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THE AVERO STORY:
AN EARLY SAINT AUGUSTINE FAMILY WITH
MANY DAUGHTERS AND MANY HOUSES

by CHARLES W. ARNADE

I. *Juan de Penaloza and the Siege.*

By November 10, 1702, the English forces led by the ruthless James Moore, Governor of English Carolina, had occupied the town of St. Augustine. Over 1500 people took refuge in the Spanish fort which the English never were able to conquer. For two months Moore besieged the fort. The Spanish artillery was weak and ineffectual in driving away the enemy; the English artillery was inadequate against the massive walls of the fort. Moore tried to place his guns within closer range of the moat. The Spanish, afraid of this maneuver, dispatched a patrol with orders to burn all houses within a range of 750 feet from the fort. The houses of thirty-one St. Augustinians were devoured by the Spanish flames. Among them were the buildings that stood on northern St. George Street, today's unofficial main street of St. Augustine.

Once these structures were burned, the English were deprived of elevations from which to fire into the fort. The siege continued, with Moore hoping that better guns would arrive from English Jamaica, and the Spanish praying that a requested relief convoy from Havana might reach St. Augustine before the Jamaican artillery. The Spanish won the race; the Carolinians folded camp and retreated in haste. But before lifting the siege they applied the torch to every remaining building in town. By December 30, 1702, the English had left, but all of St. Augustine was a shambles. On New Year's Eve, most of the flames had died down, but ashes were still smoldering when the new year arrived. To the thirty-one proprietors who lost their houses at the hands of their own compatriots, 118 were added, since their residences too, were eaten by the flames - English flames. It did not matter whether the fire was English or Spanish; it spread rapidly and efficiently and destroyed all of St. Augustine.

Compensation and reconstruction were neither rapid nor efficient. Naturally, the fervent Carolinians had burned to the foundation the hated main church of St. Augustine. The Spaniards, so punctilious in their religion, were never able to obtain funds to rebuild the church during their first occupancy of Florida, which came to an end in 1763. Certainly the task of rebuilding was slower than a snail's pace. Not until early 1708 was an appraisal report of private property destroyed in 1702 undertaken. This document was finally dispatched to the Crown in August, 1709. Many proprietors had lost hope of ever receiving any compensation. Naturally, those who had seen their houses go up in fire at Spanish hands were more impatient to get some kind of aid.

Among these was a man by the name of Juan de Penalzoa. His burned house was appraised in 1708 at 200 pesos, for possible compensation. This indicated that it was an average house, maybe somewhat on the poorer side, since the appraisal range was from 50 to 6,000 pesos. Documents have failed to tell us much about Penalzoa and if he ever received his 200 pesos. It is doubtful that he did. If not, the only thing left for him to do was slowly to rebuild a new structure on his lot at his own expense. Maybe this is what Penalzoa did, not only in order to have a new residence on his homestead, but also to leave a house for his descendants. Such was a sign of parental success in the colonial way of life.

Penalzoa's daughter was Maria Flores, who married Domingo Garcia de Acevedo, a *peninsular*, a term meaning born in Spain but resident in St. Augustine. From this marriage a daughter by the name of Francesca Maria Garcia de Acevedo Penalzoa came into the world in St. Augustine. In turn, Francesca Maria, once married, would give birth to many St. Augustinians. But until then, she, Francesca Maria, was still the darling granddaughter of the Penalzoa who lost his house in the famous siege of 1702. It is assumed by documentary deduction, but not proven by these documents, that the Penalzoa homestead, with some kind of rebuilt structures-within one musket-shot (750 feet) of the fort -was passed on to the daughter, Maria Flores; then to the granddaughter, Francesca Maria. To this granddaughter and her many children, the 1702 siege was something of the far past-days of glory of the grandfather and great-grandfather.

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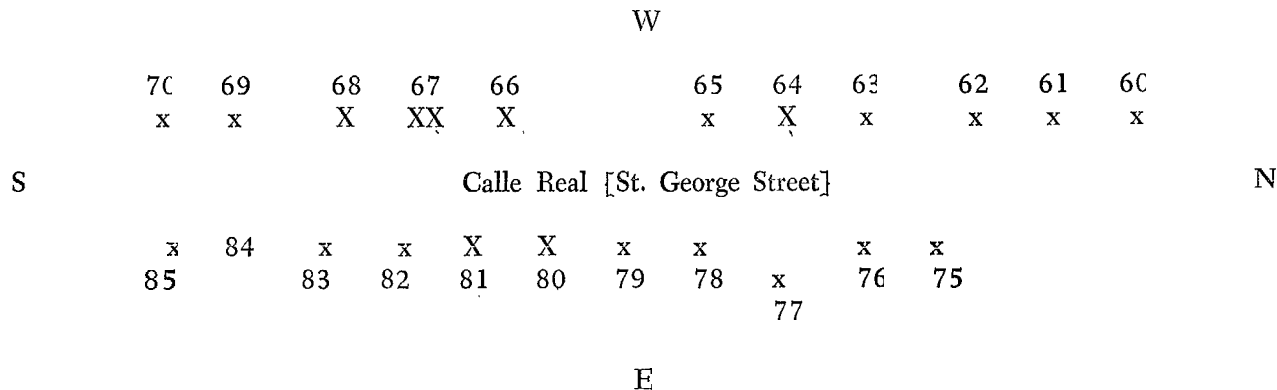
Sixty years later, around 1762, these glorious days had faded somewhat into obscurity. Only the very old ones remembered the spacious church that the Protestant Moore destroyed in his ire. These elders still cherished the old pride and deplored the absence of a new church. The newer generation, such as the daughters of Francesca Maria, had known only one St. Augustine. This was the St. Augustine of the post-siege era, where there was no main church, only the crowded hermitage of *Nuestra Senora de la Soledad* for the main services. When discussing the past, the St. Augustinian talked about the pre- and post-siege eras.

The younger generation, as in any place at any time, talked more about the future than the past. Little news of the big world made its way into isolated St. Augustine. The town was fairly prosperous and there was hope for bright years ahead which might equal the golden age of the half century preceding the 1702 siege.

The pre-siege days had been full of activity and positive action by a proud *criollo* citizenry. Sleepy and isolated, St. Augustine had awakened to the welcome noises of the construction crew which slowly built a massive stone fortress, dream of every St. Augustinian, in their midst. It was in these years that more funds stimulated some prosperity; and this in turn brought new blood - many non-military elements, especially from the Canary Islands - to town. The rustic and isolated presidio had begun to look like a city.

It was in these days before the siege that a governor arrived who captured the support of the St. Augustinians, who had always despised the executive since he had always before been an outsider. When, in May, 1675, Pablo de Hita Salazar took possession of the governorship, he said that he liked St. Augustine and wished to remain there with his family, composed of four active sons. He began to distribute Crown land to his *criollo* friends from St. Augustine. The Crown was not pleased with this, and when Hita Salazar's term came to an end in 1680, he failed to receive a reappointment. The Governor, true to his promise, did remain in St. Augustine as a private citizen, building a house in an as yet undetermined location, but, in order to keep his social stature, probably not too far from the main square. It too was burned during the Moore siege.

