The thesis of Danielle Lynn Dadiego is approved:

John J. Clune, Ph.D., Committee Member

Ramie A. Gougeon, Ph.D., Committee Member

John E. Worth, Ph.D., Committee Chair

Accepted for the Department/Division:

John R. Bratten, Ph.D., Chair

Accepted for the University:

Richard S. Podemski, Ph.D., Dean, Graduate School
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to mention financial support from numerous sources including the Pat and Hal Marcus Fellowship in Historical Archaeology, the Archaeology Foundation Research Grant, and the University of West Florida Student Government Association Travel Grant. This project was also supported by a grant from the University of West Florida through the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs. I would also like to thank Frances Montgomery and Sarah E. Price for reviewing and editing my thesis with patience, even with impending deadlines.

In addition to my committee members, several people have been especially helpful to me in my research. Dr. Elizabeth Benchley, Director of the Division and Archaeology Institute, provided financial and academic support which made my experience at the University of West Florida very enjoyable and profitable for my professional career. Dr. John E. Worth, Associate professor of Anthropology, generously supported and guided my endeavors in Spanish paleography, and provided me with every opportunity possible to explore my research interests. Jennifer Melcher and Colin Bean, and Karen Mims helped me accomplish specific tasks related to my thesis. In addition, I want to publicly acknowledge my friends Patricia McMahon, Nicholas Simpson, Alesia Hoyle, and my mother, Lori Matthews, for emotional support when I needed it most.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ........................................................................................................................................ iii

LIST OF FIGURES ........................................................................................................................................ vi

ABSTRACT ...................................................................................................................................................... vii

CHAPTER I. OVERVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ............................................................................. 1
   A. Introduction ........................................................................................................................................... 1
      1. Regional Context .......................................................................................................................... 2
   B. Local Mission Economy .................................................................................................................. 3
      1. Research Objectives .................................................................................................................. 5
      2. Theoretical Framework .............................................................................................................. 6
      3. Significance .................................................................................................................................... 10

CHAPTER II. HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS AND PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH ......................... 12
   A. Historical Document Research Methods ...................................................................................... 12
      1. Types of Documents .................................................................................................................. 12
      2. Organization and Relevance of Documents ............................................................................ 16
      3. Archives and Repositories ........................................................................................................ 17
      4. Translation of Selected Documents ........................................................................................ 19
   B. Archaeological Data Sample .......................................................................................................... 20
      1. Case Study: Mission San Joseph de Escambe ......................................................................... 21
   C. Artifact Processing and Analysis Methods ................................................................................... 24
      1. Presence and Absence ................................................................................................................. 27
      2. Distributions, Percentages, and Proportionality .................................................................... 27
      3. Origin and Function .................................................................................................................. 28
      4. Personal Value: Availability, Quality, and Preference ............................................................ 29
      5. Monetary Value and Change over Time .................................................................................... 30

CHAPTER III. HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND CULTURAL SETTING ................................................................. 31
   A. Exploration and Conquest, 1513–1565 ....................................................................................... 31
      1. The Spanish in Florida .............................................................................................................. 31
      2. The Spanish in Pensacola ......................................................................................................... 32
   B. Missionization and the Colonial System, 1565–1698 .................................................................. 34
      1. Saint Augustine and the Atlantic Coast .................................................................................... 35
   C. Settlement in Pensacola, 1698–1763 ............................................................................................... 42
      1. Santa María de Galve ................................................................................................................ 42
      2. War of Spanish Succession and Destruction of Missions ......................................................... 43
      3. War of Quadruple Alliance ..................................................................................................... 45
      4. Isla de Santa Rosa, 1722–1756 ................................................................................................. 46
      5. The Pensacola Situado ............................................................................................................. 49
D. Local Historical Context

1. Mission San Joseph de Escambe
2. Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa
3. San Miguel de Panzacola and the Seven Years War
4. The British Period, Post 1763

CHAPTER IV.

ANALYSIS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL DATA

A. Economic Systems Present

1. Gift Goods
2. Local Production
3. Supply and Demand
4. Purchased Goods
5. Bartering
6. Illicit Trade

B. Bartering Entities

1. Spanish Presidios
2. Upper Creek
3. Lower Creek

C. Primary Transportation Routes

D. Archaeological Evidence of Trade

1. Glass Trade Beads
2. Button and Cufflinks
3. Jewelry and Personal Items
4. Firearms and Ammunition
5. Lead Clothing Seals
6. Smoking Pipes
7. European Ceramics
8. Mexican Earthenwares
9. Chinese Porcelain
10. French Faience
11. Other European Exports

