s several archaeological studies.\textsuperscript{83} The article has two purposes: to define the conditions important for the creolization of a population, based on available secondary literature; and to offer the Minorcans of Florida as an example of negotiated culture on the borderlands, based on archaeological evidence.\textsuperscript{84} Cusick defines Spanish East Florida as a borderland because the challenge of living between Anglo and Spanish America affected all aspects of life. He suggests

\textsuperscript{81} Landers, \textit{Black Society}.


Another historian who has made excellent contributions to our understanding of colonial Florida is Daniel L. Schafer. His work is similar to Landers’ in that he has focused on black Floridians and colonial plantations, though primarily during the British Period and in the decades leading to the Civil War. His most well-known study, which according to Schafer took 30 years to research and write, is perhaps his biography of Anna Kingsley. See Daniel L. Schafer, \textit{Anna Madgigine Jai Kingsley: African Princess; Florida Slave, Plantation Slaveowner} (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003). For some of Schafer’s other works, see Schafer and Robin F.A. Fabel “British Rule in the Floridas,” in \textit{The History of Florida}, ed. Michael Gannon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013); Schafer, \textit{Zephaniah Kingsley Jr. and the Atlantic World: Slave Trader, Plantation Owner, Emancipator} (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013); Schafer, \textit{William Bartram and the Ghost Plantations of British East Florida} (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010); Schafer, \textit{St. Augustine’s British Years, 1763-1784} (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 2002); Schafer, \textit{Governor James Grant’s Villa}.


\textsuperscript{84} James Cusick, “Creolization and the Borderlands,” \textit{Historical Archaeology} 34, no. 3 (January 1, 2000): 46–55. This article is a representative work of Cusick’s several archaeological studies. Throughout, he follows in Deagans footsteps by bridging historical and archaeological methods.
that the emergence of a creole population may be linked to the tendency of border peoples to circumvent the imposed regulations of larger societies. To make a living, the residents of East Florida ignored the ban on trade with the United States in the 1780s and made Charleston one of their most important trading partners. They also ignored the U.S. ban on the African slave trade and established a major slaving operation at the port of Fernandina to cater to American slave owners.85

Cusick mentions that the Florida landscape was “physically and culturally fragmented” between Seminole Indian villages, escaped slave settlements, rural plantations, and minor seaports, where many languages were spoken: English, French, Spanish, or Muscogee.86 Despite this, Cusick argues, the Minorcans were a remarkably culturally adaptable people. He counters the view of previous scholarship, mainly Rufus K. Sewall’s 1848 book, *Sketches of St. Augustine*, which claimed that Minorcans became increasingly Americanized during the early nineteenth century. Cusick’s interpretation is that the Minorcan culture was characterized by group solidarity and by the absorption of elements of British and Spanish culture. The degree of incorporation into outside culture, according to Cusick, increased with affluence. His evidence for this claim comes from the archaeological examination of a prominent Minorcan household. Archaeological evidence of foodways and tablewares suggests that the Minorcans of the Seguí household lived a lifestyle similar to the Spanish gentry of St. Augustine. The article concludes by stating that in Spanish East Florida, and perhaps in borderland environments in general, the

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85 Ibid.
86 Ibid., 49.
willingness to bend or break various rules may be what led inhabitants, such as the Minorcans, to move beyond their cultural enclave and manipulate their identity.\textsuperscript{87}

By the 2000s, the “built environment” as terminology was already established. The first book to address St. Augustine’s “built environment” as such was Elsbeth Gordon’s \textit{Florida’s Colonial Architectural Heritage}, published in 2002. Gordon set out to prove that Spanish Florida launched not just Florida’s post-Columbian architectural history, but our nation’s European architectural heritage.\textsuperscript{88} This author’s contribution is a well-illustrated synthesis of colonial architecture within the borders of present-day Florida, drawing on the work of almost all authors previously discussed. Setting her description in its historical context, Gordon includes a discussion of pre-European native buildings, Spanish missions, and early Spanish buildings, followed by a discussion of the more permanent \textit{coquina}, stone, and tabby buildings of the eighteenth century. Gordon adopts Manucy’s definition of the St. Augustine style, calling it a unique regional style of architecture.\textsuperscript{89} The author also presents her own research that recognized for the first time the Caribbean, French, and British influence in St. Augustine’s colonial built environment. Unlike the more straightforward architectural descriptions of previous authors, Gordon sets St. Augustine’s colonial architecture in its historical context and pays attention to the social situations that gave St. Augustine’s architecture its distinct appearance. She also argues that the city remained vibrant in the eighteenth century, as trade

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., 51-3. For another discussion by Cusick of Florida as a borderland, see Cusick, “Some Thoughts on Spanish East and West Florida as Borderlands,” \textit{Florida Historical Quarterly} 90, no, 2 (Fall 2011): 133-56. Cusick examines the role of the multiple upheavals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in shaping Florida as a borderland.

\textsuperscript{88} Gordon, 1-13.

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., 139.
with other European colonies increased, and that architectural complexity peaked during this period following the introduction of coquina stone to domestic construction.\footnote{Gordon, 78. Using architecture as evidence, Gordon seeks to counter the traditional interpretation of eighteenth-century St. Augustine as a sleepy town in decay.}

Another work that specifically addressed the colonial built environment was Carl Halbrit’s study “La Ciudad de San Agustín: A European Fighting Presidio in Eighteenth-Century ‘La Florida.’”\footnote{Carl D. Halbrit, “La Ciudad De San Agustín: A European Fighting Presidio in Eighteenth-Century ‘La Florida.’” \textit{Historical Archaeology} 38, no. 3 (January 2004): 33–46.} Halbrit revives the study of the city’s defense system which was the main topic of research before the 1960s—when Arnade and Manucy began exploring domestic housing. Halbrit thus draws on Chatelain’s \textit{The Defenses of Spanish Florida} to make his claims, and also on many other authors, such as Manucy and Deagan, as his sources are solely secondary. His purpose was to understand the development of the presidio and how both the built environment of the community and the material culture of its residents were modified as a consequence of military policies and strategies.\footnote{Halbrit, 33.} The construction of the Castillo effected changes in the town’s built environment because it encouraged immigration and population growth, which expanded the town’s boundaries and caused variations in house plans and materials of construction, until the siege of 1702 decimated everything except the fort. After the siege, the Spanish shifted their military policies, which again resulted in changes to the built environment: the architecture became varied in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century in that almost equal percentages of stone, tabby, and wood were used in house construction, probably to make homes more durable.\footnote{Ibid., 41.} After the British takeover, English architectural elements were incorporated into Spanish design, such as elaborate two-story structures with multiple chimneys and window glass.\footnote{Ibid.} Halbrit thus synthesizes the
research of other historians and archaeologists using St. Augustine’s political and military history to trace changes in the city’s built environment.

In 2003, Cusick published his first monograph, *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida*. The book explains that the Patriot War of 1812 was the outcome of Anglo-Spanish tensions and the United States’ desire for territorial expansion. The book chronicles the events surrounding the conflict, from President Madison’s decision to secretly support the insurrection that began in West Florida, to the lack of support for the effort in East Florida and the Patriots’ failure to take St. Augustine. Cusick ends by reflecting on the war’s significance for American history: though unsuccessful, the Patriots’ action ultimately led to the eventual American takeover of Florida, he writes. Furthermore, the war led to the Seminole Wars of the 1830s, since the Seminoles, fearful of the Patriots’ aggressive tactics and desire for land, sided with the Spanish in 1812.  

More useful for this discussion is Cusick’s inclusion of the impact of the Patriot War upon East Florida residents, including St. Augustinians, and is not limited to primary participants. He describes how Minorcans, free-black maroon communities, women, and slaves reacted to the war and helped thwart the invaders, which in turn highlights the connections evident between Floridians of different cultures and backgrounds. Cusick demonstrates that the traditional nationalistic historiography that depicted Spanish authorities as incompetent and life in Second Spanish Period East Florida as chaotic is inaccurate.  

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The most recent monograph that deals with St. Augustine’s Second Spanish Period Society is Frank Marotti’s *The Cana Sanctuary: History, Diplomacy, and Black Catholic Marriage in Antebellum St. Augustine, Florida*. Published in 2012, the book provides some insight into life in the Second Spanish Period. The bulk of Marotti’s sources are the Patriot War claims: compensations made by Congress to citizens of Florida for damages caused by the U.S. invasions of 1812 (the Patriot War) and 1818. Although the testimonies are from the 1830s, the claimants, mostly African Americans or Hispanics, often describe conditions in the Spanish era to demonstrate what they had lost as a result of American incursions in the 1810s. The testimonies speak fondly of the Spanish era, although it is difficult to assess their accuracy, since claimants had much to gain from depicting their lost prosperity. Coupled with other sources, such as depictions of the region from Patriot invaders as they marched through East Florida’s countryside in 1812, Marotti demonstrates the affluent lifestyle enjoyed by the rural population, white and free black, and by St. Augustinian plantation owners. Cattle ranching, cotton, and the lumber rush around the town of Fernandina, maintained the prosperity.97

Besides bringing new evidence portraying Spanish East Florida as a successful colony and offering vignettes into the lives of several East Floridians, Marotti’s main contribution to the historiography comes in the second half of the book. Focusing on testimonies given by blacks, Marotti’s main argument is that African Americans in Florida utilized Catholicism to reinforce their group identity and status after the United States acquired the region. Marotti’s claim is most significant in regards to the enslaved black population. While Spanish authorities, under the auspices of the Catholic Church, had recognized the matrimonial rights of slaves during the Second Spanish Period, the government of antebellum Florida did not. As an act of defiance,

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slaves in St. Augustine continued to marry as Catholics. Marotti argues that in marrying into the Catholic faith, slaves reminded “whites that they had denied them their historical prominence, while reminding themselves what future freedom held in store.”

Marotti shows that in antebellum Florida, Catholicism’s insistence on matrimonial rights for slaves became an avenue for their resistance to chattel slavery: a legacy of the Second Spanish Period.

In evaluating the field, it becomes clear that architectural history and archaeological studies have dominated the existing literature, the latter in part to augment the architectural history, but also to contribute material culture perspectives. With a few notable exceptions, most works do not connect colonial St. Augustine’s social history with the city’s built environment. A likely reason for the gap in the literature is that the available primary sources were employed mainly to aid in physical restoration projects. Still, several substantial contributions into the city’s social history are available, aiding in the development of this study. This thesis continues Arnade’s work on the connection between the built environment and social history; but it also follows more recent trends that take St. Augustine’s history in its own terms, not in light of the decaying Spanish Empire of which it was a part, or of the American city that it would become. The following chapters examine St. Augustine through its material culture, built environment, and through case studies of individuals that address the spectrum of the city’s society.

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98 Ibid., 157.
CHAPTER TWO

In response to raids, sieges, and invasions, the first half of the eighteenth century saw the rise of stone construction in St. Augustine. Inhabitants increasingly took to building their homes with *coquina*, the shell-stone used to build the Castillo de San Marcos in the late seventeenth century. The British inherited such buildings in 1763 and preserved most structures. Indeed, British surveyor John Bartram even admired St. Augustine’s architecture for its adaptability to Florida’s climate. Bartram remarked in 1765 that Spanish masonry work in St. Augustine was “a prodigious sight of carved stone... as fine as if cut in ye fine marble.”\(^{100}\) Although the British destroyed some residences, these were usually dilapidated wooden structures or thatch and tabby houses in great disrepair; but according to Bartram, “the best houses stand.”\(^{101}\)

The British were responsible for altering St. Augustine’s built environment in other ways. Some notable additions: a road to the Georgia colony, a bathing house, a public slaughter pen, a barrier gate to the city, and a belfry for the market house.\(^{102}\) The British were also responsible for introducing glass and chimneys to St. Augustine’s buildings. Additionally, the British Period effectively grew the economy in the form of cattle ranching and sugar and indigo plantations. Tied to these labor-intensive industries was the rise of slave importation. Unlike in the First Spanish Period, British Florida did not have a hostile neighbor threatening prosperity with invasion. Additionally, the British possessed higher quality goods to maintain friendly relations


\(^{101}\) Ibid.

\(^{102}\) Comparison of Juan Josef Eliño de la Puente Map of St. Augustine, 1764 and De la Rocque, “Plano Particular de la Ciudad de San Agustín de la Florida,” 1788, SAHS.
with the Indians. Florida’s new government concentrated its efforts into making the colony productive.\textsuperscript{103}

The returning Spanish inherited the mechanism of that prosperity—the plantation system developed by the British. They also found themselves a minority in St. Augustine, as discussed in Chapter One. The new Spanish government took advantage of the relative prosperity to concentrate their efforts in re-establishing Spanish cultural norms. These efforts included laws mandating fealty to the Spanish monarch and mandatory conversion to Catholicism, but they also manifested themselves in the built environment. This chapter describes numerous features of St. Augustine’s built environment in light of re-acculturation efforts, including new construction and further alterations that occurred throughout the Second Spanish Period. Inhabitants of diverse origins proclaimed their identity as St. Augustinians, members of a cosmopolitan frontier community, through choices in residential building practices, design, and location. This response was neither a rejection nor acquiescence to Spanish cultural authority. These choices had the secondary objective of displaying residents’ gentility. Thus, St. Augustinians utilized the built environment to demonstrate the nature of their association with the new power structure, the Spanish government, as well as to reflect their status in the city’s social order.

While still paling in comparison with ports such as Havana, Vera Cruz, and Charleston, St. Augustine developed into a cosmopolitan city during the Second Spanish Period.\textsuperscript{104} Until 1763—for nearly 200 years—this fringe port, the only urban center in East Florida, served its primary purpose of maintaining Spanish military presence in the region. The most direct benefit of this presence was the protection of Spanish treasure fleets that sailed near St. Augustine, en

\textsuperscript{103} Hoffman, 100-15.
\textsuperscript{104} Cusick, “Across the Border Commodity Flow,” 281.
route to Spain. By the late 1780s, St. Augustine exhibited signs of development beyond a military stronghold.

The Castillo and the barracks, which flanked the town to the north and south, respectively, no doubt reminded St. Augustinians that Florida continued to be a bulwark for Spain against British, and later, American, expansion. Furthermore, the town was surrounded on three sides by a defensive system of walls and battlements. The Cubo line, the earthworks that surrounded the city on three sides, began at the Castillo and ran westward for about 900 feet; it then turned southward and extended about 4,200 feet, thereby defining the town’s west boundary. South of the town, the line turned east and extended to the Matanzas River. These fortifications featured nine bastions, and enclosed an area of less than half a square mile.

Still, within this small space, St. Augustine’s civilian population created a bustling city. Certain features in the built environment demonstrated that St. Augustine was much more than a garrison-town. James D. Kornwolf identifies eight formal gardens depicted in the Solis plan of the city of 1770. Kornwolf finds the gardens of the Governor’s House analogous with those of the contemporary Virginia Governor’s Palace, both of which display a Rococo configuration. The gardens shown on Solis’ plan are similar to gardens delineated in a 1759 plan of Quebec, a 1758 plan of Montreal, and eighteenth-century plans of twenty Chesapeake gardens. Kornwolf argues that while the buildings of French Quebec, the British Chesapeake, and Spanish Florida are quite different, the gardens are not: “They seem to speak to [a] Renaissance consensus about

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105 Ibid.
106 The Eligio de la Puente map of 1763, the Juan de Solis plan of 1770, and the plan drawn by De la Rocque in 1788 are all in agreement concerning the arrangement of the town and the location and size of its buildings and defensive structures; SAHS.
nature.”

St. Augustine’s gardens suggest not only that the population had moved beyond the military needs of the town, but also that transatlantic ideas of the Renaissance had spread to St. Augustine.

Despite official openness to immigration from anywhere in Europe or the Americas, authorities mainly desired Spaniards or Spanish Americans, but such settlers were not forthcoming. Emboldened by a relatively successful plantation economy and liberalized trading policies introduced by the crown, the colony’s Spanish government set about re-acculturating East Florida to Spanish political and cultural norms. Officials decided that conversion to Catholicism was the best way to turn a heterogeneous population into loyal Spanish colonists. Such efforts soon found themselves reflected and reinforced in the city’s built environment. The following building profiles depict St. Augustine’s Second Spanish Period architectural achievements, improvements, adaptations, and building usage, and the government agenda behind them.

During the last decades of the eighteenth century, St. Augustine gradually incorporated itself into the Atlantic world’s economic, cultural, and demographic exchange. Increased trade connections in this period brought seemingly exotic ideas and peoples into the city. In order to access the small harbor, ships would first need to sail into Matanzas Inlet, from which travelers

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108 Kornwolf, 127; Cedula by Governor Zéspedes, 1785, East Florida Papers, Reel 12, SAHS.
109 In the aftermath of the Seven Years’ War, King Carlos III enacted a new trade policy, *comercio libre*, which legalized direct trade between Spanish American ports. Although some trade restrictions remained, Spanish governors often waived official policies in order to achieve their goals, and excused themselves by citing the strenuous necessities of frontier settlement. See Tanner, 3, 46. Trade policies would become even more lax after 1788, when Carlos’ successors opened trade between Spanish ports and any port city not at war with Spain. See D. A. Brading, “Bourbon Spain and its American Empire,” in *Colonial Spanish America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 112-162.
110 All persons were required to convert to Catholicism, and conversion became a prerequisite for immigration. Royal Cedula, 1785, East Florida Papers, Reel 12, SAHS.
could catch a glimpse of the sixteenth-century lookout tower rising above Anastasia Island.\footnote{Bartram, 34. Anastasia Island was also the site of St. Augustine’s *coquina* quarries.} Construction of the stone tower began in 1673, around the same time as the Castillo de San Marcos. Eighteenth-century additions, including the British erection of a wooden tower atop the existing stone structure, gave the building an appearance that reflected both Spanish and English architectural styles.\footnote{De la Rocque, “Key to the City”; Bartram, 54.} The lookout tower’s architectural features revealed the city’s mixed heritage to anyone sailing into St. Augustine. For visitors, the lookout tower was a prelude to the built environment they would find within the city: an amalgamation of Spanish and English building practices, usually in the form of a wooden “Caribbean Englishness” grafted onto Spanish stone ground floors and foundations.\footnote{Bartram, 34.} Like the tower, many domestic buildings in the city featured a wooden second story rising over a masonry first story. The one-story masonry building was a Spanish creation, usually a remnant of the First Spanish Period.\footnote{All records of sales of Spanish property to British newcomers in 1763 are of one-story buildings. Accounts of Jesse Fish, agent of properties of Spanish evacuees, 1763, East Florida Papers, Reel 146, section 72, SAHS; Jesse Fish testamentary proceedings, August 19, 1784, East Florida Papers, SAHS; 1769 Eligio de la Puente map of St. Augustine, SAHS.} British inhabitants during their government’s tenure added the wooden second stories in the British Caribbean style.\footnote{Bartram, 34.}

The British and Spanish styles demonstrated by the tower had one commonality: the effort to adapt to the local climate. In this manner, the lookout tower exemplifies St. Augustinians’ response to Spanish acculturation efforts. Inhabitants were more preoccupied with the realities of frontier living than with associating themselves with Spanish culture. St.
Augustinians of the Second Spanish Period continued to utilize the amalgamation of Spanish and British styles in their house designs, rather than identifying solely with the Spanish style. The mixture was well suited for the climate and allowed the owner to identify with various segments of St. Augustine’s population.

It was not long before Spanish authorities brought re-acculturation efforts to bear on the built environment. As early as 1785, ten years before the most active period of migration into colonial Florida, the governor began petitioning the crown for funds to build a cathedral. The construction of a cathedral was a hallmark for any Spanish town, a sign of growth in both population and relative importance in Spanish America. However, for a city with an unusually high number of converted Catholics, other subjects of seemingly dubious allegiance, and a predominantly Protestant countryside, the cathedral was more than a symbol of prosperity: it was a physical buttress for Spanish cultural dominance.

