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## ACROSS THE BORDER: COMMODITY FLOW AND MERCHANTS IN SPANISH ST. AUGUSTINE

by JAMES CUSICK

**S**PANISH Governor Zéspedes, writing in 1788 to a superior about his impressions of East Florida, decried the colony's reliance on Havana as its sole source of supply. The majority of the colonists were far too impoverished, he wrote, to afford the high prices of goods shipped via Cuba. He continued: "[T]hat a poor immigrant at the end of one year, when he has made his first crop, or a Minorcan with a wife and four or five children who does not earn half a peso fuerte a day, should have to provide his family with goods bought from that place [Havana] and feed them with food from New Spain— I must honestly say that I consider such a thing impossible even with the most industrious effort on their parts, at least until this country has developed for several years with some measure of free trade."<sup>1</sup> A few years later, a group of merchants expressed similar concerns about freedom of trade in a petition to Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada. They complained that the Pantón, Leslie & Company's monopoly rights to the Indian trade in Spanish Florida had created a stranglehold on commerce, impeding the importation of cheap goods.<sup>2</sup>

Until recently our understanding of the commercial life of Spanish Florida came predominantly from brief, subjective references to trade in the correspondence of colonial officials, who often characterized St. Augustine as a poor presidio town

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1. Arthur Preston Whitaker, ed. and trans., *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas, with Incidental Reference to Louisiana* (DeLand, 1931), 57.
2. Janice Borton Miller, "The Struggle for Free Trade in East Florida and the Cédula of 1793," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (July 1976), 52-53.

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forever in want of basic necessities.<sup>3</sup> However, recent studies oriented toward quantitative analysis of shipping and treasury records depict Spanish Florida as an ethnically diverse community widely engaged in trade and the production of commercial crops.<sup>4</sup> The traditional view that Spanish Florida languished as a poor garrison settlement thus has become more of a hindrance than a help to understanding the colony's role as a borderland.

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3. The historiography of economic life in St. Augustine was drawn largely from correspondence between the governor and his superiors, representatives of Panton, Leslie & Company, and key merchants or planters in the colony. Helen Hornbeck Tanner based most of her two studies, *The Transition from British to Spanish Rule in East Florida, 1784-1790* (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1949) and *Zéspedes in East Florida, 1784-1790* (Coral Gables, 1963; reprint edition, 1990), on documents in Joseph Byrne Lockey, *East Florida 1783-1785: A File of Documents Assembled, and Many of Them Translated* (Berkeley, 1949) and Whitaker, *Documents Related to the Commercial Policy of Spain*. See also Miller, "The Struggle for Free Trade"; Miller, "The Rebellion in East Florida in 1795." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57 (October 1978), 173-86; and Tanner, "The Second Spanish Period Begins," in *Clash Between Cultures: Spanish East Florida, 1784-1821*, a special volume of *El Escribano* 25 (St. Augustine, 1988), 15-41.
  4. Florida's demographic profile for the Second Spanish Period has been revised by recent studies of the Spanish, Minorcan, African American, and Anglo-American segments of the community, as well as examinations of settlement patterns and immigration. All reveal the ethnic diversity of the colony. Social and economic networks among groups are also being reassessed. Sherry Johnson, "The Spanish St. Augustine Community, 1784-1795: A Reevaluation," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (July 1989), 27-54; Patricia Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach: The Minorcans of Florida, 1768-1788* (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1977); "The Spanish Return: The 'People-Mix' Period, 1784-1821," in Jean Parker Waterbury, ed., *The Oldest City: St. Augustine Saga of Survival* (St. Augustine, 1983), 125-50; "The Minorcans," in *Clash Between Cultures*, 61-83; Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish St. Augustine, 1784-1821* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1988); Susan R. Parker, *Men Without God or King: Rural Settlers of East Florida, 1784-1790* (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1990); Abel Poitineau, "Demography and the Political Destiny of Florida During the Second Spanish Period," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (April 1988), 420-43, and Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida*. Settlement fluctuated throughout the period. The Spanish presence was more significant, in absolute numbers, prior to 1800, and a steady influx of French, Irish, British, Americans, and blacks into St. Augustine and outlying areas is evident between 1797 and 1804. A number of studies have reassessed the amount of public and private commercial activity that characterized the colony. Pablo Tornero Tinajero, *Relaciones de dependencia entre Florida y Estados Unidos, 1783-1820* (Sevilla, 1979); Ligia Ma. Bermudez, *The Situado: A Study in the Dynamics of East Florida's Economy during the Second Spanish Period, 1785-1820* (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1989); Christopher Ward, "The Commerce of East Florida during the Embargo, 1806-1812: The Role of Amelia Island," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (October 1989), 160-79.

This essay, by drawing on data for shipping imports, focuses on the supply side of the economy to demonstrate three points: the diversity of commodities imported into St. Augustine during the Second Spanish Period; the important ports trading with the colony; and the organization of private merchant shipping in the colony. St. Augustine emerges as a port engaged in virtual free trade along the Atlantic seaboard, with a far-reaching merchant network and equally far-reaching access to products from throughout Europe and the Spanish Caribbean. While Spanish Florida may have suffered hardship in times of warfare, the daily record of the colony's commerce reveals no evidence of impoverishment.

When Zéspedes remarked about the costliness of supplies from Havana, Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and along the border of New Spain were in the midst of a remarkable series of Spanish *cédulas* regarding trade. The configuration of trans-Atlantic trade with Spanish America underwent major changes in the mid-1770s when Spain, under a policy of *comercio libre*, or free trade within the Spanish Empire, opened trade between numerous Spanish ports and the New World and loosened restrictions on inter-colonial trade.<sup>5</sup> The new policy reduced the dominance of Cádiz and Seville as ports monopolizing trade with America and opened the floodgates to British, Dutch, and French manufactures, which poured into New Spain and Peru. During times of peace, these products reached the colonies through Spanish intermediaries or front men, and in times of war they arrived directly in non-Spanish ships. By the late 1790s when Spain was at war with England and under blockade from the British fleet, trade restrictions were relaxed further as the Spanish crown reluctantly gave permission for its colonies to trade directly with neutral countries. These concessions, quickly given, also were quickly revoked, so that for most areas free trade with neutral powers was sanctioned only for a few years.<sup>6</sup>

Attempts to cut off free trade proved difficult to enforce in the Caribbean and in peripheral areas of Spanish America. Cuba, which had become accustomed to trade with neutral pow-

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5. David A. Brading, "Bourbon Spain and its American Empire," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Colonial Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1987), 136-41.