E. Documentary Evidence of Trade

1. Spanish Units of Measurement
2. Common Trade Items
3. Examples of Exchange from Primary Documents

CHAPTER V.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

A. A Local Model for Regional Comparisons

1. Spanish Comparisons
2. French Comparisons
3. English Comparisons

B. Conclusions

REFERENCES
LIST OF FIGURES

1. Escambe (8ES3473) site plan showing excavation units .................................................. 22
2. Diagram showing sources of goods entering Escambe .......................................................... 64
3. Geographical divisions of Upper Creek and Lower Creek groups ......................................... 70
4. Seed beads recovered from 8ES3473 with clear beads as modern spacers ................................ 77
5. Cobalt blue Melon bead recovered from 8ES3473 ............................................................... 79
6. Glass inset earring or pendant recovered from 8ES3473 ..................................................... 81
7. X ray image of folding straight razor recovered from 8ES3473 ................................................ 82
8. Greenstone gamming piece recovered from 8ES3473 .......................................................... 83
9. Gunflint recovered from 8ES3473 ......................................................................................... 85
10. Range of lead shot sizes ........................................................................................................ 87
11. Distribution of lead shot (Area A, B, and C from north to South) ............................................. 88
12. Lead cloth seal recovered from 8ES3473 .............................................................................. 90
13. Abo Polychrome type majolica recovered from 8ES3473 ..................................................... 95
14. Guadalajara Polychrome earthenware recovered from 8ES3473 ............................................ 96
15. Rouen type faience recovered from 8ES3473 ...................................................................... 98
16. Green glazed olive jar recovered from 8ES3473 .................................................................. 99
17. Various examples of El Morro earthenware recovered from 8ES3473 ................................. 100
ABSTRACT

SPANISH FRONTIERS: A STUDY OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXCHANGE NETWORKS PRESENT IN 18TH CENTURY SPANISH MISSIONS

Danielle Lynn Dadiego

During the 18th century, several Spanish missions survived in West Florida. The remnants of Mission San Joseph de Escambe, located in the modern community of Molino, Florida, along the Escambia River, was once home to Apalachee, Spanish militia, and a Franciscan missionary for a brief twenty years. The mission formed a nexus within an intricate and complex supply and exchange network that included the Upper Creek, Yamasee, Spanish, and French among others. A specialized economy formed from these relationships and is the focus of this thesis. This local economy created a social and economic landscape that was vitally important to not only the Spanish empire, but also to Native Americans in the region.

Handwritten and cartographic documents, and archaeological excavations comprise the bulk of the primary evidence that shows the structure and development of a local economy. Historical documentary evidence exists in two languages: English and Spanish. Archaeological evidence includes items related to trade and exchange like glass beads and European ceramics. The primary goal is to reconstruct a spatial network of social and economic exchange, especially addressing Escambe’s role within that network.
CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The remnants of Mission San Joseph de Escambe, located in the modern community of Molino, Florida, along the Escambia River was once home to Apalachee Indians, Spanish militia, and a Franciscan missionary for a brief twenty years. The mission was a nexus within an intricate and complex supply and exchange network that included the Upper Creek, Yamasee, Spanish, and French among others (Worth 2008). A specialized economy formed from these relationships and is the focus of this thesis. The Escambe mission economy created a social and economic landscape that was vitally important to not only the Spanish empire, but also to the Native Americans in the region (Hann and McEwan 1998).

Historical archaeology draws from two primary sources: historical documents and the archaeological record. One form of evidence can either confirm or disprove the other, but they are both essential to understanding the complexities of our past (Deetz 1996:11). This thesis focuses on the documentary and archaeological evidence related to the structure and development of a mission economy. The primary goal is to reconstruct a spatial network of social and economic exchange especially addressing Mission San Joseph de Escambe’s role within that network. Additional goals of this thesis are to identify what items were exchanged, who participated, and what routes they took. Handwritten and cartographic documents and archaeological excavations comprise the bulk of the primary evidence for this project. Relevant historical documentary evidence exists in two languages: English and Spanish. Beyond merely translating each document, it is equally important to be familiar with the semantics of the language during the period of study (Deetz 1996:15).
There is a large number of documents relating to more than 300 years of colonial Pensacola history that sit unexamined. Many of these records are available both digitally and on microfilm; however, many have never been reviewed since their transfer to new media formats. The Archivo General de Indias (AGI), located in Seville, Spain, possesses the largest archive of Spanish administrative and ecclesiastical records in the world, including handwritten records relating to colonial Florida. Other documents are available at the University of West Florida (UWF), including documents from Archivo General de la Nacion (AGN) in Mexico collected in 2012. These original documents are the key to understanding the social, political, and economic motivations behind the colonization of west Florida. This project specifically focuses on documents relating to 18th century Spanish missions present in Pensacola before 1763.

The archaeological record is also very important to the socioeconomic aspect of Escambe. Specific archaeological materials from three years of excavations at Mission San Joseph de Escambe are analyzed and used to support the thesis. There are several types of artifacts relevant to this thesis including European ceramics, Chinese export porcelain, and glass seed beads. The analysis of Mission San Joseph de Escambe, and its sister mission of San Antonio de Punta Rasa, creates a model for regional comparisons with other contemporary missions. In addition, the analysis of specific artifacts helps reconstruct economic and social life at Escambe and also illuminate the mission’s roles in a broader context of the region.

