

BEFORE AND AFTER THE MELTING POT: SUMMARY REPORT

Charles Cobb, Gifford Waters, and Kathryn Ness, Principal Investigators
Amanda Hall, Project Researcher
Florida Museum of Natural History, University of Florida

Submitted to:
Historic St. Augustine Foundation

August 14, 2017

INTRODUCTION

Representing North America's so-called First Colony, St. Augustine, Florida has naturally drawn considerable attention from historians and archaeologists alike. Much of this focus has been on the first two centuries of its existence (1560s to 1760s), when St. Augustine played a central role in shaping the early colonial history of southeastern North America. This period witnessed a growing fractiousness with other colonial powers, particularly the English empire, which became increasingly aggressive in the South following the establishment of the Carolina colony in 1670. The colony of Florida reached a particularly low point when, during the height of Queen Anne's War from 1702 to 1704, repeated attacks by English colonial militias and their Native American allies devastated the Franciscan mission system that underpinned a significant portion of the economy.

Ill fortune struck again in the 1760s when Spain allied with France against the English empire in the Seven Years War in a conflict that became global in scope. France and Spain were forced to sue for peace after England had won several major land battles in North America and seized several major colonial outposts from its perennial enemies in the Caribbean and elsewhere. A particularly notable blow for Spain was the loss of Manila (Philippines) and Havana (Cuba), two of the more prosperous ports in its empire. In order to regain these cities, Spain was forced to cede Florida to England in 1763. The winds of fortune soon turned back in Spain's favor when England was forced to return Florida in 1783 as part of its concessions after losing the American colonies that would eventually become the United States. However, the United States maintained the expansionist ambitions of the English empire and, after decades of conflict and contestation, Spain gave up Florida to its new neighbor to the north. It became an American territory in 1821 and a state in 1845.

Historians and archaeologists often make a distinction between the history of Florida before (Spanish I) and after (Spanish II) the English occupation from 1763 to 1783. This recognizes not only an interruption in the flow of Spanish possession, but also that in the late eighteenth century a number of cultural, political and economic currents were profoundly—and rapidly—transforming the state, empires, and colonies around the globe into a world system integrated to a greater degree than ever before. Some of the more important of these trends include the rise of the consumer revolution, the first stirrings of the industrial revolution and true market economies, and the decline of formerly major colonial powers (Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands) alongside the tandem rise of France's and Great Britain's might and influence.

Our project relies on the archaeological record of St. Augustine to evaluate some of the major cultural transformations that occurred in Spanish-American cultural patterns from the Spanish I to the Spanish II periods. Using ceramic collections from four Spanish I occupations and three Spanish II occupations in the city, we outline the fortunes of seven families living in St. Augustine before and after the American Revolution. Together, archaeological and documentary histories of these families show how people of Spanish descent in St. Augustine responded to the gradual end of the Spanish empire and formed a Spanish-American cultural identity that embraced both their cultural heritage and their connections to the United States and non-Spanish empires.

BACKGROUND

Primarily a military town on the northern fringes of the Spanish empire in the Americas, St. Augustine has often been described by historians as a backwater town that was sometimes forgotten or neglected by Spain. However, recent research has demonstrated that the residents of Spanish garrisons in similar settings, such as Presidio San Francisco in northern California, displayed a sophisticated awareness of the latest European fashions and tastes (Voss 2008). Likewise, for many residents St. Augustine represented a thriving metropolis that followed the latest European styles and offered economic and military opportunities unavailable in Spain. In our study, we focus on seven of these families—the Ponce de Leóns, de Salases, de Mesas, de Hitas, Sánchezes, Ximénezes, and Bousquets—all of whom lived in the town between 1706 and 1817.

In the mid-1700s, Spanish-born merchant Juan de Salas, Mexican-born merchant Antonio de Mesa, locally-born cavalryman Gerónimo de Hita, and locally-born chief adjutant Francisco Ponce de Leon took advantage of these opportunities and became some of the town's wealthy, elite residents. These men saw themselves as representatives of Spain in the Americas and proudly showed their heritage and familiarity with the motherland through their household items and behavior. Their ties to Spain were so great that when the British gained control of Florida in 1763, these families, along with many of their neighbors, willingly abandoned their homes, many of their possessions, and their businesses in order to remain Spanish citizens in Cuba and Mexico.

In 1783, after Spain regained control of Florida, many families either returned to St. Augustine, such as the de Salases, or moved there for the first time. Among these newcomers were Spanish-born chief master caulker Juan Sánchez, Spanish-born merchant Andres Ximénez, and the military hospital's surgeon major, Spanish-born Juan José Bousquet, and their respective families. In contrast to the earlier families mentioned above, the Sánchezes, Ximénezes, and Bousquets seem to have embraced new ideas, customs, and fashions without a Spanish connection, despite having been born in Spain. Juan and his family ate from British ceramics. Andres's ownership of a billiard table, a game typically associated with France, England, or America, suggests that he was consciously catering to the town's many non-Spanish residents and might have even embraced the multi-cultural flavor of the town's melting pot himself. Similarly, Juan José's polylingual library indicates that he, if not the rest of his family, could read multiple languages and might have been familiar with Enlightenment ideas from France and political philosophies from the newly formed United States.

In short, although these families were of Spanish background, the ways in which they incorporated Spanish culture into their households varied widely. Their strategies seem to have been shaped by socio-economic status, place of origin (Spanish America versus Spain), education and other variables. Although the United States is often viewed as a melting pot with particularly strong English and northern European influences, it is evident that Spanish Florida likewise was a place of cultural pluralism. These re-worked Spanish influences worked their way into other cultures in the South, and continue to be an integral part of Florida's heritage today.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

Despite knowing a great deal about these seven St. Augustine families, scholars have yet to investigate how they responded to the complex political and cultural realities they encountered and how their daily lives changed in this turbulent social environment. Life in pre-American Revolution St. Augustine, when individuals were proud to be Spanish subjects and represent a leading empire, was very different than life in the town after the American Revolution when people throughout the Americas and Europe were questioning imperialism and their own identities as colonists or residents in an imperial setting. As either *peninsulares*, Spaniards born in Spain, or *criollos*, Spaniards born in the Americas, these seven families represented the social elites of the town and would have been aware of the changes that were happening in both the Americas and Europe. To better understand how these families reacted to these developments, we ask:

1. How do the families' choices reflect the political atmosphere in which they lived?
2. In what ways did they maintain their cultural heritage? In what ways were they willing to relinquish ties to Spain in favor of new, non-Spanish ideas and fashions?
3. What do these changes tell us about their sense of cultural identity and how they saw themselves in relation to the rest of the Spanish Empire and the Atlantic world?