6. Brading, "Bourbon Spain," 136-41; John Lynch, "The Origins of Spanish American Independence," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *The Independence of Latin America* (Cambridge, 1987), 20-21.

ers and dependent upon importations of wheat from the United States, ignored prohibitions against trade with non-Spanish ports. Venezuela followed suit. By 1801, Spain had to re-concede to these countries permission to trade with neutral nations.<sup>7</sup> Changes in trade policy for Spain's North American colonies came even earlier and, once granted, never were revoked. Indeed, in some respects the official opening of trade in Spanish America made little difference to Spain's northern border colonies. Most of these had engaged in regular trade with the English and French for nearly a century. Illicit trade between Spanish Florida and North American ports in the mid-eighteenth century was common. "In times of peace," as Joyce Elizabeth Harman has noted, "both the English and the Spanish in the Southeast winked at all trade restrictions."<sup>8</sup>

Nonetheless, the first official loosening of trade restrictions occurred in 1782, during the American Revolution. Under pressure, Spain granted its colony of Louisiana a ten-year grace period in which residents were permitted to trade directly with ports in France. When Spain subsequently regained its colonies of West and East Florida, the crown granted further economic concessions. In 1786 it gave Pantón, Leslie & Company a monopoly over the Indian trade in these possessions and allowed the company to send two ships a year to British ports in order to obtain trade goods.<sup>9</sup> Spain also conceded that residents of Spanish East Florida, in cases of emergency, could trade directly with ports in the United States to make up shortfalls in supplies. Finally, in 1793, Spain opened direct trade between East Florida and the ports of allied and friendly nations.<sup>10</sup> Through these concessions, Spain sanctioned a commercial freedom in its border colonies that was unknown to most of Spanish America. For instance, New Spain still was trying to obtain similar concessions on the eve of its own independence in 1820.<sup>11</sup>

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7. Lynch, "Spanish American Independence," 21.

8. Joyce Elizabeth Harman, *Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida, 1732-1763* (St. Augustine, 1969), 80-82.

9. Whitaker, *Commercial Policy*, xxv, xxix; Lackey, *East Florida*, 27-28.

10. Miller, "Struggle for Free Trade," 55-56; Ramón Romero Cabot, *La Defensa de Florida en el Segundo Período Español, 1783-1821* (Sevilla, 1982), 45-46.

11. John H. Hahn, "The Role of the Mexican Deputies in the Proposal and Enactment of Measures of Economic Reform Applicable to Mexico," in Nettie Lee Benson, ed., *Mexico and the Spanish Cortes, 1810-1822* (University of Texas, Austin, 1971), 169-76.

The effects of these economic concessions have been addressed by historians of the Second Spanish Period. Initially, scholars were engaged most by the vacillation of Spanish policy with regard to free trade. “[O]ur concern,” one noted, “is not with the actual commerce of the Floridas but with Spanish policy in regard to commerce.”<sup>12</sup> Subsequently, the struggle for free trade and the attitude of the colonial government also commanded attention.<sup>13</sup> More recently, shipping, commerce, and the structure of the colonial economy have been examined. A study of shipping at Amelia Island between 1806 and 1812, for example, found evidence of a colonial export trade in cotton and woods and, later, in tars, pitches, and turpentine. An analysis of ship arrivals and departures during the Second Spanish Period established that exports of oranges, woods, and cotton were matched by enormous importations of foodstuffs from the United States. This process slowly converted Spanish Florida from a peripheral colony of Spanish America into an economic satellite of the United States. A study of the *situado*, the treasury funds allocated to Spanish Florida for the support of the garrison and the colonial government, supported this argument. Much of the money provided by the *situado*, it concluded, eventually went into the coffers of United States merchants. In addition, the colonial government increasingly relied on loans from creditors in the United States to pay expenses.<sup>14</sup>

Through this research an outline of St. Augustine’s overall economic life now exists; however, the basic mechanisms of trade—the ports of call, the types of cargoes imported, and the nature of merchant trading networks—have remained unilluminated. Only occasionally, as in Zéspedes’ letter of 1788, do the traditional sources offer a clue to the necessity of trade with the United States. Information on the concerns of St. Augustine’s

12. Whitaker, *Commercial Policy*, x.

13. Miller, “Struggle for Free Trade,” and Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada: *Governor of Spanish East Florida, 1790-1795* (Gainesville, 1981). Ramón Romero Cabot outlined the differing concepts that colonists and crown officials had about the role trade should play in maintaining Florida. See his *Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada: Comportamiento, Normas y Recompensas* (Sevilla, 1985), 265-72.

14. Bermudez, *The Situado*, 41-44, 51-52; Tornero Tinajero, *Relaciones de dependencia*, 65-125; Ward, “The Commerce of East Florida.” Romero Cabot also discusses trade relations between Spanish Florida and the United States in *La Defensa de Florida*, 48-55.

merchant families is found even less frequently. An analysis of records of shipping imports can provide a detailed picture of the colony's trading connections, the flow of commodities into the colony, and what this meant for the organization of commerce.