*Regional Context*

The regional sites that I have used to contextualize my analysis include San Antonio de Punta Rasa (believed to be located on Garcon Point), Presidio Isla de Santa Rosa, and Presidio San Miguel de Panzacola. Understanding the history and nature of these sites is integral to understanding the social and economic manifestations present in Escambe. Punta Rasa was the
sister mission to Escambe and was located just across the bay from San Miguel. Only
documentary evidence currently exists for Punta Rasa; therefore, I have not used it in my artifact
comparative analysis. John Worth has done extensive research on the possible location of Punta
Rasa, and I have translated several documents written by Yamasee chief Andrés Escudero
himself. Isla de Santa Rosa was the second iteration of Spain’s colonial attempt to establish a
fortified settlement in Pensacola after Santa María de Galve. Santa Rosa was established in 1722,
but was largely destroyed by a hurricane in 1752, and mostly abandoned after 1756. Hale Smith
conducted some archaeological investigations at the site in the 1960s, and in the 1990s more of
the site was exposed by Norma Harris and Judy Bense (Harris and Eschbach 2006). The actual
fort has not been found archaeologically, though several archaeological investigations have
uncovered evidence of the presidio settlement.

Several researchers and archaeologists have worked on San Miguel, and a large portion
of the fortification and internal structures have been archaeologically identified. Unfortunately
most of San Miguel is under present-day downtown Pensacola. After the destruction of the two
Spanish missions in 1761, all of the Apalachee and Yamasee settled outside San Miguel in a
newly established town, and Escudero became the chief of that town (Harris 2003). Most of the
Spanish supplies that Escambe received were supplied from San Miguel after 1756.

Local Mission Economy

Mission San Joseph de Escambe is located in Molino, Florida, along the Escambia River
on privately owned land. The center of the mission is under a small forested patch of land,
though much of the mission, including portions of the Apalachee village, is located in previously
plowed fields and remnants of a late 19th century steam-powered saw mill (Grinnan 2013). San
Joseph de Escambe was a multiethnic community with Christianized Apalachee, Spanish
military, and Franciscan priests all interacting on various religious, political, economic, and social levels (Worth et al. 2012). Escambe formed a nexus of economic engagement with Europeans like the English and French, and other Native American groups, some of which were directly influenced by the English or French. Those Native American groups included the Upper Creek and Yamasee.

A large percentage of the artifacts recovered from three years of archaeological excavations at mission San Joseph de Escambe are small and highly fragmented. Excavations have revealed no distinct or substantial trash deposits (such as abandoned wells or privies) beyond the actual occupation midden of the mission. However, there is still a vast amount of information available based just on what was recovered archaeologically from investigations. Only a portion of the archaeological material recovered from 2009 to 2011 at Escambe is analyzed for this thesis. I focus on the stratigraphic layers that represent the mission’s occupation, as well as any cultural features that relate to mission activities. These features include structural features related to residential dwellings, public buildings, corrals, and protective barriers around the central part of the mission. The general layout of the mission is not yet completely known, but some general spatial delineation can be determined from uncovered features and associated artifacts. From the mission cultural strata and features, there are specific artifact types that I analyze that are directly related to my thesis topic. Any trade-related material remains such as ceramics, glass beads, personal items, and munitions were analyzed. These categories are general, and a much more in-depth and descriptive breakdown is presented in subsequent chapters.

Overall, there is a primary separation of artifacts that are considered to be directly related to trade and exchange. The various types of exchanges are discussed in greater detail in Chapter
IV, along with the major medium of currency for each type of exchange. This information relates to material culture, because most of the transactions were made with goods, not European currency. Escambe’s economic structure is a good model for comparisons to other contemporary sites. To date there are only a few 18th century Spanish missions that have been investigated archaeologically at some depth, including Nombre de Dios and Pocotalaca (Waters 2009), Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta (White 2002; Boyer 2005; Worth et al. 2012), and San Joseph de Escambe (Worth 2008; Worth et al. 2011, 2012). In order to use Escambe as a model for related sites in the region, I also discuss the contemporary Spanish military establishments in Pensacola including Presidios Isla de Santa Rosa (Harris and Eschbach 2006; Roberts 2009) and San Miguel de Panzacola.

Historical documents provide information that supplements archaeological data, and I use specific letters from people living in the mission to contextualize archaeological information. Some of these letters describe different exchanges between Upper Creeks and the Spanish, and they also mention the kind of credit given for exchanges, among other important details. These details cannot be gleaned from the archaeological record, and moreover, the documents provide insight on the intricacies of the social relationships present within, and surrounding, the mission. All of this archaeological and contextual information is used to explain Escambe’s role in the regional economy.

Research Objectives

What was Escambe’s role in the local and regional economic landscape? To what extent did that role influence the sociopolitical dimensions during the 18th century, and how did it influence or guide the development of social and political networks within the region? The answers to these questions arise through the analyses of very specific sets of data. This thesis
answers some questions that relate to identifying and describing the mission’s role on an economic level. Analysis of textual and archaeological data helps identify who actively engaged in trade and exchange, what goods were used for exchange, and what types of goods were given as compensation or used as currency. I also focus on spatial analyses of the various routes that people used for creating a regional trade network.

Escambe’s economic system formed the framework or skeleton for the other dimensions of culture, and I hope to explain how, and to what extent, the economy influenced or guided the political and social dimensions at both local and regional levels. I also delineate specific types of exchange based on accounts from primary documents. All realms of culture can be viewed as having some function in a system, so I explain the motivations and influential power that each realm possesses. The multiethnic community at Escambe can be perceived as a hub within an economically driven system, and this thesis will attempt to explore the political, social, religious, and economic motivations of the people living in and around colonial Pensacola.