I PUENTE MAP: 1763-1764



- 68: Antonia's *small* house (from Rodríguez)
- 67: Ursula (married to Arrivas)
- 66: Alfonsa (married to Francisco Pérez de la Rosa)
- 64: Antonia's *middle* sized house (identified in Puente as the Blanco house)
- 81: Antonia's *large* house (married to Blanco)
- 80: Juana (married to Gerónimo de Hita y Salazar)

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All his four sons married St. Augustine girls, and by 1763, over thirty grandchildren of the deceased Governor lived in the town; some were important local citizens and some of unimportant stature. One of them, Geronimo Josef, the eighth child of the third son of the Governor, was a simple soldier even though he was nearly fifty years old. He hardly could have inherited his grandfather's homestead or rebuilt house. By 1763, to Geronimo Josef, the siege of the fort his grandfather had helped to build was a matter of history and history only. Soldier Hita must have been a sad man, since many of his immediate relatives held more respectable positions more in line with the distinguished past of his family. But he was at least ready to keep up the name of the Hitas with respect to their tradition of giving birth to many children.

He had six accounted children by his wife, Juana Avero Garcia de Acevedo. And Juana Avero was the daughter of Francesca Maria, who in turn was the granddaughter of Penalzoa, whose house had been burned by the Spanish sally during the 1702 siege. Consequently, Juana Avero, the wife of soldier Hita, was the granddaughter of Penalzoa. Hita and his wife lived in the neighborhood of the old Penalzoa homestead near the fort, on today's St. George Street, not too far from the city gates. The residents of this neighborhood were employees of the Crown, as were most other St. Augustinians, and nearly all were married to Avero girls, sisters of Juana.

Out of the old Penalzoa homestead a thriving new cluster of houses had developed, belonging to people related by close family ties. And as was the custom, the houses were full of children ready to carry on the family tradition to the approaching 19th century. Another golden age, much better than that of the times of Governor Hita de Salazar, whose direct descendents were now part of this thriving cluster dominated by the Averos in northern Calle Real (as St. George Street was commonly called in those days), was in the making. It did not materialize.

II. *The 1763 Exodus: Puente and Fish*

Spain was rapidly declining in international power and prestige. Since 1702, when English Carolina had first attacked Spanish Florida, the English possessions north of Spanish Florida had expanded. Although James Oglethorpe too had failed to con-

quer St. Augustine in his 1740 attempt, doing far less damage than James Moore, the English danger had grown to critical proportions. In 1754, an Anglo-French conflict began in the Ohio Valley, which two years later developed into a titanic world war known in Europe as the Seven Years' War, or in America as the French-Indian War. France, Spain, Austria, and Russia battled England and Prussia. In America, it was France and Spain against England.

St. Augustine, which had weathered several English attacks in the past century, fared peacefully during this gigantic war. This lull, plus the narrow provincialism of the St. Augustinians, made them unaware of the real danger to Spanish sovereignty in Florida. The citizens were more preoccupied with local affairs, such as the presence of an arrogant but able governor, Don Lucas de Palazio y Valenzuela, who was courting a local girl. In the spring of 1764, Don Lucas married the girl, only to die a few months later of a sudden heart attack. This and other happenings, such as Indian troubles, had removed the St. Augustine citizenry from the stream of world events.

Havana had fallen into the English hands and the war was rapidly bringing complete defeat for France and Spain. In 1763, the nations at war made peace. In the Paris Peace Treaty Spain recovered Havana by trading Florida. France offered to save Florida for the Spaniards by proposing that England take French Louisiana for Havana, but England preferred Spanish Florida. Florida became, then, English.

When the news of the Paris Peace Treaty arrived in St. Augustine, consternation must have been the natural reaction. Documents so far have failed to portray the emotions and tempers of the St. Augustinians. The reestablished Spanish authorities of Havana took charge of the 1763 Florida transfer to the English. The Floridians were all gently asked to evacuate Florida, including St. Augustine, and come to Havana. This was done. By 1764, the mass exodus had been completed.

The story of this complete exodus is a chapter in itself, full of color and human excitement. Undoubtedly the most complicated problem was the disposal of Spanish real estate, especially of private property. Most Spaniards were unable to sell their houses and lots before their departure. Havana authorities were anxious to prove good faith to the Florida emigrants. They ap-

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pointed Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente, a St. Augustinian whose family was deeply rooted in Florida and held extensive real estate, as the agent to dispose of the private property at a fair price. He was an able administrator who before the evacuation had held the position of chief officer of the Royal Accountancy of Florida. Unquestionably, Elixio de la Puente was the best prepared Floridian of the eighteenth century. He was well qualified for this most difficult, if not impossible, commission.

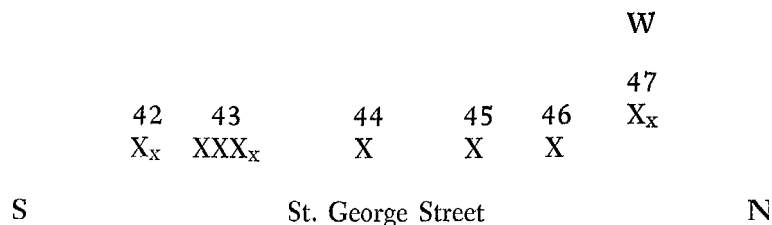
Elixio de la Puente did not succeed in his commission, but he did leave for posterity something extremely valuable and quite accurate. Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente, as a necessary tool for his assignment, made a real estate map in which he plotted every house and assigned it a number. On the margins of the map he listed the 393 numbers, identifying the owners of each house or lot and the structural quality of the buildings. This map plus its description was mailed from St. Augustine to his superiors in Havana on January 22, 1764. The map represents St. Augustine real estate as of 1763; therefore it is known as the St. Augustine Puente map of 1763 (hereafter referred to as PM).

It was a good map but it certainly did not assure the sale of the houses. It is here that a somewhat mysterious figure - who deserves more intense historical research, perhaps a master's thesis - comes into the picture.

Jesse Fish was born on Long Island in the state of New York, but was by 1763 a resident of St. Augustine. Fish appears to have been an opportunist par excellence who professed loyalty to whatever flag was flying over the nearest government building. He also had an ability to convince people; he was a salesman in the truest sense. Jesse Fish somehow convinced the able and shrewd Elixio de la Puente, whom he had known in past days, that he was the man of the moment; that he, Fish, would help Elixio de la Puente in his difficult assignment.

Elixio de la Puente turned the unsold houses and lots, about 220 real estate items, over to Fish. The Spanish commissioner received from Mr. Fish a nominal sum for each house or lot. This entitled the New Yorker to a general deed for all 220 properties. Fish promised to sell the houses at their fair value and then reimburse the Spanish owners. He also promised to journey to Madrid and London to expedite his real estate transactions. Truly, the whole Fish deal is still shrouded in a veil of mystery,

II ROCQUE MAP: 1788



- 42: "in charge of Antonio Fernández."
- 43: "in charge of the heirs of Arrivas."
- 44: Pedro Josef Salcedo (with deed).
- 45: Pedro Josef Salcedo (with deed).
- 5: "in charge of Don Antonio Fernández." (Minorcan Chapel).
- 6: Don Juan Sánchez (with deed).

although documentation is abundant. At any rate, the result was predictable.

Jesse Fish pocketed the over 200 properties and lived in relative modesty on a huge, 10,000 acre plantation on Anastasia Island, which produced internationally famous oranges. He had wife trouble, but this was nothing compared to the impending difficulties. Did Jesse Fish ever think that the Spaniards might come back to Florida?