To develop a data base on commodity flow into East Florida, this study used records of shipping arrivals and cargo manifests in the East Florida Papers.<sup>15</sup> These documents relate to the debarkation of goods at St. Augustine and Amelia Island, cargo manifests from the ports of origin, translations of the manifests, when necessary, into Spanish, and other papers— requests for permission to import goods, notifications of supplies needed by the garrison, inventories and valuations of cargoes from ports where Spain had no customs representative, and notes about merchants and residents to whom goods were consigned. This file, which contains importations only (there is a second file on exports), comprises 11,534 exposures of microfilm covering the period from 1788 to 1821. Research presented here was based on only a small sample of the available record: three years— 1787, 1794, and 1803. The extensiveness of the shipping records and the turbulent history of Florida during the Second Spanish Period make numerous caveats necessary.

This study focuses only on ships arriving at the port of St. Augustine and excludes shipping at Amelia Island. Amelia poses problems for any study of colonial imports. Although goods were received via Amelia, during the years of the United States's Non-Intercourse Acts it also functioned as a point for temporary debarkation and transshipment of goods.<sup>16</sup> Hence, much of the cargo arriving at Amelia never entered Florida, and no records from Amelia were sampled. Records for St. Augustine were drawn from the period prior to the opening of Amelia in 1809. For the years under consideration, St. Augustine was the only legal port of entry for goods in East Florida. As St. Augustine's harbor was accessible only to small ships and easily monitored by the government, goods arriving apparently were for the use of the colony and not transshipments. Almost

15. The shipping records used in this analysis are in the East Florida Papers (hereafter cited as EFP): reels 91-92, bundles 215G17 and 216H17, 1786-1787; reels 92-93, bundle 219K17, 1794; and reel 96, bundle 229H18, 1803. These are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

16. Ward, "The Commerce of East Florida," 167-74.

all the shipping records under consideration revealed that goods were consigned to Florida merchants, shopkeepers, tavern owners, and government officials.

The matter of smuggling also arises. Shipping records, of course, represent only those traders who registered and paid import duty in St. Augustine. The St. Johns and St. Marys rivers afforded other landing places for smugglers. This record presumably allows a minimum estimate of all the goods that eventually entered the colony. The years in which the colony was in tumult were avoided.

Data presented in this study cover the first half of the Second Spanish Period, and only the more peaceful years. In 1784 and 1785 the colony still was involved in the transfer from British to Spanish control, and the port of St. Augustine often was busy with ships transporting settlers.<sup>17</sup> By 1787, much of the commotion concerning the transfer was over. This year also predated the French and Haitian revolutions, which realigned alliances in Europe. The second year selected postdated the 1793 *cédula* opening trade between Florida and non-Spanish ports. However, in 1795 the Spaniards had to put down a French-inspired rebellion in the hinterlands, resulting in the expulsion of many settlers, confiscation of their property, and temporary closure of the border between Florida and the United States. To circumvent problems related to these disturbances, 1794 was selected; 1803 was selected because research indicates that arrival patterns of ships during this one-year period were similar to that for surrounding years.

Having selected the years, the author read the records for shipping arrivals and recorded the name of the ship, its captain (and owner if given), date of arrival, the port from which it came, cargo, and any notations about consignment of goods. The fact that shipping records contain a diversity of items listed in a variety of measurements poses a problem of quantification. For purposes of this essay, the value of cargo is utilized as the variable by which to standardize all shipments. Merchants shipped foodstuffs by weight or volume, cloth and wood products by length, alcoholic beverages by liquid measures, and other items by counts (number of shoes or hats or tools or pots, for example). The one variable common to all was the value as-

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17. Lackey, *East Florida*, 7-8.



signed to a given quantity of a specific good as expressed in Spanish pesos and reales.<sup>18</sup>

Having settled on value as the means for standardization, a price list for a wide range of imported goods then was compiled. The most detailed records available were those for ships from North American ports in the year 1794. One consequence of the 1793 *cédula* which opened trade with the United States was that customs officials in St. Augustine took an increased interest in the arrival of American ships. They opened, inventoried, and assigned values to all cargo. By reference to these inventories, the price of virtually any item shipped from the United States can be obtained.

Values derived for United States imports also were assigned to goods from Spanish American ports such as Havana. This procedure ignored the effect of inflation over different years and price differentials between different ports to create a standardized means of assigning value; price differentials did not affect the utility of using value in order to quantify data.<sup>19</sup> Through standardization, the value of cargo was no longer tied to market price and became instead an abstract index to the amount or volume of goods shipped. Cargo values reflected the

18. Attempts to quantify cargoes by bulk proved difficult due to the assortment of containers in which goods were delivered. These could not be standardized to a common unit of size or weight. Manifests from United States ports rarely gave any indication of how much a container represented in volume or weight. Cuban manifests frequently gave such information, but the record varied for seemingly identical types of containers, suggesting that container size varied. The correlation of Spanish units of shipment with Anglo-American ones also is a problem. Spanish translations of English manifests provided some guidelines as to general correlations between terms for containers, but not information about correlations in size. Additionally, the same commodity could be shipped in different types of containers. Rum, for example, might be recorded by the number of barrels, half-barrels, kegs, casks, pipes, half-pipes, and hogsheads, or by quintals, arrobas or libras (Spanish measures of weight approximately equal to 100 lbs. U.S., twenty-five lbs. U.S., and one lb. U.S., respectively). Beer, wine, brandy, gin, anisette, cider, coffee, cacao, and teas were shipped by all of the above, as well as in demijohns, boxes, bottles, boxes of bottles, sacks, baskets, and bundles.
19. A price differential did exist. Shipping records did not disclose the value of cargoes from Cuba; however, vessels departing Cuba had to pay an export tax—about 6 percent of the total cargo value—and this tax was reported. Using the tax, the total value of any shipment of goods from Cuba may be estimated. The estimates suggest that procuring goods at Cuban ports was two- or four-times more expensive than procuring similar goods at ports in the United States— an observation made by eighteenth century observers in St. Augustine.

volume of goods shipped from any port and could be converted into volumetric or other measures where necessary.<sup>20</sup>

Analysis of the data focuses on the general commerce between St. Augustine and its major trading partners. To maintain this focus, the analysis excludes ships arriving at St. Augustine to deliver settlers and ships involved in the Indian trade. These represent special cases of commerce that were not considered. To simplify presentation, goods were assigned to one of twelve groups: foodstuffs, alcoholic beverages, other beverages, textiles and clothing, leather products, finished manufactures (labor-oriented), finished manufactures (domestic), wood and wood products, guns and munitions, paper, books, and writing implements, tobacco and smoking, and specie. These groups were established to maintain basic controls over what ports shipped basic commodities such as food and drink and what ports were sources for particular types of commodity. Most groups also had numerous subgroups, allowing an even finer breakdown. The discussion of data that follows provides an overall perspective on commodity flow into St. Augustine and examines the organization of private commerce as seen through the shipping records.