The British heavily altered and converted the small, First Spanish Period parish church, Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, into the Anglican St. Peter’s Church, most notably adding a Georgian style tower and steeple modeled after James Gibbs’ London churches. Rather than returning St. Peter’s to its Catholic origins, the Spanish tore down the structure and utilized some of the stones to build the St. Augustine Cathedral. In the meantime, the second floor of the British Statehouse served as the Parish church. As is often the case with large public

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116 Letters of Governor Manuel de Zéspedes, East Florida Papers, Reel 12, SAHS.
117 “Governor complains about population of East Florida,” Letters of Governor Manuel de Zéspedes, East Florida Papers, Reel 12.
118 Gibbs was England’s foremost church designer of the early eighteenth century. Classical, Renaissance, and Baroque forms influenced his Georgian churches. Gordon, 120.
119 The British Statehouse had a long history of adaptation and reuse. Originally the Palacio Episcopal, or the Spanish Bishop’s house, the site was expanded and converted into a neoclassical statehouse during the British period. The Spanish in the Second Spanish Period gave different purposes to the various parts of the building; aside from converting the second floor into the parish church, they used the first floor as a guardhouse, armory, and
endeavors in frontier towns, the construction of the cathedral was a long and drawn-out process. In 1786, the king answered Governor Zéspedes’ pleas and ordered the construction of a house of worship in St. Augustine.\textsuperscript{120} The task of designing the cathedral fell upon Spanish-born and trained Chief Engineer Mariano de la Rocque.\textsuperscript{121} Echoing the government’s zeal to improve the Florida colony, Rocque drew grandiose plans for the proposed cathedral, which the crown rejected for being too expensive.\textsuperscript{122} After reworking the design and gaining approval, Rocque collected stones and materials from many ruined churches in Florida: the sixteenth-century Franciscan mission churches Nuestra Señora de la Leche and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato, and the city’s old parish church, Nuestra Señora de la Soledad/St. Peter’s Church.\textsuperscript{123} The move helped defray the cost of building materials, but also gave the Cathedral a sense of continuity with Florida’s seventeenth-century mission network and other religious efforts of the First Spanish Period. The cornerstone was laid in 1793, on the north side of the central plaza. Neither Zéspedes nor Rocque would live to see the finished building.\textsuperscript{124}

After Zéspedes’ death, Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada y Barnuevo became the governor of East Florida. He continued work on the Cathedral with excitement, watching its progress from his balcony.\textsuperscript{125} Despite shortages of funds and building supplies, and halts due to lack of labor or shifting governmental attention, the Cathedral finally came to completion in 1797 [See Figure 2].\textsuperscript{126} The neoclassical structure was built of \textit{coquina} stone, with a smooth, white plaster powder storage. Erasing this last British-era building in the city’s plaza, the Spanish tore down the statehouse in 1804. Gordon, 109; Letters of Governor Manuel de Zéspedes, East Florida Papers, Reel 12.\textsuperscript{120} Letters of Governor Manuel de Zéspedes, East Florida Papers, Reel 12.\textsuperscript{121} Havana did not have a school of engineering until the mid-nineteenth century, thus all master builders of the Spanish Caribbean came from Europe. See Gordon, 87-8.\textsuperscript{121} Letters of Governor Manuel de Zéspedes, East Florida Papers, Reel 12.\textsuperscript{122} Ibid.\textsuperscript{122} Ibid.; Ecclesiastical Records of the St. Augustine Diocese, Deaths 1784-1793, Deaths 1785-1821, SAHS.\textsuperscript{124} Letters of Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, Reel 15, East Florida Papers, SAHS.\textsuperscript{125} The Cathedral is the only one of Florida’s Spanish period churches that still stands today.
exterior made of oyster shells, and boasted corner pilasters and a portal with fluted Doric columns supporting a full entablature, with triglyphs alternating with metopes; above this was a broken pediment with receding planes. The corniced façade rose above the gabled roof to form a stepped and curved espadaña style belfry with five arches. The four highest arches were niches that held the church bells, the oldest of which was cast in 1682, while the fifth arch held a window that illuminated the choir. Behind the belfry were a small room and a wooden platform from which acolytes on ladders could ring the bells with mallets. Lastly, two plain round windows adorned the front façade.127 As if harkening back to a time of unquestioned Spanish cultural dominance, the belfry resembled many of the long gone Florida mission churches, as well as the church in Avilés, Spain, Santo Tomas de Canterbury, the burial place of St. Augustine’s founder, Pedro Menendez de Avilés.128 It measured 124 feet long by 42 feet wide, with three-foot-thick walls buttressed with pilasters on the side elevations. Within, it held a presbytery, sacristy, and choir loft, and room for about 547 faithful. The simple design of the interior nave and sanctuary matched the façade. Under a plain wood ceiling stood a Doric altar screen, three niches, chancel rail, box pews, movable Ionic side altars, and crystal chandeliers [See Figure 3].129 The Cathedral was the tallest building in St. Augustine, after the Castillo. Modest if matched to other new world cathedrals, it was exceedingly grandiose compared to the simple functionality of most of St. Augustine’s buildings.130

127 The façade was influenced by the herreriano desornamentado style, made popular by Juan Herrera, the architect of King Felipe II’s palace-monastery, El Escorial (1563-84). The style became one of the most influential in Spain, with Renaissance-inspired geometry and proportion, but devoid of excessive ornamentation. It was also popular in Spanish America, particularly in frontier towns, where its simplicity was cost effective. Thus, the St. Augustine Cathedral resembles churches in San Antonio and Northern Mexico. Gordon, 124.
129 Gordon, 125.
130 By comparison, the estipite Baroque mission church of San Xavier del Bac, in Tucson, Arizona, measures 150 by 70 feet, and the property spans fourteen acres. See Bernard L. Fontana, “Who Were the Builders
The Cathedral was a strong Spanish icon, centrally situated on the north side of the plaza. Its façade dominated the plaza, which went a long way toward dissolving the amalgamation of Spanish and British building practices that resulted from the British period. The structure was a statement of Spanish dominance in the region; it provided a physical manifestation of the government’s desire to ensure Spanish cultural supremacy. Governor Nepomuceno, who often complained about having to deal with a largely non-Hispanic population, remarked that its completion would help to “dissipate notions that Spain is not interested in developing Florida... [and that] its hold in the region is tenuous.”

Like the Castillo, the Cathedral provided St. Augustinians with assurance of Spanish dominion of the city.

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131 Letters of Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, Reel 15, East Florida Papers, St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida.
Figure 2: Basilica Cathedral of St. Augustine
Although the nave burned down in the late nineteenth century, the facade survives virtually intact since its 1797 construction. The tower is a late-nineteenth century addition. Photograph by D.G. MacLean. Courtesy of Florida Memory: State Library & Archives of Florida, image number PR19858, https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/13435 (accessed July 12, 2015).
Of all the British Period alterations, the Spanish were most receptive to those performed at the Franciscan Monastery and Church, Convento de San Francisco, built between 1737 and 1740. Located in the southernmost corner of the town, the 154-by-16.4-foot stone church featured a belfry façade that rose above the gabled roof, an adjacent, L shaped friary building, and a 90 square foot courtyard enclosed by an arcade. In 1764, the British governor James Grant decided to use the monastery as part of a new barracks and officers’ quarters, named St. Francis Barracks. The church became one wing of the 15,800 square foot, H plan, two-story building. As part of the transformation, the entire structure was sheathed in wood shingles imported from New York; two tiers of colonnaded galleries with graduated columns stretched across front and back, and a large circular lookout crowned the roof. Additionally, the barracks

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had its own harbor and wharf. The monastery was the headquarters for the Franciscan missions during the First Spanish Period. With the missions gone, the Second Spanish Period government saw fit to continue utilizing the building as a barracks. The only alterations were the addition of a gated pine stake fence, and the conversion of kitchens into prisons. In this case, the British additions were not offensive to Spanish eyes. The wide verandas and exterior stairways, common features in Caribbean and Mediterranean architecture, provided outdoor shade and ventilation. The building was thus well-adapted to Florida’s warm, humid climate [See Figure 4].

![Figure 4: Drawing of the Saint Francis Barracks](https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/40900) (accessed July 16, 2015).

Although most of the architecture of the British Period consisted of alterations to First Spanish Period buildings, the Second Spanish Period inherited one significant new building constructed by the British. The Pile of Barracks, as it was called by its draftsman, William De la Rocque, “Elevacion, vista, y persil del plano donde fue Convento de San Francisco,” October, 1788, Vertical Files, SAHS.

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133 De la Rocque, “Elevacion, vista, y persil del plano donde fue Convento de San Francisco,” October, 1788, Vertical Files, SAHS.
134 Gordon, 100.
Brazier, became the largest building in colonial East Florida after its completion in 1772 [See Figure 5]. Constructed at the southern end of town, near St. Francis Barracks, Pile of Barracks was a 31,920 square foot, three-story, H-plan structure ornamented with tall chimneys, a cupola, and a weathervane. Brick was used for the first story, while the two upper stories were built of imported wood and included wrap-around verandas. There was also a fourth floor attic, and five detached kitchens and eighteen privies behind the building.\textsuperscript{135} British officials were very proud of the enormous barracks, but not long after their construction they realized they had made a grave mistake in their choice of materials. Believing that northern lumber and brick was far superior to local resources, officials ordered that all materials be imported from New York. Not long after construction, the barracks began to deteriorate in the Florida climate. Forced to assume costly repairs, British governor Patrick Tonyn bemoaned that the imported lumber turned out to be “much inferior to the wood of this province... it would have been much more beneficial if the construction had been of stone. All the houses in this town are built of a very good stone, from a quarry in Anastasia Island... the engineer [has] assured me the barracks could have been built of this stone, at one third less expense, and would have lasted forever, with very trifling repairs.”\textsuperscript{136} The Spanish reaction to the Pile of Barracks in the late 1780s was to dismantle parts of it and allow the rest to fall into disrepair. Once the largest building in the colony, Pile of Barracks caught fire in 1792, which destroyed what was left of the verandas and the upper two stories. Since the brick first floor survived, the Spanish covered it with a flat roof and converted Pile of Barracks into a prison.\textsuperscript{137} In a telling sign of the disdain held by Spanish officials of

\textsuperscript{135} Gordon, 102.
\textsuperscript{136} Governor Tonyn to Lord Dartmouth and the Lords of Trade, May 1776, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
\textsuperscript{137} Edward R. Joyce, \textit{St. Francis Barracks: A Contradiction of Terms} (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1989), 79.
remnants of St. Augustine’s British past, Governor Nepomuceno joked that the huge structure “meant to house the English finest, is now home to the most wretched.”  

![Figure 5: Part of the Plan and Elevation of the British Pile of Barracks](image)

*Figure 5: Part of the Plan and Elevation of the British Pile of Barracks*

*Courtesy of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board Map Collection, 1785.*

Rather than pure Spanish architecture, residential structures demonstrated a mixture of British and Spanish elements. A good example is Government House, which dates to 1713. It was the focal point of government activity in Florida, and like the Castillo, an architectural link between all three colonial periods. Learning from the 1702 raid that decimated everything except for the Castillo, the governor built a new mansion out of *coquina* stone.  

Late eighteenth-century descriptions of the complex profile a large, two-story house with thick stone walls covered in plaster, a Spanish tradition, and a five-story stone observation tower rising from the northwest corner, fourteen by twenty feet at the base. The tower included a crenellated parapet, stairs, and railings. Government house included typical Spanish stone ovens linked to British chimneys, detached flat-roofed kitchen in the Spanish style with a dining room and covered passageway, and another baking oven under a gabled-wood roof. Sixteen stone

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138 Letter of Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, Reel 15, East Florida Papers, 1794.
139 Hoffman, 136.
columns with capitals supported a second-story gallery above an emblematic Spanish St. Augustine loggia bordering the main, tabby-paved patio, which was enclosed by two-story walls. A second patio and eight gates led to the formal gardens west of the house, with an orchard of 114 orange trees and thirty-seven other fruit trees bearing lemons, peaches, pomegranates, figs, and grapefruit. The wood balcony that protruded over the street was corbelled on eight double beams running out through the wall, and supported with carved curving brackets; it included triple cornices and eight white Doric columns with purposeful intercolumnation to define the central entrance to the balcony. Between the columns was a balustrade with twenty-two turned balusters; above was the cornice entablature, eggshell-blue-painted ceiling, and shingled roof. These were common Baroque features of European architecture, generally. The whole plaza could be seen from the balcony, and many governors addressed the population from this position. The street door below the balcony had a typical Spanish reja. The main entrance to the complex was on the south courtyard, along the two-story wall adjacent to the street and plaza. Here, a massive door, flanked by paired Doric columns supporting a cornice entablature, could impress entering visitors. On top of the wall was a balustrade.140 Government House also had twelve wells lined with masonry, a wood stable and carriage house.141

British governors disliked the wood shutters that protected the large windows, and the use of charcoal braziers instead of fireplaces. As natives of Britain, they were used to glazed, sash

glass windows and chimneys; as in many houses around the city, these were added to
Government House during the British period, with materials imported from Charleston. Among other additions were new sentry boxes for the entrance, new locks and bolts, cupboards (an expensive commodity in Spanish America), a closet under the staircase, shelves in the study, and a brick oven.\textsuperscript{142} The finest house in St. Augustine, it boasted a library, office, dining parlor, drawing room, guest rooms, and a private chapel [See Figure 6].\textsuperscript{143} When the Spanish returned, Chief Engineer Rocque whitewashed the walls to ameliorate the British additions in an attempt to reclaim the mansion’s original Spanish appearance.\textsuperscript{144} His efforts fall in line with the Spanish desire to maintain a Spanish atmosphere in the built environment. However, the building could not hide the many alterations performed by the British.

![Figure 6: Drawing of a View of the Government House](https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/7987) (July 16, 2015).

\textsuperscript{142} Parker, “Government House Overview,” 9, 10.
\textsuperscript{143} Gordon, 93.
\textsuperscript{144} Governor of East Florida to Mariano de la Rocque, August 9, 1786, “Repairs Needed at the Government House,” trans. Luis Rafael Arana, Vertical Files, SAHS.
Evidence of the material wealth arriving in St. Augustine during the Second Spanish Period can be found in the Government House’s official inventories. The governors hosted lavish, candle-lit dinners for St. Augustine’s elite, indulging in gallons of imported wines, casks of Madeira, rum, and beer, barrels of spices, cheeses, herring, and olives, served on polychrome plates from the kilns of Spain, or china and silver from England, accompanied by linens from France and the Netherlands. Such items were listed in ship manifests in larger quantities than the Government House’s inventories, suggesting that they were not exclusive to this residence. Affluent St. Augustinians also had access to such material wealth.  

As the nineteenth century neared, economic activity and prosperity brought along an increase in immigration of a variety of ethnic groups to the already heterogeneous city. The well-to-do sought to differentiate themselves from immigrants and the poor, employing their newfound prosperity to achieve prominence through conspicuous consumption. Architecturally, their efforts led to the development of the St. Augustine style. The style sacrifices symmetry, focusing instead on indoor-outdoor spaces and ventilation. An amalgamation of Spanish and British building practices, the style’s identifying features included thick masonry walls, usually of coquina or tabby, whitewashed inside and out to protect and seal; gabled or hipped roofs for two-story houses, influenced by buildings in Charleston and the Caribbean, and flat roofs with crenelated parapets and waterspouts on single-story buildings. Second stories of stone or wood were borrowed from the British tradition. From these, cantilevered, roofed balconies suspended on double beams projected over the street, and arcaded loggias and galerias overlooking rear gardens and patios are features of northwestern Spanish architecture. The style was also characterized by glazed window sashes and main entryways on courtyard walls that opened into

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145 Shipping Records, Reel 23, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
side gardens, which then led to the main buildings’ entrances located in loggias under galleries. A usual feature for two-story buildings was exterior stairways, common in the Spanish style.  

Separate dependencies housed the kitchen, privies, and storage rooms. Chimneys also became prevalent during and after the British period: English-style brick chimneys and fireplaces in the main building and bell-shaped Spanish chimneys (chimenea campanario) in the kitchens. The St. Augustine style featured sizeable kitchen gardens, wells, and citrus orchards in wealthier homes. The houses were usually built up to the edges of narrow streets, following the Spanish medieval town gridiron layout that had remained unchanged since its founding in the late sixteenth century.  

This stylistic result was a compromise; it was only natural given the town’s history and demographics. With few Spaniards residing in St. Augustine, Floridano, British, and the largest group, Minorcan families, made up the majority of the white urban population. To complicate matters further, ethnic mixing through marriage and business relations became increasingly prevalent. St. Augustinians were ethnically diverse, but through their material possessions, they could assert themselves as St. Augustinians. The upper echelon of Spaniard bureaucrats aside, wealth, rather than place of origin, was the main social divider. As reflected in the domestic built environment that ensued throughout the Second Spanish Period, whether in the adaptation of older structures or new construction, and rather than associating themselves wholly with Spain, St. Augustinians developed a frontier cosmopolitanism that reflected and reinforced their social status.

146 Manucy, 88-111; Gordon, 139-164.  
147 Ibid.
A useful example of a St. Augustine Style home was the Treasurer’s House located on the same street as Government House, just north of the plaza. One of the thirty-two colonial houses that survives to the present, it was named for its first resident, Juan Estevan de Peña, Spanish Royal Treasurer from 1741 to 1764. Originally, it was an L-shaped, one-story house with a flat roof, parapets, and burnt clay or cypress waterspouts that carried off the rain water. The roof covered several large rooms and an arcaded loggia that opened onto patios and gardens. The British added four chimneys and glazed sashes, and surrounded the patio by enlarging the house with a third wing, making a U-shaped floor plan. The dwelling was subsequently occupied by other illustrious figures of the British and Second Spanish Periods, including John Moultrie, Lieutenant Governor of the province of East Florida, from 1772 to 1778; Patrick Tonyn, Governor of East Florida, until 1785, and Carlos Howard, Secretary of Government of East Florida, occupied the house in 1791. In 1791, rancher and entrepreneur Don Francisco Xavier Sanchez purchased the property, and he and his heirs lived in it until the close of the colonial period in 1821.

Born in 1736 to a Floridano family of ranchers in St. Augustine, Sanchez would have known Treasurer Peña and his house during the First Spanish Period. Sanchez was one of only two Floridanos who chose to remain in Florida during the British Period. He took advantage of the growing commercial agricultural economy to expand the family business, turned it into a successful enterprise, and became very wealthy as a result. Upon the return of Spanish rule, Sanchez declared to the government census surveyors that he was “joyfully under the dominion

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149 Eligio de la Puente map, 1764, SAHS; Rocque, “Key to the City.”
of his natural and legitimate king, the Spanish sovereign.”

His reason for the exuberant declaration may have been his desire to marry one of his slaves, Beatriz Piedra from Charleston. The British government had refused his request, but the Spanish government, eager to establish a profitable colony, would not deny St. Augustine’s wealthiest person the right to marry his slave—so long as she converted to Catholicism. The Sanchezes had nine children, all of whom were recorded as white in official records. A probate inventory reveals that by the time of Sanchez’s death, his residence, the Treasurer’s House, included luxury items such as mahogany furniture and silver spoons. The survey of his estate also detailed wooden and glass elements of his house, revealing nine mahogany doors and eleven sash windows—a conspicuous display of wealth, given that glass windows were extremely costly and had to be imported from Europe. Additionally, by the time of his death, the house had a stable, a board fence and a water closet, and a grove of fifteen orange trees. From among the urban population, Sanchez also owned the most slaves at fifty-two, some of which were domestic servants in their owner’s many properties. Lastly, Sanchez owned a collection of silver spurs, which probably held sentimental value given that his fortune came from ranching. Clearly, the upswing in the Second Spanish Period economy had served him well.

Like Sanchez’s marriage to Beatriz Piedra, the marriage of one of his daughters, Beatriz Sanchez, to Francisco Pérez, the garrison’s medical assistant, may also be attributed to Sanchez’s wealth and his importance in the community. As a Spanish-born, military official, Pérez’s union...
with the daughter of a mulatta woman would have been scandalous at least had it happened earlier in that century. By the late eighteenth century, St. Augustine was joining an Atlantic exchange of ideas that caused wealth to be a democratizing agent for the city.\textsuperscript{155}

St. Augustine may have been a Spanish town, politically, and its residents recognized Spanish authority; however, they created a uniquely mixed, creole community that centered, culturally, on the greater Atlantic world rather than solely on the Spanish metropole or Spanish America. The policies of the Bourbon monarchy, and later those of the bureaucracy under the influence of Napoleonic France, only served to undermine Spanish cultural dominance since they further opened St. Augustine to the transatlantic community of cultural and material exchange.

Similar to Sanchez, Don Bernardo and Doña Agueda Villalonga Seguí rose through the social ranks of St. Augustine and purchased a property near the plaza during the Second Spanish Period. The Seguís, both from Minorca, walked penniless from the failed New Smyrna plantation to St. Augustine in 1777, along with some six hundred other Minorcans.\textsuperscript{156} By the end of the British Period, some of these Minorcans had amassed considerable capital supplying food and joining in shipping and trade ventures. Bernardo Seguí began his career in the city as a baker, later earning the contract to supply the Spanish troops with bread. He eventually became a prominent merchant, a member of a network that owned many sailing vessels trading directly with Cuba, Europe, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston.\textsuperscript{157}

After acquiring their fortune, the Seguí family purchased a lot with a pre-existing tabby and wood house in 1786, on the exclusive Aviles Street just south of the plaza. New

\textsuperscript{156} Census of 1793, Census Returns 1784-1814, Reel 148, Section 75, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
construction began around 1805 with *coquina* stone and may have incorporated some of the old structure. Their two-story stone house in the St. Augustine style rose flush with the edges of the street, with a cantilevered balcony suspended from the second story. An ornate loggia was built with stone arches, and a second-story wood gallery looked over the backyard and the kitchen-bakery, where Don Bernardo continued producing bread. The stairway to the second floor was in the loggia. The house featured glazed windows and brick chimneys, by then accepted necessities, particularly in this neighborhood.\textsuperscript{158} But the house’s most unique feature was “its rigid English symmetry.”\textsuperscript{159} The stylistic and location choices made by the Seguis were attempts to include themselves in the city’s upper-class circles. Its grandeur and ornamentation definitely displayed wealth and genteel living. Most importantly, its location near the plaza situated the Seguis among the city’s elite. Lastly, by following the St. Augustine style, they demonstrated their participation in the city’s cosmopolitan frontier community.