By 1776, the same English colonies, Carolina and Georgia, which had attacked Spanish Florida, were now rebelling against their mother country, England. Florida, the newest English colony, remained utterly loyal to London, and the American War of Independence bypassed St. Augustine just as had the French and Indian War of bygone days. But, as it had been in the previous war, the end result was drastic for Florida. This time, Spain too had entered the war against the arch enemy, England, on the side of the rebellious colonies. When victory came to the rebels and their independence was guaranteed, Spain shared a slight part of this triumph by regaining Florida. Twenty years of English rule came to an end in 1783. St. Augustine witnessed a repetition of 1763, but in reverse. A great majority of the English left and many of the old St. Augustinians returned.

Jesse Fish refused to lose his tremendous investments, and stayed. He professed great joy at the Spanish return, denouncing the English and proclaiming that his sorrowful days had come to an end with the glorious return of the beloved Spaniards. Somehow Fish, with his usual slickness, managed to win the partial confidence of the new Spanish administrators. They did confiscate some of his extensive properties which he had acquired so dishonestly twenty years earlier, but they did little else to the man. Some of the old St. Augustinians felt rather different about the Fish matter and were ready to demand the return of their property. The New Yorker, in ill health, lived like a hermit on his Anastasia property. On February 8, 1790, he died.

The Fish account book was impounded by the Spanish administration, which felt dubious about the legality of returning the property to the original owners of the First Spanish Period. Some of this property had been sold by Fish to people who had bought it in good faith, including some Spaniards who were residents during the Second Spanish Period. Furthermore, Fish

had paid for each house a sum, making it a purchase rather than trust. The legal implications of the Fish transactions were gigantic. Apparently the Spanish administration in Florida decided the best solution was to auction off the unsold properties of Fish, therefore ending the Fish family's continued hold on this property. If this was a good practical solution in seeming the least of all evils, it still was not without consequences. The solution remained very much of an evil to the old inhabitants and their direct descendents, who wanted to reposses their property.

Soon after the death of Fish and the public auction held on April 8, 1791, a rash of legal suits was started by the old owners or their children and grandchildren to regain the old homesteads. The most vociferous and best prepared suit was filed by the representatives of Antonia de Averó, who was still residing in Havana, but whose daughter and nephew were back in St. Augustine. The nephew was Tadeo Arrivas, who was a person of significance in the new Spanish St. Augustine. The daughter was married to a Colonel Antonio Fernandez, who also held an important position in the Spanish garrison. Antonia de Averó, claiming three houses, had indeed able representatives who were close to the administrative apparatus of St. Augustine. Involving three houses and able aid, the Antonia de Averó suit was of significance as a most interesting test case of the whole *l'affaire* Fish.

III. *The Averos*

Antonia de Averó, born in St. Augustine on March 3, 1717, was the sister of Juana de Averó, who had married the soldier Hita and was the daughter of Francesca Maria Garcia de Acevedo Penalzoa. Consequently Antonia de Averó was the great-granddaughter of the Penalzoa whose house had been burned during the Moore siege in 1702. The father of Antonia and husband of Francesca Maria was Victoriano de Averó, a native of the Canary Islands who came at an undetermined date to St. Augustine. Our information about Sr. Averó is very sparse. He married Francesca Maria on August 25, 1711, and therefore became a partner of the Penalzoa patrimony, including the homestead in the northern area of St. George Street. If Francesca Maria brought real estate to the marriage or if Victoriano Averó already had a house is a matter of speculation, with no documentary confirma-

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THE AVEROS

	1677	
Juan de Peñaloza.....		Anastacia de Herrera
1641-1723	1696	1650
María Flores de Peñaloza.....		Domingo García de Acevedo
1675-		?
	1711	
Francesca María García de Acevedo de Peñaloza.....		Victoriano de Avero
1697-1745		-1727
<i>Ildelfonsa</i> (see chart 2)		
<i>Juana</i> (3)		
<i>Antonio</i> (4)		
Manuela	1736	
1719-		
	Mos Rosendo	
	?	
	Francisco Gabriel	
	1721-	
		<i>Ursula</i> (5)
		María
		1726-1727

tion or conclusions. Whatever the truth, the documents tell that the Averos developed a cluster of houses along today's northern St. George Street, the area of recently planned historical reconstruction.

Such a cluster developed because of the Avero's propensity to give birth to daughters who apparently married neighbors. In their sixteen years of married life Victoriano de Avero and Francesca Maria gave birth to six accounted daughters and one boy who apparently died at a young age. Victoriano de Avero died during an epidemic in 1727. His widow, Francesca Maria, remarried in 1738, and gave birth to more children who did not live in the Avero cluster of houses. The various daughters of the first marriage repeated the performance of their mother, remarrying when widowed, and giving birth during their marriages to many children. Two of these played a leading role in spearheading the drive of their clan to regain their houses after the death of Fish. Especially outstanding was the role of Antonia de Avero, the most aggressive of the Avero girls.

It was Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente, the man responsible for giving Fish the Avero cluster, who had in his 1763 real estate map (PM) identified the Avero houses or those of the husbands of the Avero girls. Numbers 68 and 81 belonged to Antonia de Avero, the third daughter. Number 66 was that of Alfonsa de Avero, the oldest daughter. Number 80 was listed under the name of Geronimo de Hita, husband of Juana de Avero, the second daughter. Geronimo was the soldier grandson of Governor Pablo de Hita y Salazar. Number 67, a double structure, was assigned by the PM as belonging to Raymundo de Arrivas, who was in 1763 the husband of Ursula de Avero, the fifth daughter. Numbers 68, 67, and 66 were lined up on the western side of the street. Numbers 81 and 80 were on the eastern side just opposite 68, 67, and 66.

There was one more component of the Avero complex. It was house number 64, somewhat farther north than the other houses. PM lists this house under the ownership of Joaquin Blanco, who was at the time of the evacuation in 1763 the husband of Antonia de Avero.

When (in 1791), after Fish's death and the government auction, Antonia de Avera tried from Havana to regain her St. Augustine property, she claimed three houses. This agrees with

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the PM which lists two houses, numbers 81 and 68, in her name, and number 64 as belonging to her husband. Since Antonia failed to be specific about these three houses, except for calling one "the larger," the other "the small one," and giving the third no specification, we possess no direct check in correlating these three claimed houses of 1791 with those of the PM of 1763. Therefore an interesting historical case of documentary deductions, mostly from the documents presented in the Avero suit plus other historical data, is permissible in order further to clarify the history of the Avero cluster or complex.

IV. *The Old House.*

Common sense plus evidence going as far back as the 1702 siege, correlated by genealogy, says that the Avero cluster started from one homestead, lot, or house. This would be the patriarchal building, the house where the Avero girls were born and from which they spread all over the block. As previously stated, the Avero girls were related through their mother to Penalzoa, who during the siege of 1702 lost a house in the neighborhood of the fort and in the area where the Avero cluster developed. Antonia de Avero, who was the great granddaughter of Penalzoa, stated in her legal suit of 1791 "That in regard to the titles of domain and ownership (*titulos de dominio y propiedad*) of one of the houses, *which is the largest* [italics mine], and which was appraised by the Engineer Don Juan de Cotilla it is necessary to go back to the year 12 [i.e., 1712] of this century in order to know *the lot and old houses* [italics mine] which stood on it and which came to me by inheritance from my grandparents and parents." (folio 24.) Antonia de Avero did not include title or deed of this particular property, the largest house of the three. At any rate (according to the claimant), one of the three claimed houses of Antonia de Avero, the big one, went back to the early eighteenth century as a family patrimony. From the PM and additional testimony (see *infra*) in the legal Avero presentation it is known that her largest house was number 81 of the PM. Therefore it is 81 that Antonia claimed as dating back to her grandparents' times. Under these circumstances it is quite feasible to state that house number 81 of PM is the patriarchal building whose construction went back to 1712.