To determine St. Augustine's trade networks, the number of ship arrivals for each of the three years was totaled. The heaviest shipping traffic occurred during 1787 (see Table 1). The low number of arrivals for 1794 may have reflected turbulence prior to the rebellion of the following year. Spanish officials already were anticipating this trouble during the latter months of 1794. A count of ships for 1795 indicated that shipping arrivals again were low, totalling only thirty vessels. For 1803, the total number of ship arrivals— seventy-seven— did not include the twenty-four vessels engaged either in transporting settlers or carrying cargo for Pantan, Leslie & Company.

20. The total weight of sugar products shipped from Havana in 1787 was 2,232 arrobas or 55,800 lbs. U.S. Using the conversion factor of twenty-five lbs. U.S. of sugar equals eighteen reales (the standardized value), the total value was 40,176 reales. By contrast, the total weight of sugar imports from Charleston, New York, Philadelphia, and Savannah in 1787 was calculated at twelve arrobas or 300 lbs. U.S. Using the same standardized conversion, this was equal approximately to 216 reales. All of these figures represent the same relative volume of shipping: 40,176 reales to 216 reales; 2,232 arrobas to 12 arrobas; or 55,800 lbs. U.S. to 300 lbs. U.S. The standardized value provides an index of volume allowing the ready comparison of imports from various places and expressed in value terms.

Nevertheless, the totals for shipping traffic raise questions about the significance of the 1793 *cédula*. Merchants made sixty-three trips to ports in the United States in 1787. Hence, as one writer has noted, the *cédula* may have provided a more legal framework for foreign trade, but primarily it lifted restrictions that had not been enforced in the first place. Governor Quesada admitted in 1792 that he did not investigate infringements of trade regulations too rigorously, as it would be to the detriment of the community.<sup>21</sup>

Records show that the total volume of trade through Amelia Island was small in comparison with the major Atlantic seaboard ports of the United States. The number of ships arriving in St. Augustine during 1787, 1794, and 1803 also indicated a relatively small volume of trade when contrasted to major ports. To determine how shipping traffic in St. Augustine compared with other Spanish American ports, one must refer to data from Havana and Veracruz. During the mid-1780s approximately 300 ships a year, from several countries, were reported as arriving in Havana. Records of Spanish ships arriving at Veracruz indicate that there were thirty-four arrivals in 1787. In 1794 there were sixty-seven, more than twice the number of arrivals from all nations at St. Augustine.<sup>22</sup> However, St. Augustine was a relatively small community with a harbor that permitted access only to ships of shallow draft.<sup>23</sup> Although the town was no trade emporium in the Second Spanish Period, it neither was stagnant nor impoverished.

The data presented in Table 1 indicate that the two ports visited most frequently by merchants were Charleston and Havana. An assessment of the relative volume of trade from

21. Tornero Tinajero, *Relaciones de dependencia*, 66; Miller, "Struggle for Free Trade" 53-54.

22. Tornero Tinajero, "La Participación de Cádiz en el Comercio Exterior de La Habana (1776-1786)," *La Rabida: Primeras Jornadas de Andalucía y América* (1981), 88; and John E. Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque, 1983), 49, table 9.

23. Population estimates suggest the town averaged less than 1,800 people. John R. Dunkle, "Population Change as an Element in the Historical Geography of St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (July 1958), 21, now is somewhat out of date but shows the population of the town fluctuating between 1,200 and 1,600 people between 1793-1815. Poirineau estimated the total white population of East Florida in 1783 at 2,000, and placed the total for 1793, including white civilians, soldiers, free blacks, and slaves, at 3,561. Poirineau, "Demography," 421, 426.

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Table 1. The number of ship arrivals at St. Augustine.

	1787	1794	1803	TOTAL
Charleston	41	13	19	73
Havana	10	9	15	34
Other U.S.	22	5	16	43
Other Spanish American	7	1	3	11
Internal	7	-	-	7
Unknown	5	-	-	5
TOTAL	92	28	53	173

The table does not include vessels engaged for Panton, Leslie & Company in the Indian trade or vessels primarily bringing new settlers into the colony. Source: EFP, reels 91-92, bundles 215G17 and 216H17, 1786-1787; EFP, reels 92-93, bundle 219K17, 1794; and EFP, reel 96, bundle 229818, 1803.

various ports, expressed as value of cargoes, supported this observation (see Table 2).

Charleston was St. Augustine's major trade partner. Havana was the second largest and rivaled Charleston in volume of goods shipped to St. Augustine in both 1794 and 1803. New York and Philadelphia were important ports in 1787, but not in the subsequent years surveyed. Savannah, although having a lower trading volume than these ports, remained important

Table 2. Overall volume of goods from major ports.