*Theoretical Framework*

Colonialism is a prime example of culture contact, and in Pensacola, Spanish colonialism provided the perfect setting for cultural interaction. Deetz (1996:5) defined historical archaeology as "the spread of European cultures throughout the world since the fifteenth century, and their impact on and interaction with the cultures of indigenous peoples." The field has since broadened and does not just focus on the effects of European contact. Anthropologists and historical archaeologists alike have subsequently focused their attention on the reactions of the colonized, and the conflict that arises from that interaction (Trigg 2003). Others have focused on the effects of acculturation and on the colonized culture (McEwan and Mitchem 1984:272). Mission San Joseph de Escambe is an excellent example of cultural interaction, albeit on a more
complex level. There was constant engagement between the Native American groups, Spanish military, and Franciscan missionaries that was displayed in various economic actions which fit into a broader regional exchange system. These networks formed a bridge between local town economies and the imperial economy (Trigg 2003).

Acculturation studies are a result of a colonialist perspective of core-periphery developments, and are some of the most widely disputed topics for the explanation of the impacts of colonial contact (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:471). The field of economic anthropology addresses acculturation and is "concerned not only with material objects and tangible evidence, but also with the social significance of human interactions" (Loucks 1993:194). Methods of analysis stemming from economic anthropological theories evidence the presence of acculturation through the production, distribution, and consumption of physical objects. In a Spanish mission context the changes in material culture are quantifiable, but the qualitative significance of their presence, magnitude, and impact are more difficult to address (Loucks 1993:194).

Even though the concept of acculturation dominates colonial studies, it is not a very useful tool for contact period analyses, and limits our understanding of the cultural transformations during the colonial era (Worth 2006:197). It is important to discuss the development of acculturation concepts in the context of mission archaeology and trade in order to help recognize cultural identity and adaptation within mission Escambe. Acculturation is understood as one explanation for culture change, and is used in colonial contact contexts. The concept can be defined as the transmission of cultural traits from the dominant society, and the assimilation of the cultural traits of the group/s that the dominant society comes into contact with (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:472). According to Worth (2006:199) cultural change has far less
to do with transmission and assimilation of cultural traits of the Europeans than it does with the responses of broader changes in social and economic environments. Acculturation is commonly perceived as a passive response, and the transmission of cultural traits is unidirectional, but culture change is far more complex. Acculturation also does not address the dimension of scale, nor can it be used as a model to predict the rate and direction of cultural change. Instead, it only focuses on the broader economic and political relationships, overlooking internal aboriginal changes (Worth 2006:203-204). Lightfoot and Martinez (1995:472) also argue that "insular models of culture change that treat frontiers as passive recipients of core innovation" contain several weaknesses. The exchange of cultural traits is not a one-sided process, as each group adapts and responds to their new situation. Deagan (1998) and Worth (2006:199) refer to this exchange as transculturation.

Mission San Joseph de Escambe is a local example of culture change explained by multidirectional acculturation resulting from trade. Under a materialist framework, the objects traded into the mission represent the archaeological data, and the exchange interactions represent the historical data. Worth (2006:201) suggests that current artifact distribution studies and ethnohistorical information support the explanation that many European artifacts found in missions were not used by Native Americans, but rather by the friars and soldiers living there. In this sense, understanding which items were commonly traded by both parties and their distribution on a site can help identify possible intra-site socioeconomic areas. These items represent culture change at the local level. The intricacies of the economic and social relationships present at Escambe provided a medium for political advances for both the Spanish and the Apalachee and Yamasee group. I concur with the statement from McEwan and Mitchem
(1984:279) that European-Indian relationships were symbiotic, and I address the phenomena of culture change through the material evidence of trade interactions at Escambe.

In another sense, Escambe fits into a system of economically driven spheres of interaction. The mission’s spatial placement and the social and political background of its inhabitants allowed it to become a core of interaction with its own peripheral networks. Caldwell (1964) describes instances of interaction spheres based on religion, and this thesis expands on that model in order to describe instances of economic-based interaction spheres. Caldwell (1964:142) believed that the more interactions a community has with the outside world the greater the amount of cultural change and innovation. Presidio Isla de Santa Rosa, and then Presidio de San Miguel de Pensacola, were the major centers in a regional sense, but its frontier mission, San Joseph de Escambe, evolved into a specialized community guided by economic and political motivations of the Spanish empire and its Apalachee inhabitants. In this way the Apalachee were able to negotiate and actively engage in interactions with a variety of groups, and were not just passive victims of acculturation (Johnson 2012). Caldwell (1964) and Wallerstein’s (1974) studies on core-periphery relationships are too broad for the purpose of this thesis; they do not address local scale issues of individual intentionality and social action (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:477). The mission represents a unique opportunity to study the composition of an 18th century mission and how it functioned in a regional economic system within Spanish Florida.

Culture change, culture contact, and socioeconomic landscapes are extremely complex concepts that require multiscalar analyses drawing from several theoretical frameworks. The full reconstruction of the economic system operating at mission Escambe is beyond the scope of this thesis, and Native American and European interaction is only discussed at a local level resulting
from individual circumstances. It is also beyond the scope of this study to address the artifact assemblages from other contemporary mission sites in east, central, and southern Florida, namely at St. Augustine. Instead, this thesis is a model for regional comparisons and provides a framework for micro scale economic analyses.