2)	Ildefonso Avero 1713-	1729	o Rodríguez de Cabrera 1731(34?)
		1734	.Francisco Pérez de la Rosa
<hr/>			
3)	Juana Avero 1715	1731	?
		1736Simón Morales ?
	Gerónimo de Hita y Salazar 1706-
<hr/>			

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- 4) Antonia de Avero 1735Joseph Guillén
 1717-1792-1743
Victoriana Guillén?
1743-
Antonio Fernández
- 1753Joaquín Blanco
?
- 5) Ursula Avero 1738Diego de Repilado
 1723--1747
- 1748Raymundo Alonso Arrivas
?
- Tado Arrivas 1778
 1767-María Garcia Perpall
-
-?

The 1712 date is as good a date as can be expected. The town was destroyed in 1702 and the period of reconstruction was painfully slow. Then, on September 30, 1707, a terrific hurricane struck St. Augustine and again leveled most houses. It can be assumed that between 1710 and 1715 came into existence the first new houses which lasted, with apparent modifications and additions, into the English and Second Spanish periods. This does not preclude that these houses were built on foundations that date back to years previous to the 1707 hurricane and the 1702 siege. It is quite probable that the large house claimed by Antonia de Averó (PM:81) in 1791, and claimed to come to her from her forefathers, stood on the lot and foundations of a previous building or buildings destroyed during the 1702 siege.

Exactly when Antonia de Averó could have inherited the large house, and if this really was the family homestead, remains in question. Her father, Victoriano de Averó, died in 1727 during that year's epidemic, when the yearly death rate rose from a thirty-five average to over two hundred. Antonia failed to include the will of her father or mother in her legal suit. Following Spanish tradition, the wife of the deceased, who was Francesca Maria Garcia de Acevedo, ought to have inherited the house. But the widow remarried on July 21, 1738 a certain Christoval de la Torre de Borjes, a native of Cuba. Whether the new bride, mother of many children and many times a grandmother, stayed in the Averó house or moved to a residence of her new husband is not known. It is known that Francesca Maria died in 1745, but her will is not part of the record. If Antonia did not inherit the house (PM:81) in 1738, she must have in 1745. But was this house the patriarchal residence?

V. *Alfonsa and Juana.*

If custom was followed, the oldest daughter would have inherited the main house. Antonia was not the oldest, but the third daughter. Alfonsa, or Ildefonsa, de Averó had the right of primogeniture. Alfonsa was born on February 14, 1713, and married at the age of sixteen a native of the Canary Islands - the birthplace of her father - by the name of Fernando Rodriguez. They had only one child, who died in 1731. Soon after, Rodriguez died. The young widow married in June, 1734 a local

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man by the name of Francisco Perez de la Rosa, and bore him six children. In 1763, Alfonsa was living in number 66 of the PM, which was across the street and somewhat to the north of Antonia's number 81. After this, Alfonsa Avero de Perez de la Rosa fades out of the documents. It would not be surprising if the house in which she was living (PM:66) was really the old Avero house. But at the same time she could have married a neighbor, either at the first or second marriage. We do not know the answer.

The same goes for the second daughter, Juana de Avero, born on March 19, 1715. She too married at the age of sixteen. Her husband, Simon de Morales, was a native of Havana whose family also had come from the Canary Islands. Juana also had had only one child from this, her first marriage, when her husband died. On December 30, 1736, Juana, like her sister, married for a second time. Her second spouse was a true St. Augustinian, the soldier Geronimo de Hita, one of the thirty-two grandsons of Governor Pablo de Hita y Salazar. Juana and Geronimo, just like Alfonsa and Francisco, had six children. They lived just across from Alfonsa and Francisco, in house number 80 of the PM. Here too, documents fail to specify if Juana inherited the house from her parents or from her first husband, or if she moved into her second husband's house. Since Juana was the second daughter, it is less conceivable that her residence (PM:80) was the old family homestead. It is practically impossible that this house goes back to Geronimo de Hita's grandfather, the governor, as some modern claims insist. Geronimo was at least 29 times removed from the right of primogeniture of the governor's private house, whose location has yet to be determined. Furthermore, he had been a social failure in a town where military rank was of utmost importance. To this must be added that the house where Juana and her soldier husband lived in apparent happiness is today a vacant lot just next to the large house of Antonia de Avero, identified as number 81 of PM.

VI. *Antonia.*

Antonia, the third daughter, appears as the most interesting of the Avero girls, carrying the traditions of the Averos into the Second Spanish Period. She was born in St. Augustine on March

3, 1717, and died in Havana on August 8, 1792. Her will is with the legal suit which she started a year before her death to regain her three houses in St. Augustine (folios 46-51v). Antonia in her seventy-five years of existence had a full life. She did not marry at the age of sixteen as her other sisters did. Not until she was eighteen was she joined in wedlock to Captain Don Joseph Guillen, a native of Cartagena (in today's Colombia) who was a shrewd businessman. Antonia and Joseph had five children. The last of these five was Victoriana Isidora, who was born on April 21, 1743. Seven months later Antonia's husband, the father of the five children, died.

Captain Joseph Guillen's will was kept by his widow and later was presented in her legal claim of 1791 (folios 59v-66). This will stands as a possible contradiction to Guillen's wife's declaration that she had received her large house from her grandparents and parents. Guillen on his death bed in December, 1743, stated that he owned "houses which are my residences with their lots and rooms, male slaves, and one sloop called *El Santisimo Christo de la Soledad, San Joseph y las Animas.*" (folio 62.) In the will, multiple business transactions of the Captain came to light. He left everything including the "houses" to his wife, Antonia de Averó.

The term "houses" is confusing. Antonia used it when she spoke of her inheritance. It might refer to one single house in the modern sense. In colonial days a house had many disconnected parts, such as the kitchen and servant quarters. When Antonia de Averó and Joseph Guillen spoke of houses it is possible that they meant one single residence. This assumption still leaves us in the dark as to where Captain Guillen's house or houses stood. In the PM no houses with the name of Guillen are identified. In the 1708 claims list of property burned during the 1702 siege no Guillen or genealogical connection has come to light. But then Guillen was not a native of St. Augustine. Between 1708 and 1763 no real estate lists have been found. At any rate, there is no doubt, in view of the discovery of the Guillen will of 1743, that the widowed Antonia inherited one of the three houses she claimed from Captain Guillen. But she had three *casas!*

As did all her other sisters, Antonia Averó, widow of Guillen, remarried. After ten years of widowhood she was wedded "with

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dispensation” to another block neighbor, the socially distinguished Joaquin Blanco. This man held the garrison position of *Guarda Almacen de Municiones y Petrechos*, with the responsibility of managing all of the presidio’s supplies. Blanco was among the administrative elite of St. Augustine. If the marriage was one of love or of convenience, it nevertheless represented a social climb for the Averos and an extension of their real estate cluster or complex.

The PM lists a Joaquin Blanco house just north of the other Avero houses. It was number 64 of the PM and stood on the western side of the street (today’s St. George Street). The New Yorker, Jesse Fish, whose dubious dealings motivated the Avero suit, stated in 1764 that he had received from Joaquin Blanco *three* [italics mine] houses. The Fish receipt was introduced as legal evidence in the 1791-1793 legal proceedings (folio 4). There is little doubt that these three houses listed by Fish as Blanco properties were the same three buildings claimed by his wife under her ownership. Were they Blanco or Avero houses?