	1787	1794	1803	TOTAL
Charleston	349,245	237,255	205,506	792,006
Havana	188,004	224,805	182,157	594,966
New York	176,722	-	33,733	210,455
Philadelphia	88,334	-	-	88,334
Savannah	13,544	30,969	40,521	85,034
Other U.S. ports (N = 7)	32,847	32,892	59,944	125,683
Other Spanish Am. (N = 5)	49,641	7,200	11,322	68,163
Internal trade by ship	18,338	-	11,333	29,671
TOTAL	916,675	533,121	544,516	1,994,312

All volumes are expressed as cargo value in reales. Price inventories used to assign value were drawn from the following vessels: the *Venus*, from Charleston, January 2 and February 5, 1794; the *Harriott*, from Charleston, March 13, 1794; the *Uxbridge*, from Charleston, April 1, 1794; the *Nuestra Señora de Regla*, from Savannah, May 5, 1794; the *Maria*, from Savannah, May 7, 1794; the *Camden Mail*, from Charleston, June 3, 1794; the *San Pedro*, from Charleston, June 14, 1794; the *Camden Mail*, from Charleston, August 2, 1794; the *San Pedro*, from Charleston, September 2, 1794; *Los Dos Hermanos*, from Charleston, September 6, 1794; the *Guillermo*, from Charleston, October 10, 1794; the *Henrietta*, from Charleston, November 2, 1794; the *Nancy*, from Charleston, December 4, 1794. Source: EFP, reels 92-93, bundle 219K17, 1794.

through the three years surveyed. Internal trade along the St. Johns and St. Marys rivers and from the settlement of Mosquitoes also represented a significant volume of shipping traffic.

The most important commodity imported into Florida, in terms of overall volume, was foodstuffs, followed by liquors, wines, and beer. Other groups included manufactures for household use (soap, candles, tablewares, cutlery, cooking utensils, furniture, and personal goods); leather goods (shoes, saddles, and leather); textiles and clothing; wood products (planking, turpentines, linseed oil, paints, and tars); and other manufactures (tools, fishing tackle, hinges, locks, nails, bricks, and mill and carriage equipment). Through an examination of the general types of cargo shipped to St. Augustine from various ports, the picture given by overall totals may be refined further.

The importation of foodstuffs probably represented a mix of public and private expenditure. The crown allocated money to St. Augustine on an annual basis. These funds composed the *situado*, which could be delivered either in the form of specie to cover expenses or in the form of supplies, such as clothing, food, and munitions. Frequently the *situado* represented payments both in specie and commodities, which were broken up into two or three annual installments. When supplies ran short, officials often commissioned private merchants to buy neces-

Table 3. Volume of types of commodity by year.

PRODUCTS SHIPPED	1787	1794	1803	TOTAL
Foodstuffs	533,035	254,918	396,523	1,184,476
Alcoholic beverages	185,506	160,032	70,492	416,030
Domestic manufactures	34,342	30,033	23,591	87,966
Clothing and Cloth	46,683	20,333	7,170	74,186
Leather products	30,421	16,938	9,322	56,681
Wood products	42,225	3,758	9,820	55,803
Money (in specie)	33,240	1,600	20,800	55,640
Other manufactures	2,650	29,599	3,192	35,441
Beverages (non-alcoholic)	8,465	10,028	8,740	27,233
Tobacco products	21,000	2,440	1,376	24,816
Munitions and Substances	2,477	1,592	6,256	10,325
Writing materials	616	2,499	16	3,131
TOTAL value of goods	940,660	533,770	557,298	2,031,728

Volume expressed as the cargo value in reales. Values standardized to price list generated from vessel cargo inventories as noted in Table 2. Source: EFP, reels 91-92, bundles 215G17 and 216H17, 1786-1787; EFP, reels 92-93, bundle 219K17, 1794; and EFP, reel 96, bundle 229H18, 1803.

sities at American ports, with the goods consigned to the Real Hacienda, or treasury, and paid for either with situado funds or on credit.<sup>24</sup> At least some of the foodstuffs imported by private merchants likely were underwritten by public funds to serve the needs of the garrison and general population. Goods also were consigned to St. Augustine's shopkeepers and to colonists engaged in planting, all of whom probably were buying foodstuffs for private use or sale.

St. Augustine's survival as a colony depended heavily on importations of food from the United States. Merchants imported most fish, meat, and grains through North American ports (see Table 4). Cuba was an importer of wheat in the late eighteenth century, increasingly from the United States, which provided a cheaper and more abundant supply than New Spain.<sup>25</sup> For St. Augustine, New York and Philadelphia were sources of fish, grains, lard, butter, cheese, and to a lesser degree, in 1787, of meat. However, over time merchants most consistently dealt with Charleston, the principal source of fish, grains, and larder. Savannah also was a frequent source of grains, butter, and cheese, but shipped smaller quantities.

The role of Havana in supplying foodstuffs to St. Augustine is difficult to assess because the shipping records do not reflect Havana's importance as the departure point for situado shipments. Grains from Veracruz still may have fed the garrison, as had been the case prior to 1763. Private merchants, though, appear to have patronized Havana primarily for a few specialized comestibles, notably olives, olive oil, and sugar. Consignments of sugar composed more than 80 percent of the total volume of foodstuffs imported via Havana in 1787 and 1794 and represented almost 100 percent of foodstuffs imported in 1803. In contrast, St. Augustine imported almost no sugar from the United States. This pattern repeated itself many times with other commodities. Havana effectively was a bottleneck; it channeled and controlled the redistribution of many products from Spain and the Caribbean. Hence, while the United States was a crucial source of basic foodstuffs for St. Augustine, access to Havana was equally important for specialized products. These included not only sugar, but sugar by-products such as rum and

24. For an analysis of how these funds were allocated, see Bermudez, *The Situado*.

25. Tornero Tinajero, "El Comercio Exterior de La Habana," 92.

Table 4. Foodstuffs imported into St. Augustine.