Next door on Aviles street, Andrés Ximénez, from Ronda, Spain, and Juana Pellicer, his Minorcan wife, built their *coquina* stone house during the Second Spanish Period with a similar architectural scheme in 1797.\textsuperscript{160} Two-storied, flush with the street, their design included a rear loggia, side entrance, and cantilevered street balcony. An exterior staircase led to the second floor, and a detached building contained a stone kitchen. As a true example of the St. Augustine style, the house contained a pitched roof, glazed sashes, and a fireplace and chimney [See Figure 7].\textsuperscript{161} Ximénez was one of the few immigrants from Spain that came to Florida during the Second Spanish Period. A tradesman, he utilized his large first floor for business undertakings and accommodated his family upstairs. The house was situated adjacent to the plaza and near

\textsuperscript{158} Manucy, 7-14.
\textsuperscript{159} Gordon, 141.
\textsuperscript{160} Census of 1803, Census Returns 1784-1814, Reel 148, Section 75, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
\textsuperscript{161} Manucy, 14-16; Andrés Ximénez testamentary proceedings, April 30, 1806, Reel 140, Section 71, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
the Bayfront, and thus was a great location for merchant activities. Like the Seguís, the Ximénez family established itself among St. Augustine’s elite through wealth, and reflected their position in the built environment.

Figure 7: Restored Ximenez-Fatio House
Courtesy of Florida Memory: State Archives of Florida, c. 1930s, image number DG01107

Besides architecture, further evidence of St. Augustinians’ connection to the wider world is apparent in the probate inventories of four heads of households: Don Miguel Yznardy, merchant and colonial translator; Don Juan José Bousquet, surgeon at the hospital; Don José María de la Torre, commander of the Third Cuban Infantry Battalion; and Don Enrique White,

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162 Ximénez testamentary proceedings, SAHS; Andrés Ximénez to Governor of Florida, February 28, 1804, Reel 80, Section 44, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
the colony’s fourth governor (1796-1811). Their libraries demonstrate that these men were familiar, if not fluent, with more than one language, and that they were cognizant of Enlightenment ideas and philosophies [See Appendix C].

Yznardy’s library included Spanish-to-English and French-to-English dictionaries, volumes on English grammar and spelling, and French-to-Italian and French-to-German dictionaries. Some of his reading comprised *The Letters of Chesterfield*, a collection of essays that gave advice on English manners and comportment, by Philip Dormer Stanmore, Fourth Earl of Chesterfield. Yznardy’s collection is in accordance with his profession as a translator and merchant. Other probate inventories provide additional insight into the life and times of numbers of the Spanish elite in Florida. Colonel José María de la Torre owned the ubiquitous Spanish-to-French and Spanish-to-English dictionaries mentioned in all four probates, six volumes on military subjects, *Don Quixote*, the *Commentaries of Julius Caesar*, and several writings by the French naturalist Buffon. Juan José Bousquet had an extensive library of 71 volumes: 18 volumes of a French encyclopedia; books on medicine in Latin, French, and English; works on natural history; and perhaps to demonstrate his faithful side, two copies of *Imitation of Christ*.

Governor Enrique White’s collection included essays on the French Revolution, books on government in England and the United States, numerous maps and atlases, and writings by the chemist Joseph Priestley. Overall, these titles exemplify the intellectual interests of Spanish American elites in St. Augustine. Along with the evidence provided by the built environment,

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163 Miguel Iznardy testamentary proceedings, April 13, 1803, Reel 139, Section 71, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
164 José María de la Torre testamentary proceedings, December 7, 1807, Reel 142, Section 71, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
165 Juan José Bousquet testamentary proceedings, January 2, 1815, Reel 146, Section 71, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
166 Enrique White testamentary proceedings, April 17, 1811, Reel 144, Section 71, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
these libraries demonstrate the cosmopolitanism and genteel aspirations of the city’s wealthy residents.

In addition to the built environment, clothing is one of the most visible symbols of identity in community life. Probate inventories also allow for an examination of clothing in order to determine whether St. Augustinians identified with certain costume practices over others. In St. Augustine, inventories of personal dress provide the best evidence for differences in the material culture of Spanish and Minorcan colonists. The available evidence suggests that Spanish and Minorcan dress in St. Augustine followed fashions and traditions prevalent in Spain and Minorca, respectively. Unlike architecture, clothing may have been one aspect of material culture which demarcated Spaniards and Minorcans.

Throughout the eighteenth century, costume in Spain followed the dictates of dress in France and England, varying more in elements of style than in components of dress.\(^\text{167}\) Male costume consisted of articles of clothing that had been in use, in one way or another, since the 1680s. Garments basic to the male attire of the nobility, military, and middle classes were the shirt, breeches, stockings, and buckled shoes. Ruffles adorned shirts at the cuff and down the breast, and neckcloth or cravat embellished the collar. Over this went a sleeveless vest or long-sleeved and skirted waistcoat, a long, full-skirted coat or a swallow-tailed frockcoat, and a cape or greatcoat.\(^\text{168}\) In contrast was the costume of the lower classes in Madrid, the majos, who rejected French styles. The males wore close-sitting breeches, stockings, buckled slippers,

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\(^\text{167}\) By the eighteenth century, Spain had lost the dominant influence it had exercised over European Fashion during the period 1500 to 1650. See Ruth Matilda Anderson, *Hispanic Costume 1480-1530* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1979), 13, 87.

waistcoat, short jackets, and a large sash with a cape.\textsuperscript{169} Minorcan male costume contains some of the same elements seen in that of the \textit{majos}. Men wore long-sleeve shirts, a sleeveless vest squared-off at the bottom, knee breeches secured by a belt, gaiters, sandals, a wide-brimmed hat, and a cloth or cape hanging over one shoulder. Minorcan men also donned short jackets in place of the coats worn by the Spanish, and they draped themselves in cloaks as an essential component of dress.\textsuperscript{170}

From a total of forty-eight Spanish and Minorcan probate records available, eighteen probates contain inventories of clothing. Of these, thirteen are Spaniards and five Minorcans, and all were male. The Probates range in date from 1788 to 1817. The remaining probates had assessments of property and dwellings but little or no information on other personal property. Although a small sample, differences between male Spanish and Minorcan dress are discernable.\textsuperscript{171}

Most of the Spaniards were military officers, public officials, or merchants. The five Minorcans represented consisted of the parish priest, a merchant, two artisans, and a sailor. For the most part, the inventories reflect the same range of clothing articles noted in costume histories of Spain in this period: breeches, long coats of several kinds, and ruffles as adornments. Spanish male costume in St. Augustine seems to have conformed closely to what one would expect for the gentry. Likewise, the Minorcans in Florida follow the pattern of clothing utilized in their home island, with short jackets and cloaks being the most prevalent items in the

\textsuperscript{169} Charles E. Kany, \textit{Life and Manners in Madrid 1750-1800} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932), 178-222.
\textsuperscript{170} Griffin, 137.
\textsuperscript{171} Testamentary Proceedings of Juan José Bousquet, Tomás Caraballo, Miguel Ceballos, Francisco Domingo, Josef Elisondo, Pedro García, Mateo Guadianama, Luciano de Herrera, Fernando de la Puente, Pedro José Salcedo, Josée Maria de la Torre, Enrique White, Miguel Yznardy, Vicente Pedro Casaly, Pedro Camps, Lorenzo Coll, Gaspar Hernández, Juan Usina, Reels 134, 136, 138, 146, Section 71, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
inventories, besides undergarments. One exception is significant: the Minorcan merchant, Lorenzo Coll, dressed in the Spanish manner. Although the sample is too small to allow for firm conclusions, this finding suggests that wealthy Minorcans perhaps preferred Spanish styles in order to integrate themselves into the city’s elite circles.

The Spanish authorities in the Second Spanish Period set out to re-acculturate St. Augustine as a Spanish town. One of their mechanisms of control was the utilization of the built environment to reflect desired cultural norms, as evidenced by the construction of the Cathedral and alterations to buildings such as the Governor’s house. Despite these efforts, the population of St. Augustine generally identified themselves with the St. Augustine style, a mixture of Spanish and British stylistic elements, which better reflected and accommodated the cosmopolitan nature of the city. The domestic built environment also demonstrates that wealth could overcome ethnic and racial barriers to social mobility, as was the case for Bernardo Seguí and the Sanchez family. Furthermore, choices in costume among the well-to-do may have been more closely tied to economic status, rather than ethnic background, as was the case with Lorenzo Coll. Wealthy St. Augustinians of different ethnic backgrounds were exposed to transatlantic ideas of gentility and comportment, as the libraries’ inventories indicate. Through the built environment, they displayed their gentility, thereby affirming their belonging to the elite social class.
CHAPTER THREE

For a small percentage of St. Augustine’s population, gentility inspired many aspects of housing and material possessions, reflecting the transatlantic ideas of the time. St. Augustine’s upper class, either through great enterprise or through inheritance, enjoyed a comfortable living. Their houses and goods, as outlined in Chapter 2, reflected their elite status, as well as a level of taste that conformed to their local identity while still not rejecting the Spanish culture imposed by the authorities.

The government was often liberal with regard to land distribution if it meant increased economic activity, and inhabitants of all ranks could apply for land grants. More often than not, however, elite residents were the only ones who could demonstrate the capacity for economic growth; consequently, they were the main beneficiaries of the land grants. These individuals escaped the decay of the Spanish Empire, and in fact used the condition to their advantage: they became creditors to most of the population, and the irregularity of the situado meant that their profits from interest would continue to increase their fortunes. ¹⁷² Thus, certain mechanisms were in place to keep the wealthy at the top.

Unlike their wealthier counterparts, middle class St. Augustinians had to find ways to maintain their standard of living. Lacking comfortable government salaries or vessels with which to trade overseas, the middle class relied on skilled labor and entrepreneurship. For the elite, association with those of lower status was normally an employer-employee relationship or similar arrangement that would allow the wealthy to demonstrate and affirm their higher status and preserve their gentility. Although many middle class persons emulated the well-to-do, they

were not beyond close connections with the poorer classes, especially when these relationships worked to their benefit. Middle class St. Augustinians earned their place in society through shrewd business investment and effective use of their skills and kinship connections. In the cosmopolitan atmosphere of East Florida, men and women were often able to encounter those unlike themselves with enthusiasm and curiosity. The Spanish government in St. Augustine ruled over a highly multicultural population in which the majority of persons were not Spanish, either *criollo* or peninsular. This situation did not allow authorities to implement a casta system similar to those in place in other Spanish provinces. Therefore, in St. Augustine, ethnicity and place of origin mattered little among the white population when it came to social distinction.

This study seeks to represent St. Augustine in light of what its people could achieve, rather than by the relatively poor economic output of its harbor or the apparent weakness of its mother country. As the case studies in this chapter demonstrate, middle class St. Augustinians attained and maintained their social status by taking advantage of the frontier conditions in which they lived. Conditions such as a Spanish minority, relaxed trade restrictions, and inter-ethnic kinship connections, combined with St. Augustinians’ shrewd business acumen, desire for social advancement, and aspirations to genteel living allowed many individuals of humble beginnings to improve their social position. Additionally, many members of the colony’s free black population, despite legal restrictions and prejudice, found their own opportunities for advancement and enhanced their standard of living. Free blacks in East Florida resisted efforts to be diminished to virtual slavery. Instead, they created an intermediate free black class that

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173 The Casta System was a social hierarchy of race classification created by Iberian authorities, which held that people varied according largely to their birth, color, race, and origin of ethnic types. It permeated every aspect of colonial life, and usually determined a person’s socio-economic status, tax bracket, and opportunities. As a general rule, lighter skin meant a better position than darker skin. See Robert H. Jackson, *Race, Caste, and Status: Indians in Colonial Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); and Louisa Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow, eds., *Cities & Society in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986).
enjoyed relative freedoms and became self-sufficient. Viewed in this manner, the story of the Second Spanish Period becomes one of opportunity and enterprise, rather than one of decay and acquiescence.

St. Augustine’s middle class generally concentrated in the southern part of the city. As discussed in the previous chapter, the area around the plaza was the most exclusive neighborhood. A comparison of the 1788 census and the Mariano de la Rocque map drawn that same year reveals that a mere two blocks south of the plaza one would find St. Augustine residences of middling occupations: military officers, skilled laborers, ship captains, and small land owners. Albert Manucy identified St. Augustine’s common style for domestic buildings in contrast to the St. Augustine style, defining it as the usual dwelling of low-income inhabitants. However, the variety of house sizes, room layouts, and other property amenities in the southern part of the city clearly indicate a wide range of income levels. The common style was less ostentatious than the visually striking St. Augustine style. Yet a number of common style houses boasted a complex of separate kitchens and outbuildings, balconies, gardens, and orange tree orchards. The style was common only in its broad usage, housing poor farmers, unskilled laborers, and sailors as well as skilled workers and military officers.

Rocque’s 1788 map and inventory of St. Augustine’s buildings identifies 285 houses. One hundred ninety-nine of the houses had common style plans; of these, 78 comprised a single room, 99 had two rooms, and only 22 had three or more rooms. Records indicate that all room configurations were associated with a wide range of occupations and incomes, but some generalities are apparent: almost all single room houses and about two-thirds of the two-room

174 Manucy, 50-3.
175 De la Rocque, “Plano de la Ciudad”; Census of 1788, Census Returns 1784-1814, Reel 148, Section 75, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
176 De la Rocque, “Plano de la Ciudad.”
configurations correspond to low-income St. Augustinians; the remaining common style dwellings housed the city’s middle-income inhabitants.\textsuperscript{177} Other factors that differentiate common plan houses along class lines are building sizes and materials (wood, tabby, or coquina).

Beyond house plan, design, construction material, and the residents’ occupation, another useful method for gauging wealth and prosperity was the accumulation of urban real estate. Large, rural land tracts and plantations were certainly important social signifiers, but many St. Augustinians also accumulated property within the city to generate income from rent and to display their wealth and status.\textsuperscript{178} St. Augustine encompassed less than half a square mile, and thus the precious real estate within the city walls was in high demand.\textsuperscript{179} Furthermore, the soil immediately around the city was not very fertile, making the best land difficult to protect. For these reasons, acquiring in-town real estate was a common method of social advancement, and many of St. Augustine’s wealthier and middle class residents owned multiple houses by the end of the eighteenth century. The accumulation of houses was thus a means to achieve wealth as well as a higher social status.

One such resident was Gerónimo Alvarez, who came to St. Augustine via Havana in 1784. He originated from a small parish then called Santiago de los Pesos in Asturias, Spain. Alvarez was one of only a handful of the “most desirable” settlers that Spanish officials sought to attract from Spain.\textsuperscript{180} He was poor, but skilled, working first as a baker at the government hospital and lodging with Joseph Pons in the Minorcan quarter, the humblest part of town. After

\textsuperscript{177} Correlation of Rocque, “Plano de la Ciudad,” and Census of 1788, Census Returns, 1784-1814, Reel 148, Section 75, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
\textsuperscript{179} Kornwolf traces the earthwork defenses that surrounded St. Augustine to estimate the total area within the walls. See Kornwolf, 86.
\textsuperscript{180} Tebeau, 79-86.
collecting enough capital, Alvarez bought a small property near St. Francis Barracks and converted it into a shop. He prospered as a storekeeper, enough to report two slaves in the 1787 census. A year later he married the Minorcan Antonia Venz, the stepdaughter of his former landlord Pons. In 1790, a larger property adjoining his shop was put up for auction to pay debts incurred by the current landlords. Alvarez successfully bid 942 pesos for the 2,484 square yard property that included a house, dating to the First Spanish Period, a couple of dove cotes, a chicken coop, two wells, an outside kitchen, and fruit trees. The main house had two levels, the downstairs portion was masonry, and the upstairs was a wooden addition from the British Period. Although the deed did not mention room partitions upstairs, the second level was likely divided into three or more small bedrooms since the house had previously been an inn.

Alvarez continued to prosper in St. Augustine with his business as a storekeeper and baker. In 1791, he acquired another property at auction, the Tovar house, which was adjacent to his previous acquisition. At that point, he owned all three properties facing the street across from the barracks. The new house came with tenants: a Canary Islander and his family, with a room rented to the assistant surgeon at the hospital, Don Tomás Caraballo. Bernardo Seguí, a Minorcan friend of Alvarez who had been a witness at his marriage to Antonia and godfather to his child Antonio, acted as bondsman for Alvarez, providing the surety for this purchase. On the same day, Alvarez acted as bondsman for two lots with houses on a nearby street. As the largest ethnic group in St. Augustine, outnumbering Spaniards and Floridanos two-to-one,

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181 Census of 1788, Census Returns 1784-1814, Reel 148, Section 75, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
182 John Hudson and Maria Evans, January 15, 1790, Reel 173, SAHS.
183 Ibid.; Census of 1793, Census Returns 1784-1814, Reel 148, Section 75, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
185 Ibid.
Minorcans compensated for their low beginnings and lack of wealth by maintaining a close-knit community.186 Favors between community members allowed for mutual prosperity and social advancement. It seems that through his Minorcan wife, Alvarez reaped the benefits of entering a large kinship network, which permitted him to prosper beyond his means as a baker and storekeeper. By marrying into the Minorcan segment of the population, Alvarez adapted to the frontier conditions of St. Augustine to his advantage.

The Alvarez family had another child, this time a daughter, in the 1790s shortly before Antonia’s death. The family continued living in the house and running the bakery into the nineteenth century.187 A few years after his wife’s death, Alvarez earned a lucrative contract with the government to supply ration bread and hard tack for the troops in the barracks across the street. Young Antonio Alvarez started work as a clerk in the government secretary’s office in 1807 and five years later his shopkeeper-baker-landowner father joined the militia to help protect his city against an unofficial American invasion.188 Ambitious adventurers that called themselves Patriots had entered East Florida early in 1810 with the support of U.S. Secretary of State James Monroe in an attempt to conquer the territory.189 The fifty-three-year-old Alvarez served as lieutenant, and his son Antonio also volunteered and served as “Sergeant in Charge of the redoubts of the Cubo Line” during the time he was not occupied with his work as secretary in the government offices.190 The Americans took over the ruins of Fort Mose, an old fortified

186 Griffin, 122.
187 Census of 1803, Census Returns 1784-1814, Reel 148, Section 75, East Florida Papers, SAHS. By the twentieth century, this house was dubbed, controversially, “the oldest house in St. Augustine,” one of many First Spanish Period structures to claim the title. The controversy would never be solved, but the house would still rise to prominence after the St. Augustine Historical Society purchased it in the 1910s. Greatly expanded since the time of Gerónimo Alvarez, it is now a popular house museum. For the oldest house controversy, see Waterbury, “‘The Oldest House,’ Its Site and its Occupants 1650(?)-1984” El Escribano 21 (1984), 1-35.
188 Marques de Someruelos to Governor of Florida, September 17, 1810, Reel 4, SAHS.
189 Patrick, Florida Fiasco, 60; Tebeau, 90. See also, Cusick, The Other War of 1812.
190 Petition, Antonio Alvarez to Governor Jose Coppinger, May 22, 1817, Reel 131, Section 68, SAHS.
town two and half miles north of St. Augustine that had served as the free black village during Florida’s time as a slave sanctuary. Threatening St. Augustine through the spring and the summer months, they eventually gave up and retreated due to a lack of artillery with which to take the Castillo. After exemplary service during the months of tension, Alvarez took on a public role as member of St. Augustine’s new democratically elected municipal government. He became the mayor while his old friend Bernardo Seguí became secretary. Once again, Alvarez had benefited from the frontier conditions of St. Augustine and enhanced his position.

Elsewhere in Spanish America, particularly in the larger metropolitan areas with better funding and larger regiments such as Havana and Veracruz, civilians were not usually needed to help defend the colony against invaders. Additionally, reforms enacted by Charles III and Charles IV in the aftermath of the Seven Years’ War and the French Revolution prohibited certain colonial governors from arming civilians, because of fears of insurrection. In Spanish Florida, neglect from Spain became opportunity for people like Alvarez.