In order to explore these questions and identify how individuals in St. Augustine portrayed themselves before and after the American Revolution, we will examine both archaeological remains and documentary records pertaining to these families. This multidisciplinary approach allows us to balance biases inherent in both the archaeological and documentary records. Documents, for instance, often reference fancier, delicate items because they are expensive or impressive; such records, however, typically neglect more functional items, like cooking vessels. The archaeological record, in contrast, regularly contains such utilitarian items since fancier objects may be passed on as heirlooms and delicate items are fragile and decay. Consequently, using the two kinds of sources in conjunction with each other provides a more complete view of the past.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY AND SITE SUMMARIES

The amount of information provided in the archival records regarding the Ponce de Leons, de Salas, de Mesas, de Hita, Sanchez, Ximénez, and Bousquet families varies widely (Figure 1). Most of the documentation concentrates around the mid-eighteenth century and concerns the transition of La Florida from Spanish to British hands. Much of this material is comprised of cartographic documents and property transfers. Likewise, the archaeological investigations conducted at each of the sites vary greatly in their scope and intensity. As a result of these differences, we know much more about some of the families than others.

In some cases, both the family name and the archaeological site name are the same. In other instances, archaeological sites associated with these families often have names that are different from the family name. For the latter, we include both names (family name/site name) in the title of each site narrative in the following discussion. In addition, the archaeological site number for each locus is included in parentheses following the site name(s).

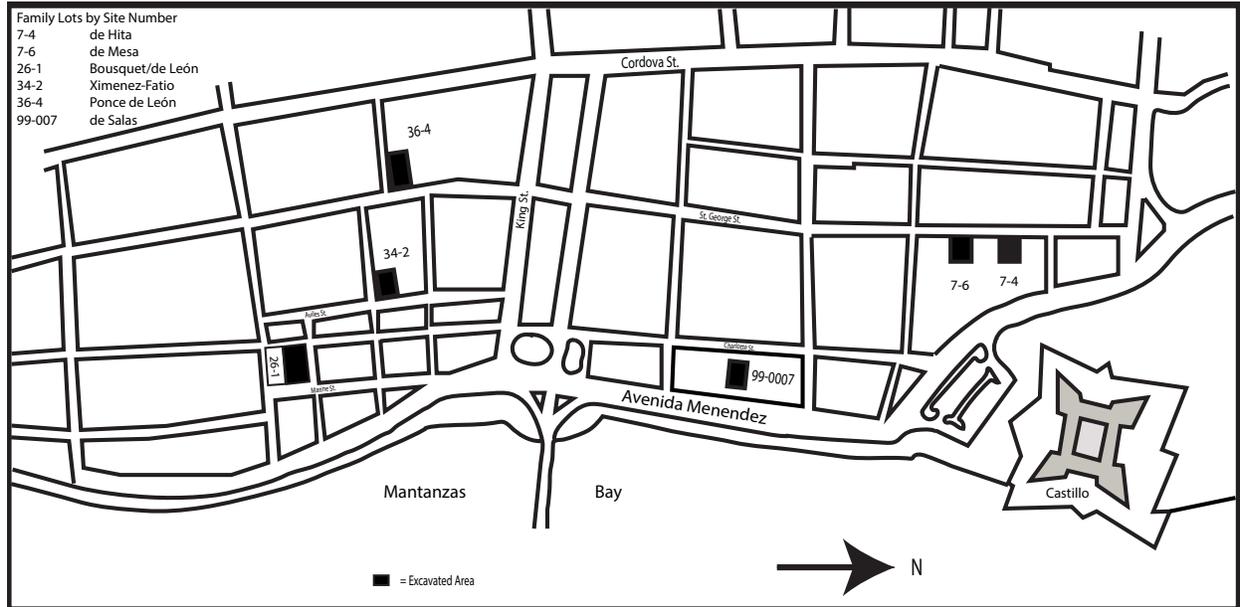


Figure 1: Location of family house lots/archaeological sites in St. Augustine

Bousquet/de León (SA 26-1)

Located about a mile west of the Matanzas River, the de León site is in the southern area of sixteenth century colonial St. Augustine. Today the site is overlain by a domestic residence bounded by Main Street to the east, Charlotte Street to the West, Bravo Street to the north, and Aviles Street to the south. This is the one site in the sample that contains analyzed examples from both the Spanish I (de León family) and Spanish II (Bousquet) periods.

The Spanish beginnings of the de León site date to the sixteenth century, coinciding with the earliest decades in the establishment of St. Augustine. Although there are archaeological remains from this early period, there are no records pertaining to sixteenth- or seventeenth-century occupations to provide background on how this locality was used. The earliest document regarding the occupation of the site is the Elixio de la Puente map (1763) that lists Lorenzo Josef de León, a prominent and wealthy criollo as the property owner. León held a high position in the Spanish militia as Captain of the Mounted Dragoons. He owned the property until 1764 before selling it to Jesse Fish as part of the cession to the British. In 1782, the British crown assumed ownership of the property and granted it to John Henley. In 1785, Bernardo Segui purchased the lot from Henley and then legally transferred it to Joseph Bousquet two years later. The Bousquet family owned the property until 1824 when John Drysdale purchased the property after Florida became an American territory.

From 1977 to 1979, the University of Florida, Florida State University, and the city of St. Augustine conducted several archaeological excavations at this location (Braley 1978; Singleton 1977). These aimed to recover spatial and cultural information regarding the sixteenth-century city.