VII. *Antonia’s Large House.*

In the legal proceedings in 1793, three witnesses testified that they had lived in St. Augustine previous to 1763, and that they had known Antonia de Avero as the legal wife of Joaquin Blanco (folios 36-37). These witnesses stated that the Blanco couple lived in a house that still stood in 1793. On its immediate south lived in 1793 the *Maestro Mayor de Galafate*, Juan Sanchez, and to the north was the house of the *Sobrestante Mayor de Reales Obras*, Francisco Canto. They also said that the house in question, where Antonia de Avero and Joaquin Blanco lived, was on the east side of the street (today’s St. George Street). In a 1788 map drafted by the Spanish military engineer, Mariano de la Rocque, the house due south of the largest Antonia de Avero house (PM:81) is listed as belonging to a Juan Sanchez (see numbers 5 and 6 of the Rocque map). No northern neighbor is shown in the 1788 map. There is no reason to doubt that in the intervening five years between 1788, when Rocque made his draft, and 1793, when the witnesses testified, a new house due north could have been built by Sr. Francisco Canto. In sum, the three testimonies of 1793 by elder St. Augustinians leave no

doubt that Antonia de Averó, together with her second husband Joaquin Blanco, before the 1763 evacuation lived in the house identified by Antonia as her "large house," which the PM marks as number 81. This was the building which Antonia de Averó claimed she received by inheritance from her forefathers and whose commencement date must have been around 1712.

The three 1793 witnesses do not agree with this, since they present direct contradictory information. The one testified that "he knows that this house [Antonia's large one; PM:81] was acquired during the life (*en tiempo de*) of Don Joseph Guillen the immediate preceding [i.e., first husband] of the aforementioned Averó [Antonia]." Witness number two stated "that the above mentioned house [Antonia's large one where she and Blanco lived; PM:81] was owned by D. Jose Guillen who was the husband of the late Averó [Antonia] and who was the precedent to Joaquin Blanco." Finally, the last witness only testified that Antonia de Averó lived in her house [PM:81] before she married Blanco and that she had been married to Guillen. But all three witnesses wrote that since the time of Jose Guillen and through the residence of Blanco "something was manufactured in it [the house]." None of the three said what the product was. The fact is that the large house of Antonia de Averó was the one on the east side of the street, where she lived first with Guillen and then with Blanco. Furthermore, Antonia did not receive the house from Blanco. She either inherited the building from her parents or from her first husband, Guillen. If the latter is the case, the house PM:81 was not the original Averó residence. Could it be either of the other two houses that Antonia claimed in her 1791 legal presentation?

VIII. *Antonia's Small House.*

The PM lists number 68 as belonging to Antonia de Averó. This house provides no problem in tracing its origins and whereabouts. The Averó girl stated in her suit that she inherited the smallest house of the three from a Fernando Rodriguez, a retired garrison member from the lower echelons. Rodriguez died in 1762, at an advanced age, and his will is available (folios 54-59). This Galician stated that he owned a house which was his residence and which was made "of wood (*madera*) covered

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(*covijada*) with palms (*palma*) with one new room that has a flat roof (*azotea*)” (folio 55v). The addition was constructed by the master builder, Juan Perez. Sergeant Rodriguez in his will wrote that the new room, of which he was most proud, was “touching (*arrimado*) the walls of those of the Lieutenant Don Raymundo [Arrivas].” He further said that “he has paid the *arrimos* [right of wall sharing] up to the kitchen.” Rodriguez continued by saying that the house stood on a lot located on *San Patricio Street* [seventeenth century and early eighteenth century name for the *Calle Real* of 1763 which was also known as *Del Gobernador* or *Calle que va a la Puerta de Tierra*, (today’s St. George Street)]. He gave the size of the lot as $15\frac{1}{4}$ varas width and 35 varas deep. The old Rodriguez, who had no living children or grandchildren, left most of his belongings, including the house in which he lived, to Antonia de Avero for unknown reasons. Another lot that Fernando Rodriguez possessed outside the city walls and next to the old Leche shrine was bequeathed to Rodriguez’ faithful Negro slave called Anna Maria, who was granted complete liberty by the will. Joaquin Blanco (Antonia’s husband) and Raymundo Arrivas (Antonia’s brother-in-law and old man Rodriguez’ neighbor, to whom he had paid the wall-sharing rights) were named executors of the will. There is no question that Antonia de Avero inherited in 1762 this house and took possession of it. It was her smallest house.

There is little difficulty in identifying this little Rodriguez house (in 1763 Antonia de Avero’s house). The will cites the immediate neighbor, who was Lieutenant Raymundo Arrivas, and it specifies the size of the lot: $15\frac{1}{4}$ by 35. Furthermore, Antonia de Avero called this house her smallest house. Everything agrees with Puente’s number 68 (PM:68), located on the western side of St. George Street, the southernmost of the houses of the Avero cluster. Number 68 of PM is a smaller house; it is next to the house of Raymundo de Arrivas (PM:67), and the lot size given by Puente is 15 by 35 varas. Therefore, the little house of Antonia de Avero is the old Rodriguez house and is number 68 of the Puente map of 1763.

IX. *Antonia’s Middle-Sized House: The Blanco House.*

The smallest Antonia de Avero house is PM:68, and the

largest one is PM:81. But she claimed three houses, including a middle-sized structure. The PM lists only two Antonia de Averó houses, numbers 68 and 81. But the map does identify a Joaquin Blanco house (PM:64) on the northwest edge of the Averó cluster. There is no reason to doubt that this is the third of the Antonia de Averó houses, which unquestionably she inherited from her second husband. We possess little concrete information about its origin but it is conceivable that its architectural features are better known than any other of the Averó houses of the whole cluster.

On folio 5 of the Averó suit or brief the assessment or appraisal (*tasación*) of a Joaquin Blanco house of 1763 is enclosed. Antonia de Averó's son from her first marriage, Agustín Guillen de Averó, claimed in a printed memorandum (folios 6-7) that an appraisal of all three houses was undertaken in 1763, and that the total assessment of all three structures was 8378 pesos. Yet, in the suit, only one assessment is reproduced (folio 5) and it is specified as belonging to the Blanco house. This assessment provides architectural data such as the existence of a stairway, flat roof, balcony, and so forth. Since the assessor or appraising engineer specified the house as belonging to Joaquin Blanco "situated in the Calle del Gobernador to the north [North St. George Street]" it is feasible to believe that the appraisal with its architectural data applies to PM:64, the middle-sized house which Antonia de Averó inherited from her second husband, Joaquin Blanco. Unfortunately, there is some doubt about this matter.

The Guillen son stated that the appraised value of all three houses was 8378 pesos. The Blanco appraisal on folio 5 is for 4827 pesos. This would make the house over half of the total value of all three houses. Common sense would assign the 1763 assessment of 4827 pesos to the largest house, which is PM:81. Furthermore, Antonia de Averó in her legal presentation - often confusing and contradictory - stated (folio 24) that her largest house (PM:81) was appraised in 1763. At the same time, Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente was a most conscientious worker and he must have had a reason to assign two houses to the name of Antonia de Averó and one house to Joaquin Blanco. The most probable reason was the registration of the deeds. Furthermore, the engineer assessor, Juan de Cotilla, was also a careful man and he too must have had a basis for identifying the correct own-

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er of the assessment. Consequently, the appraisal or assessment presented by Antonia de Avero in her suit either corresponds to PM:64 or to PM:81. It is impossible to say which of the two presents a stronger possibility. Whatever the correct answer may be, PM:64 was the third Antonia de Avero house: the middle-sized one that had come to her via Joaquin Blanco, who must have died in Havana after the 1763 evacuation. Additional data tend to tip the weight in favor of PM:64 as the house of the 1763 assessment evaluation of 4827 pesos inserted on folio 5 of the record of the Avero suit.