**Significance**

Archeology is "the study of past peoples based on the things they left behind and the ways they left their imprint on the world" (Deetz 1996:4). Historical archaeology refers to the study of the recent past for which there are two main types of evidence: the written record and the archaeological record. The vast majority of human history, even in the narrowest sense of the term, has been lost or forgotten. Fortunately for historical archaeologists, there are thousands of archaeological sites, and there are thousands upon thousands of documents that relate to the past. Historical documents like testimonies, maps, and personal letters provide a glimpse into the mindset of the society under study, and archaeological data like material and structural remains augment and enhance the historical record by providing an explicit but fragmentary view of past lifeways. Therefore, historical archaeology is extremely important to interpreting and understanding our past.

There are many areas of study couched under historical archaeology, one of them being colonialism in the New World. The major European powers that had the greatest impact in Southeast North America were the Spanish, British, and French. The Spanish empire greatly influenced the political, social, and economic realms of colonial Florida, partially shaping it into the state it is today. This line of research offers insight into the formation and nature of social networks between the Spanish and native peoples.
This thesis only focuses on one small component of Spanish colonialism in Florida during the 18th century, but it offers new insights into the formation of the socioeconomic landscape on a local and regional level. The frontier settlement of Escambe acted as an interaction zone, a conceptualization that allows for new and significant contributions to the study of cultural change (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:473–474). After 1706, Spanish missions in Florida were practically non-existent, and they are poorly represented archaeologically. Mission San Joseph de Escambe was especially important to the region because it represented a nexus of social and economic exchange between several Native American groups and European entities. This thesis provides archaeological evidence combined with historical documents that directly relate to Escambe, and identifies exchange networks and personal identities present within and surrounding the mission.
CHAPTER II
HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS AND PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Historical Document Research Methods

This thesis identifies and analyzes evidence of economic exchange networks present at Escambe and in the larger context of Spanish West Florida during the 18th century. Acquired information not only complements and reinforces prior research on Spanish Florida, it also provides pivotal information that presents new insight into Spanish missions and their role in the 18th century economy.

Types of Documents

The first stage of this thesis was to review all historical documents that related to the research topic, and identify gaps, or missing records moving from the known to the unknown history of Pensacola (Bloch 1953). A variety of original documents exist that pertain to colonial Spanish Pensacola. The documentary record for First Spanish Period of Pensacola contains many thousands of sources which are available in several different languages, formats, and mediums. It is necessary to discern which type of document provides the most useful information regarding the research question. A will, for example, would not be as useful as a presidio supply list for acquiring specific evidence of trade and exchange. Moreover, “the deeper the research, the more the light of evidence must converge from sources of many different kinds” (Bloch 1953:67). Therefore, it is important to discuss the kinds of documents I use in my thesis as well as their relevance to the research question.

Cartographic documents represent an extremely useful data set as they relay spatial representations, geopolitical relations, demographics, social networks, and ethnographies. Most of the maps I use are in digital format due to modern improvements in accessibility and
availability. Maps from Spanish, French, British, and American sources are all useful for interpreting place names, territorial boundaries, commerce networks, and important landmarks and structures. Trails, rivers, and other smaller waterways connected villages and major cities, and this information is available in cartographic documents from the First Spanish Period onward. In addition, I utilize specific maps to reconstruct trade routes, trail networks, and lines of communication.

Other types of manuscripts like *meritos y servicios*, or military service records, provide evidence of specific duties performed by soldiers during their term of military service. Spanish soldiers occupied presidios, and in some cases, were garrisoned at missions and strategically positioned Indian villages. These documents are important to this project because they include detailed information about social interactions, and offer insight into the political condition not only during their service, but also before and after.

The same can be said for administrative letters which include *cédulas, ordenes*, and *carta ordenes*. Royal decrees from the King or Queen, administrative orders from the viceroy or governor, and informal orders from a mayor or high ranking officer, respectively, can provide a wealth of information regarding the political or economic state of a region. More often than not, it is impossible to separate geopolitical motivations from the economic realm for the sole reason that each informs the other. Other government related documents include declarations and *autos*, which are similar manuscripts that contain investigations with testimonies and court proceedings and inquisition records, respectively. Orders and instructions were often given to supply or exchange with Native American groups to secure their political position within the region.

Treasury and warehouse accounts can provide evidence of what materials were received, bartered, and sold as well as their relative values over time. Pensacola was allotted a *situado*, or
stipend of expenditure for each year that it could use to order supplies and provisions for the survival of the presidios (Coker 1979:6; Bushnell 1994:44). Expenditures also included gifts for the Native Americans, and specific goods that were only used for trading with the Native Americans, like glass beads and iron tools. These records, in addition to muster rolls, meetings, and other official activities or orders from the governor, were usually stored locally. The governor, paymaster, and quartermaster all had their own books for keeping records. The paymaster or treasurer managed money and controlled all finances, while the quartermaster maintained books on supplies and everything that went into the royal warehouse. The quartermaster had two books: the first was a general book with a single entry list of equipment and supplies, the second a list of rations that were dispersed from the warehouse. Both books were organized chronologically and followed specific format guidelines, and sometimes there would be a glossary or summary chart for each month organized by specific categories of goods (John E. Worth 2011, pers. comm.).