Palm Row/Ponce de León Site (SA 36-4)

Although archaeological evidence confirms that the occupation of the Ponce de León site in the southwestern portion of the city extends back to the sixteenth-century, the first documentation of residence appears on mid-eighteenth century maps (Puente 1764, and Jefferies 1769). The Puente map notes that the lot belonged to Don Francisco Ponce de León, one of the many descendants of Juan Ponce de León, the conquistador credited with the discovery of Florida in 1513. Because of this historic connection, Francisco was a prominent citizen in St. Augustine. He served as a well-paid infantry private for the Spanish army and his salary was in the upper 5% of the town's income range. Francisco, who was born in 1710, married Doña Jacobina Pueyo in 1743. In 1763, Francisco had risen to the rank of Ayudante Mayor, acting as the assistant to the Sargent Mayor, the commanding officer of the Castillo de San Marcos. When the Spanish relinquished Florida to the British in 1763, Francisco, along with his wife and their children, left St. Augustine. No documentation exists regarding the fate of the León family following their departure from Florida (Ness 2017:66-70).

In 1978, Florida State University held a field school at the Ponce de León site under the direction of Kathleen Deagan and Charles Poe. While excavating portions of the site, students uncovered sixteenth- to nineteenth-century deposits delineating the first century of Spanish occupation, as well as the British, Second Spanish, and American territorial Periods. Artifacts from the site represent both utilitarian and tableware vessels that provide insight into the Leóns' dining practices and choices in ceramic goods (Ness 2017:68, 70-71).

de Salas/Monson Motor Lodge (BDAC 99-0007)

During the early 2000s, the city began preparing for the demolition of the Monson Motor Lodge and the construction phase of the Hilton Historic Bayfront Hotel. City archaeologist Carl Halbirt and his team of volunteers excavated areas that were facing direct impact by the hotel's construction. Halbirt recorded over 200 archaeological features, varying from shell middens and trash pits to wells and structural remains. Halbirt noted that the number of features was likely only a small fraction of the features that existed on the site prior to construction.

The earliest documentation of the de Salas site is on the Puente map (1763). Situated between Charlotte Street and Avenida Menendez, the site is located to the north of the main plaza and faces the Matanzas River to the east. According to Puente's map, the site comprises two blocks and lists four landowners, all of which had stone houses on their lots. During the Spanish colonial period, the location of the de Salas site was in the main commercial area of the city, which made it a prime area for merchants to reside. One wealthy Spanish merchant, Juan de Salas, owned the southern end of the property. When the Spanish ceded Florida to the British in 1763, de Salas owned three lots, two on Charlotte Street, and one on Spanish Street. Before leaving for Havana, Cuba with his wife, sons, and other city residents, de Salas sold his three lots to Jesse Fish (Ness 2017:72-75).

De Salas, his sons, and grandson returned to St. Augustine sometime between 1788 and 1793 and like other families probably attempted to regain their old properties. However, English merchant John Leslie owned the de Salas' former home. Because of Leslie's success in working with the Native American groups in the area, the Spanish contracted with him to remain in the city. It is unknown whether de Salas reacquired any his initial properties, but documents reveal that he

owned a store and some land to the north of the city plaza. In the 1960s, the de Salas site became the home of the Monson Motor Lodge, a hotel recognized for the 1964 Civil Rights movement involving Martin Luther King, Jr. and other activists. Today, the Hilton St. Augustine Bayfront Hotel stands in the vicinity of where the de Salas home once was.

One of the most significant discoveries during Halbirt's excavations was a well located on the edge of the de Salas property where he recovered a number of large ceramic sherds. Analysis of the materials revealed that many of the sherds mend to form nearly complete vessels and all were disposed of over a short period from ca. 1762 to ca. 1764. Similar to a time capsule, the well contents have provided researchers a confined window of time to analyze nearly whole vessels from a Spanish residence that can essentially reveal clues about Spanish culture at the closing of the First Spanish Period (Ness 2017:75-76).

De Hita (SA 7-4)

The de Hita site today is situated along the northerly portion of St. George Street. The earliest documented occupation of the site was during the early eighteenth century, during the Spanish II period. To date, no documentation exists suggesting an earlier occupation of the site. It appears on three maps depicting the city of St. Augustine, the Jefferies (1762), the Puente (1763), and the Moncrief (1765) maps. The site had two structures on it, one house on the northern half owned by a mestizo named Bernardo Gonzales. On the southern half Geronimo de Hita y Salazar, a criollo native of St. Augustine, owned a two-room house with a building in the back. Geronimo was born in 1706 as grandson to Pablo de Hita y Salazar, the Governor and Captain-General of Florida from 1675 to 1680.

In 1734, Geronimo joined the army, became a cavalryman, and later became commanding officer of Fort Mose, a garrison of freed blacks north of the city. Geronimo's income fell in the top 40% of the town's range. He married Juana de Avero in 1736 and fathered five children. When Florida transferred to the British in 1763, Geronimo entrusted his property to Elixio de la Puente, who, a year later sold it to Jesse Fish. In 1777, British officer Captain Andrew Rainsford purchased both the Gonzales and the de Hita properties. That year the de Hita house either deteriorated or perhaps was torn down, while for a short period the Gonzales house remained intact. The property reverted to the British crown in 1778. Luciano de Herrera, one of a few Spaniards who remained in the city during English occupation, purchased the property and used the area for gardening.

Excavations of the de Hita site under the direction of Kathleen Deagan with Florida State University spanned two consecutive field schools in 1975 and 1976. The main goal of the investigations was to recover information about the material culture of St. Augustine's criollo population. Later excavations conducted at the site were carried out by John Bostwick (1977-1978) and Jimmy Smith (1982), both with the St. Augustine Preservation Board.

De Mesa/Sánchez House (SA 7-6)

Antonio de Mesa is the first recorded owner of this house on St. George street and to the south of the de Hita property. A native of Vera Cruz, Mexico, Antonio came to St. Augustine in the 1740s where he served as a customs official. He married a local woman and owned a slave. Following

Spain's ceding of Florida to the British, Antonio and his wife left for Havana, Cuba in 1764, where Antonio died two years later (Reitz and Cumbaa 1983:161).