The former baker took to his role in the City Council with zeal. He asserted the rights of the Council on frequent occasions, to the annoyance of the new governor, Sebastian Kindelán y

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191 Tebeau, 87-90.
192 “St. Augustine City Council, Minutes, 27 July 1813,” SAHS. How St. Augustine came to elect its own municipal government is a side story not directly relevant to this study, but important for understanding the last decade of Spanish rule in Florida. In 1810, Napoleon’s Brother, Joseph, whom the French Emperor had appointed King of Spain, still controlled a portion of the Iberian Peninsula despite the Duke of Wellington’s campaigns and those of the Spanish and Portuguese resistance. That year his congress of deputies met in Cadiz to draw up a constitution fashioned on the French Napoleonic Code. The new constitution reached St. Augustine in the fall of 1812, at which point, obedient to even such a liberal declaration, the Spanish government of East Florida created a municipal council as instructed by the new constitution. The liberal government also instructed all of its overseas possessions to commemorate the proclamation of the Constitution by erecting a tablet in their central plaza, and to rename those places “Plaza de la Constitucion.” St. Augustine obeyed, erecting a thirty-foot high obelisk in the city’s central plaza to celebrate the new constitution. The obelisk still stands today in St. Augustine’s Plaza de la Constitucion. See Tebeau, 90-91.
O’Regan, a staunch royalist.\textsuperscript{194} Alvarez was seemingly inspired by the new constitution; his studious examination of the document and of the military ordinances that supported the governor’s authority allowed him to effectively counter Kindelán in the municipal government. His boldest move came after only five months in office, when Alvarez asserted his leadership at a time when Kindelán was away dealing with a crisis in Fernandina. When the City Council was due to meet in May 4, it found the governor’s house locked and Kindelán nowhere to be found. Ignoring the fact that the governor also sat in the Council, Alvarez called the meeting to order in his own house, across from the barracks, giving as his authority “Law 3, Title 4, Book 3 of the Recompilation,” which required the consent of the Council for the governor’s absence.\textsuperscript{195} In the subsequent months, Alvarez continued to push toward greater authority for the Council and for the office of mayor: fighting for control of papers submitted to the governor, for assurance that all decrees from Spain were made known to the people, and for strict lines of authority. He argued that “the governor must not mix himself in economical government matters and of policy because these are a particular function of the mayor.”\textsuperscript{196}

The conflict continued and began bringing in others from outside the Council. Juan José Bousquet, the principal surgeon at the hospital, informed the Council that the loyal people of the town were “in the greatest consternation” at Alvarez’s lack of respect for the governor.\textsuperscript{197} Alvarez finished his term, but was excluded from the following year’s council. It so happened

\textsuperscript{194} Letters of Governor Sebastian Kindelán, Reel 43, Section 23, SAHS. During the short years that the constitution, and the City Council, were in effect, the conservative Kindelán expressed his sympathy for absolute monarchy and his impatience with the Council’s “preoccupation with local trivialities, meanwhile the Americans continue their criminal incursions into [East Florida’s] northern borders.”

\textsuperscript{195} Ibid.; St. Augustine City Council, Minutes, 4 May 1813, Reel 116, Section 58, SAHS.

\textsuperscript{196} Letters of Governor Kindelan, Reel 43, Section 23, SAHS; St. Augustine City Council, Minutes, 1 June 1813, Reel 116, Section 58, SAHS.

\textsuperscript{197} St. Augustine City Council, Minutes, 14 June 1813, Reel 116, Section 58, SAHS. Humorously, while Gerónimo Alvarez bickered with Governor Kinderlán, his son Antonio served the governor as secretary of the government. The day that Gerónimo took the Council to his house, Antonio was out of the city with the governor “as secretary... at his own expense and without salary,” as the young man described the work some years later. Petition, Antonio Alvarez to Governor Jose Coppinger, 22 May 1817, Reel 82, Section 44, SAHS.
that 1814 was the last year of a City Council in Spanish St. Augustine; the constitution was abolished in January 1815 due to Napoleon’s defeat and the restoration of the Bourbon Ferdinand VII to the Spanish crown. Despite his spent political career, Alvarez continued to prosper financially. He received a land grant of 500 acres and a house on the Mosquito River for his volunteer militia service in the 1812 conflict. Antonio also fared very well: in 1814, he purchased property just north of his father’s lots, and in 1817 he was granted a tract of 1500 acres across the St. Johns River in recognition of his service.

Gerónimo Alvarez’s story is one of the few that the surviving records reveal in such depth. It is evident from his career that Alvarez took advantage of the opportunities afforded to whites in St. Augustine. As a Spanish-born colonist, he had no ethnic barrier to overcome. Still, he started out as a poor baker. He put his skill, enterprise, and kinship connections to work for his advancement, dying a wealthy man on one of his properties in 1846, aged eighty-seven. The frontier conditions that allowed inter-ethnic marriages and military service for civilians aided him on the way. The First Spanish Period house across from the barracks remained in the possession of Alvarez’s descendants until 1882, after which were added most of the embellishments and additions that we see today [See Figure 8]. Other parts of his legacy are evident today: the bell in the topmost niche above the Cathedral was his gift to the church, and

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199 Ibid., pg 114; Census of 1814, Census Returns 1784-1814, Reel 148, Section 75, East Florida Papers, SAHS.

200 Geronimo Alvarez Testamentary Proceedings, April 5, 1835, Reel 135, SAHS.

201 Waterbury, “‘The Oldest House,’” 23. It was during the late 1880s, under new owners, that the house received its greatest renovation since the addition of the second story and fireplace in the British Period. The interior coquina walls downstairs were hidden behind dark wood paneling, a balcony and massive round tower were created at the northeast corner of the house, ornamented with shells, and fake dormers appeared on the south slope of the roof. Dark wood paneling was also installed in two of the bedrooms upstairs. Later extensions included a door to the street. St. Augustine Historical Society Oldest House Museum, Oldest House Vertical Files, St. Augustine, FL.
the commemorative 1812 constitution tablet on the Plaza’s obelisk was ordered under his direction as mayor, and survives to this day thanks to him: after the Bourbon monarchy ordered the removal of all tablets commemorating the constitution, Alvarez and some friends removed it, but hid it in the woods rather than destroy it. When Spain became a constitutional government in 1818, the tablet reappeared in its original place on the obelisk.202

![Image of "The Oldest House"](https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/14180)

**Figure 8: "The Oldest House"**


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202 Dewhurst, 140.
It is telling that Alvarez would go to such lengths to protect the tablet. Perhaps the tablet represented his tenure as municipal mayor, or it might have symbolized how far he had come: from poor baker to landlord, eventually to a position of power, butting heads with the colony’s governor. While on the Council, he espoused liberal ideas of self-government popular in his day. Alvarez demonstrates that Second Spanish Period St. Augustine could be a place of opportunity, and social and financial advancement.

The opportunities afforded by East Florida’s frontier conditions were not lost on the colony’s free black population. Racial stereotypes and prejudice informed the way that Spanish authorities and many white inhabitants treated free blacks, but a few managed to become distinguished members of the community. The best example is the slave-turned-Haitian revolutionary general Jorge Biassou, who became a Spanish subject in the early 1790s. He offers a counterpoint to Alvarez’s story of successful social escalation.

After hostilities broke out between Spain and France’s revolutionary government, the Spanish gained the trust of leaders of Haiti’s ongoing revolution for black independence. Their troops became the Black Auxiliaries of Carlos IV in 1793, which the Spanish used as additional forces to deploy against the French. As leader of the Black Auxiliaries, Jorge Biassou was promised a steady salary and appropriate compensation for his services against the French on Hispaniola. However, when a peace agreement was signed in 1795, the Spanish governor of Cuba feared that Biassou and his men might espouse revolutionary ideas or other concepts of equality promoted by the French Revolution. The Black Auxiliaries were soon disbanded and spread out among several Spanish colonies. Biassou and twenty-three of his followers, including his wife and members of her extended family, along with a slave belonging to Biassou, were sent to St. Augustine, arriving in January of 1796. There, Biassou received lodgings for his household.
and a regular salary in payment for his service, though, as he would later protest, his payment fell far short of what the Spanish had promised in 1793. Having become accustomed to affluent living on Hispaniola, he complained several times to the governor, and even to the Captain General of Cuba and the Viceroy of Mexico, that his lodgings and remuneration were not befitting of his stature and service record. Still, his situation was far better than that of most other free blacks in the colony.

Biassou’s group encountered a polyglot colony with a Spanish minority and a large black slave population, comprising about half of the total population. Free blacks were a very small minority at about 250 people, less than a quarter of the total black population. It was composed mainly of those that had managed to reach Florida before 1790, when the Spanish overturned their slave sanctuary policy. At the time of Biassou’s arrival, a preoccupation with racial purity was a growing concern among the white population, and Spain adopted a body of discriminatory legislation designed to regulate its black subjects. Additionally, various segments of East Florida’s population had mixed feelings about Biassou and his entourage. Slave owners feared that free blacks would encourage their slaves to seek their own freedom, while garrison soldiers were attracted by the novelty and took to gathering at Biassou’s house to stare at him. Unfortunately, no record exists of any reaction that the colony’s large black population may have had to the arrival of a decorated black military leader in their midst.

In St. Augustine, Biassou became the leader of the free black militia and his abilities proved instrumental on several occasions, most notably in the quelling of a revolt in 1796 and in

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204 As an example of the regulations imposed on free blacks, Governor Zéspedes required all free blacks to register themselves, to contract for employment, and to obtain permission if they wished to live outside the city, or they would face re-enslavement. See Tanner, 46-9.
the defense of St. Augustine during an American incursion in 1800. His professional military achievements were complemented by his position within the free black society. Marriage and godparental ties between former fugitives from the United States and Biassou’s group linked the two segments of the free black population of St. Augustine, reinforcing their community. Marriages between the leaders of the two divisions of the free black militia created an upper class in the free black hierarchy. Only months after their arrival in St. Augustine, Biassou arranged the marriage of his brother-in-law, Jorge Jacobo, to the daughter of Prince Witen, an escaped slave from South Carolina who had been in the province for a decade. Prince was a skilled carpenter and one of the handful of free black property owners in the city. His status in the community is indicated by the frequency with which he was chosen as godparent or marriage sponsor by other blacks.  

Biassou’s connections extended into the white community. He counted among his friends his direct superior, Don José Antonio de Yguiniz, a royal treasury official and commandant of the black militia. Yguiniz would often loan Biassou’s family money when there were no government funds to pay his salary, and provided his household with daily bread and meat. Demonstrating that the friendship went beyond Biassou’s usefulness for leading the free black militia, Yguiniz also provided the old general’s medicines when he fell ill and became bedridden in 1801. Shortly thereafter, his funeral was a significant event in St. Augustine. Historian Jane Landers writes that “on this occasion, apparently, national loyalty superseded racial distinctions in St. Augustine.” Biassou was buried with full honors in a state funeral, the only free black in Florida’s colonial history to receive such treatment, and the government

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206 Ibid., 91-7.
208 Ibid.
notary attested that every effort was made to accord Biassou the decency due to an officer Spain had recognized for military heroism.209

After the disbanding of Biassou’s Black Auxiliaries, and before arriving in St. Augustine, Biassou and his entourage had first traveled to Havana to meet with the captain general of Cuba. There, he was not even allowed off the boat, and was forced to communicate with the captain general through messengers, before receiving leave to sail to Florida (where he was directed to remain).210 In contrast to that experience, Biassou ultimately earned the respect of the Spanish governor, who attended his funeral in 1801 along with other dignitaries.211 During his brief but significant tenure in Spanish East Florida, Biassou recognized his value to the government as a military leader of the free black militia. Furthermore, he reinforced his position through kinship connections with St. Augustine’s established free black community, and through friendships with high-ranking white officials. Evidently, Biassou understood the frontier conditions of Florida that allowed him to secure his prominent stature.

Biassou’s life in East Florida is hardly representative of the free black experience, and the comparatively more favorable treatment he received from authorities was definitely outside the norm. Still, his story underlines the crucial, if undervalued, role of free blacks for the defenses of Second Spanish Period East Florida. Moreover, it demonstrates that there existed avenues for advancement for free blacks in St. Augustine society, and that this segment of the population was not relegated to the same status as the enslaved population.

Regardless of race or ethnicity, life in St. Augustine was possible thanks to the shipping network that supplied the city with necessary foodstuffs, specie, and a wide range of goods.

209 Testamentary Proceedings of Jorge Biassou, Reel 15, section 306, SAHS.
210 Landers, “Jorge Biassou,” 89.
211 Ibid., 98-99.
Many residents achieved a better financial and social position through success as merchants.

The traditional view in the historiography of Second Spanish Period St. Augustine held that the city languished as a poor garrison settlement, citing complaints from the governor to superiors regarding the colony’s poor inhabitants and conditions.\(^{212}\) James Cusick’s 1991 study dismissed the governor’s complaints as attempts to maintain or increase Spain’s funding and general interest in East Florida. By analyzing shipping records, Cusick demonstrated that St. Augustine was a part in an extensive trade network within and beyond the Spanish Atlantic, with connections to Havana, Veracruz, Seville, Cadiz, Charleston, Savannah, New York, and Philadelphia. Imports into the city included foodstuffs, alcoholic beverages, textiles and clothing, leather products, finished manufactures, wood and wood products, guns and munitions, paper books, writing implements, tobacco, and specie.\(^{213}\) Indeed, St. Augustine merchants took full advantage of the trade restrictions lifted by royal cédula in 1793, which opened legal trade with non-Spanish ports.

The importation of certain goods demonstrates that St. Augustine’s diversified trade network served to bring a wide range of products into the colony. Surviving shipping records do not provide information on the slave trade or shipping activity for government vessels. They mostly pertain to goods carried by private vessels as part of private business transactions. Still, they paint a picture of St. Augustine’s merchant activity and trade connections. Ship manifestos reveal that merchants may have traded with particular ports in order to obtain specific types of

\(^{212}\) The stance holding East Florida as a poor colony is largely drawn from correspondence between the governor and his superiors, and other documents translated in Lockey, *East Florida 1783-1785* and Arthur Preston Whitaker, ed. and trans., *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas, with Incidental Reference to Louisiana* (DeLand, FL: DeLand Publishers, 1931). The major monograph in this school of thought is Zéspedes in *East Florida, 1784-1790*. See Tanner, 46-8.

\(^{213}\) Cusick, “Across the Border Commodity Flow,” 277-99. This article provides a partial picture of trading in St. Augustine since it only analyzes shipping records for 1787, 1794, and 1803. See also Deagan, “Eliciting Contraband,” 98–116.
liquor. Brandy, rum, and Spanish (Catalán and Málaga) wine came through Havana, French Bordeaux, through Charleston, and beer, gin, and moonshine from other ports in the United States.\textsuperscript{214} Havana and Charleston were St. Augustine’s most important trading partners in supplying the city with clothing and textiles in the 1790s.\textsuperscript{215} However, imports of finished clothing seem to drop off in the early 1800s, possibly indicating that local production of clothing was meeting local needs. The importation of finished products of domestic use, including tableware, cutlery, cooking pots, tea kettles, braziers, window panes, candles, furniture, and other personal items came primarily from the United States.\textsuperscript{216}

Shipping records, coupled with archaeological excavations, also demonstrate a change in the importation of ceramic wares and glassware. Importation of Spanish wares, such as \textit{majolicas}, decreased after the mid-1790s. Archaeological reports demonstrate that St. Augustinians were replacing Spanish wares with British-made creamwares, pearlwares, and porcelain.\textsuperscript{217} The absence of official records for these imports suggests that smuggling continued as a significant avenue for trade, even after the 1793 \textit{cedula} lifted trade restrictions. Alternatively, American merchants may have brought these items through Fernandina, a free port north of St. Augustine. Regardless, the shift in ceramics used in the city highlights the cosmopolitan, genteel nature of at least some inhabitants. A preference for finer British ceramics over the common Spanish \textit{majolicas} represents a desire to display a higher social status through material possessions.

\textsuperscript{214} Shipping records, The East Florida Papers, Reels 91-93, bundles 215G17 and 216H17, and Reel 96, SAHS.

\textsuperscript{215} Cusick, “Across the Border Commodity Flow,” 299.

\textsuperscript{216} Shipping records, The East Florida Papers, Reel 96, SAHS.

\textsuperscript{217} Ibid.; Archaeological reports for restoration conducted at the Kirby-Smith site, Alvarez site, Tavares site, and Treasurer’s House site, SAHS.
Apart from demonstrating that St. Augustine indeed had access to a wide range of commodities, shipping records also provide a sketch of the city’s merchant community. The diversity of goods and ports required merchants to maintain a variety of separate trade networks. Patterns of ship ownership and of cargo consignments for vessels sailing between St. Augustine, the United States, and Havana provide clues to how merchants organized. Three colonists—Pedro Cosifacio, a Corsican trader, Miguel Iznardy, a Spanish merchant, and Francisco Felipe Fatio, a Swiss plantation owner—received special trading licenses in 1787 that granted them wide leeway in what they could import.\textsuperscript{218} They figure prominently in the 1787 shipping records, and seem to have been important members of their own trade networks.

The Cosifacio trading network was composed of the families of Cosifacio and of the Minorcans Domingo Martinelli, Bernanrdo Seguí, and Juan Quevado. These families were connected through intermarriage and appear to have jointly owned several vessels. Martinelli was an experienced seaman and acted as captain on the San Pedro, a vessel owned either by him or Cosifacio. He frequently received government commissions to purchase supplies and used these same trips to buy goods for Cosifacio, a major St. Augustine trader and shopkeeper. This family network also included Pablo Cortinas, another merchant and sea captain. The group operated at least three ships: the Santa Isabel and the Nuestra Señora de Belem, both of which made two trips to Havana in 1787; and the San Pedro, which traveled regularly between Guarico, St. Augustine, and North American ports. Another trader/captain likely tied into the network was Lorenzo Coll. He made two trips to Havana and three to Charleston in 1787 aboard the Nuestra Señora del Carmen. By 1793, the ship’s captain was Martinelli.\textsuperscript{219}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[218] Manuel de Zéspedes to Diego de Gardoqui, March 19, 1787, bundle 10158, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
\item[219] Shipping records, The East Florida Papers, Reels 91-93, 96; Census records of 1788 and 1793, Census Returns 1784-1814, Reel 148, Section 75, East Florida Papers, SAHS.
\end{footnotes}
Miguel Iznardy apparently was the central figure of a second network. In 1787, he traded primarily with ports in the United States. Iznardy made one trip to Havana aboard *La Maria*, which he captained. His other ships traded exclusively with the United States and usually had Marcos Andres, a Minorcan, or Joachin Macheochi, an Italian, as captains. Macheochi commanded the *San Miguel* and *Los Dos Hermanos*. The latter traded primarily between St. Augustine, Charleston, and Savannah. In 1787, it made five trips to Charleston, four to Savannah, and one to Providence, Rhode Island. Marcos Andres frequently captained ships bound for Charleston. He served in this capacity, both for Iznardy and for another merchant, the Minorcan Antonio Cantar, who traded primarily with the United States. Fatio also appeared in the records, making trips to Havana, Charleston, New York, and other ports.  

Trade in 1787 was not restricted to these merchants, favored as they may have been by the Spanish government. Another trader/merchant tied into Havana was Joseph Aguirre, who operated one of the many schooners named *Maria*. His cargoes included goods destined both for private merchants and public officials. Among others, Aguirre carried consignments of goods for Antonio Berta, a Minorcan tavern keeper; Bernardo Seguí and Pablo Cortinas, both members of the Cosifacio-Martinelli network; Antonio Fernandez, an intern at the hospital; Miguel O’Reilly, the parish priest; Marino Lassaga, the keeper of artillery stores; Juan Sanchez, the master caulker; and Francisco Miranda, a Spanish merchant. An examination of other consignments from Havana indicates that Coll and the Cosifacio-Martinelli group also loaded their vessels with a mixture of goods destined for both private and public purchasers.  

Cantar’s ship, the *Santa Catharina*, made at least eight trips to Charleston in 1787, twice with Marcos Andres as captain. Cantar’s trade demonstrates that the practice of mixing private  

\[220\] Ibid.
and public commerce also extended to ports in the United States. The *Santa Catharina* brought shipment of 140 pickaxes, 942 varas of linen, 700 varas of cloth for making sacks, and 300 pairs of hose from Charleston in 1787 to fill a request for supplies made by the commander of the garrison in St. Augustine.\(^{221}\) Another captain/trader whose name occurs frequently in the records for 1787 was Miguel Costa, owner of the *Santa Maria*. Costa, like Iznardy and Cantar, operated primarily in the North American trade circuit.

A relatively small group of merchants—predominantly the Cosifacio faction, Aguirre, and Coll—had regular contact with Havana. Cosifacio also traded with the United States, apparently maintaining the *San Pedro* for the North American circuit. Thus, while trade with the Unites States was thrown open to all who could make the trip, commerce with Havana required a connection with a closed group of merchant families. For instance, Costa’s ship *Santa Maria*, on its only trip to Havana in 1787, had Domingo Martinelli of the Cosifacio group as captain.

It is clear from the analysis of shipping records that the merchants of Spanish East Florida were part of a wide trade network, with Havana and Charleston heading a number of Caribbean and United States ports with which the colony carried on commerce. Furthermore, St. Augustine’s location on the Atlantic seaboard may have played a far more pivotal role in its commercial life than previously considered. Its location also gave the city access to an influx of transatlantic ideas that helped to define the social order. The merchants of the Second Spanish Period were responsible for maintaining the genteel lifestyle—and its social implications—that developed in the city.

\(^{221}\) Ibid., bundles 215G17-216H17.
St. Augustine’s location in the frontier meant that social advancement was possible for a large number of the population. Lacking a titled elite or a dominant Spanish population, the higher echelons of the society were virtually accessible to any white male that accumulated enough wealth. Additionally, the city’s location on the Atlantic seaboard meant that its population had access to a wide array of goods as well as transatlantic ideas of gentility. The result was a fluid society in which social status was demonstrated through the accumulation of property, through house design and location, and through the display of refined material possessions.
EPILOGUE

Early historians of the Second Spanish Period frequently interpreted late colonial society as predestined to failure, a vain Spanish attempt to prevent Florida from becoming part of the United States. In fact, it is important to understand that Spaniards returned to Florida with the determination and the knowledge to make it a paying and prosperous settlement. The contingent of Spanish colonists who arrived in Florida in 1784 came from the very center of the Spanish American possession which most benefited from free trade, entrepreneurial spirit, and commercial ties to the United States. They could not help but be aware of the economic opportunities available in St. Augustine. Some were Floridanos, who decided to return to their native land. Others were native Cubanos or, like Governor Zépedes, were Old World Spaniards who had held important royal offices in Cuba during the early years of the sugar boom.