In some instances supply lists and trading lists were recorded separate from account records, and contained greater detail concerning the types of goods and their values. Supply lists for incoming shipments also included quantities of goods, and presidio records documented garrison requests for rations and ammunition (Graesch 2001:265–267). Supply and trading lists provide some of the most direct evidence of what items were traded or gifted. Similarly, documents like licencias, permisos, and peticiones provide evidence for other forms of exchange beyond rations and gifts. Spanish ports were full of merchants, and inside the city wall, even more shops and stores were engaged in bartering. Spanish administration required licenses or permits to sell goods, and there were specific rules and regulations governing all transactions.
These documents are useful for this project because they demonstrate the socioeconomic relationships present in networks at local and regional scales.

Relaciones, informes, memoriales, testimonios, and cartas comprise informal correspondences between caciques, governors, soldiers, and others. I utilize these types of documents the most in my research, because details about everyday life and social relationships are important to understanding socioeconomic interactions within the villages and region. Letters issuing complaints about the poor state of a village, or how people are being poorly treated, also shed light on political organization. The relationships between colonists and the many hierarchical levels of Spanish administration were always in conflict. Informes are particularly useful because they are formal reports, and are generally very detailed and contain very specific information.

Historical documents represent indirect access to human behavior as they are thoughts manifested on paper. Specific events, dates, or recorded arguments must be scrutinized for validity and reliability (Bloch 1953). Most of the documents I use for this project are from a very tumultuous time. Spanish and Native American relations were tenuous, and many of the documents reflect this social instability. Comparing multiple documents that explain the same event is beneficial because it flushes out similarities and conflicting accounts (Bloch 1953:111). Even the language itself becomes a difficulty. Meanings of words change over time and one must determine the best possible definition based on the document’s original context (Voss 2012). Some facts can be taken at face value, but some phrases were only common during that time for specific instances, and writers frequently embellished their writing to show how educated and intelligent they were. These embellishments were sometimes used to discredit another person.
Thus the criticism used to analyze documents “oscillates between two extremes: the similarity which vindicates and that which discredits” (Bloch 1953:115).

**Organization and Relevance of Documents**

This research is by no means considered a comprehensive examination of 18th century missions and their economic structures. I try to answer some basic anthropological questions using ethnohistorical and archaeological methodologies, but more specifically, to identify components of exchange networks present at Mission San Joseph de Escambe in order to add to the broader understanding of the role of a mission economy in 18th century Florida. The most efficient way to analyze the data is to organize it based on scale.

Some of the most detailed information pertinent to the thesis topic is included in documents on the local scale. Correspondences, supply lists, and permits that directly relate to San Joseph de Escambe are the most relevant. They are relevant because of the details concerning material culture and social interactions. Correlations can be made with the archaeological record of the mission, and social identity as well. Although these document types provide specific information about Escambe, it is necessary to place the mission in a broader context.

Therefore, it is important to analyze documents that discuss regional events. Orders from the governor of the presidio, or correspondences from the Viceroy of New Spain provide details on expenditures, supply shipments, and other economic data. Most available documents fall under this regional category. Letters that mentioned other Native American towns in the area, like Tuquipache, Punta Rasa, and Ymuclasa, are useful for providing information on socioeconomic interaction with different Native American groups. They also shed light on Native American perceptions of Europeans. While discussing the broader context of Escambe’s
role in Spanish Florida’s economic system, it is impossible not to address the region’s influence on the global economy.

Addressing the ramifications of a region’s effect on a national economic system is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, a brief discussion is necessary to understand the motivations behind the Spanish empire’s choice for the Pensacola colony. Political motivations are intertwined with economic aspirations, as they have always been since Spain expanded to the Americas. Port cities like Havana, Veracruz, and St. Augustine have important documentation concerning commerce during the 18th century, and were integral to the success of the Spanish administration in West Florida.

Archives and Repositories

Records are available in the United States in various formats, including microfilm, photocopies, and digital copies of original documents obtained from the AGI, the AGN, and other archives from around the world. The AGI, located in Seville, Spain, accumulated many types of documents sent from the New World. It is the repository of archival documents illustrating the history of the Spanish empire in the Americas and the Western Pacific. The Casa de Contratación (House of Trade) was a Spanish government agency, existing from the 16th to the 18th centuries, which attempted to control all Spanish exploration and colonization (Haring 1947). Any documents from that time period regarding the overseas empire, including the archives of the Council of the Indies, were relocated to the AGI. The collection was originally located in Simancas, but was moved to Seville in the late 18th century (Haring 1947:226). The curatorial staff is currently working to digitize much of the collection, and thousands of documents are already available online. There are several sections, each with many bundles of documents or legajos. The most relevant sections that relate to colonial Pensacola within the
**Gobierno** (Government) category, include the *Audiencias Santo Domingo, Indiferente General*, and *Mexico*. Relevant *meritos y servicios* are often located in the *Mexico* section, and many of the *legajos* in that section have not been digitized or reviewed. Several research institutions in the U.S. have copied or microfilmed original documents from the AGI with appropriate permissions and copyrights. Many of the documents that related to the first Spanish Period in Florida, including Pensacola and St. Augustine, are held in the P.K Yonge at the University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. Documents, and several maps, that relate to Florida’s colonies were acquired years ago by researchers from the AGI, and are available in microfilm format.