With the British takeover of Florida, English merchant William Walton acquired the de Mesa property and owned it until his death in 1768. The property reverted to the British crown and later was granted to Joseph Stout in 1771, who used the building as a residence and office space. When the Spanish reacquired Florida in 1783, Stout sold the house to Juan Sánchez, the Chief Master Caulker of the Royal Works. The Sanchez family maintained the property until 1832, when Lewis G. Melizet and John M. Melizet purchased the property.

After acquiring the property in 1977, the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board launched a restoration project under the direction of Jacksonville architect, Herschel Shepard. The same year, Kathleen Deagan with the Florida State University led archaeological investigations of the property. The combined efforts of Shepard and Deagan provided significant information pertaining to the evolution of the structure. Cultural materials associated with three overlapping tabby floors provided approximate dates for these features: one dated to ca. 1760, a second at ca. 1800, and a third at ca. 1813. This work also revealed that the house was originally a one-room structure that evolved into its current two-story design. Additional excavations by the HSAPB in 1977 and 1978 under the direction of John Bostwick collected more information regarding the evolution of the structure for further restoration projects.

Ximénez-Fatio House (SA 34-2)

The history of the Ximénez-Fatio site (often just referred to as the Fatio site) spans over 400 years. Located in an area of town occupied during the sixteenth-century known as the Old Spanish Quarter, the site is bounded on the east by Aviles Street and on the south by Cadiz Street (Clauser 1975:1). The property has had a number of owners over the centuries. The first documented owner was *peninsular* Cristoval Contreras, who arrived in St. Augustine from Tenerife in the Canary Islands sometime before 1758. He was of high economic status and owned a female slave (Reitz and Cumbaa 1983:162). Contreras owned the property until the ceding of la Florida to the British in 1763. Within the subsequent twenty-year period, the property changed British hands four times. When the Spanish reoccupied Florida in 1783, Contreras' son Luis attempted to reclaim his father's property. Unsuccessful at his endeavors, the property sold at a public auction in 1791 where Juan Hernandez purchased the property and owned it for six years before selling it to a merchant from Minorca named Andres Ximénez who operated a grocery store on the premise. In 1830, Margret Cook purchased the property from Ximénez during the Territorial Period (McEwan 1985:2-6).

Since the early 1960s, the Ximénez-Fatio site has received considerable archaeological attention. Excavations have yielded archaeological deposits spanning the earliest portion of the first Spanish period beginning around the mid-1500s and into the modern period. Excavations have revealed architectural and subsistence remains and the diversity of goods and luxury goods obtainable by St. Augustine residents.

From the 1960s to the 1980s, investigations stemmed from the Colonial Dames of America's interest in restoring the architecture associated with boardinghouse established by Margaret Cook in 1830. Standing structures at the site include the house and a kitchen commonly referred

to as the “old slave kitchen,” both of which have undergone various changes over the years from their original forms (Clauser 1975:1). In 1963, archaeologist Robert Steinbach began a limited evaluation to test accuracy of the historic Puente (1764) and la Rocque (1788) maps that depicted the property and its structures (Clauser 1975:2). Work in the early 1970s continued Steinbach’s ambition of evaluating the accuracy of historic maps with archaeological data. University of Florida graduate student Carl McMurray continued excavations at the site in 1972. Kathleen Deagan from the University of Florida carried out various excavations of the property in 1973, and additional work under her direction was conducted in later years (Caballero 1979; Clauser 1975:3; Gaske 1981; Deagan 1983, 1984; McEwan 1985).

In 1975, archaeologist John Clauser and restoration architect Herschel Shepard collaborated on a project at the Ximénez-Fatio site to conduct an archaeological and architectural investigations of the house. The goals were to gather information for the Colonial Dames future restoration plans for reverting the house to its 1830s boardinghouse architectural style and to collect fresh archaeological data. Clauser’s investigation focused on test pits in locations helpful to Shepard for understanding the construction of the house while offering Clauser an opportunity to gather information about the house’s inhabitants. The excavation resulted in numerous cultural and faunal materials and information about the architecture and building stages of the structures over the centuries (Clauser 1975).

DATA AND DISCUSSION

de Hita Site

The majority of European ceramics recovered from 1st Spanish period deposits at the de Hita site are Spanish types (n=1518, 68.5%), followed by glazed and unglazed coarse earthenware types (n=436, 19.7%) such as Black Lead Glazed Coarse earthenware, Mexican Red Painted, and Guadalajara Polychrome (Table 1; Figure 2). The most abundant of these are majolicas (n=841, 37.9%). Significant amounts of Delftware pottery were identified (n=180, 8.1%), the majority of which are Dutch. British and German stonewares were also common (n=101, 4.6%).



Figure 2: Spanish majolicas, Mexican Red Painted, and Guadalajara Polychrome Sherds from SA 7-4, de Hita Site

Table 1: 1st Spanish Period Ceramics at SA 7-4, de Hita site

Site: SA 7-4 de Hita (1st Spanish Period)		
Spanish	Count	%
Majolica	841	37.9%
Coarse Earthenware	436	19.7%
Olive Jar	241	10.9%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>1518</i>	<i>68.5%</i>
Non-Spanish European		
Delft	180	8.1%
Faience	30	1.4%
Coarse Earthenware	140	6.3%
Refined Earthenware	31	1.4%
Stoneware	101	4.6%
Porcelain	3	0.1%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>485</i>	<i>21.9%</i>
Asian		
Porcelain	22	1.0%
Unknown Origin /UID		
Coarse earthenware	80	3.6%
Lead Glazed Coarse Earthenware	26	1.2%
Slipped Coarse Earthenware	22	1.0%
Tin Enameled	55	2.5%
Bisque	9	0.4%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>192</i>	<i>8.7%</i>
Total	2217	100%

The most common vessel forms identified among the 1st Spanish period European ceramics include traditional Spanish forms of brimmed platos (n=10, 24.4%) and platos (n=3, 7.3%) (Table 2). Bowl forms, which occur in both Spanish and non-Spanish pottery types, also occur in significant numbers (n=10, 24.4%), as do plates (n=7, 17.1%) which are only found in non-Spanish pottery types.