Late colonial St. Augustine was a point in a larger network of trade and immigration that influenced and shaped colonial life. Although it was dwarfed in size by such Spanish American port cities as Havana, Veracruz, and Cartagena, not to mention the cities of the United States, it nonetheless shared many characteristics with these places and fit, albeit as a small cog, into the machinery that drove the Atlantic commercial world. As a port and frontier settlement, it benefitted from infusions of military spending for defense and from government subsidies that helped maintain the city. With the growth of shipping and commerce, colonial residents of St. Augustine had access to external markets and foreign goods on a scale not seen in earlier periods. As in the American colonies, the influx of goods brought with them transatlantic ideas of gentility and refinement that helped St. Augustinians to display and affirm their social status.

The sources available for Spanish Florida’s history do not allow a thorough study into the many aspects of life touched by the idea of gentility: taste, stylishness, beauty, politeness.
However, the evidence presented here strongly suggests that the idea was an important feature of life in Second Spanish Period St. Augustine. The study of gentility is virtually non-existent in the historiography of colonial Spanish America. This is not because the drive towards refinement of the material world did not exist in the region, but simply because historians have not identified it as such. The closest terminology in the historiography of Spanish America is the idea of *hombres de bien*, or men of good. However, the terminology refers primarily to enlightened ideas held by the Spanish gentry, and only secondarily to the material world surrounding them. St. Augustine’s history reveals that gentility and the consumer revolution went beyond the British Atlantic world. Future studies will hopefully complicate the social history of other areas of colonial Spanish America to determine to what degree *hombres de bien* utilized the built environment and material possessions to affect and reflect their social status.

Brought on by the city’s newfound prosperity and the desire to fit into the Atlantic world’s cultural milieu, St. Augustine’s late eighteenth-century built environment reveals both higher architectural standards and an identity with a mixture of European building practices. With much debt to the economic jumpstart provided by the British, the Spanish continued to improve Florida, economically and architecturally. It is clear that the Second Spanish Period was not an era of decay and poverty. While it did not achieve the importance as an Atlantic trading port that Spanish Havana and British Charleston enjoyed, it nonetheless became a relatively prosperous place.

The built environment acted as a divisive factor when it came to differentiating people of different economic groups. However, it also gave St. Augustinians a sense of local identity. The

222 For example, see M. P. Costeloe, *The Central Republic in Mexico, 1835-1846: Hombres de Bien in the Age of Santa Anna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
real social glue, however, was the kinship network that many St. Augustinians formed across ethnic boundaries. Immigrants to Florida brought with them the specific religious, political, and cultural contexts of their places of origin. Furthermore, the idea of genteel living deepened social divisions as it did in British North America. However, frontier conditions in St. Augustine necessitated the maintenance of inter-ethnic associations for social mobility and success. While displays of gentility were outwardly divisive, familial connections went across rank and status, which made white St. Augustine a tightknit community. Thus, a type of frontier cosmopolitanism defined life in St. Augustine, in which transatlantic ideas of consumerism and gentility met with the local realities of a multi-ethnic, fringe garrison-town.
APPENDIX A: TIMELINE OF MAJOR EVENTS
1513: Juan Ponce de Leon discovers the coast of Florida

1565: Pedro Menendez de Aviles founds St. Augustine

1672: Construction began on the Castillo de San Marcos

1702: James Moore from Carolina led an attack on St. Augustine burning the city but failing to take the Castillo. Reconstruction efforts of public and domestic buildings focused on more durable building materials, such as coquina and tabby.

1763: In the aftermath of the Seven Years’ War, Florida is transferred to the British in exchange for Havana, thus beginning Florida’s British Period.

1764: Spanish St. Augustinians, the free blacks of Fort Mose, and the Indians of surrounding villages evacuate to Cuba. The British divide Florida into two colonies, East and West Florida, with Pensacola and St. Augustine as the capitals, respectively.

1768: Dr. Andrew Turnbull and Sir William Duncan gather about 1,400 indentured servants from throughout the Mediterranean to establish the New Smyrna Colony, sixty miles outside of St. Augustine. The group is collectively called “the Minorcans” because a majority of the immigrants were from Minorca.

1775: Led by Francisco Pellicer, the Minorcans abandon New Smyrna and march to St. Augustine, where British Governor Patrick Tonyn grants them refuge. Only about 600 of the 1,400 settlers survived the harsh conditions of the Turnbull Plantation.

1779: Spain does not officially form an alliance with the United States, but does ally with France and declares war on England. Through Governor Bernardo de Galvez of Louisiana, the Spanish send monetary aid to the Americans.

1781: Spanish forces conquer West Florida.

1783: The Treaty of Versailles ends the American Revolutionary War. As a result, Spain regains Minorca and the two Floridas in exchange for Gibraltar and the Bahamas. Florida’s Second Spanish Period begins.

1786: Father Thomas Hassett conducts the first census of St. Augustine since the return of the Spanish, revealing a multi-ethnic populous.

1790: Spain allows Americans to settle in Florida.
1793-1797: Construction of the Cathedral-Basilica of St. Augustine.

1796: American incursion into French and Spanish territories in North America prompt the two powers to ally themselves through the Treaty of San Ildefonso.

1800: France and Spain sign the Third Treaty of San Ildefonso, giving Louisiana to France, but failing to determine the exact boundaries.

1803: Spain and the United States dispute the exact boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase.

1808: St. Augustinians erect the city’s stone gate and rebuild the Cubo line of walls and defenses in preparation for a possible American invasion.

1811: President Madison is secretly authorized by Congress to take over East Florida. The invasion led by General George Matthews results in the Patriot War of 1812.

1812: The Patriot War takes place mostly in West Florida, where American settlers from Georgia and East Florida fight the Spanish forces there. President Madison withdraws support when the Americans began looting and burning plantations and native settlements and capturing and re-enslaving free blacks. The Americans eventually ran out of supplies, ending the uprising.

1813: The eighteen-foot tall obelisk, The Monumento de la Constitucion, is erected in St. Augustine’s plaza to commemorate the newly created constitutional government of Spain. Orders for its destruction arrive the following year, upon the restoration of the Spanish monarchy; however, St. Augustine refuses to do so. St. Augustine’s Monumento is the only surviving monument to the short-lived Spanish constitution in the Americas.

1814: Hundreds of Upper Creeks flee into Florida after the Treaty of Fort Jackson ceded twenty-three million acres of Creek land in Alabama and Georgia to the United States.

1818: The First Seminole War came to Florida when various Indian nations in Florida ally against General Andrew Jackson’s forces, forming the Seminole Tribe. Jackson invades Florida to eliminate the Indian threat to the United States. The Spanish do not respond to the invasion, revealing Spain’s weakness in the region.

1819: The Adam-Onis Treaty of 1819 cedes Florida to the United States in exchange for five million dollars. Revisions will take another three years before the treaty is finalized.

1821: The Adam-Onis Treaty comes in effect, officially ending Spain’s tenure in Florida.
APPENDIX B: 1793 CENSUS OF ST. AUGUSTINE TRANSCRIPTION
The following transcription of St. Augustine’s 1793 Census comes from the East Florida Papers archival collection at the St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library in St. Augustine, Florida. Performed ten years after Spain regained Florida, the census is a detailed attempt to assess the state of the city after the commotion of the transfer, the evacuation of all but 80 British persons, the immigration of new settlers from Spanish America and the United States, and the last of the old Floridano families had returned and claimed their property. Although immigration would continue into the nineteenth century, most of the new population of St. Augustine had finished settling in by 1793.

Previous census records in the 1780s are incomplete or present other problems, thus the 1793 census is a valuable resource for acquiring an accurate measure of the demographics of Second Spanish Period St. Augustine. Each subheading is a cross street or a street identified by a landmark. The numbers represent the houses that ran along each street. Starting with the head of household, the names of everyone in the household, their age, and relationships were recorded, including those of domestic slaves. Women often appear first if their husbands are listed as absent. Free blacks are designated as black or mulatto. For slaves, the census also reveals whether they had been baptized or not. High-ranking government officials are identified by their title. Vacant houses are labeled as such. Additionally, the names of all adults are followed by the names of their parents, if known. Lastly, Protestants are designated as such.

Coupled with other sources such as the St. Augustine Parish records and the 1788 city map and key by Mariano de la Rocque, the Census provides a way to measure kinship connections and inter-ethnic marriages, identify the location of individuals’ houses, and answer demographical questions about East Florida’s urban population.

Civilian population: 1291
Garrison soldiers: 428
Total: 1729
Primera Calle de la Marina que corre desde el Quartel hasta el Castillo

1. Casa nueva de tropa.
2. María Ana Roquera hija de Santiago y de Ysabel Arnau, de 56 años, casada con Josef Ponz, austro.
3. Gerónimo Álvarez hijo de Miguel y de Theresa Álvarez de 34 años. 
   Antonia Venz su mujer, hija de Guillermo y de María Ana Roquera de 20 años.
   Teresa María Antonia hija de los dichos de 4 años
   Antonio Josef hijo de idem de 2 años.
   Esclavos 2, no bautizados.
4. Cecelia Juliana, negra libre de 63 años, viuda.
   Juan Bautista Collins, mulatto libre, hijo de la dicha, soltero de 22 años.
   María Rosa Ana, hija del dicho Juan, de 3 años.
5. Casa vacía.
6. Juan Bilotiapae hijo de Juan y de Rebecca Crandel, casado, de 32 años, protestante.
   Abigail Bilot su mujer de 25 años, idem.
   Ysabel, negra libre de 45 años, no bautizada.
   Tiby, negra libre, bautizada, agregada.
   Georje hijo de los antedichos, Juan, y Miguel de 4 años, no bautizados.
7. Doña Josefa Espinosa hija de Diego y de Josefa Torres, viuda, de 51 años.
   Sebastián Espinosa hermano de la dicha de [?] años, soltero.
   Nicolas Sánchez hijo de José y de Antonia Espinosa de 32 años, soltero.
   Josef Sánchez, hermano del dicho de 29 años.
   Ramón Sánchez hermano de 25 años.
   Don Vicente Llerena hijo de Don Josef y de Doña María del Carmen Hernández de 29 años.
   Doña Maria de la O. Sánchez su mujer, hija de Josef y de Doña Antonia Espinosa de 26 años.
   María Teresa Llerena hija de los dichos de 4 años.
   Rita María su hermana de 2 años.
   Juan Nepomuceno Vidal hermano de 1 mes.
   Damaso negro esclavo de 20 años de Doña Josefa Espinosa.
   Crespin idem de 17 años de idem.
   Henrique mulato esclavo de 14 años de idem.
   María del Pilar mulata libre de 3 años hija de padres no conocidos.
   Mari esclava de 26 años de idem, no bautizada.
7. Casas vacías.
8. Luis Capella hijo de José y de Ana Perdelli de 40 años.
   Margarita Roquer su mujer hija de Juan y de Margarita Arnau de 41 años.
   Ana hija de los dichos, soltera de 18 años.
   Francisco hijo de los dichos, soltero de 13 años.
9. Catalina Ponz negra libre de 43 años
   Catalina Brown, parda libre casada con Juan Antonio García, indio, agregada, de 19 años.
Magdalena García, hija de los dichos de 1 año.

10. Francisco Marin hijo de Antonio y de Tecla Casals de 68 años. 
Magdalena Escudero su mujer hija de Antonio y de Juana Mir de 55 años. 
Francisco Marin hijo de los dichos, soltero de 22 años. 
Georje Medechi hijo de Elias y de Tecla Marin, soltero de 19 años, agregado. 
Francisco su hermano de 22 años. 
Antonio esclavo, no bautizado. 
Magdalena Toaneda hija de Juan y de Magdalena Marin, soltera de 10 años, agregada.

11. Casa de tropa.

12. Josef Rosi hijo de Pedro y de Margarita Salli de 52 años. 
Francisca Sanz su mujer hija de Gaspar y de Angela Hernández de 35 años. 
Gaspar hija de los dichos de 9 años. 
Josef su hermano de 7 años. 
Catalina su hermana de 3 años.

13. Bartolomeo Cintas hijo de Binelo y de Magdalena Cintas de 29 años. 
Antonia Reu su mujer hija de A1onso y de Margarita Alcina de 18 años. 
Magdalena Cintas, hija de Bartolomeo, y de Juana Juvera, viuda de 56 años.

14. Miguel Chapuz, hijo de Josef y de Beatriz AmaDoña de 46 años, su mujer, bautizada. 
Getrúdiz Carillo su mujer hija de Francisco y de Francisca Rodríguez de 37 años. 
Josef Julian Chapuz hijo de los dichos soltero de 21 años. 
Juana Pérez, de la Rosa, negra libre de 82 años, viuda.

15. Don Juan Josef Bousquet, hijo de Don Josef y de Doña Sebastiana de Fuentes de 40 años. 
Doña María Josefa Blanco su mujer hija de Don Josef y de Doña María Antonia Martínez de 36 años. 
Josef María, hijo de los dichos de 13 años. 
Agustina María, su hermana de 11 años. 
Josef Gabriel esclavo de 15 años. 
Doña Juana Blanco hermana de la antedichada Doña Josefa, viuda de 23 años, agregada. 
Margarita Seguí hija de Miguel y de Clara Rosollo de 22 años, agregada, mujer de Vizente Laderolt, idem.

Doña Ana Bower su mujer hija de Don Ricardo y de Doña María, de 30 años. 
Pedro Francisco hijo de los dichos de 6 años. 
Juan Hopkins Gudden hijo de Francisco y de María Hopkins de 9 años, no bautizado. 
Francisco su hermano de 7 años, no bautizado. 
Pedro Brown esclavo de los dichos, todos, agregados.

17. Don Miguel Lorenzo Yznardy hijo de Don Domingo y de Doña Margarita de San Lorenzo de 42 años. 
Doña Juana Torres su esposa hija de Rafael y de Doña Catalina Bernal de 43 años.
Esclavos 10, 4 de ellos bautizados.

18. Doña Phelipa Llanez, hija de Pedro y de Ana Reseo, viuda de 42 años.
   Thomas Escalona hijo de Joaquín y de la dicha, soltero de 23 años.
   Doña Josefa su hermana soltera de 20 años.
   Joaquin hermano de 9 años.
   Esclava 1, catecumena.
   Don Juan Josef del Toro hijo de Juan y de Rosalia Ponze de Leon de 43 años.
   Doña Rafaela Escalona su mujer hija de Joaquín y de Phelipa Llanez de 22 años.
   Fernanda Escalona hija de los dichos de 2 años.
   Thomasa Margarita su hermana de 3 meses.
   Una negra agregada, no bautizada.

19. Don Josef de Otergas, Auditor, hijo de Don Francisco y de Doña María Días de
   36 años.
   Doña María Ygnacia Aljurcin su esposa hija de Don Agustin y de Doña
   María Ygnacia García de 31 años.
   María Josefa hija de los dichos de 5 años.
   Ygnacia Antonia su hermana de 3 años.
   Juana Nepomucina su hermana de 1 año.
   Esclavos 7, todos bautizados.

20. Doña Ana Macdonnel hija de Don Arturo y de Doña Margarita Gonson, casada su
    marido ausente, de 32. años.
    Thomas Haughton hijo de Thomas y de la dicha de 7 años.
    Patricio Gorje su hermano de 5 años.

    Doña Sofia María Phelipina Fatio su mujer hija de Don Francisco Fatio
    [Fatio?] y de María Magdalena de 25 años.

22. Don Manuel Velez hijo de Don Bernardo y de Doña Francisca Gómez, soltero de
    39 años.

23. Casa vacía del Rey.

24. Don Pedro Días Berrio hijo de Don Salvador y de Doña María Antonia de Palma,
    39 años, su mujer ausente.
    Esclavo 1, bautizado.

25. Antonio de Palma hijo de Juan y de Elvira Quintero de 32 años.
    Margarita Macfeal su mujer hija de Paulo y de Margarita Win de 24 años.
    Juana Elvira hija de los dichos de 8 años.
    Juan su hermano de 5 años.
    María hermana de 4 años.
    Esclava 1, no bautizada.

26. Antonio hijo de Francisco y de Mariana Arbisola de 33 años.
    María Sanz su mujer hija de Esteban y de Micaela Hernández de 26 años.
    Catalina Mir hija del anterior marido y de la dicha María de 9 años.
    Micaela Mir hermana de la dicha de 6 años
    Mariana Berta hija de los antedichos Antonio y Mariana de 3 años.
    Esclavos 3, catecumens.
    Lorenzo Beta hermano de Antonio, soltero de 37 años, agregado.
Josef Batalini hijo de Juan Bautista y de Dominga Arner, soltero de 51 años, idem.

27. Don Mateo Guadarama hijo de Don Juan de Acosta y de Doña Francisca Padron de 50 años.
Doña Brigida Gómez su mujer hija de Don Josef y de Doña Ymez Menéndez de 19 años.
Un esclavo llamado Thomas.
Otro, Juan Bautista, bautizado.
María de los Dolores, no bautizada, esclava.
Juan Antonio Guadarama, sobrino del dicho Mateo, soltero de 23 años.
Josef Dulzet hijo de Pedro y de María Seeret, soltero de 32 años, agregado.

28. Don Rafael Días hijo de Josef y de Micaela Fuentes de 46 años.
María de los Dolores Miranda su mujer hija de Diego y de Margarita Rivero de 27 años.
María Aniceta Váldez, huérfana de 10 años, agregada.

29. Don Domingo Martinely hijo de Juan y de Petrona Povreti de 32 años.
Doña Mariana Cavedo su mujer hija de Santiago y de Ynez Victurina de 28 años.
Juan hijo de los dichos de 12 años.
Santiago su hermano de 9 años.
Petrona hermana de 7 años.
Jaime mulato de 4 años.
Esclava 1, Margarita, catecumenada.

30. Luis Buchantini hijo de Miguel y de Rosa Piumbi de 43 años.
Catalina Coll, su mujer hija de Bartolomeo de Josefa Cintas de 29 años.
Antonia Manuri hija de José y de Juana Reo de 11 años, agregada.

31. Bartolomeo Lopez hijo de Andres y de Juana Triay, viudo de 38 años.
Christobal hijo del dicho de 11 años.
Andres su hermano de 10 años.
Juana hermana de 7 años.

32. Juan Barber hijo de Francisco y de Francisca García de 29 años.
María Rosa Seguí su mujer hija de Diego y de Juana Castel de 15 años.

Segunda Calle de San Carlos

33. Antonio Maestre hijo de Bartolomeo y de Antonia Roquer de 41 años.
Catalina Nickleson su mujer hija de Guillermo y de Juana Daly de 30 años.
Bartolomeo Mercelino hijo de los dichos de 1 mes.
Esclava 1, catecumenada.
Antonia Roquer, hija de Antonio y de Antonia Alez, madre del dicho Antonio de Maestre, viuda de 66 años.
Rosa Morrison hija de Miguel y de M. Morrison, huérfana de 12 años, agregada.