	1787						
	Fish	Grains	Larder	Meats	Produce	Spices	Sugar
Charleston	21,408	33,500	165,765	8,746	7,164	324	40
Havana	128	-	8,282	340	1,706	52	40,532
New York	11,820	30,468	80,137	21,293	7,485	820	180
Philadelphia	4,864	17,132	23,600	5,037	6,372	250	-
Savannah	-	11,456	500	-	588	-	-
	1794						
	Fish	Grains	Larder	Meats	Produce	Spices	Sugar
Charleston	1,728	57,462	39,429	22,648	3,836	6,156	576
Havana	144	-	6,230	324	2,588	1,175	48,545
New York	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Philadelphia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Savannah	-	26,000	-	1,359	-	-	-
	1803						
	Fish	Grains	Larder	Meats	Produce	Spices	Sugar
Charleston	17,248	81,632	35,530	7,616	19,904	1,080	-
Havana	-	-	2,406	-	227	-	116,576
New York	2,048	1,776	11,500	3,072	8,790	-	-
Philadelphia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Savannah	344	12,010	14,266	1,482	100	272	-

Volume expressed as cargo value in reales. Grain category includes wheat flour, maize, rice, and rye. Larder includes bread, butter, cheese, lard, and oils. Produce includes beans, fruits, nuts, onions, peas, and potatoes. Source: EFP, reels 91-92, bundles 215G17 and 216H17, 1786-1783; EFP, reels 92-93, bundle 219KI7, 1794; and EFP, reel 96, bundle 229H18, 1803.

aguadiente, beverages such as coffee and chocolate, and other products such as wine, tobacco, salt, and leather goods.

More than is the case with any other commodity, the importation of alcoholic beverages demonstrates how St. Augustine's diversified trade network served to bring a wide range of products into the colony. Merchants apparently patronized particular ports in order to obtain specific types of liquor. In general, rums, brandies, and Spanish wines came through Havana, French wines through Charleston, and smaller amounts of beer, gin, and moonshine from other ports in the United States. Rums, brandies, and wines composed the bulk of alcoholic beverages imported into St. Augustine. Havana— as a major sugar producer— was the chief supplier of rum and most brandies, although French brandy arrived through Charleston. In Havana, liquors normally were measured by the liquid version

of the arroba, normally a dry weight measure. This varied greatly, however, and for the purposes of this study liquor was valued according to its volume in pipas, garrafones, and barricas.<sup>26</sup> Brandy became increasingly popular in Spanish America during the late seventeenth century, and by the eighteenth century New Spain, Cuba, and Venezuela were major markets for brandies from Seville, Cádiz, and the Canaries.<sup>27</sup> However, in St. Augustine rum was the most popular or, at least, most readily available alcoholic drink. Merchants trading with Havana imported an estimated 52,140 reales of rum in 1787, 68,198 reales in 1794, and 29,280 reales in 1803. They also imported about 26,940 reales of brandy from the Canary Islands and Spain in 1787, with significantly less imported in subsequent years.<sup>28</sup>

Wine was the other major imported alcoholic beverage. Havana, Guarico (on the island of Hispaniola), and Charleston all were important transshipment points for this commodity. Havana and Guarico supplied St. Augustine with both red and white wines from Catalán, Málaga, and other areas of Spain. Traders imported about 24,390 reales worth of wine via Guarico in 1787, but none in the other years surveyed. By contrast, wine imports from Havana were low in 1787, but were valued at 44,636 reales for 1794 and 18,700 reales for 1803. Charleston shipped mostly clarets and French bordeaux (approximately 33,179 reales worth in 1787, but less in subsequent years surveyed).<sup>29</sup>

26. Barricas equal 500 lbs. U.S. or two barrels; pipas equals 120 gallons U.S., or five barrels. Rums usually were imported in pipas (pipes), brandies in garrafones (demijohns), and wines in barricas (large kegs). All measures of volume and weight were based on the conversion factors in Thomas C. Barnes, Thomas H. Naylor, and Charles W. Polzer, *Northern New Spain: A Research Guide* (Tucson, 1980), 68-75, and J. Villasana Haggard and Malcolm Dallas McLean, *Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents* (University of Texas, 1941), 68-87.
27. Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America* (Oxford, 1990), 213.
28. In volumetric measures merchants imported from Havana an estimated 207 pipas (1,035 barrels) of rum in 1787, 235 pipas (1,175 barrels) in 1794, and 167 pipas (835 barrels) in 1803. They imported about 100 garrafones of brandy through Havana in 1787, but less than 100 garrafones total in subsequent years.
29. Volumetric measures: about 210 barrels of wine via Guarico in 1787, but none in the other years surveyed; via Havana, only about fifty barrels in 1787, but 465 barrels in 1794 and 167 barrels in 1803. Charleston shipped approximately 165 barricas of claret and bordeaux in 1787, less in subsequent years.



Other forms of alcoholic beverage also were imported. Beer, principally from the United States, seems to have fallen off over time from a total value of 43,500 reales in 1787, to less than 4,000 reales in 1803. Gin, purchased primarily in Charleston or Savannah, also was imported in small quantities, as was anisette from Havana and liquors of various types from Charleston, Havana, and New York.

Like alcoholic beverages, imports of cloth and clothing also encompassed a wide variety of products. Cloth imports included lengths of hemp, canvass, and heavy thread for making sails; cheap Isenburg cloth; and bolts of printed cotton, chintz, serge, baize, and linen. These four types were valued in St. Augustine at between two and four reales/vara (one vara equals approximately thirty-three inches). Other types of cloth in the same price range were named for their regions of manufacture and included Bretano, Irlanda, Mahon (a colored cotton), Platilla (a French fine-weave), and Rollo (also a fine-weave). The most expensive cloths were olan (eight reales/vara), taffeta (eight reales/vara), and silk, which was priced by the pound. Other imports included cloth to be incorporated into clothing, such as sashes, ribbon, and lace. Finished clothing consisted mostly of hats, hose, and occasionally pants and shirts. Shawls or neckerchiefs and woolen blankets were common items. Cargoes from Havana often also included *ropa de uso*, or secondhand clothing, which never was valued and often was sent between family members for personal use.