Antonia de Avero talked about her large house (PM:81) and her small house (PM:68), providing us with some conclusive information. She failed to give specific data for the middle-sized house, the Joaquin Blanco house (PM:64). Yet she was quite disturbed about this house because it was the one that was not auctioned off by the government in 1794 after the death of Fish. It was at this auction that two of her houses, the large and the small, were sold by the government; this motivated the whole legal suit. The third was the middle-sized one (PM:64) and it was not sold in public auction because it already had a bona fide owner with an acceptable deed, the validity of which was challenged by Antonia de Avero. Fish had sold it to a returning Spaniard who was a captain of artillery and whose name was Pedro Joseph de Salcedo. There is good corroboration of this since the engineer Rocque in his 1788 map identified houses numbered 44 and 45 on his map as belonging to a Pedro Joseph Salcedo.

According to recent geographical research, done by Professor John Dunkle of the University of Florida, the number 45 of the Rocque map corresponds to number 64 of the Puente map. And number 64 of the PM is the house listed as belonging to Joaquin Blanco, which in turn was identified as the middle-sized house that Antonia de Avero claimed. There is no question that Captain Salcedo was happily living in this house at the time of Fish's death. He must have presented a legal title to the house, and therefore it was not auctioned off, making it the most difficult of the three houses to reclaim. Consequently, it is quite possible that Antonia de Avero and her representatives went out of their way to find legal proof to reclaim the Salcedo house. As soon as the proceedings started, she introduced the 1763 assessment,

which she believed to be equal to a valid legal title. The other two houses listed in the auction were easier to reclaim because it is possible that no legal titles were drawn up.

X. *Antonia's Failure to Recover the Three Houses.*

Since the records of this auction have not yet been located (there are possibilities that eventually they will be), it is impossible to say whether or not titles were given as soon as possible to those who acquired the ex-Fish booty this way. But it is known that the large and the small houses of Antonia de Averó (PM:81 and 68) were turned over to Colonel Antonio de Fernández before the auction, before the death of Fish; very soon, as a matter of fact, after the Spanish return in 1783. The colonel was the son-in-law of Antonia de Averó, having married a daughter, from Antonia's first marriage with Guillen, by the name of Victoriana.

In 1792, the Spanish governor of Florida, Don Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes, issued a certification to be made part of the record of the Averó suit (folio 22). In it he testified that as soon as the Spaniards' regime was reinstated Jesse Fish had turned over two houses of his 1763 acquisition to Colonel Antonio Fernández, the son-in-law of Antonia de Averó. The governor identified these two structures as "a house that was serving as a Catholic church [Minorcan Chapel] and another house just across." On folio 28v of the legal record of the Averó suit, the lawyer of the Fish interest, Fernando de la Maza Arredondo, stated in March, 1792, that the English administration of Florida took one of the ex-Averó houses away from Mr. Jesse Fish and turned it over to Doctor Pedro Camps [the Catholic priest of the Minorcans] who converted it into a "Church of the Catholics."

Father Pedro Camps, in the Golden Book of the Minorcans (last folio), which was his register, stated that "On the 9th of September, 1777, the Church of San Pedro was transferred from the settlement of Mosquito to the City of Saint Augustine, with the same colony of Mahonese that was established in the said settlement and with the same priest and missionary D. Don Pedro Camps." Therefore, the establishment during the English Period of a Minorcan Chapel in an ex-Averó house acquired by Fish, and its later transfer to Colonel Fernández, is a historical fact. And, thanks to the accurate and efficient engineer, Mariano

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Rocque, author of the detailed map of St. Augustine of 1778, it is possible to determine which of the Avero houses became the Minorcan Chapel. On his map the house marked as number 5, indeed a very large house, is listed as “in the charge of Don Antonio Fernandez,” who unquestionably is Colonel Antonio Fernandez. Also note that Rocque did not say it belonged to Fernandez, but that it was “in the charge of” the colonel. Geographical correlation places house number 5 of Rocque as corresponding to house number 81 of the 1763 Puente map. And PM:81 was Antonia de Avero’s large house.

Furthermore, Governor Zepedes stated that the second structure turned over to Colonel Fernandez was “just across” from the chapel. Rocque in his 1788 map confirms this. The house just across from his number 5 (Antonia de Avero’s largest house, PM:81, later a Minorcan chapel, later “in the charge of” Fernandez), was number 42 which Rocque identified as a “House of masonry . . . in the charge of Don Antonio Fernandez,” and Rocque’s number 42 correlates with PM:68 which was Antonia de Avero’s small house which she had inherited in 1762 from old man Fernando Rodriguez.

Consequently, the large and the small houses (numbers 5 and 42 of Rocque correlated to Puente’s numbers 81 and 68) until the auction were again in possession of the Avero family. Antonia’s middle-sized house, which she received from Blanco (PM:64 and Rocque:45), had been deeded to a stranger to the Averos and was a real target in her suit, although she had little substantial proof of ownership, with the possible exception of a 1763 appraisal containing architectural data.

In sum, Antonio de Avero’s houses were PM:81, 64, and 68 (according to size), correlated to Rocque:5, 45, and 42. Her largest was PM:81 - Rocque:5, a house she inherited either from her parents or her first husband, Josef Guillen. The house was turned over to Fish, who in turn had to give it to the English government, which made a Minorcan chapel out of it. At the return of the Spaniards it went back to an Avero descendent who lost it at an auction and failed to recover the title, but in subsequent years regained the house through possible repurchase. Her middle-sized house was PM:64 - Rocque:45 which she must have inherited from her second husband, Joaquin Blanco. This house, too, went to Fish after the 1763 evacuation and

later was sold with proper deed to a Spanish captain of artillery called Joseph de Salcedo. The property was never regained, temporarily or permanently, by the Averos and their descendents. The smallest of Antonia's three houses was PM:68 - Rocque: 42. This was the Rodriguez house which she had inherited in 1762. It passed into Fish's hands at the evacuation of 1763 and returned temporarily to the Avero family at the time of the return in 1783. It was auctioned off in 1791 and was never regained by Antonia Avero and her descendents. The house was located next to what is known as the Arrivas house.

XI. *Ursula.*

There was a man named Arrivas who played a part in the Avero story and cluster. He was the husband of the sixth Avero girl, called Ursula, born on October 30, 1723. Ursula de Avero was the sister of Antonia, the third Avero daughter. The fourth daughter was Manuela, born in 1719, and married at the age of seventeen to a native St. Augustinian called Marcos Rosendo. We know nothing of this family except that they had two children, born in 1737 and 1741. We have no data on their house. They did not form part of the family complex or cluster. After 1741, no new births are recorded, and they therefore fade out of the picture at this date. Since St. Augustine burial records are unsatisfactory, and since many are missing, it is conceivable that death wiped out the family.

The fifth child was, finally, a boy, called Francisco Gabriel, born in 1721; but he too immediately disappeared from the historical documents. He certainly died at an early age.

This leads to the sixth child, Ursula, married to Arrivas. At the time of the 1763 evacuation Ursula was listed as living with her husband, Raymundo de Arrivas, in the house identified by Puente as number 67 (PM: 67). The house was due north of the old Rodriguez house inherited by Antonia de Avero (PM: 68), next to Alfonsa de Avero's house (PM:66), and across from Antonia's large house (PM:81) and the home of Juana de Avero and her soldier husband, Geronimo de Hita (PM:80). But Sr. Arrivas was not the first husband of Ursula. As all her sisters, she too had married a second time after a short period of widowhood.