34. Casa vacía.
35. Antonio Cuello hijo de Diego y de Antonia Pérez, viudo de 67 años.  
   Antonio Cuello hijo del dicho de 17 años, soltero.  
   María Manuela hija del dicho, casada su marido ausente de 16 años.  
   María Agustina negra libre de 39 años, soltera.  
36. Francisco Blasi hijo de Francisco y de María Barcelo de 34 años, casado, su mujer ausente.  
   Juan hijo de los dichos de 6 años.  
37. Antonio Lambías hijo de Juan y de Margarita Cardona de 31 años  
   Ana Hindsman su mujer hija de Antonio y de Barbara Hrasburg de 23 años.  
   Juan hijo de los dichos de 3 años.  
   Antonio su hermano de 1 año.  
   Ysabel Mott hija de Jonas y de María Hindsman, soledera de 16 años, agregada.  
38. Francisco Blasi hijo de Francisco y de María Barcelo de 34 años, casado, su mujer ausente.  
   Juan hijo de los dichos de 6 años.  
   Antonio Lambías hijo de Juan y de Margarita Cardona de 31 años  
   Ana Hindsman su mujer hija de Antonio y de Barbara Hrasburg de 23 años.  
   Juan hijo de los dichos de 3 años.  
   Antonio su hermano de 1 año.  
   Ysabel Mott hija de Jonas y de María Hindsman, soledera de 16 años, agregada.  
39. Pedro Fontanel hijo de Josef y de Antonia Lago de 32 años.  
   María Luisa Rodríguez hija de Simón y de Alecia Werdington de 33 años.  
   Gorje Long, hijo de Mateo y de Catalina Mongumres de 40 años, Protestante.  
   Christina Matthewson, su mujer hija de Juan y de Ana McCrey de 35 años, Protestante.  
   Winivood McYntosh hija de otro marido y de la dicha, soledera de 16 años, Protestante.  
   Mariana McYntosh su hermana de 14 años.  
   Margarita Long hija del dicho Jorje y de Catalina de 7 años.  
   Marta su hermana de 4 años.  
   Mateo su hermano de 2 años, todos Protestantes.  
   Lorenzo Llanes hijo de Juan y de Barbara Villegas, viudo de 42 años.  
   Barbara hija del dicho y de su mujer difunta de 3 años.  
   Josef Rafael hijo del dicho y de Juana Alb.° de 13 años.  
   Esclava 1, catecumen.  
40. Don Pedro García hijo de Clemente y de Dominga García de 39 años.  
   Doña Josefa Femenías su mujer hija de Jaime y de Josefa Coll de 18 años.  
   Esclava 1, catecumen.  
41. Franco Estacholi hijo de Domingo y de Barbara Leon de 46 años.  
   María Petros su mujer hija de Bartolomeo y de Antonia Lubera de 36 años.  
   Domingo hijo de los dichos de 18 años, soltero.  
   Bartolomeo su hermano de 16 años, soltero.  
42. Doña Margarita Reynon hija de Andres y de María Geynon, viuda de 47 años.  
   María Ana Frean hija de la dicha y de su marido defunto de 8 años.  
   Gillermo [sic; Guillermo] su hermano de 6 años.  
   Esclavos 6, no bautizados.  
   Antonio Pellicer hijo de Francisco y de Margarita Femenías, soltero de 18 años, aprendiz.  
43. Don Manuel Solana hijo de Phelipe y de Gerónima Ceraño de 49 años.  
   Doña María Maestre su mujer hija de Bartolomeo y de Antonia Roquer de 27 años.  
   Phelipe Solana hijo de los dichos de 11 años.  
   Manuel su hermano de 3 años.  
   Bartolomeo su hermano de 1 año.
Lorenzo hijo del dicho y de otra mujer de 18 años. 
Esclavos 10 de ellos, 5 bautizados. 
Don Bernardo O’Callaghan hijo de [blank], soltero. 

Josef Fontanel hijo de Josef y de Antonia Lago de 38 años. 
María Aston su mujer hija de Edwardo y de Dorotea Higginbottom de 18 años. 
Francisca de Paula hija de los dichos de 1 año. 
Esteban casado hijo de Juan y de [blank], soltero de 23 años, agregado. 

Don Ramon de Fuentes hijo de Don Antonio y de Doña Gregoria Silva de 38 años. 
Doña María Peny su mujer hija de Marmiduke, y de María Hazard, de 19 años. 
Antonio hijo de los dichos de 5 años. 

Don Gonzalo Zamoraño hijo de Don Francisco de Joaquina Gonzales de 52 años. 
Doña Francisca del Corral su esposa, hija de Don Felix y de Doña Juana de Dios Menocal de 26 años. 
Francisca, hija de los dichos de 8 años. 
Petrona su hermana de 7 años. 
María de la 0. hermana de 5 años. 
Josef Juan de Sagahun de 2 años. 
Esclavos 2, de ellos 1 bautizado 
Francisca de Sales Honycutt hija de Agustin y de Doña María Smith, soltera de 20 años. 

Don Mariaño de Lasaga hijo de Don Joaquín y de Doña María Rosa Días de 34 años. 
Doña Ynez Generino su esposa hija de Don Antonio y de Ynez Cavedo de 16 años. 
Esclavos 3, no bautizados. 

Don Pedro Cosifacio hijo de Theodor y de Marta Noachisa de 41 años. 
Doña Ynez Cabedo su mujer hija de Santiago Yyde Ynez Victorina de 43 años. 
Marta hija de los dichos de 14 años. 
Praxedis hija de los dichos de 12 años. 
Jacobo hijo de los dichos de 6 años. 
Doña María Rosa Generino hija de Don Antonio primer marido y de la dicha 
Doña Ynez, soltera de 18 años. 
Esclavos 9, de ellos 5 bautizados. 
Mariana Indori hija de Rafael y de Antonia Casañovas, viuda de 34 años. 
Marcos Andreu hijo de la dicha y de su marido difunto de 11 años. 
Antonia, hija de los dichos de 9 años. 
Rafael su hermano de 7 años. 
Antonia Purcel, hija del primer marido y de la dicha Mariana de 13 años. 
Esclava 1, no bautizada. 
Pedro Furnelles hijo de Juan y de Juana Quintana de 33 años, soltero, agregado. 
Francisco Ponz hijo de Josef y de María Capella, soltero de 38 años, agregado. 
Antonio Canter, hijo de Agustin y de Praxides Venent de 32 años, ausente. 
Catalina Costa su mujer hija de Domingo y de María Ambros de 30 años. 
Agustin hijo de los dichos de 17 años, ausente. 
Domingo su hermano de 13 años.
María hermana de 8 años.
Patricio hermano de 7 años.
Esclavos 4, de ellos 2 bautizados.

Josef Peso de Burgo hijo de Pedro y de Gerónima Camugina de 34 años.
María Mabriti su mujer hija de Nicolás y de María Costa de 18 años.
Pedro Josef Antonio hijo de los dichos de 2 meses.
Esclavos 15, de ellos 4 bautizados.

Josef Ponz hijo de Josef y de María Triay de 62 años.
María Triay su mujer hija de Juan y Antonia Campos de 56 años.
Dimas hijo de los dichos de 10 años.
Catalina esclava de 19 años.

María Beatriz Sánchez hija de Don Francisco Xavier Sánchez y de la mulata libre María Beatriz Slone, soltera de 18 años.
Ana hermana de la dicha de 16 años, soltera
Catalina Rosa hermana de la dicha de 14 años
Josef hermano de 21 años, soltero.
Antonio, hermano de 11 años.
María de la Concepción hermana de 9 años.
María del Carmen de 9 años.
Francisco Mateo hermano de 7 años.
Esclavos 5, de ellos 1 bautizado.

Martin Hernández hijo de Gaspar y de Margarita Triay de 38 años.
Dorotea Gomila su mujer, hija de Josef y de Catalina Gomila de 31 años.
Margarita hija de los dichos de 10 años.
Catalina su hermana de 7 años.
Josef su hermano de 5 años.
Gaspar hermano de 3 años.
Esclavos 7, de ellos 3 bautizados.
Josef Gomila hijo de Joaquín y de Catalina Flusa, viudo, de 66 años.

Francisco Xavier Miranda hijo de Diego y de Juana Margarita Ribero de 28 años.
María Andrea Sánchez su mujer hija de Josef y de Antonia Espinosa de 22 años.
María Juliana Ramona hija de los dichos de 4 años.
Manuela su hermana de 4 días.
Esclavo 1, no bautizado.

Don Zorenzo Rodríguez hijo de Pedro y de Ana María Escobal de 61 años.
Doña Ysabel Casilda Puima su mujer hija de María de 52 años.
Andrea, esclava.
Tomás, esclavo.
Antonio, esclavo bautizado.

Pedro la Febre hijo de Phelipe Manuel y de Margarita Bohan de 38 años.
María Gutreau, su mujer hija de Martin y de Ana Belisle de 18 años.
Pedro Manuel hijo de los dichos de 2 meses.
Ana Belisle, hija de Alejandro y de María Blanca, madre de la dicha María, viuda de 58 años, agregada.
Pedro Cosaly hijo de Vicente y de Catalina Redivet, aprendiz de 19 años.
Don Juan Leslie hijo de Don Alejandro y de Doña Ana Duff de 40 años, Protestante.
Doña Ysabel Kean, su esposa hija de Don Juan y de Rebecca Pengrel de 21 años, Protestante.
Doña Ysabel Rosa hija de los dichos de 8 meses, bautizada.
Don Jorge Clarke hijo de Don Thomas y de Doña Honoria Cummings de 18 años, aprendiz.
Don Juan Ellerbee hijo de Thomas y de Sarah Mulcastre de 26 años, Protestante, soltero.

Esclavos 14, de ellos 5 bautizados.

Juan Baptista Witen, negro libre.
María Rafaela negra libre su mujer. Francisco hijo de los dichos de 13 años.
María Rafaela su hermana de 11 años. Margarita negra libre de 12 años, agregada.

Don Manuel Fernando Bendicho hijo de Don Francisco y de Doña Francisca Bendicho de 34 años.
Doña María Rafaela Rodríguez su mujer hija de Don Lorenzo y de Sabel Puima de 23 años.

Esclavos 5, de ellos 3 bautizados.

Don Manuel Romero hijo de Juan Francisco y de [blank].
Doña Ysabel Casimira Rodríguez hija de Don Lorenzo y de Doña Ysabel Puima de 25 años su mujer.
Paula Plutarca hija de los dichos de 6 años.
Manuel Mauricio hermano de 4 años.

Don Domingo Reyes hijo de Don Gabriel y de Doña María Luisa Riso, viudo de 39 años.
Domingo hijo del dicho y de Doña María Belen Chaxon defunta de 9 años.
Josef su hermano de 6 años.
Francisco su hermano de 3 años.

Gaspar Martel hijo de Blas y de Juana Riso de 37 años.
Angela Rosi hija de Josef y de Francisca Sanz su mujer de 17 años.
Juana hija de los dichos de 2 años.

Juan Parcel hijo de Jaime y de Ysabel Druly, soltero de 38 años.
Jorge Powel hijo de Juan y de Sarah Clapton, solero, de 30 años, Protestante.

Margarita, negra libre, no bautizada.
Juan, idem.

Lucia, negra libre, bautizada, con seis más Libres, no bautizados.

Don Josef María Gómez hijo de Pedro y María Rodríguez de 48 años.
Doña Ynez Francisca Mendez su mujer hija de Pedro y de Catalina Ruiz de 39 años.
Josef hijo de los dichos de 16 años.
Juan hermano de 15 años.
Nicolas hermano de 14 años.
Eusebio hermano de 11 años.
María hermana de 6 años.
Bernardo hermano de 5 años.
Elena Artiaga hija de Benito y de Gerónima Escalona, soltera, de 43 años, agregada.
Lucía Mendez hija de Pedro y de Catalina Ruiz del Canto, soltera, de 36 años.
Félix Josef Monte negro hijo de Alejandro, y María Mendez de 5 años.
Una esclava, bautizada.

Juan Hernández hijo de Gaspar y de Margarita Triay de 40 años.
Margarita Ponz su mujer hija de Juan y de Margarita Ridavetes de 17 años.
Margarita hija de los dichos de 1 año.
Magdalena Ponz hija de Juan y de María [Triay?] de 32 años, casada, su marido ausente.
Juan Machoqui hijo de Joaquín y de la antedicha Ponz de 19 años, soltero.

Doña Honoria Clarke hija de Santiago y de Doña Margarita Madan de 47 años, viuda.
Doña Margarita hija de Don Thomas y de la antedicha de 21 años, soltera.
Don Carlos Gualtero hermano de 20 años, soltero.
12 esclavos, de ellos 6 bautizados.

Antonio Montez de Oca hijo de Bartolome y de Josefa Rodríguez de 52 años.
Paula Torres su mujer hija de Bernardo y de Juana Campan de 44 años.
Josefa Montes de Oca hija de los dichos de 4 años.
Mateo Lorenzo hijo de la dicha y de su anterior marido Mateo de 21 años, soltero.
Juan Lorenzo hermana de 18 años, soltera.

Juan Machoqui hijo de [blank] en Cartagena
Basilia Delgado de Juan y de Petrona Gómez de 23 años y mujer del antedicho Acosta.

Juan Paredes hijo de Ramon y de Margarita Ensenada de 37 años.
Ysabel Redaveta su mujer hija de Juan y de Francisca Olivas de 34 años.
Juanina hija de los dichos de 8 años.
Margarita Paredes hija de Josef y de Antonia Llul de 6 años, agregada.
Pedro Vadel hijo de Pedro [?] y de Josa Ponz de 13 años.

Pedro Rodríguez hijo de Lorenzo y de Catalina Ruiz, soltero de 36 años.

Diego Hernández hijo de Diego y de Victoria Vives de 33 años.
Mariana Reyes mujer del dicho, hija de Juan y de Juana María Alberti de 15 años.

Diego Seguí hijo de Juan y de María Ferrer de 46 años.
Juana Castel su mujer hija de Bartolome y de Agueda Seguí de 35 años.
Juana hija de los dichos de 8 años.

Diego hermano de 6 años.
Catalina hermana de 4 años.
Agueda hermana de 2 años.

Juan Carenas hijo de Juan y de Margarita Perpal de 46 años.
Margarita Triay su mujer hija de Josef y de María Truol de 25 años.
Margarita hija de los dichos de 8 años.
María su hermana de 6 años.
Juan hermano de 2 años.

Don Jacobo Hamilton Hall, hijo de Juan y de Tecla Ana de 26 años, Protestante.
Doña Sarah Smith hija de los dichos Jacobo y de Ana Piles su muher de 21 años, Protestante.
Tecla Ana hija de lo dichos de 1 mes.

Domingo Hedsoncopli hijo de Teodoro y de Catalina Catrinaricha, viudo de 38 años.
Juan Hernández, hija de Pedro y de Juana Riola casada, su marido ausente, de 28 años.
Antonia Peregrin hija de Bartolome y de dicha de 7 años.
Juana su hermana de 5 años.

Calle de Hospital

Don Thomas Travers hijo de Don Juan y de Doña Ana Carrel de 35 años.
Doña María Fitzgerald su esposa hija de Don Geraldo y de Doña Ysabel Coonan de 29 años.
Ana hija de los dichos de 11 años.
Juan hijo de los dichos de 9 años.
María hermana de 2 meses.
Esclavos 8, uno bautizado.

Jorje Bechhome, Yndio de 36 años, Protestante.
María Harris de 63, mulata, idem.

Don Juan Farto de Salas hijo de Juan y de María Ceveris de 63 años, viudo.
Clemente hijo del dicho y de Juana Sánchez de la Rosa, viudo de 35 años.
Juan Antonio hijo del dicho y de Juana Margarita, difunta, de 3 meses.

Don Miguel O’Reilly, Presb.
Don Juan O’Reilly su hermano de 22 años, soltero.
D. Lorenzo O’Reilly sobrino de 23 años, soltero.
Esclava 1

Joaquin Sánchez hijo de Diego y de Francisca Acosta de 32 años.
María Rita Bravo su mujer hija de Thomas y de María de los Angeles Prado de 22 años.
Juan Josef hijo de los dichos de 5 años.
Josef su hermano de 1 año.
Ana Carillo hija de Francisco de Francisca Rodríguez, viuda, de 48 años.
Josef María hijo de la dicha y su marido difunto, de 19 años.

Juan Gutierrezes hijo de Andres y de Francisca Fernández de 29 años.
Doña Marta Estefanopoly su mujer hija de Nicolas y de Juana Marin de 18 años.
Andres hijo de los dichos de 4 meses.

Andres Ximénes hijo de Miguel y de Rosa Clavero de 40 años.
Juana Pellicer mujer hija de Francisco y de Juana Villa de 16 años.
Josef hijo de los dichos de 3 meses.
Esclavo 2, no bautizado.

88 Josef Kevy de 43 años
Barbara Robinson su mujer hija de Miguel de Margarita Davison de 30 años.
Juan hijo de los dichos de 8 años.

89 Juan Parkinson hijo de Edwardo y de María O’Brien, soltero de 26 años,
Protestante.
Juan Dewens mulatto, aprendiz, de 16 años, no bautizado.

90 Don Bernando Seguí hijo de Bernardo y de Juana Alcina de 49 años.
Doña Agueda Villalonga su mujer, hija de Bartolome y de Agueda Mely de 39 años.
Antonia hija de los dichos de 16 años, soltera.
Clara hermana de 14 años, soltera.
Bartolome hermano de 12 años.
Blanca hermana de 10 años.
Bernardo hermano de 8 años.
María hermana de 6 años.
Lorenzo hermano de 4 años.
Esclavos 7, de ellos 2 bautizados.

91 Don Francisco Ruis del Canto hijo de Juan y de Gerónima Escalona de 63 años.
Doña Francisca de Yta y Salazar su mujer hija de Gerónimo y de Juana Havers de 53 años.
Francisco hijo de los dichos de 17 años, solterero
Luisa hermana de 13 años.
Juan hermano de 10 años.
Esclavos 4, todos confesados.
Diego Escalona hijo de Manuel y de Antonia Quiñones, soltero, de 61 años.

Calle de San Jorje

92 Antonio Conobas hijo de Antonio y de Juana Redevetes de 37 años.
Catalina su mujer hija de Bartolome Maester y de Antonia Roger de 34 años.
Bartolome hijo de los dichos de 5 años.
Martin su hermano de 1 año.

93 Vicente Casaly hijo de Antonio y de Agueda Casaly de 46 años, viudo.
Esclava 1, no bautizada.

94 Bartolome Suares hijo de Juan y de Juana Martínez de 22 años.
Agueda Casaly su mujer hija de Vicente y de Catalina Redavets de 21 años.

95 Josef Bellido hijo de Francisco y de Josefa Moreno de 40 años.
Antonia Fornalis hija de Juan y de Clara Ponz de 41 años.
Juan hijo de la dicha y de otro marido difunta de 19 años.
Catalina su hermana de 11 años.
Clara hermana de 6 años.

96 Gaspar Papi hijo de Miguel y de Catalina Arias de 42 años.
Ana Ponz su mujer hija de Miguel y de Francisca Coll de 28 años.
Catalina hija de los dichos de 5 años.
María hermana de 4 años.
Ana hermana de 1 año.
Esclavos 2, no bautizados.

97 Nicholas Estepanopoli hijo de Elías y de Marta de 45 años.
Juana Marin su mujer hija de Francisco y de Magdalena Escudero de 39 años.
Juan hija de los dichos de 10 años
Francisco su hermano de 6 años.
Teresa hermana de 5 años.
Josefa hermana de 3 meses.

98 Don Alexandro Leslie hijo de Alexandro y de Lucia Danbrooj de 28 años,
Protestante.
Doña Juana Welsh hija de Guillermo y de Doña Ana de 25 años, su mujer,
Protestante.
Juana Harriot hija de los dichos de 5 años, bautizada.
Alexandro su hermano de 3 años, idem.
Doña Ysabel Bracien hija de Don Guillermo y de Catalina Norwart, viuda de 20
años, Protestante.
Eliza Leslie hija de la dicha y de Don Alexandro su marido difunto de 5 años,
Protestante.
Carlota su hermana de 3 años, bautizada.
Doña Lucia Leslie hija de Don Alexandro y de Doña Lucia Danbrook de 16
años.
Esclavo 1, no bautizado.

99 Don Nicolas Rodríguez hijo de Don Lorenzo y de Doña Ysabel Casilda y Puima,
de 38 años.
Doña María Rafaela Scott su mujer hija de Don Juan y Doña Sarah Briton de 24
años.

100 Don Josef de Zubizareta hijo de Don Domingo y de Doña María de Casas de 28
años.
Doña María Germana de Soria su mujer hija de Dn Vicente de Soria y de Doña
Josefa Fernández de 18 años.
Lorenzo Julian Manuel hijo de los dichos de 1 año.
Esclava 1, catacumena.

101 Juan Rodríguez hijo de Manuel y de Josefa Ruiz de 39 años.
Francisco Aguila su mujer hija de Juan y de Merchora Ramos de 21 años.
Thomas hijo de los dichos de 7 años.
Dionisia su hermana de 5 años.
Domingo Rafael su hermano de 2 años.
Merhora Ramos hija de Thomas y de Agueda Vera de 46 años, viuda.
Thomas Aguilar hijo de la dicha de 17 años, soledero.

102 Juan Francisco Arnau hijo de Juan y de Ysabel Becardo de 39 años.
Ysabel Mula su mujer hija de Bernardo y de Catalina Villa de 39 años.
Ysabel hija de los dichos de 8 años.
Juan su hermano de 7 años.
Don Bartolome de Castro y Ferrer hijo de Don Santiago y de Doña Ana Ferrer de 33 años, soltero.


Doña Juana Margarita Rivero hija de Francisco y de Ysabel Rodríguez, viuda, de 50 años. Antonia hija de la dicha y de su marido difunto de 30 años. Pedro Miranda hermano de 18 años, soltero. Silvestre hermano de 16 años, soltero. María de la Concepción hermana de 35 años, soltera. Pedro Josef hermano de 11 años. Diego hermano de 6 años. Antonio Almara hijo de Mariaño y de María Miranda de 4 años.

Don Sebastián Venazaluce hijo de Don Juan y de María Esperanza Puima de 33 años. María del Carmen Rodríguez su mujer hija de Don Lorenzo y de Doña Ysabel Puima de 30 años. Manuela hija de los dichos de 4 años. Manuel su hermano de 1 año. Ysabel hermana de 3 meses.

Lorenzo Capo, hijo de Antonio y de Rafaela Fabregas de 48 años. Doña Margarita Caste su mujer hija de Bartolome y de Agueda Seguera de 20 años. María de los Dolores hija de los dichos de 2 años. Rafaela hija de Lorenzo y de otra esposa de 12 años. Antonio su hermano de 10 años. Mulatto 1, agregado, bautizado.