Again the shipping manifests revealed certain patterns of trade. Charleston was the principal shipper of textiles. Havana exported some cloth, but in 1787 was the principal shipper of finished clothing, mostly hats and hose. Imports of finished clothing seem to have dropped off in the later years surveyed, possibly indicating that internal production of clothing had become great enough to supply local needs.

Leather included finished shoes and leather soles for making shoes. Shoes chiefly were imported from Havana or Santiago de Cuba. The manifests frequently describe them as *zapatos de Campeche*, so Cuba probably was a transshipment point for shoes made in Mexico. Based on the average value of shoes (six reales/pair), imports from Havana and Santiago in 1787 represented approximately 5,700 reales (950 pairs), 8,622 reales (1,437 pairs) in 1794, and 1,260 reales (210 pairs) in 1803.

Leather hides and shoe soles were imported from a number of ports which varied over the years surveyed. The highest volume of imports was in 1787, predominantly from North American ports. Saddles also came mainly from the United States.

Manufactures consisted of two categories: tools, gear, or equipment; and products made primarily for domestic use. Little specific information was available on the first category, because items such as locks, nails, hinges, and tools often were shipped under the general term of "sundrys." This made it difficult to quantify cargoes. Probably the most accurate data on manufactures came from 1794, the one year in the sample in which ships were inventoried. It showed that imported manufactures came predominantly through Charleston.

Products for domestic use included tableware, cutlery, cooking pots and pans, tea kettles, coffee pots, braziers, grinding stones, brushes, brooms, candles, lanterns, soap, window panes, furniture, and personal items. These commodities represented an important group, being one of the few that could be compared to materials that survive archaeologically. In general, data from the shipping manifests illustrated what has been known through the archaeological data— that finished products used in the home were imported in larger quantities from the United States than from Cuba. Boxes or barrels of crockery regularly arrived in St. Augustine from Charleston. This fact has been noted archaeologically because of the predominance of British-made creamwares and pearlwares, in place of Spanish majolicas, at late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century sites in St. Augustine. Shipping records also reflect reduced importation of Spanish wares. In 1787 and 1794 merchants were using Havana as a source for crockery, glassware, candles, and soap. Soap often was described as coming from Castile or Veracruz. Crockery usually appeared in the manifest as *loza* or *loza ordinario*, but occasionally was described as *loza de Sevilla* or *loza de Catalán*. In 1803, however, the records do not mention these commodities. Cargoes from Havana for that year seem to have been composed principally of sugar and sugar products.<sup>30</sup>

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30. The types of majolica found on late eighteenth-century sites in St. Augustine mostly are from the pottery centers of Mexico. Catalonia Blue on White, an old world variety which may be the *loza de Catalán* mentioned in the records, does occur but only rarely.

Although non-alcoholic beverages and tobacco were not shipped in the same volume as many other commodities, they included important products from the Caribbean and hence also help to show how commodity flow into St. Augustine differed between Cuba and the United States. Coffee and chocolate were imported via Cuba, tea predominantly from the United States. Chocolate and tea were popular drinks throughout Spanish America in the eighteenth century, but in St. Augustine coffee and tea likely were the predominant non-alcoholic beverages.<sup>31</sup> Merchants occasionally imported small amounts of cider and sassafras from the United States.

Interpretation of tobacco imports was difficult because of a large discrepancy between imports in 1787 and the other years surveyed. Imports from Havana in 1787 were valued at 16,154 reales; in subsequent years, the total value of tobacco was barely 2,000 reales. If 1787 represented a "normal" year in the tobacco trade, then Cuba was the major source. In this case, however, data from additional years are needed to draw firm conclusions.

Analysis of St. Augustine's imports indicates that access to different commodities—sugar, rum, wine, coffee, tea, cloth, manufactures—required that traders maintain a variety of separate trade networks. A full exposition on how merchants organized themselves in St. Augustine must await a network analysis of the complex relationships between owners of vessels, ship captains, and the individuals to whom goods were consigned. Shipping records, however, allow a sketch of some of the broad associations within St. Augustine's merchant community.

Manifests provide some but not all information on the commercial life of St. Augustine. Numerous commodities basic to Florida's survival rarely are mentioned. For instance, the total of munitions contained in the shipping manifests was 118 barrels of gunpowder, one box and a dozen flasks of birdshot, 1,000 gun flints, and two muskets. Shipments of specie also were infrequent. Bermudez has shown that the treasury monies of the *situado* arrived regularly throughout the Second Spanish Period, varying over time from about 80,000 pesos to hundreds of thousands of pesos per annum. However, the total of specie

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31. Burkholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 212-13.

shipped through Havana for the years surveyed in this study amounted to only 6,955 pesos fuertes. Presumably, situado monies arrived via the Spanish fleet, and the shipping records reflect only money exchanged as part of private business transactions. In addition, the slave trade virtually was invisible in these documents.

These omissions and discrepancies show that the shipping records give a restricted view of colonial commerce, pertaining primarily to goods carried by private vessels that were registered officially with the government. Smugglers and ships of the fleet undoubtedly played a regular role in introducing supplies and trade goods into Florida, but these remain outside the purview of this study.

As previously noted, prior to 1793 official Spanish policy in Florida was that trade with the United States could be carried out only in cases of emergency, and then only to make up shortfalls of basic needs or to acquire items for personal use. However, data from 1787 indicate that St. Augustine merchants were trading actively with ports in the United States and carrying types of commodities outside the bounds of Spanish trade restrictions. Hence, the 1793 *cédula* on free trade officially sanctioned a practice that already was occurring in view of the governor's customs officers. Zéspedes's commentary— that Florida could not possibly survive, let alone thrive, with Cuba as its only source of trade— is corroborated strongly by quantitative data from the shipping records.