Table 2: 1st Spanish Period Vessel Forms at SA 7-4, de Hita site

Site: SA 7-4 de Hita (1st Spanish Period)		
Vessel Forms	#	%
Bacin	4	9.8%
Brimmed Plato	10	24.4%
Bowl	10	24.4%
Cup	4	9.8%
Jar	1	2.4%
Jar UID	1	2.4%
Lebrillo	1	2.4%
Plate	7	17.1%
Plato	3	7.3%
Total	41	100.0%

Table 3: 1st Spanish Period Ceramics at SA 7-6, de Mesa site

Site: SA 7-6 de Mesa (1st Spanish Period)		
Spanish	Count	%
Majolica	68	10.4%
Coarse Earthenware	73	11.2%
Olive Jar	80	12.3%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>221</i>	<i>33.8%</i>
Non-Spanish European		
Delft	90	13.8%
Faience	9	1.4%
Coarse Earthenware	181	27.7%
Refined Earthenware	15	2.3%
Stoneware	55	8.4%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>350</i>	<i>53.6%</i>
Asian		
Porcelain	21	3.2%
Unknown Origin /UID		
Coarse earthenware	18	2.8%
Lead Glazed Coarse Earthenware	21	3.2%
Slipped Coarse Earthenware	1	0.2%
Tin Enameled	21	3.2%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>9.3%</i>
Total	653	100.0%

De Mesa Site

Unlike at the de Hita site, the majority of European pottery recovered from 1st Spanish period deposits at the de Mesa site are non-Spanish types (n=350, 53.6%) (Table 3). The majority of these types are glazed and unglazed coarse earthenwares (n=181, 27.7%), most of which are types from England (Figure 3). Dutch Delftware (n=90, 13.8%) and stonewares (n=55, 8.4%) also make up a significant proportion of the ceramic assemblage (Figure 3). Spanish pottery types account for 33.8% (n=221) of the pottery, with majolicas making up 10.4% (n=68) of the total ceramic assemblage.



Figure 3: (clockwise from top) Slipware, Rhenish Stoneware, and Transfer Printed Pearlware Sherds from SA 7-6, de Mesa Site (1st Spanish Period)

Table 4: 1st Spanish Period Vessel Forms at SA 7-6, de Mesa site

Site: SA 7-6 SP1 de Mesa (1st Spanish Period)		
Vessel Forms	#	%
Bacin	1	10.0%
Brimmed Plato	1	10.0%
Bowl	3	30.0%
Lebrillo	1	10.0%
Plate	4	40.0%
Total	10	100.0%

There were at least ten distinct vessels identified in the ceramic assemblage of the de Mesa site (Table 4). Non-Spanish plate forms (n=4, 40%) accounted for the largest proportion, followed by bowls (n=3, 30%). Traditional Spanish forms, including bacin, lebrillo, and brimmed plato account for another 30% (n=3).

Table 5: 1st Spanish Period Ceramics at SA 36-4, Palm Row site

Site: SA 36-4 Palm Row (1st Spanish Period)		
Spanish	Count	%
Majolica	315	24.0%
Coarse Earthenware	95	7.2%
Olive Jar	273	20.8%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>683</i>	<i>52.0%</i>
Non-Spanish European		
Delft	77	5.9%
Faience	24	1.8%
Coarse Earthenware	26	2.0%
Refined Earthenware	15	1.1%
Stoneware	251	19.1%
Porcelain	1	0.1%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>394</i>	<i>30.0%</i>
Asian		
Porcelain	32	2.4%
Unknown Origin /UID		
Coarse earthenware	62	4.7%
Lead Glazed Coarse Earthenware	21	1.6%
Slipped Coarse Earthenware	49	3.7%
Tin Enameled	27	2.1%
Bisque	43	3.3%
Porcelain	2	0.2%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>204</i>	<i>15.5%</i>
Total	1313	100%

Palm Row (Ponce de León) Site

At the Palm Row site 52% (n=683) of the 1st Spanish period European ceramic assemblage is comprised of Spanish types (Table 5). The majority of these types are majolicas (n=315, 24%) (Figure 4). Non-Spanish types also make up a significant proportion of the assemblage at 30% (n=394). The majority of these (n=251, 19.1%) are stonewares, most of which were manufactured in England and Germany (Figure 4).



Figure 4: (clockwise from top left): San Luis Polychrome, White Salt Glazed Stoneware Brown Rhenish Stoneware and Delftware Sherds from SA 36-4, Palm Row Site

Table 6: 1st Spanish Period Vessel Forms at SA 36-4, Palm Row site

Site: SA 36-4 Palm Row (1st Spanish Period)		
Vessel Forms	#	%
Brimmed Plato	6	9.4%
Bowl	20	31.3%
Cup	2	3.1%
Taza	2	3.1%
Ataifor	1	1.6%
Plate	30	46.9%
Plato	3	4.7%
Total	64	100.0%

Close to half of the vessel forms identified are non-Spanish plates (n=30, 46.9%) (Table 6). Bowls, only two of which were identified among the Spanish pottery types, account for 31.3% (n=20) of the vessels identified. The traditional Spanish forms plato and brimmed plato make up 14.6% (n=9) of the vessel forms identified in the assemblage.

Table 7: 1st Spanish Period Ceramics at SA BDAC-99-0007, Monson Motor Lodge site

Site: SA BDAC-99-0007 de Salas Monson Motor Lodge (1st Spanish Period)		
Spanish	Count	%
Majolica	34	3.1%
Coarse Earthenware	42	3.8%
Olive Jar	12	1.1%
<i>Subtotal</i>	88	8.0%
Non-Spanish European		
Delft	181	16.5%
Coarse Earthenware	70	6.4%
Refined Earthenware	276	25.2%
Stoneware	250	22.8%
Porcelain	3	0.3%
UID Refined Tin Enamel Earthenware	3	0.3%
<i>Subtotal</i>	783	71.4%
Asian		
Porcelain	121	11.0%
Unknown Origin /UID		
Coarse earthenware	57	5.2%
Lead Glazed Coarse Earthenware	12	1.1%
Slipped Coarse Earthenware	25	2.3%
Tin Enameled	11	1.0%
<i>Subtotal</i>	105	9.6%
Total	1097	100%

Monson Motor Lodge (de Salas) Site

The 1st Spanish period ceramic assemblage recovered from excavations at the Monson Motor Lodge site is unique in that Spanish pottery types only account for 8.0% (n=88), while non-Spanish types of known origin make up 82.4% (n=903) of the assemblage (Table 7). The majority of the latter group are British refined earthenwares and stonewares (n=276, 25.2% and n=250, 22.8% respectively) and Delftwares (n=181, 16.5%). It is likely that the feature

represents a mixture of items purposefully discarded by the Juan de Salas family when they left at the end of the 1st Spanish period along with items discarded by new British settlers in 1763. As such it is likely not a good representation of consumer choice and practice for the end of the 1st Spanish period.