El Señor Don Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, Governador. La Señora Doña María Josefa Arango su esposa. Don Vicente hijo de los dichos de 11 años. Don Rafael su hermano de 8 años. Doña Manuela su hermana de 3 años. Doña María de la Asensión de 2 meses. Don Vicente Mexias, Mayordomo, soltero, de 31 años. Esclavos 9, todos bautizados.

Don Juan McQuien, ausente, hijo de Don Juan y de Doña Ana Dalton de 41 años, casado, su mujer ausente. Esclavos 3, no bautizados.

Bartolome Llufrio hijo de Constantino y de Ursula Alberti de 41 años. Antonia Mestre su mujer hija de Bartolome y de Antonia Roger de 38 años. Ursula hija de los dichos de 8 años.
Constantino hermano de 6 años.
Juan Antonio hermano de 3 años.

Don Juan Bautista Ferreyra hijo de Antonio y de Gracia María Fonseca de 29 años.
Doña Ysabel Nixon su mujer hija de Juan y de Ana Ursula Andrade de 28 años.
Juan hijo de los dichos de 10 años.
María su hermana de 7 años.
Francisco Lorenzo hermano de 2 años.
Esclava 1, bautizada.
Doña Ana Ursula Andrade hija de Henrique y de Josefa Camera, viuda, de 45 años.
Ana Nixon hija de Juan y de Ana Ursula Andrade, soltera de 22 años.
Juliana, hija de la dicha, de 3 años.

Don Gerardo Forraster hijo de Don Patricio y de Doña Brígida MacDonnel de 56 años.
Doña Donisia Hull su mujer hija de Don Antonio y de Doña Susanah Kean de 34 años.
Susanah su hija, de los dichos de 12 años.
Thomas hermano de 13 años.
Ysabel hermana de 10 años.
Gerardo hermano de 6 años.
Doña Susanah Kean madre de la dicha Donisia, viuda.
Doña Susanah Kean Hunter, hija de Alejandro y de Doña Sara Hull, soltera, de 17 años, agregada.
Esclavos 4, no bautizados.

Ana Barnett hija de Thomas y de Ysabel Tomon, viuda de 28 años, Protestante.
Francisca hija de la dicha y marido difunto Francisco Roche.
Clara hermana de 6 años, bautizada.
Josef hermano de 4 años, bautizado.
Ana hermana de 1 año, bautizada.

Diego Carreras hijo de Juan y de María Triay de 30 años.
Clara Paxeti su mujer hija de Andres y Gertrudis Ponz de 20 años.
María hija de los dichos de 5 años.
Gertrudis hermana de 2 años.
Esclava 1, catecumena.
Andres Paxeti hijo de Thomas y de Sangarote de 27 años.
María Castell su mujer hija de Bartolome y de Agueda Seguí de 33 años.
Andres hijo de los dichos de 7 años.
Bartolome hermano de 2 años.
Thomas hijo del dicho Andreu y de su primera mujer Gertrudiz Ponz, soltero, de 17 años.
Magdalena hermana del dicho de 15 años.
Gertrudiz hermana de 12 años.
Agueda Seguí hija de dicha Castel y de su anterior marido Juan Seguí de 10 años.
Esclavos 4, de ellos 1 bautizado.
Juan Cavedo hijo de Santiago y de Ynez Victorina de 31 años. 
Juana Seguí su mujer hija de Don Bernardo y de Agueda Villalonga de 22 años. 
Ynez hija de los dichos de 6 años. 
Ynez Victorina madre de Juan, viuda, de 62 años. 

Juan Villalonga hijo de Bartolome y de Agueda Melba de 47 años. 
Marian Cardona su mujer hija de Lorenzo y de Margarita Mula de 41 años. 
Agueda Villalonga hija de los dichos de 12 años. 

Ynez hermana de 7 años. 
Bartolome hermano de 4 años. 
Esclavos 2, de ellos 1 bautizado.

Don Thomas Hasset, Presb., Cura Beneficiado, Vicario y Juez eclesiastico. 
Esclavos 2, casados.

Jorje Costa hijo de Domingo y de María Bross, de 26 años. 
Margarita Villalonga su mujer hija de Juan y de Mariana Cardana de 17 años. 

Esclavo 1, no bautizado.

Don Gillermo McEnnis hijo de Juan y de Ysabel Searle de 57 años, viudo. 
Doña Ysabel Macerones hija del dicho y de Doña Marta Hacket casada con Don Gillermo Geron ausente de 23 años. 
Thomas Geron hijo de los dichos de 4 años. 
Juan su hermano de 2 años. 
Miguel Munro hijo de la dicha y de un anterior marido Gorje, de 11 años. 
Hana su hermana de 8 años. 

Esclava 1, catecumenas.

Sebastián Hortega hijo de Sebastián y de Ana Jeres de 42 años. 
Ana María Cavedo su mujer hija de Santiago y de Ynez Victoria de 42 años. 

Sebastián hijo de los dichos de 18 años, soltero. 
Santiago hermano de 15 años, soltero. 
Bernardo hermano de 7 años. 
Ynez hermana de 4 años. 
Mariaño hermano de 2 años. 
Esclava 1, no bautizado.

Matías Ponz hijo de Francisco y de Agueda Euget de 29 años. 
Juana Villa su mujer hija de Pedro y de Antonia Fiol de 26 años. 

Antonia hija de los antedichos de 12 años. 
Agueda su hermana de 9 años. 
Francisco hermano de 7 años. 
Pedro hermano de 5 años.

Josef Cortes hijo del Real Hospital de Balia de 46 años. 
Jaime Pratt hijo de Francisco y de María Campos. 

Margarita Vivas su mujer hija de Magino y de Juana Vens de 44 años. 

Demetrio Fudelache, natural de Candia de 45 años. 

María Parla su mujer hija de Juan y de Catalina Braf de 57 años. 
Nicolás hijo de los dichos, soltero de 22 años. 
Miguel Costa hijo de la María Parla y Domingo anterior marido de 30 años. 

María Dremaniche su mujer hija de Domingo y de Catalina Femenias de 18 años.
Domingo hijo de los dichos de 3 años.  
Eslavo 1, no bautizado.

126 Don Juan Sánchez hijo de Juany de Catalina de Soto de 45 años. 
Doña María Castaneda su mujer hija de Gaspar y de Sebastina de Bargas de 51 años. 
María hija de los dichos de 14 años.  
María del Rosario su hermana de 8 años.  
Eslavos 4, de ellos e bautizado.

127 Doña Eugenia de Yta y Salazar hija de Gerónimo y de Juana Avero, viuda de 56 años.  
Eslavo 1, bautizado.

128 Don Tadeo de Aribas hijo de Don Raymundo y de Doña Ursela de Avero de 26 años,  
Doña María Gracia Perpal su mujer de 21 años.  
Ursela hija de los dichos de 2 años.  
María Ysabel su hermana de 2 meses.  
Eslavos 2, de ellos 1 bautizado.

129 Don Pedro Josef Salcedo Comandante de Artillería.  
Doña María Dolores Galan su esposa hija de Don Juan y de Doña Manuela Camero.  
María Josefa Welsh hija de Juan y de Juana Allen de soltera de 16 años, agregada.  
Catalina Ximénez hija de Rafael y de María Ramillera de 8 años, agregada.  
Eslavos 2, de ellos [?] bautizados.

130 María Triay hija de Francisco y de María Englada, viuda de 56 años.  
Francisco Triay hijo de Juan y de la dicha de 41 años.  
María Slap su mujer hija de Pedro y de Juana Barcelo de 19 años.  
María hija de los dichos de 2 años.  
Juan hermano de 2 meses.

131 Juan Triay hijo de Juan y de Juana Ponz de 39 años.  
Juana Jimenez [Ximénez?] su mujer.  
Juan hijo de los dichos de 12 años.  
Francisco, hermano del antedicho de 10 años.  
Barbara hermana de 4 años.  
Josef Baya hijo de Antonio y de la dicha Juana de 19 años.  
Eslava 1, no bautizada.

132 Don Sebastián García hijo de Juan y de María Sánchez de 31 años.  
Doña Josefa Ortegas su mujer hija de Josef y de María Castaneda de 26 años.

133 Diego Clarke de 36 años, Protestante.  
Margarita su mujer de 55 años, idem.  
Eslavo 1, no bautizado.

134 Doña Luisa Escalona hija de Alonso y de Sebastiana Bargas, viuda de 65 años.  
María del Rosario, Eslava.  
Francisca hija de la dicha esclava.  
Antonio, esclavo.

135 Don Vicente Moreno hijo de Don Antonio y Catalina Juarez de 30 años.
Doña Melchora Montero su mujer hija de Don Pedro y de Doña María de Cordova de 34 años.
Fernando María hijo de los dichos de 6 años.
María Manuela su hermana de 5 años.
Ramon hermano de 3 años.
Juan de la Cruz hermano de 1 año.
Nicolás Agustín de 3 años.
Rafael Ximénes hijo de Rafael y de Catalina Espineta de 58 años.
María Ramillera su mujer hija de Domingo y de Esperanza Campos de 41 años.
María hija de los dichos de 13 años.
Rafael su hermano de 5 años.
Esperanza de 10 años.
Gerónima de 4 años.
Don Josef Ponz de Leon hijo de Don Francisco y de Doña Jacoba Puello de 43 años.
Doña Catalina de Porras su mujer hija de Don Salvador y de Juana Navarra de 39 años.
Josef hijo de los dichos de 15 años.
Manuela hija de los dichos de 9 años.
Ciriaco su hermano de 7 años.
Josef Carreras hijo de Pedro y de Margarita Campos de 37 años.
María hija de los dichos de 11 años.
Juana su hermana de 7 años.
Angela Caulas hija de Antonio y de Juana Ponz , viuda, de 81 años.
Domingo Vallos hijo de Domingo y de la antedicha Juana, soltero, de 22 años.
Luis Soche hijo de Juan y de María Ruiz de 55 años.
Antonia Tremol su mujer hija de Pedro y de Margarita Campos de 31 años.
Josef Espineta hijo de Juan y de Juana Cintas de 45 años.
María Trual su mujer hija de Sebastián y Magdalena del Poso de 54 años.
Francisco hijo de los dichos de 26 años, soltero.
Juan Gonopli hijo de Gorge y de María Canela de 42 años, viudo.
Esclavos 3, de ellos 1 bautizado.
Lucía Pezo de Burgo hija de Domingo y de Madgalena de Nuncio, viuda, de 55 años.
Pedro Peso de Burgo hijo de la dicha y de su difunto marido Francisco de 18 años, soltero.
Doña Nicolasa Gómez hija de la Pedro y de María Gertrudiz Rogdríguez, viuda, de 65 años.
Barbara, negra esclava
Blas, esclavo
Rafael, esclavo
Don Fernando de Navara Aredondo hijo de Josef y de Doña Teresa Aredondo de 28 años.
Doña Antonia Perdomo su mujer hija de Don Ygnacio y Doña Licolasa Gómez de 27 años.
Josef hijo de los dichos de 7 años.
Fernando hermano de 5 años.
Dominga su hermana de 2 años.
Dorotea hermana de 4 meses.
Don Josef Frz., Ayudante de la Plaza.

Francisco Arnaud hijo de Francisco y de Antonia Ponells de 43 años.
Clara Pretos su mujer hija de Santiago y de Francisca Prats de 42 años.
Francisco hijo de los dichos de 19 años, soltero.
Santiago su hermano de 16 años, idem.
Francisca hermana de 12 años.
Clara hermana de 9 años.
Dominga hermana de 3 años.

Calle del Quartel de Dragones

Pedro de Cala hijo de Lucas y de Juana Moreno de 46 años.
Ana María de los Dolores Seguí su mujer hija de Juan y de Ysabel Seguí de 23 años.
Manuel Josef hijo de los dichos de 4 años.
Antonio su hermano de 2 años.
Esclavos 2, de ellos 1 bautizado.

Juan Ponz hijo de Antonio y de Margarita Cardona 31 años.
Juana Andreu su mujer hija de Antonio y de María Olivera de 21 años.
Mariana hija de los dichos de 2 años.

Juan Lorenzo hijo de Juan y de Mariana Quentin de 38 años.
María Villa su mujer hija de Francisco y de María Ferrer de 34 años.
Mariana hija de los dichos de 13 años.
Juan su hermano de 11 años.
Antonio hermano de 7 años.
María hermana de 5 años
Magdalena hermana de 3 años.
Matheo hermano de 1 mes.

Antonia Espineta hija de [blank] y de Catalina Espineta, viuda de 28 años.
Margarita hija de la dicha y de su marido difunto de 6 años.

Antonio Josef Alberti hijo de Christobal y de Juana María Fabregas de 48 años.
Juan hijo del dicho y de su mujer difunta.
Catalina Oliveras de 13 años.
Francisca su hermana de 11 años.
Juana María hermana de 4 años.

Antonio Meina hijo de Miguel y de Catalina Alcina de 46 años.
Rafaela Capo su mujer hija de Antonio y de Rafaela Fabregas de 40 años.
Catalina hija de los dichos de 13 años.
Rafaela su hermana de 11 años.
Antonia hermana de 8 años.
Miguel hijo del dicho y de la anterior mujer Catalina Medina de 20 años.
Esclavo 1, no bautizado.
Pedro Antonio Riso hijo de Pedro y de Antonia Castel, viudo, de 46 años.  
Josef Menuce hijo de Marcos y de Magdalena Roque de 46 años.  
Juana Riso su mujer hija de Pedro y Antonia Castel de 41 años.  
Marcos hijo de los dichos de 8 años.  
Juana su hermana de 5 años.  
Pedro hermano de 3 años.  
Jorje hijo de la dicha y del anterior marido de 18 años, soltero.  

Gabriel Triay hijo de Antonio y de Ana Quintana de 36 años.  
Margarita Sanz su mujer hija de Estevan y de Magdalena Hernández de 30 años.  
Antonio hijo de los dichos de 11 años.  
Gabriel su hermano de 7 años.  
Ana su hermana de 2 años.  

Alberto Roger hijo de Ramon y de Catalina Liña de 36 años.  
Antonia Villa su mujer hija de Francisco y de María Ferrer de 32 años.  
Catalina hija de los dichos de 9 años.  
Ramon du hermano de 7 años.  
María su hermana de 3 años.  
Esclavo 1, catecumeno.  

Juan Pomar hijo de Josef y de Juana Liña de 26 años.  
Martina Hernández su mujer hija de José y de María Mir de 18 años.  
Josef hijo de los dichos de 2 años.  

Josef Arnau hijo de Josef y Ynez Gerez de 29 años.  
Magdalena Manuri su mujer hija de José y de Juana Peis de 14 años.  

Andres Lopez hijo de Andres y de Juana Triay de 30 años.  
Antonia Gómez su mujer hija de Martin y de Antonia Triay de 19 años.  
Andres hijo de los dichos de 4 años.  
Juana su hermana de 2 años.  

Miguel Navarro hijo de Miguel y de Rosa Rabel de 36 años.  
María Tomson su mujer hija de Thomas y de María Mongumrus de 22 años.  

Bartolome Alcina hijo de Bartolome y de Benita Pallicer [Pellicer] de 53 años.  
María Luke su mujer hija de Andres y de Margarita Barruche de 40 años.  
María hija de los dichos de 8 años.  
Margarita su hermana de 5 años.  
Antonio hermano de 4 años.  

Antonio Ponz hijo de Antonio y de Margarita Cardona de 40 años.  
Benita Alcina su mujer hija de Bartolome y de María Lucas de 19 años.  
Margarita hija de los dichos de 4 años.  
María su hermana de 2 años.  

Pedro Estopa hijo de Pedro y de Margarita Pallicer [Pellicer] de 43 años.  
Ana Quintana su mujer hija de Matheo y de Juana Caballero de 56 años.  

Miguel Villalonga hijo de Miguel y de Martina hija de los dichos de 37 años,  
viiudo.  
Martina hija de los dichos de 12 años.  
Agueda su hermana de 11 años.  
Rafaela su hermana de 8 años.
Francisca hermana de 6 años.
Catalina hermana de 3 años.

Primera Calle Traviesa empezado por Tolomato

162 Barney Ogden hijo de Moyses y de María Cousins de 37 años, Protestante.
163 Bartolome Figuera hijo de Miguel y de Juana Pomar de 44 años.
Juana Arnau su mujer hija de Diego y de Juana Vicarias de 42 años.
Miguel hijo de los dichos de 15 años, soltero.
Diego su hermano de 12 años.
Juana hermana de 8 años.
Bartolome hermano de 3 años.
164 Jorje Cla hijo de Jorje y de María Pritos de 36 años.
Ynez Paula su mujer hija de Pedro y Margarita Rodríguez de 43 años.
Georje hijo de los dichos de 7 años.
Pedro Duran hijo del primer marido Pedro y de la dicha de 18 años.
Andres Brown hijo del segundo marido Andres de la dicha de 10 años.
165 Diego Hernández hijo de Diego y de Michaela Lesana de 63 años.
Victoria Vivas su mujer hija de Antonio y de Agueda Villa de 53 años.
166 Manuel Suarez hijo de Francisco y de Rosa de Lias de 27 años.
Agueda Hernández mujer del antedicho hija de Diego y de Victoria Vivas de 18 años.
167 Antonia Cla hija de Jorje y de María Pretos de 61 años.
168 Josef Hernández hijo de José y de Magdalena Cardona de 46 años.
Juan Liña su mujer hija de Juan y de Juana Acosta de 53 años.
169 Antonia Andreu hijo de Juan y Angela Caulas de 42 años.
Agueda Ponz su mujer hija de Pedro y de Magdalena Pallicer [Pellicer] de 37 años.
Juan hijo de los dichos de 19 años, soltero.
Antonio su hermano de 13 años.
Magdalena hermana de 8 años.
Agueda hermana de 4 años.
Juana hermana de la antedicha Agueda de 19 años, agregada.
170 Josef Hernández hijo de José y de Martina Victoria de 45 años.
María Mir su mujer hija de Gabriel y de Catalina Ponz de 32 años.
Catalina hija de los dichos de 13 años.
Josef su hermano de 10 años.
María Rosa hermana de 8 años.
Gabriel hermano de 6 años.
Diego hermano de 4 años.
Juan hermano de 2 años.
171 Pedro Osias hijo de Gerónimo y Ana Christiana de 40 años.
María Ortegas su mujer hija de Sebastian Cherez de 32 años.
Pedro hijo de los dichos de 11 años.
Ana su hermana de 8 años.
Sebastian hermano de 5 años.
María hermana de 2 años.
Pedro Sabate hijo de Miguel y de Catalina Capo de 33 años.
Antonia Hortegas su mujer hija de Sebastian y Anan Cherez de 28 años.
Miguel hijo de los dichos de 9 años.
Catalina su hermana de 7 años.
Ana hermana de 5 años.
Sebastián hermano de 2 años.
Esclava 1, catecumena.
Ana Cherez hija de Lorenzo y de María Hernández, viuda, de 61 años.
Luis Trufilon hijo de Josef y de María Ana Vedala de 29 años.
Juana Gomez su mujer hija de Martin y de Antonia Tudori de 16 años.
Antonia Tudori hija de Augustin y Juana Triay, viuda, de 47 años.
Pedro Llull hijo de Juan y de Margarita Ferrer de 42 años.
Miguel Ysabel Mortan su mujer hija de Francisco y de María Crosby de 28 años.
Esclava 1, bautizada.
Francisco Dalmedo hijo de Juan y de Juana Manent de 41 años.
Juana Venz su mujer hija de Pedro y de Ana Ferrer de 30 años.
Ana María hija de los dichos de 6 años.
Joseph su hermano de 1 año.
Sebastian Coll hijo de Sebastián y Francisca Ponz de 35 años.
Margarita Villa su mujer hija de Pedro y de Antonia Fiol de 30 años.
Pedro su hermano de 7 años.
Joseph su hermano de 2 años.
Esclava 1, catecumena.
Miguel Seguí hijo de Nicolas y de Magdalena Canpino de 39 años.
Magdalena hija de los dichos de 18 años.
Juan su hermana de 13 años.
Nicolas hermano de 10 años.
Guillermo hermano de 5 años.
Joseph Bulchany hijo de Miguel y de Felicia Marialy de 44 años.
María Acosta su mujer hija de Domingo y de María Bross de 32 años.
Rosa María hija de los dichos de 5 años.
Antonia de la Cruz su hermana de 1 año.
Miguel Macloride hijo de la dicha y del otro marido de 13 años.
Nicholas Nicoliche hijo de Martin y de María Tarrabuche de 46 años.
Josefa Coll su mujer hija de Bartolome y de Josepha Ponz de 36 años.
Martin hijo de los dichos de 9 años.
Manuela hermana de 7 meses.
Martin Mureden hijo de Edmundo y de Ynez Muneden de 41 años, caloche.
Serah Nelson [Sarah Nelson?] hija de Reason y de Hana Wilson su mujer de 27 años, Protestante.
Ana hija de los dichos de 6 años.
Juan su hermano de 4 años.
María Ana hermana de 2 años.