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Ursula married at the usual age of fifteen the dashing infantry lieutenant Diego Repilado, a native of Palermo in Sicily, but of Spanish parents from Estremadura. In modern slang, Ursula made a good catch. The Repilados, between the years 1738 and 1746, had five children. But beginning in 1745, disaster invaded the happy Repilado home. Ursula delivered her fifth child on December 1, 1745, and buried it twenty-five days later. On March 10, 1746, another daughter died, and the next year her husband, Diego Repilado, passed away.

Ursula de Avero remained a widow for only a brief time. In August, 1748, she married another army officer called Raymundo (also spelled Raimundo) de Arrivas. He was a peninsular from Arabelo. In 1752, he was a second lieutenant of the Second Infantry Company. By 1759, Arrivas had been promoted to First Lieutenant with a salary of 528 pesos a year. In 1764, Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente identified Arrivas with the same rank and the same pay as in 1759. The Arrivas had six accounted children, which gave Ursula a total of eleven births. Puente had the family living in house number 67, composed of two structures.

XII. *An Arrivas House?*

With regard to this house (PM:67), the usual question arises. Was it an Arrivas house into which Ursula moved or was it an Avero house into which Arrivas moved? A third possibility arises: did Ursula inherit the house from her first husband, Sr. Repilado? Documents provide no answer, as neither Ursula nor her descendents claimed the house. It slipped again into the hands of the Avero descendents due to the shrewd manipulations of Tadeo Arrivas. He was the last son of Ursula and Lieutenant Arrivas and was born in Cuba. Tadeo went to Florida during the second Spanish occupation and held key positions in the administrative apparatus. Fish, who had acquired the house of Ursula and Arrivas, lost it after his death to Tadeo, who without regaining a permanent deed lived in it with his charming wife Maria Garcia Perpall. It was Tadeo de Arrivas who handled the Antonia de Avero legal suit to reclaim her three houses, since he was her nephew. But Tadeo Arrivas, who told us so much about his aunt Antonia's life and property, failed to cite

information about the house of his mother and father (PM:67). More indirect information, hearsay and legend, has come from the Repilados.

About ten years ago a member of the Repilado family of Santiago de Cuba came to St. Augustine to consult the St. Augustine Historical Society about genealogical data of his forefathers. The modern Repilados of Santiago de Cuba claim to be descendents of Diego de Repilado and Ursula de Averó. They talked of an old Repilado house in St. Augustine. No documentary data was provided, but it is quite conceivable that the Arrivas house of 1763 was the Repilado house which fell into Ursula's hand by inheritance, repeating the pattern of her older sisters. The answer might lie in Cuban archives.

At any rate, the Ursula case completes the Averó cluster or complex. * Her house, inherited from Repilado, Arrivas, or constructed by the Averó family, is the very heart of the Averó complex, surrounded north, south, and east, by other Averó houses. Its reconstruction will recreate the Averó house *per se*, a monument to a typical Spanish colonial family of Spanish Florida, with a typical life of typical ambitions, happinesses, sorrows, mores, and idiosyncrasies. They had no sons, valued so much in the Spanish colonial social structures, but they had many daughters, and their purpose was to marry and bear children in order to make up in number and material acquisitions the loss of the Averó name.

XII. *An Average Family in an Average Setting!*

What does the Averó family, its daughters and its houses, insignificant facets in the vastness of Florida history, mean to historians and other interested social scientists? First of all, it represents a case study, which has become popular not only in the fields of sociology and anthropology, but also in history. Naturally no standard criteria were used to select this particular family of this particular period. The St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, which is a state commission created by the 1959 Florida Legislature, purchased a

* A sixth daughter called Maria was born on January 17, 1726. Nothing more is heard about her. She must have died during the 1727 epidemic at the tender age of one.

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house standing on the approximate site of PM:67. This house, today's 46 St. George Street, is still known by tradition as the Arrivas House. Documentary research from untapped primary material led to the Avero family and the Avero complex. Therefore, the Avero family case study was a concomitant of the architectural history of St. Augustine. By sheer coincidence the Avero family with its spreading cluster of houses proved to be an ideal case study of historical sociology of Spanish Florida.

St. Augustine was a military town, a *presidio*, totally geared to the garrison. The garrison with its families was the town, the *presidio*. There were no really rich and no really poor people, but by the end of the seventeenth century, once the powerful fort was finished, there was a moderate economic boom. Additional people came to St. Augustine who were not actual members of the garrison but who lived off the military apparatus. Although it is conceivable that they, doing business as petty merchants and the like, were better off financially, these non-military elements failed to achieve the status achieved by and reserved for military rank. Therefore they tried to establish consanguinity through marriage with the military personnel. For similar reasons, the desire to marry a military man was often equaled or outdistanced by the deep wish to marry an outsider, preferably from Spain.

The Averos fitted perfectly into this picture. The patriarchal figure, Victoriano de Avero, was apparently not connected with the garrison. He was an outsider, from the Canary Islands. This is what probably induced Francesca Maria Garcia de Acevedo, the granddaughter of the 1702 siege veteran Juan de Penalosa, to marry him. Then, as might be expected, their daughters very vigorously searched the military rostrum for husbands. Naturally the best marriage was to a military man who came from the outside. Some of the Avero girls managed this.

The Avero family's lack of boys makes it somewhat atypical. At the same time it focuses very clearly the only duty of every colonial Spanish American girl: to marry, have children, and increase the family's real estate by consanguineous connections. While in most colonial areas of Latin America social status was intimately connected with landed estates, such was never true in Spanish Florida, due to military and ecological conditions. Instead, the town house or houses acquired a greater importance

as a symbol of status. The Avero cluster is good proof of this.

The geographical position of a house was in Spanish colonial America just as important as the quality of the building. Those in the best social stratum had their houses on the main square; if possible, near the cathedral. The farther removed they were from the square, the lower the social status they reflected. There is no reason to doubt that this pattern also existed in St. Augustine. Yet the existence of the fort as the main structure in St. Augustine brought a variable factor into the picture. A small cluster of fairly decent houses near the fort indicates that this location was the second best. The Averos were closer to the fort than to the *plaza* and their cluster had expanded only toward the fort, not the main square. This identifies them as an average family, of neither too high nor too low status. Naturally the documents do not provide a conclusive answer to social problems.

There are interesting implications or possible questions that this Avero study provides. It gives us some insight into the status of women in a Spanish garrison town. Yet it leaves open for further research the exact position of St. Augustinian women in Spanish Florida.

The question of marriage for convenience or love remains unanswered by the Avero study, but the early marriage age of the girls plus the high birth rate is clearly shown. The death rate of the Avero girls from childbirth and of the newborn babies is rather low. Why?

The position of women in St. Augustine commerce remains unknown but there are indications that they played a leading role. Other questions, such as mores, education, social activities other than church functions, remain unanswered.

XIV. *Postscript.*

In sum, the Avero cluster and complex proved to be useful not only for architectural information, but it also pointed to interesting new social data of Spanish Florida history. It should encourage further case studies. Such excellent collections as are now available at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, the Library of the St. Augustine Historical Society, at the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine, and the Department of Agriculture in Tallahassee, can serve as a formidable manuscript reservoir for this type of study. Cuban archives should also contain valuable manuscript material refer-

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ring to the social history of St. Augustine and Florida. It constitutes our biggest gap and therefore is the great untapped source. The East Florida Papers at the Library of Congress remain the greatest documentary jewel for the Second Spanish Period.