The AGN, located in Mexico City, contains many documents that relate to internal matters within New Spain; basically any documentation that relates to internal administrative matters in colonial times. Viceregal documents and Native American affairs are some of the more important topics that relate to the Pensacola presidios and missions. Patrick Johnson (2012) from the University of West Florida recently traveled to the AGN, and reviewed documents from the *Marina* and *Historia* sections for his thesis on Creek Indian and French interactions. The letters that I have transcribed and translated from some of the soldiers, and from the Yamasee chief of the Punta Rasa mission, are from these sections. There are still hundreds of documents that Johnson (2012) reviewed that have not been fully translated, though some are duplicated or translated in other collections.

Several documents relating to Pensacola during the 18th century have already been transcribed and translated by John Hann, John Clune, John Worth, Wayne Childers, William Coker, and others. These documents are available in two places at UWF: the Special Collections Department, John C. Pace Library, and the Documents Library of the Division of Archaeology and Anthropology. A portion of the documents acquired from the AGN, AGI, P.K. Yonge, the
Biblioteca Nacional (National Library, Madrid, Spain), and other archives are available on microfilm. Overall, most of the historical data comes from secondary reviews of original documents, but the most detailed information about the people of Escambe comes from selected primary documents that I translated.

Translations of Selected Documents

Many documents pertinent to my thesis are available in digital format, but have not been transcribed or translated. I selected seven correspondences that directly relate to exchange at Escambe and Punta Rasa. I transcribed and translated each manuscript while trying to retain the original meaning of each document. Some of the translations are difficult to express in English, so in those cases I stayed as close to the literal meaning as possible in the given context of the letter. This process “is an art in and of itself, requiring intimate knowledge not only of the nuances and colloquialisms of a specific period, but also of the regionalisms that developed on Spain’s 18th century frontiers” (Voss 2012:46). Most of the letters were written either by soldiers that were stationed at Escambe, or Native American caciques from one of the two Pensacola missions. Very little documentary evidence is available for Escambe’s formative years, but an abundance exists for the period between 1754 and 1763, during the Seven Years War (Worth 2013a).

The documents selected provide detailed evidence of exchange patterns and economic structure at Escambe. The types of documents I translated are correspondences, requests, petitions, licenses, testimonies and complaints. Most are from soldiers, or other military personnel addressed to the governor of Pensacola. One document in particular is the trial testimony from the governor against one of the ensigns stationed at Escambe. The letters not only yield detailed economic information, but also include data about social interactions and
political motivations. A couple of letters in particular contain extremely useful ethnographic information concerning Native American relations and rituals during peace treaties and other meetings. In all cases, the letters are from individuals that hold higher political and social status, whether from the Native American groups or the Spanish military, and this is important to note, because they were the agents of exchange. The contents of these letters are analyzed and correlated with other published sources of trade goods.

Not all exchanges were legal, and there exists a fair amount of evidence for illicit trading. The Spanish had strict guidelines for who was permitted to trade, and what they could trade, but this did not stop forms of contraband trade. Amanda Roberts (2009, 2012) explains Spanish Florida’s formal economy by using supply lists from the 17th and 18th centuries, and mentions evidence of alternative economies such as contraband trade. Some of the documents that John Worth and I translated make reference to illegal trade at Escambe. The Spanish ensign stationed at Escambe illegally traded frequently with the Upper Creek, but was asserted by some to have abused his privileges. On a parallel note, Governor Miguel Román de Castilla y Lugo also purportedly abused his privileges frequently. Corruption and abuse was one of the causes of the unrest, and ultimately the uprising, of the Upper Creek, and the subsequent destruction of Escambe in 1761. As noted in the previous chapter, historical documents and archaeological data can complement each other and “documentary evidence can be used as a source of context that provides the basis for interpretation” of archaeological data (Little 1996:50).

Archaeological Data Sample

To date, the archaeological report for San Joseph de Escambe detailing the 2009 through 2012 excavations is not complete, but the information relevant to my thesis is available for
analysis. The information gathered from the archaeological report is considered a primary resource, and much of the reconstruction of mission life is based on this information.

*Case Study: Mission San Joseph de Escambe*

Before 2009, John E. Worth started gathering historical information on the whereabouts of the two missions associated with the Spanish Presidios. Also, the current landowner of the property had brought a piece of Native American pottery to Dr. Worth’s attention that same year. The field school season of 2009 set up the parameters for testing based on the historical research using cartographic and manuscript data. Systematic shovel testing (n=60) was conducted to look for evidence of the mission. The documentary research and field worked paid off, because they found archaeological evidence of the mission by the end of the 2009 field school. Apalachee pottery, European trade goods, and 18th century Spanish materials were recovered, and a few important structural features were identified in limited test units.