Table 8: 1st Spanish Period Vessel Forms at SA BDAC-99-0007, Monson Motor Lodge site

Site: SA BDAC-99-0007 de Salas Munson Motor Lodge (1st Spanish Period)		
Vessel Forms	#	%
Bowl	9	18.0%
Cup	4	8.0%
Plate	32	64.0%
Plato	1	2.0%
Platter	2	4.0%
Taza	1	2.0%
Teapot	1	2.0%
Total	50	100.0%

Only two purely Spanish vessel types, a plato and a taza, were recovered in the feature analyzed from the Monson Motor Lodge site (Table 8). This further suggests that this feature most likely represents a mixture of 1st Spanish period and British period deposits.

De León Site

At the de Leon site 44.8% (n=894) of the 2nd Spanish period ceramic assemblage are Spanish types, while 49.7% (n=985) are non-Spanish European or Asian types (Table 9). The majority of identified ceramics (n=650, 32.6%) are British refined earthenwares, followed by Spanish Olive Jar (n=448, 22.5%) and Spanish majolica (n=272, 13.6%) (Figure 5).



Figure 5: Puebla Polychrome, Ichtucknee Blue on White, and Yayal Blue on White Sherds from SA 26-1, de León Site

Ceramic vessel forms at the de Leon site are fairly evenly split between Spanish and non-Spanish forms (Table 10). Spanish brimmed plato and non-Spanish plate forms both total ten identified vessels (24.4%). The site also has a relative high percentage (n=6, 14.6%) of platters identified, which is unlike any of the 1st Spanish period sites.

Table 9: 2nd Spanish Period Ceramics at SA 26-1, de Leon site

Site: SA 26-1 de Leon (2nd Spanish Period)		
Spanish	Count	%
Majolica	272	13.6%
Coarse Earthenware	174	8.7%
Olive Jar	448	22.5%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>894</i>	<i>44.8</i>
Non-Spanish European		
Delft	115	5.8%
Faience	12	0.6%
Coarse Earthenware	107	5.4%
Refined Earthenware	650	32.6%
Stoneware	60	3.0%
Porcelain	7	0.4%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>951</i>	<i>47.7%</i>
Asian		
Porcelain	35	1.8%
Unknown Origin /UID		
Coarse earthenware	25	1.3%
Lead Glazed Coarse Earthenware	39	2.0%
Slipped Coarse Earthenware	31	1.6%
Tin Enameled	5	0.3%
Bisque	14	0.7%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>114</i>	<i>5.7%</i>
Total	1994	100%

Table 10: 2nd Spanish Period Vessel Forms at SA 26-1, de Leon site

Site: SA 26-1 de Leon (2 nd Spanish Period)		
Vessel Forms	#	%
Brimmed Plato	10	24.4%
Bowl	9	22.0%
Cup	1	2.4%
Jar	1	2.4%
Plate	10	24.4%
Plato	1	2.4%
Platter	6	14.6%
Pitcher	1	2.4%
Pocillo	1	2.4%
Teapot	1	2.4%
Total	41	100.0%

Fatio Site

Over 60% of the 2nd Spanish period ceramic assemblage from the Fatio site is from non-Spanish European or Asian origin (Table 11). The majority of these (n=2147, 46.8%) are British refined earthenwares (Figure 6). While Spanish pottery accounts for 32.7% (n=1501) of the ceramic assemblage, most of this is Spanish Olive Jar (n=662, 14.4%) and only 9.9% (n=456) is Spanish majolica.



Figure 6: Hand Painted Pearlware, Edged Pearlware, and Plain Creamware Sherds from SA 34-2, Fatio Site

As with the de Leon site, vessel forms identified in the 2nd Spanish period ceramic assemblage at the Fatio site show a fair mixture between Spanish and non-Spanish tableware forms (Table 12). Brimmed platos (n=12, 21.8%) and non-Spanish plate forms (n=15, 27.3%) are nearly equal, and bowls (n=21, 38.2%) are found in nearly the same numbers in Spanish pottery types (n=9) and non-Spanish types (n=12). All platters identified occur in non-Spanish pottery types.

Table 11: 2nd Spanish Period Ceramics at SA 34-2, Fatio site

Site: SA 34-2 Fatio (2nd Spanish Period)		
Spanish	Count	%
Majolica	456	9.9%
Coarse Earthenware	383	8.4%
Olive Jar	662	14.4%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>1501</i>	<i>32.7%</i>
Non-Spanish European		
Delft	208	4.5%
Faience	32	0.7%
Refined Earthenware	2147	46.8%
Stoneware	167	3.6%
Porcelain	119	2.6%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>2673</i>	<i>58.3%</i>
Asian		
Porcelain	126	2.7%
Unknown Origin /UID		
Coarse earthenware	50	1.1%
Lead Glazed Coarse Earthenware	62	1.4%
Slipped Coarse Earthenware	75	1.6%
Tin Enameled	54	1.2%
Bisque	45	1.0%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>286</i>	<i>6.2%</i>
Total	4586	100%

Table 12: 2nd Spanish Period Vessel Forms at SA 34-2, Fatio site

Site: SA 34-2 Fatio (2 nd Spanish Period)		
Vessel Forms	#	%
Brimmed Plato	12	21.8%
Bowl	21	38.2%
Cup	1	1.8%
Jar	1	1.8%
Plate	15	27.3%
Plato	1	1.8%
Platter	4	7.3%
Total	55	100.0%

De Mesa Site

The overwhelming majority (n=584, 79.2%) of the 2nd Spanish period ceramic assemblage at the de Mesa site was produced in European countries other than Spain (Table 13). 57.9% (n=427) of the assemblage is comprised of British refined earthenwares (Figure 7). Spanish majolica only makes up 3.1% (n=23) of the assemblage.