Segunda Calle Traviesa

181 José Turdas hijo de Thomas y Gerónima Jacome de 20 años.
María Magdalena Gavardy su mujer hija de Antonio y de Catalina Olavera de 22 años.
Gerónima hija de los dichos de 5 años.
Thomas su hermano de 4 meses.
Esclavas 4, catecumenas.

182 Don Manuel de Almansa hijo de Don Francisco y de Doña Josef de Troya y Reguera de 48 años.
Doña Luisa Pérez su mujer hija de Don Bartolome y de Doña Beatriz de la Rosa de 39 años.
Juan Antonio hijo de los dichos de 13 años.
Felícita Josefa su hermana de 11 años.
Antonia hermana de 9 años.
Paula hermana de 6 años.
Manuela hermana de 4 años.
Esclavos 3, confesados.
Domingo Samoraño hijo de Turibio de 57 años.

183 Pedro Triay hijo de Miguel y de Ana Frau de 39 años.
María Alberty su mujer hija de Antonio y de Slop de 18 años.
Miguel hijo de los dichos de 3 años.
Ana Frau hija de Ysabel Esudori y de Francisco, viuda, de 63 años.
María Peregrino hija de Matheo y Ana María Triay de 8 años, agregada.

Tercera Calle Traviesa

184 Juan Joaneda hijo de Antonio y de Margarita Florida, viudo de 27 años.
185 Edwardo Aston hijo de Samuel y de Margarita Adair de 46 años.
María Hindsman su mujer hija de Antonio y de Barbara Strasburgh de 38 años.
Guillermo hijo de los dichos de 6 años.
María su hermana de 5 años.
Juan hermana de 4 años.
Phelipe Aston hijo del dicho y de otra mujer de 19 años, soltero.
Edwardo hermano de 14 años.
Ysabel Mot hija de la dicha Hindsman y de otro marido, soltera, de 18 años.
Ana su hermana de 16 años.
Margarita Hindsman hija de Antonio y de Barbara Strasburgh, soltera, 29 años.
186 Don Julian de Salas hijo de Juan y Juan Sánchez de 29 años.
Doña Teresa de Jesús Rodríguez su mujer hija de Don Lorenzo y Doña Ysabel Puima de 17 años.
Juan Pablo Manuel hijo de los dichos de 1 mes.
Juan Ponz hijo de Juan y de Margarita Redavets de 19 años, aprendiz, soltero.
Juan Fernández hijo de Santiago y Ramona Solaño de 16 años, aprendiz.

**Cuarta Calle Cruzada**

187 Don Rafael Espinosa Sahabedra hijo de Thomas y Agustina Espinosa de los Monteros de 31 años.
Doña María Gonzales su mujer hija de Christostimo y de Juana Montes de Oca de 31 años.
Thomas hijo de los dichos de 5 años.
Roberto su hermano de 3 años.
Agustina María Rosa su hermana de 1 año.
Antonio Gonzales hermano de la dicha María de 12 años.
Leonarda su hermana de 10 años.
Eslava 1, catecumena.

**Quinta Calle Cruzada**

188 Don Dimas Cortes hijo de Don Antonio y Doña Sebastian Quesada de 36 años.
Doña Agueda Seguí su mujer hija de Don Bernardo y de Doña Agueda Villalonga de 18 años.
Claudio hijo de los dichos de 8 meses.
189 Margarita Olard mulata libre, catecumena.
María hija de la dicha de 8 años.
Juan su hermano de 6 años.
Margarita Anastacia hermana de 2 meses.
Juan Smith mulato, agregado, Protestante.

**Sexta Calle Taviesa**

190 Antonio Guertas [Huertas?] hijo de Andres y de Luisa Rubin de 41 años.
Catalina Aguilar su mujer hija de Juan y Melchora Ramos de 22 años.
Juan Antonio hijo de los dichos de 3 años.
Agueda Dorotea su hermana de 1 año.
Catalina Jones Yng.ª saldada, una Protestante.
191 Gaspar Papi hijo de [blank].
Williby Pue hijo de Luis y de Margarita Pue, viudo, de 50 años, Protestante.
192 Don Rocque Leonardy hijo de Juan y de Jacoba Beaguone de 57 años.
Doña Agueda Coll su mujer hija de Bartolome y de Josefa Ponz de 41 años.
Clorinda Josefa su hija de los dichos, soledera, de 17 años.
Juan su hermano.
Bartolome hermano de 9 años.
Jacoba hermana de 6 años.

116
Margarita hermana de 3 años.
Esclava 1, catecumena.
Negros criados 3, de ellos 1 bautizado.

Don Manuel Rengil hijo de Don Miguel y de Doña Catalina Baluarte de 28 años.
Doña María Jones su mujer hija de Yndigo y de Doña Margarita Woodland de 25 años.
Ygnacio hijo de los dichos de 6 meses.

Septima Calle Cruzada

Juan Suarez hijo de Bartolome y de Ysabel Navarro de 45 años.
Juana Martín su mujer hija de Bartolome y de María Suarez de 45 años.
Gregorio hijo de los dichos de 18 años, soltero.
Josef su hermano de 15 años.
Don Martin Martinez hijo de Gregorio y de Ysabel Soriaño de 31 años.
Lucia Coruña su mujer hija de Josef y de Manuela García de 15 años.
Rita María hija de los dichos de 1 año.

Octavo Camino de la Fería

Josef Antonio Coruña hijo de Pedro y de Viuda Suarez de 47 años.
Josefa García su mujer hija de Juan y de Lucía Sánchez de 44 años.
Antonio hijo de los dichos de 24 años, soltero.
Pedro Acosta hijo de Josef y de María Rodríguez de 44 años.
Cecilia Artiles su mujer hija de Juan y Tecla [?] Josefa Sardina de 43 años.
Josefa hija de los dichos de 12 años.
María su hermana de 10 años.
Lucía hermana de 8 años.
Thomasa hermana de 5 años.
Catalina hermana de 2 años.

Orillas del Río de Matanzas

Juan Ferrer hijo de Josef y de Juana Flucha de 37 años.
Juana Flocha su mujer hija de Josef y Margarita Losaño de 43 años.
Fernando Felany hijo de Santiago y Margarita Belory
Su mujer
Santiago hijo de los dichos de 13 años.
Teresa su hermana de 7 años.
Margarita hermana de 5 años.
Francisco Pallicer hijo de Antonio y de Juana Cintas de 39 años.
Juana Villa su mujer hija de Francisco y de María Ferrer de 28 años.
María hija de los dichos de 9 años.
Antonia su hermana de 6 años.
Francisco hermano de 4 años.
Juan Antonio Eujenio de 6 meses.
Antonio hijo del dicho y de la anterior mujer Catalina.
Esclavos 3, no bautizados.

202 Josef Dupont hijo de Abraham y de Juana Ysabel Dupré de 50 años, Protestante.
Ana Dupont su mujer, hija de Gideon y de Ana Goodbee de 48 años, Protestante.
Abraham hijo de los dichos de 25 años, soltero, Protestante.
Guédeo su hermano de 21 años, soltero, Protestante.
Ana hermana de 23 años, idem de idem.
Juana Ysabel hermana de 18 años, idem.
María Magdalena hermana de 16 años, idem de idem.
Ysabel Goodbee hermana de 14 años, idem.
Rebecca hermana de 4 años.
Esclavos 28, no bautizados.

203 Hepworth Carter hijo de Thomas y de María Hepworth de 42 años, Protestante.
Margaretta MacLean su mujer hija de Juan y de Ysabel Page de 39 años,
Protestante.
María su hermana de 12 años, idem.
Margaretta María hermana de 5 años.
Thomas Manuel hermano de 2 años.
Esclavos 25, no bautizados.

204 Santiago Barneby hijo de Juan y de Susana Hugs de 37 años, Protestante.
Ana Gold su mujer de 26 años, idem.
Susannah hija de los dichos de 10 años.
Ana su hermana de 8 años.
María hermana de 2 años.
Esclavo 1, no bautizado.

205 Juan Holsendorf hijo de Federico y de Roxina Huport [Dupont?] de 40 años,
Protestante.
Ysabel Erhardt su mujer hija de Francisco y de María Urbino Mollett de 36 años,
idem.
Juan Luiz Reall hijo de los antedichos de 17 años, soltero, Protestante.
Guillermo Bluntón hermano de 10 años, idem.
Ysabel Rosina hermana de 2 años.
Esclava 1, no bautizada.

**Orillas del Río del Norte**

206 Juan Ximénez, viudo de 60 años.

207 Anastacio Marbrumate hijo de Antonio y de María Marculina, viudo de 56 años.
Antonio hijo del dicho y de su mujer difunta Francisca Llabres, de 15 años.
María hija de los dichos de 11 años.
Catalina su hermana de 8 años.
Margarita hermana de 6 años.
Maríana hermana de 3 años.
Esclavo 1, no bautizado.
Pedro Fuchua hijo de Josef y de Margarita Llesaño de 42 años.
Francisca Pretos su mujer hija de Santiago y de Francisca de 38 años.

Juan Seguí hijo de Benito y de Magdalena Peluda de 37 años.
Agueda Henrique su mujer hija de Matheo y de Juana Pallecer [Pellicer] de 26 años.
Benito hijo de los dichos de 8 años.
Margarita hermana de 4 años.

Bernardo Hernau hijo de Martin y de María Mula de 42 años.
María Sanz su mujer hija de Cosme y de María Mula de 37 años.
Martin Arnau hijo de los dichos de 4 años.
Pedro Lambias hijo de Guillermo y de dicha de 10 años.

Domingo Seguí hijo de Domingo y de Antonia, viudo de 36 años.
Domingo hijo del dicho y de su difunta mujer de 9 años.

Thomas Andreu hijo de Juan y de Angela Caulas de 31 años.
Margarita Preites su mujer hija de Jaime y de Francisca Pretos de 31 años.
Juan hijo de los dichos de 11 años.
Francisca su hermana de 7 años.
Jaime hermano de 5 años.
Margarita hermana de 3 años.

Don Francisco [Xavier?] Sánchez hijo de Don Josef y de Doña Juana Pérez de 56 años.
Doña María del Carmen Hill su mujer hija de Teophiló y de Teresa Tomas de 23 años.
Rafaela hija de los dichos de 5 años.
Manuel su hermano de 3 años.
Francisco hermano de 1 año.
Esclavos 59, de ellos 9 bautizados.

Guillermo Smith hijo de Thomas y de Catalina de 38 años.
Ana Dawning su mujer hija de Patricio y de Ana Farrell de 26 años.
Juan hijo de los dichos de 5 años.

Antonio Hindsman hijo de Antonio y de Barbara Strasburgh de 43 años.
Eleonora Genoble su mujer hija de Juan y de Ana de 28 años.
María Barbara hija de los dichos de 7 años.
Catalina Antonia su hermana de 5 años.
Lucia su hermana de 2 años.
Esclavo 1, no bautizado.

Juan Salom hijo de Miguel y de Juana Ponz de 40 años.
Margarita Nielo su mujer hija de Juan y de Clara Victorina de 36 años.
Juan hijo de los dichos de 13 años.
Clara su hermana de 10 años.
Miguel hermano de 3 años.
Juana hermana de 1 año.

Don Manuel Marhal Malter de 49 años.
Doña Teresa Tomas su mujer hija de Juan y de Christina de 49 años.
Alexandro hijo del dicho y de anterior mujer María Douglas, de 15 años, soltero.
Christina Hill hija de la dicha y de anterior marido Teophiló, soltera, de 18 años.
María hermana de 14 años.
Ysabel hermana de 12 años.
Ana hermana de 6 años.
Juan hermano de 6 años.
Esclavos 12, ningunos bautizados.

218 Roberto Andrews, mayoral de Don Francisco [Xavier?] Sánchez de 41 años, Protestante.
Ana Jemison su mujer de 38 años, Protestante.
Ana hija de los dichos de 7 años.

219 Juan Fateo, Protestante, soltero de 35 años.
16 negros de la propiedad de los eredores de Doña María Guans, de ellos 6 no bautizados.

220 Pedro Maestre hijo de Bartolome y de Antonia de 45 años.
María Andrew su mujer hija de Juan y Angela Caulos de 36 años.
Bartolome hijo de los dichos de 19 años.
Juan hermano del antecedente de 14 años.
Angela su hermana de años.
María hermana de 7 años.
Antonia hermana de 5 años.
Pedro hermano de 3 años.

221 Juan Capo hijo de Gabriel y de Antonia Mesguida de 53 años.
Agueda Seguí su mujer hija de Miguel y de María Olivas de 52 años.
Pedro hijo del dicho y de Esperanza Mall, soltero, de 19 años.
Juan, hijo del dicho y de María Contos de 13 años.
Gabriel su hermano de 10 años.
Esclavos 3, de ellos 1 bautizado.

222 Lazaro Ortegas hijo de Ygnacio y de Ana de 35 años.
Catalina Llebres su mujer hija de Jaime y de Catalina de 34 años.
Catalina hija de los dichos de 12 años.
Francisca su hermana de 6 años.
Ygnacio Hortegas hijo de Lazaro y de Francisca Nard, viudo de 54 años.

223 Lorenzo Capella hijo de Matias y de Jerónima Suaú de 30 años.
Catalina Duran su mujer hija de Pedro y de Ynez Paulo de 23 años.
Gerónima hija de los antedichos de 7 años.
Mathias su hermano de 4 años.

224 Juan Andrew hijo de Juan y Angela Cualas de 47 años.
Catalina Ponz su mujer hija de Miguel y de Francisca Coll de 51 años.
Juan hijo de los dichos de 23 años, soltero.
Miguel su hermano de 22 años, idem.
Antonio hermano de 17 años, idem.
Francisca hermana de 14 años, idem.
Francisca otra hermana de 6 años.
Catalina hermana de 4 años.

225 Don Agustín Boyke hijo de Don Pedro y Doña María Catalina de 27 años, soltero.
Esclavos 8, ninguno bautizado.
Nota: Que el Batallion que guarnese esta Plaza se compone de 346 hombres. Del Piquete de Artillería, 23 idem. Del Dragones, 17 idem. Forzados, 52. Todos confesados y comulgados, 438.
APPENDIX C: LIBRARY INVENTORIES TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION
**Table C-1.** Books in the Library of Miguel Yznardy, translator for Spanish Florida, from his 1803 probate inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title or Subject</th>
<th>Pesos</th>
<th>Reales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Spanish-English dictionary in one volume, by Johnson &amp; a Spanish-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English grammar in one volume</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A French-English dictionary by Chasubeau &amp; a French-English grammar</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Father Kempis</em>, one volume in English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Method for Swimming</em> in one volume by Mitchels</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Imperial Dictionary of Four Languages</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La Curia Filipica</em>, one volume, old</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Annual Register of 1758</em>, one volume in English</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictionary of ??? in one volume in English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Las Cartas de la Condesa de Chesterfield (second and fourth volumes)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Las Cartas de la Condesa de Chesterfield (third volume)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One dictionary of misspellings in English</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume of Las Cartas de Escots</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume titled <em>Crimenes y Castigos</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume, <em>Royal Cooking</em>, in French</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume, <em>Medicinal Chemistry</em>, in French</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume, <em>Moral Reflections</em>, by La Rochefoucauld, in French</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume, <em>The Tragedy of Charles II</em>, in French</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Volume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One book on sailing, in English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One bookm <em>Criminal Process</em>, old, by Roberto Francisa Damien, in French</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second volume in English of <em>Adventures of Telemacu</em>s</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume of the <em>Acts of Parliament in the Reign of King George III</em></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nine Essays on Navigation and Pilotage</em>, one volume in French by el Don Douquen</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A French-Italian grammar, one volume</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Art of Cooking</em>, in English, one volume</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Modern Piper</em>, on volume, in English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The History of Insects (fourth volume) in English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A book in English about the salvation of men</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume, <em>Christian Dicipline</em>, in English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume, <em>Devotions</em>, in English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A French-German dictionary</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second volume of <em>The History of Animals</em>, in English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La Dittia</em>, in English, one volume lacking the beginning</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume, <em>Roman History</em>, in English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One book, <em>Principles and Customs of the Times</em>, in English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual of Spiritual Practices, in English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptismal Doctrine of the Guacones, in English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Reflections on Man</em>, one volume, in English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth volume of English Pilots on Navigation</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
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</table>
Table C-2. Books from the library of Juan José Bousquet, colonial surgeon, from his 1815 probate inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title or Subject</th>
<th>Pesos</th>
<th>Reales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>The Encyclopaedia</em>, in French, 18 volumes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A book on medicine in English, in parts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another of the same, Caxton edition</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A book by George Baker, in English</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, <em>Elements of Medicine</em>, in English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An old dictionary in English and French</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, portable, in English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two volumes, <em>Practice of [???]</em>, in English</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another volume, old, <em>Imitation of Christ</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, in parts, [not decipherable]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, <em>Treatise</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, <em>Opera Universal</em>, in Latin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, <em>New Dispensation</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, <em>Essays</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, <em>Decalogue</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, Caxton’s <em>Physical</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, <em>Pergamino bibliasacra</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, old, <em>Ejercicio de virtudes</em></td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Volumes</td>
<td>Pages</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In parts, <em>Cirugía Moderna</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, in one quarter, <em>Decalogue</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, <em>Elementos de medicina</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, <em>Lectura de materias</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two more, same form, the first and second volumes, <em>Materias medicas</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume, in parts, <em>Observaciones epidemicales</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two more, in parts, <em>Travels [???]</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, <em>Historia natural</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, <em>Imitación de Cristo</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, <em>Tabla anatómica</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven volumes, in quarter, <em>Practica de medicina</em></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six volumes, in parts, <em>Lecturas academicas</em></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume, in quarter, dictionary of French and Latin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, on surgery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, <em>Instrucciones medicinales</em>, in Latin</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another, same form, old, [indecipherable] in Latin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One more, same form, <em>Home Medicine</em>, in English</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One more, old, <em>Surgical Operation</em>, in French</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One more, <em>History of Plants</em>, in French [?]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One more, old, in parts, <em>Fundamentales de medicina</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One more, same form, <em>Moral Reflections</em>, in English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A dictionary of English and Spanish</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>81</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
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</table>
Table C-3. Books from the library of Colonel José María de la Torre, Commander of the Cuban Infantry Battalion, from his 1807 probate inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title or Subject</th>
<th>Pesos</th>
<th>Reales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ordinances, three volumes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compendium of the works of Buffon</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Don Quixote</em> in six volumes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Principles of Geography</em> by López, two volumes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La Matilde</em> in three volumes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Diccionario militar</em>, one volume</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French and English <em>vocabulario</em>, one volume</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Breldfeld erudicion completa</em>, four volumes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Commentaries of Julius Caesar</em>, two volumes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheridan’s English dictionary, two volumes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nociones militares</em>, one volume</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map of the Kingdom of Spain</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Total]</td>
<td>[40]</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table C-4. Books from the library of Enrique White, Governor of Spanish East Florida, from his 1811 probate inventory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title or Subject</th>
<th>Pesos</th>
<th>Reales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two volumes in English titled <em>American Gazeteer</em> by Jebidiah Morse</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume in English, <em>Ellicotts Journal</em></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A magazine, eight volumes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume in English, <em>The New Annual Register</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Infantry Tactics</em>, one volume, in French</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Colon juzgado militar</em>, four volumes</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Life of José Balsamo</em>, in French, one volume</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictionary of Spanish, French, and Latin, by M. de Sefournant, two volumes</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyer’s dictionary of French and English, two volumes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume in English, <em>General Atlas</em></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two volumes in English, <em>The World of Peter Pindar</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ceremonies of the Coronation of France</em>, in English, one volume</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tactics</em>, in French, two volumes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Measurement of Ireland</em>, in English, one volume</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>National Recreations</em>, in English, two volumes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The New Mercantile System</em>, in English, one volume</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Diversionary Tactics</em>, in French, one volume</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Volume(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Chaise Companion</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journey to the United States, by William Prist</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three volumes of military ordinances</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One volume, Triple Almanac of England, Ireland, and Scotland</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter to Joseph Priestly</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A memorial about the United States and Louisiana</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sketches</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistolas familiaris del Obispo de Mondonedo</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New Testament</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oraciones y meditaciones para la misa</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposition on the Revolution of Liege</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Annual Register</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Knowledge</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Spanish and English grammar</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictionary of English by Johnson</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memorias historicas para server a la Revolución de Francia</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlas of Geography</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographic Measurement of Spain and Portugal</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of the Roman Emperors</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The House of Stuart</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military dictionary</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memoirs of Gui Joly</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elements of Fortification</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Several drams in French, one volume 0 6
A plan of the city of Paris 0 6
Another of the city of London 0 2
*First Principles of the Marquis de Fourier*, in French, three volumes lacking the first 3 0

*Mercury*, in English, one volume 1 4
*Journal of the year 1798*, in English, volume five 0 4
A dictionary of the Spanish Language 8 0

[Total] [122] [4]
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Spanish Land Grants. Works Progress Administration’s Florida Historical Records Survey.

*Florida Memory*: State Library & Archives of Florida:

https://www.floridamemory.com/collections/spanishlandgrants/

St. Augustine Historical Society Collection. St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library, St. Augustine, FL.

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