The Averos take us from one century to another; from the First Spanish Period, to the English interlude (1763-1783), to the Second Spanish Period. Any historical reconstruction must recapture the atmosphere of these three foreign, distant, and distinct periods. The Averos do it.

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- Demanda puesta por los Senores Juezes Oficiales de la Real Hacienda contra el exmo. Senor Maestro de Campo General, Don Joseph de Zuniga y La Zerda. . . . Juez de Residencia: Francisco Corcoles y Martinez. Escribano Publico y de Gobernacion: Juan Solana. St. Augustine, 1707. 849 folios. AGI: 58-2-8, SC. (Basic document of the 1702 siege.)
- Francisco de Corcoles y Martinez to the Crown. St. Augustine, Aug. 13, 1709. 28 folios, enclosures. AGI: 58-1-28-66, North Carolina Spanish Record, University of Florida, reel 12. (1702 damage list.)

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- Francisco de Castilla [Contador Interino] to the Crown. St. Augustine, July 3, 1743. 48 folios, enclosures. AGI: 58-1-34-73, SC. (Contains will of the accountant, Francisco Menendez Marques. A typical will by an important St. Augustinian of the eighteenth century.)
- "Noticias del Estado en que Don Josef Antonio Gelabert allo la Real Hacienda de aquella Provincia los anos de 1752 y 59, Medios que propone" Materias de Real Hacienda, Florida. Havana [no date]. 168 folios. AGI: 87-1-14-2, SC.
- "Relacion de todos las Plazas Fortalezas y Presidios que hai al presente en la Jurisdiccion del Gobierno y Capitania General de mi carga" by Governor Lucas de Palazio. St. Augustine, April 26, 1759. 7 folios which are enclosure 5 of "Informe del Tribunal." Mexico, May 14, 1764, 109 folios. AGI: 87-1-14-4, SC.
- "Plano de la Real Fuerza, Baluartes, y Linea de la Plaza de Sn. Augustin de Florida, con su Parroquial Mayor, Convento e Iglesia de San Francisco: Casas, y Solares de los Vecinos; y mas algunas Fabricas y Huertas Extramuros de ella" by Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente. Drafted in 1763 and dispatched to the Crown in 1764. [The original is located at the Museo Naval of Spain, in Madrid. Also available in the Buckingham Smith Papers of the New York Historical Society.] (1763-1764 Puente Map.)
- "Accounts of Jesse Fish." Serial no. 319. Dates: 1763-1770. 1 box. East Florida Papers, Library of Congress.
- "Inventory of the ornaments, altars, images, bells, and valuable belongings to the Parochial Church and Brotherhoods of the Presidio of St. Augustine, signed by Doctor Juan Morel Telles, priest of the greater parochial church of St. Christopher of this city of Havana, Feb. 6, 1764." Available in the [Wilbur Henry] Siebert typescript translations at the St. Augustine Historical Society. (Contains information about Raymundo Arrivas.)
- "Documents Relative to [the] Sale of Spanish Properties in St. Augustine, Florida, by Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente in 1764." Translated by Edward W. Lawson in 1956. 28 typescript pp. Available at the St. Augustine Historical Society.
- "Cuenta y relacion jurada presentada por Don Joaquin Blanco Guarda Almasen que fue de la Florida corriente de 2 de Julio de 1757 hasta fines de Diciembre de 1763." Havana, Dec. 6, 1765. 52 folios. AGI: 87-3-27-A (Santo Domingo: 2663), SC. (Shows the position and duties of Joaquin Blanco.)
- Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente to Antonio Maria Bucareli [Viceroy of New Mexico]. Havana, Sept. 26, 1766. 51 folios. AGI: 87-1-5-3, SC. (1763 exodus and transfer reports.)
- Pedro Camps. "Golden Book of the Minorcans, 1768-1827." 385 folios. Cathedral Archives, St. Augustine, Fla. [Also known as Father Camps' Register.]
- Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente. Report of May 8, 1770, written in Havana [no forwarding address given]. 70 folios. AGI: 87-1-5-4-5-6, SC. (1763 exodus and transfer reports.)
- Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente to the Marques de la Torre [Governor of Havana]. Havana, March 4, 1772. Filed under Marques de la Torre to Sr. B.^o Fr. D.^a Julian de Arriaga [of the Council of Indies]. Havana, May 18, 1772. 66 folios. AGI: 86-7-11-24, St. Augustine Historical Society. (1763 exodus and transfer reports.)
- Escrituras of 1784-1787, 1791, 1803-1806, 1813-1814, 1815. Serial nos. 366-369, 371-373, 375-376, 378-380. 12 boxes. East Florida Papers, Library of Congress. Translated typewritten briefs available, plus some of the originals (on microfilm) at the St. Augustine Historical Society. (Local city records of the Second Spanish Period.)

- Mariano Rocque. "Descripcion de Plano Particular de la Ciudad de San Agustin de la Florida en tal ano de 1788." St. Augustine, April 25, 1788. 21 folios. Film file 4.3, microdex 1, Field Note Division, Department of Agriculture (Tallahassee), State of Florida. (Original Rocque key to his 1788 map.)
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- "Plano Particular de la Ciudad de Sn. Augustin de la Florida con el detall de sus Mansanas, Casas y Solares, Castillo, Quarteles y Pabellones segun en la situacion que se hallaba en primero de Abril del Corriente ano." Original in the East Florida Papers (Library of Congress), Serial no. 176: Public Buildings, Fortifications and Defense. Copies available at the St. Augustine Historical Society, Castillo de San Marcos, and St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission. (1788 Rocque Map.)
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- "Inventorios, tasaciones, y venta en publico remate de las casas y solares del Rev." Florida, 1790. [Done at the request of Governor Juan Quesada; known as the Quesada Inventory of 1790.] 72 folios. Filmfile 4.3, microdex 1, Field Note Division, Department of Agriculture (Tallahassee), State of Florida.
- "Concurso de Acredetores causado por fallecimiento del Britanico D. Jesse Fish. Florida ano 1790." In Testamentary Proceedings, East Florida Papers, Library of Congress. Microfilm available at the St. Augustine Historical Society: Boxes 18-21, reel 5. (Legal implications of Fish's death.)
- "Dona Antonia de Avero sobre reasumir sus Casas, y posesiones con lo demas que de los Autos consta. Florida. Ano de 1793." 86 folios. No. 19, Bundle no. 320; City Lots: St Augustine; Field Note Division, Department of Agriculture (Tallahassee), State of Florida. (Basic document [*legajo*] for this essay.)
- "1793 Census List." 50 folios. Serial no. 323A: Census Returns. Dates: 1784-1814. 2 boxes. East Florida Papers, Library of Congress.
- "Diligencias promovidas por Dona Eugenia de Hita y Salazar, sobre dejar una casa del Rey que havita, y remato en publico subasto D. Romnaldo Micklaszuicich, nuebo problador el ocho de Abril de mil setcientos nobenta y uno, dejandose la encargada quando se ausento de esta plaza. Florida, ano 1793." 41 folios. No. 19, Bundle no. 320; City Lots: St. Augustine; Field Note Division, Department of Agriculture (Tallahassee), State of Florida.
- "Assessors Inventory of 1800." 110 typewritten pp. at St. Augustine Historical Society. Original in Serial no. 320: Assessors Inventory. Dates: 1 box. East Florida Papers, Library of Congress.