The data also indicate that Havana was the crucial port for products from Mexico, Spain, and the Caribbean. Hence, one would expect that merchants with family or business connections in Cuba had the means to monopolize a wide variety of products. 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 permitted them wide leeway in what they could import.<sup>32</sup> These merchants

32. Zéspedes to Diego de Gardoqui, March 19, 1787. EFP, bundle 10158, document 67. The author is indebted to Susan Parker, Historical St. Augustine Preservation Board, for providing this reference.

figured prominently in the 1787 shipping records and each seems to have been at the center of a trade network.

The Cosifacio trading network was composed of the families of Cosifacio and of the Minorcans Domingo Martinelli, Bernardo Segui, and Juan Quevado.<sup>33</sup> These families were connected through intermarriage and appear to have owned jointly numerous 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.<sup>34</sup>

This family network was visible in the 1787 shipping records. It 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 plied 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 de Carmen*. In 1794, the ship was captained by Martinelli.

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 Rhode Island. Marcos Andres frequently captained on 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.<sup>35</sup>

33. Griffin, "The Minorcans," 77-78.

34. Ibid.

35. Philip D. Rasico, "The Minorcan Population of St. Augustine in the Spanish Census of 1786," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (October 1987), 171, 177, 182.

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 tavernkeeper; Bernardo Segui and Pablo Cortinas, both members of Cosifacio-Martinelli network; Antonio Fernandez, an intern at the hospital; Miguel O'Reilly, the parish priest; Mariano Lassaga, the keeper of artillery stores; Juan Sanchez, the master caulker; and Francisco Miranda, a Spanish merchant.<sup>36</sup> 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 and public commerce also extended to ports in the United States. The *Santa Catharina* brought a shipment of 140 pickaxes, 942 varas of linens, 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.<sup>37</sup> 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 United 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.

36. Government officials are identified from Lackey, *East Florida*, 198-99, 202-03. Merchants and colonists were identified from Rasico, "Minorcan Population of St. Augustine," and Johnson, "The Spanish St. Augustine Community."

37. EFP, bundle 215G17-216H17, reels 91-92, July 11, 1787.

Although data on merchants were not complete for 1794, some conclusions can be drawn. On the North American circuit, Cosifacio still was operating the *San Pedro* and a new acquisition, the *Venus*. Iznardy was trading chiefly with Charleston using *Los Dos Hermanos* and two new ships, the *Guillermo* and the *Correo del Camden* (originally an American ship, the *Camden Mail*), both of which he purchased in 1794. Costa continued to sail to Charleston in the *Santa Maria*. Ownership of the vessels trading regularly with Havana is uncertain.

By 1803 many of the networks noted for 1787 seem to have changed, and the records include references to Don Fernando de la Maza de Arredondo and the Hull family. Arredondo was one of the wealthiest colonists in Spanish Florida, a major merchant and landholder, with family connections in Cuba. Virtually every ship coming from Havana in 1803 contained consignments for him. He also had connections with the new Anglo-American planters in the colony. Among the ships trading with Charleston that consigned goods to Arredondo were the *Lady Washington*, captained by Don Luis McFiars; the *Phoenix*, captained by Enrique Martin and Thomas Hudson; and the *Friendship*, operated by Jorge Long and Abiather Hull. Hull, on one occasion at least, seems to have used Arredondo as an intermediary in obtaining goods from Havana. Miguel Costa was listed in 1803 as operating a ship called the *Concepción* that made three trips to Havana, one to Charleston, and one to New York. Hence, he appears by this time to have established commercial links with Cuba. The continued involvement of the Minorcan community in trade was represented by the activity of Bartolome Suarez. As captain of the *Eagle*, he made several trips to the United States and Havana, often with consignments for Minorcan shopowners and merchants.

Merchants not directly engaged in shipping were no less subject to the need for reliable trade networks. Antonio Berta, described in the 1796 census as a Minorcan-born tavernkeeper, is an example.<sup>38</sup> Since Havana was a principal source of rums, brandies, and wines, it was an important port for those who made their livelihood as purveyors of liquor. In the 1787 records Berta appeared as recipient of a consignment of goods from Havana through Joseph Aguirre. By 1794, Berta had a regular connection in Havana, Tomas de Puma, and was im-

38. Rasico, "Minorcan Population of St. Augustine," 176.

porting goods on every ship that plied between St. Augustine and Cuba. His consignments included wine, sugar, and brandy aboard the *Puísima Concepción*; rum, sugar, and brandy on the *Santa Rosa de Lima*; rum on the *Jesú, María, y José*; and white wine on *La Marianna*. He also imported stock for his tavern aboard the *Nuestra Señora de Regla*, captained by Andres Camillery, and later received crockery, cloth, and tobacco from Savannah aboard the same vessel. By 1803, Berta was connected with the *Floridana*, captained by Pedro Sicard, which made one trip to Havana and five trips to Charleston. Berta was not mentioned in the consignments for the Havana shipment, but received goods from all of the trips to Charleston.

Analysis of a three-year sample of the shipping arrivals at the port of St. Augustine shows 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. Data allow some reevaluation of Florida's situation,

First, importation of goods from the United States began well before the official relaxation of trade laws in 1793. Practically from its reconstruction under Spanish rule in 1784, East Florida was engaged in free trade with the United States. This practice may well have begun in the First Spanish Period. Shipping manifests for English vessels stopping in Florida between 1716 and 1763 indicate that St. Augustine was importing many of the same types of goods, from the same ports, as noted for the Second Spanish Period.<sup>39</sup> St. Augustine's location on the Atlantic seaboard may have played a far more pivotal role in its commercial life than previously considered.

Second, preliminary identification of some merchant trading networks indicates two distinctive patterns of trade. Most merchants were engaged in trade with United States ports. Trade with Havana, on the other hand, likely was in the hands of a much smaller group, primarily Minorcans and Spaniards. It is uncertain whether these merchants were acting as middlemen for the commercial community in general or whether they had a monopolistic hold on access to Havana. The answer to this question may take historians far in understanding the degree of cooperation or competition that characterized life in St. Augustine.

39. Harman, *Trade and Privateering*, 83-91