Table 13: 2nd Spanish Period Ceramics at SA 7-6, de Mesa site

Site: SA 7-6 de Mesa (2nd Spanish Period)		
Spanish	Count	%
Majolica	23	3.1%
Coarse Earthenware	38	5.2%
Olive Jar	18	2.4%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>79</i>	<i>10.7%</i>
Non-Spanish European		
Delft	62	8.4%
Faience	3	0.4%
Coarse Earthenware	56	7.6%
Refined Earthenware	427	57.9%
Stoneware	34	4.6%
Porcelain	2	0.3%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>584</i>	<i>79.2%</i>
Asian		
Porcelain	12	1.6%
Unknown Origin /UID		
Coarse earthenware	28	3.8%
Lead Glazed Coarse Earthenware	16	2.2%
Slipped Coarse Earthenware	8	1.1%
Tin Enameled	10	1.4%
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>8.4%</i>
Total	737	100.0%



Figure 7: (top and middle) Edged Pearlware, (bottom left) Creamware, and (bottom right) Delftware from SA 7-6, de Mesa Site (2nd Spanish Period)

Only one tableware form identified is a Spanish vessel form, the brimmed plato (Table 14). Non-Spanish plates (n=16, 72.7%) are the most abundant form identified in the 2nd Spanish period ceramic assemblage at the site.

Table 14: 2nd Spanish Period Vessel Forms at SA 7-6, de Mesa site

Site: SA 7-6 de Mesa (2 nd Spanish Period)		
Vessel Forms	#	%
Bacin	1	4.5%
Brimmed Plato	1	4.5%
Jar	1	4.5%
Lebrillo	1	4.5%
Plate	16	72.7%
Platter	1	4.5%
Teacup	1	4.5%
Total	22	100.0%

Monson Motor Lodge (de Salas) Site

Because of the potential problems associated with the contextual data of the Monson Motor Lodge site as discussed above, all discussions of general trends and patterns noticed between the 1st and 2nd Spanish periods will not include data from that site.

SUMMARY OF TRENDS

As can be seen in Tables 15 and 16, during the late 1st Spanish period in St. Augustine both Spanish and non-Spanish European pottery was being used by the colonial residents. While at times it was illegal for the colonists to trade with the British colonies, ceramics types produced throughout Europe were clearly making their way to St. Augustine. These ceramics were not always the result of illicit trade as there were also periods when trade with the British and other European powers was open.

The use of Spanish-made ceramics decreases significantly between the 1st and 2nd Spanish periods in St. Augustine. When excluding utilitarian vessels and examining only tablewares, this difference is even more striking (Table 16). The proportion of non-Spanish European ceramics, the majority of which were of British and Asian origin, increases from 44.1% in the 1st Spanish period to 81% in the 2nd Spanish period. It is unclear at present if this dramatic rise was a result of mass-produced refined earthenwares being cheaper than Spanish majolicas and easier to acquire, or if there were other functional or cultural reasons for the preference of these types. Nevertheless, this difference is quite significant as tablewares would be seen by not only the residents of these households, but also those that they entertained. This suggests that identifying oneself as of Spanish descent through one’s household goods had become less important in the 2nd Spanish period.

Table 15: Comparison of Ceramic Origins by Cultural Period

	1st Spanish Period		2nd Spanish Period	
	Count	%	Count	%
Spanish	1828	50.9%	1347	21.8%
Non-Spanish European and Asian	1304	36.3%	4380	70.8%
Unknown Origin/UID	457	12.7%	462	7.5%
Totals	3589	100.0%	6189	100.0%

Table 16: Tableware-Only Comparison of Ceramic Origins by Cultural Period

	1st Spanish Period		2nd Spanish Period	
	Count	%	Count	%
Spanish	1360	49.7%	852	16.1%
Non-Spanish European and Asian	1208	44.1%	4295	81.0%
Unknown Origin/UID	169	6.2%	153	2.9%
Totals	2737	100.0%	5300	100.0%

While there was a marked decline in the use of Spanish majolica during the 2nd Spanish period, there was little to no change in the vessel forms among these ceramics (Table 17). Traditional Spanish forms such as platos and brimmed platos in use during the 1st Spanish period continued to be used during the 2nd Spanish period. These vessel forms are only found in the Spanish majolicas, not in pottery produced in other parts of the world. This continuity in majolica production and use suggests that there remained a core of Spanish culinary traditions and foodways that continued to persist into nineteenth century St. Augustine, even as the popularity of majolicas drastically declined in the 2nd Spanish period.

Table 17: Tableware Vessel Forms by Cultural Period

	1st Spanish Period		2nd Spanish Period	
	Count	%	Count	%
Brimmed Plato	17	16.2%	23	20.4%
Bowl	33	31.4%	30	26.5%
Cup	6	5.7%	2	1.8%
Plate	41	39.0%	41	36.3%
Plato	6	5.7%	2	1.8%
Platter	0	0.0%	11	9.7%
Pitcher	0	0.0%	1	0.9%
Pocillo	0	0.0%	1	0.9%
Teapot	0	0.0%	1	0.9%
Teacup	0	0.0%	1	0.9%
Taza	2	1.9%	0	0.0%
Total	105	100.0%	113	100.0%

The most striking difference in vessel forms between the 1st and 2nd Spanish periods can be seen in the adoption of platters during the later period. Platters were not identified among any of the 1st Spanish period ceramic assemblages. Not only were platters absent among Spanish majolicas, they also were not seen among the non-Spanish European ceramics—which account for 44.1% of the tablewares during the 1st Spanish period in St. Augustine (Table 16). A total of 11 (9.7%) platters were identified in the 2nd Spanish period ceramic assemblages. All of these platters were ceramics types produced in England or America. The presence of platters in all three of the 2nd Spanish period sites shows the adoption of new serving practices that were not in use during the earlier period. On English and Anglo-American sites, platters are often associated with roasts and a question for future study is whether this vessel type represents the introduction of new kinds of foods in the St. Augustine diet.

CONCLUSION

This summary report represents more of a beginning point for further research rather than an end-point of our results. Following our detailed studies of the various house lots we have been

able to develop some summary trends that we think important, but will also become the basis of continuing research and publications. To give just two examples: we plan to conduct a more detailed analysis of the differences between families for both Spanish I and Spanish II periods because variations in their backgrounds may account for some of the cultural differences in ceramic use that we are seeing. Furthermore, while we believe some of the changes documented between Spanish I and II ceramic assemblages reflect shifts in dietary preferences, we will need to review the data on food and plant remains from the house lots in order to test this hypothesis.

Nevertheless, it is evident that the residents of St. Augustine during the 2nd Spanish period found themselves in a much different geopolitical world than the earlier Spanish colonists. During the twenty-year period of British control, many political, economic, and philosophical changes had occurred both in Europe and throughout the colonies of the Americas. The changes in the ceramic assemblages indicate that the later Spanish colonists were living in a much larger global economy, with access to a far greater variety of foreign goods. They do appear to have been actively maintaining some aspects of their traditional culture and practices, as evident in the continued, albeit minor, use of Spanish majolicas and traditional vessel forms. Yet at the same time they seemed eager to adopt new goods from England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Asia. Part of this adoption may have been the result of mass-produced refined earthenwares and stonewares being less expensive than majolica. However, the use of new vessel forms, such as platters, altered serving methods at the dinner table and suggest not only the adoption of other European goods, but also behaviors. The residents of St. Augustine during the late-18th to early-19th centuries were Spanish in one sense, but they were also part of a much larger and growing global community at the same time.

References Cited

www.floridamuseum.ufl.edu/histarch/collectionsSiteInfo.asp?section=stAugustine

Bostwick John

1978 Further Excavations in the de Mesa - Sanchez House 1977-1978. Manuscript on file
Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board.

Braley, Chad

1977 1977 Excavations at the Joseph de León site, SA-26-1, Manuscript on file Historic St.
Augustine Preservation Board.

Caballero, Olga

1979 Preliminary Report on Excavations at the Ximenez-Fatio Site Kitchen. Ms. on file,
Department of Anthropology, Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.

Clauser, John

1975 Excavations at the Ximenez-Fatio House: Backyard Archaeology in St. Augustine,
Florida. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, Florida Museum of Natural History,
Gainesville.

Deagan, Kathleen

1978 Archaeological Strategy in the investigation of an unknown era: 16th century St.
Augustine. Unpublished project report on file, Florida Museum of Natural History,
Gainesville.

Deagan, Kathleen

1978 1977 Excavations of the de Mesa - Sanchez House. Manuscript on file Historic St.
Augustine Preservation Board.

Gaske, Fredrick

1981 Report on Winter, 1981 Archaeological Investigation at the Ximenez-Fatio House (SA 34-
2), St. Augustine, Florida. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, Florida Museum of
Natural History, Gainesville.

Gest, T. R.

1977 Archaeology and Physical Anthropology of Three Burials at the de Mesa Site SA7-6, St.
Augustine, Florida. Manuscript on file Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board.

Jefferies, Thomas

1762 Plan of the town and harbor of St. Augustine. Map no. 11 on file Historic St. Augustine
Preservation Board.

King, Julia

1980 Preliminary Report on Spring, 1980 Excavations at the Ximenez-Fatio House. St. Augustine, Florida. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.

McEwan, Bonnie

1985 Excavations at the Ximenez-Fatio House, St. Augustine, Florida. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.

McMurray, Carl

1972 Excavations at the Ximenez-Fatio House, St. Augustine, Florida. Ms. on file, Department of Natural History, Gainesville.

Moncrief, James

1765 Land ownership map of St. Augustine, Florida. Photostat on file Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board.

Ness, Kathryn L.

2017 *Setting the Table: Ceramics, Dining, and Cultural Exchange in Andalucía and La Florida*. University of Florida Press, Gainesville, FL.

Puente, Elixio de la

1764 Plano de la Real Fuerza, Baluarte y Linea de la Plaza de St. Augustin de la Florida. Photostat on file St. Augustine Historical Society.

Reitz, Elizabeth

1977 Faunal Remains from the de Mesa Site in St. Augustine. Manuscript on file Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board.

1979 Spanish and British Subsistence Strategies at St. Augustine, Florida and Frederica, Georgia between 1565 and 1783. Ph.D dissertation, University of Florida.

Reitz, Elizabeth J., Stephen L. Cumbaa.

1983 Diet and Foodways of Eighteenth-Century Spanish St. Augustine. In *Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community*, Kathleen Deagan, ed., pp. 151-184. Academic Press, Inc., New York, NY.

Rocque, Mariano de la

1788 Plano de la Ciudad de St. Augustin de la Florida. Photostat on file at the St. Augustine Historical Society.

Scardaville, M.

1978 Historical Outline of the DeMesa - Sanchez (Spanish Inn) Site, B-7, L-6, St. Augustine, Florida, with Chain of Title Appended. Manuscript on file Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board.

Shepherd, Stephen

1976 The Geronimo de Hita y Salazar site: A Study of Criollo Culture in Colonial St. Augustine. Master's thesis, University of Florida, Gainesville.

1983 The Spanish Criollo Majority in Colonial St. Augustine. In *Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of A Colonial Creole Community*, edited by K. Deagan, pp. 65-97. Academic Press, New York.

Singleton, Teresa

1977 The Archaeology of a Pre-Eighteenth Century House Site in St. Augustine. Master's thesis, University of Florida, Gainesville.

Voss, Barbara

2008 Poor People in Silk Shirts: Dress and Ethnogenesis in Spanish-colonial San Francisco. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 8(3):404-432.

Zierden, Martha

1981 The Archaeology of the Nineteenth Century Second Spanish Period in St. Augustine, Florida. MA thesis, Florida State University, Tallahassee.