In the 2010 field season, the three units that were excavated in 2009 were reopened and expanded around the structural features, and the site was separated into three main areas (Figure 1).
FIGURE 1. Escambe (8ES3473) site plan showing excavation units (Map prepared by author, 2014).
Area A is the northern-most part of the site, and contains the most Native American pottery and posthole features. Posthole and smudge pit features were also found in mission contexts, but Area A also contained a prehistoric Deptford culture component. Area A exhibits disturbance from agricultural activities, predominantly plowing. Area B is in the central part of the site, and contained structural evidence of what was originally interpreted as the soldiers’ barracks. Excavation in this area focused on finding the corners, or horizontal extent, of the barracks. No corners were found by the end of the 2010 season, but a moderate amount of both Native American and European artifacts were recovered from Area B. The feature that was initially interpreted as a barracks building was actually too long for a normal public building of Spanish design. Additionally, a tree fall obscured the western portion of the feature making it impossible to estimate if the structure continued to westward. Area C is the southern-most section of the site, and contained the greatest variety of European material. Several overlapping wall features were uncovered, and based on stratigraphy and artifact content, the features date to the early years of the mission occupation. Area C was topographically elevated, and level, in comparison to the rest of the site, and the features were interpreted to be residential buildings.

The goals for the 2011 field season were to expose and excavate the features identified the previous year, and to delineate and determine the dimensions of the buildings. All three areas were expanded, but investigations focused more on areas B and C. What was thought to be the barracks feature in Area B was determined to be a stockade wall, but still no corners were found. Several more wall trenches were uncovered in Area C, but overall, the 2011 season did not produce many European artifacts. The overlapping wall structures in Area C suggested “repeated rebuilding within the small area, possibly associated with the Franciscan convento” (Worth 2011a:281). In Area B, the western portion of the stockade was disturbed by the tree fall feature,
which was later determined to be a 19th century well (Worth et al. 2011:6; Worth et al. 2012:8). The well cut through a portion of the stockade trench erasing any evidence of a corner or possible bulwark. To the east, a massive animal burrow disturbed and truncated any evidence of the stockade trench, but after reviewing photographs of excavations in that area, it was determined that only the upper portion of the stockade trench was disturbed. At that point it was determined that the wall was over 17 m in length.

The 2012 field season was very productive in terms of identifying features and artifact recovery. The objectives of the 2012 excavations were to focus on further exploring features in an attempt to better understand the size and organization of the mission complex (McMahon and Dadiego 2012). The eastern corner of the stockade wall was uncovered, and evidence of the north-south connecting wall was also excavated in Area B. Additional overlapping wall trenches were uncovered in Area C, and block excavation in this area yielded a large amount of domestic and military related artifacts. Also a new area of the site between Area B and Area C, designated Area E, was tested. Area E revealed some of the richest mission related midden deposits, and evidence of a burnt clay floor was uncovered. Area E is located within the confines of the stockade, and the burnt floor could either be evidence of the Creek raid that destroyed the mission in 1761, or a ceramic production area. The midden produced several types of Spanish majolica and other European export goods. Overall, the 2012 excavations yielded a substantial amount of trade goods.

Artifact Processing and Analysis Methods

The archaeological assemblages recovered from the 2009, 2010, and 2011 field seasons at Escambe were reviewed, and specific materials that directly related to trade and exchange were pulled for further analysis. The artifact analysis from the 2012 field season at 8ES3473
Mission San Joseph de Escambe was not used for this thesis because the artifact processing for that season was not complete. Specific examples of trade and exchange materials recovered from the mission include a lead clothing seal, Chinese export porcelain, French faience, and a folding straight razor. This collection complements the historical accounts of other trade goods that are not preserved in the archaeological record (i.e., clothing, foodstuffs, and oil). The analysis of archaeological material gives specific evidence of extant exchange processes during the life of the mission. There are several ways to group or categorize artifacts that relate to trade and exchange. Stanley South (1977:83–163, 1978) organizes artifact assemblages based on function to establish patterns, including the Carolina pattern and the Frontier or Architectural pattern. The artifact assemblage at Escambe cannot be properly analyzed and compared to other trade good assemblages using South’s system; therefore, the following categories have been devised for trade goods: food and alcohol, livestock and horses, cloth and clothing (including deer skins), munitions, and personal items. For each group there are two subdivisions: primary and secondary artifacts. For example, aguardiente, or brandy, shows up in historical documents as a significant trade item. The brandy itself is the primary trade good, but the case bottle or barrel that it was stored in is the secondary artifact, which could have been just one of multiple secondary types. Another example would be clothing. If clothing was traded in bundles of fabric (primary) it would have a bale seal (secondary) attached to indicate where it came from, or the quality and measurements of the fabric. If the clothing was traded as shirts, pants, uniforms, etc. (primary), there would be smaller components such as buttons and other fasteners that represent secondary artifacts. Each primary artifact can have multiple secondary items that relate to its production, shipment, and storage. Many common trade items are perishable, and can only be identified in historical documents, or by the presence of their secondary components in the archaeological
record. Not all nonperishable items survive either; thus, it is important to utilize the best qualitative and quantitative methods for analysis of the available datasets.

Glass beads have long been a popular trade item, especially during the colonial era. In most cases, it is difficult to provide distinct chronologies and origins for bead assemblages (Noël Hume 1969:54). The interpreted age of a bead can vary greatly depending on the approach used: date of manufacture, date of initial trade, and date and period of use. According to Roderick Sprague (2000:216), beads were often considered "important heirlooms handed down from generation to generation." Most bead studies focus on providing general descriptions of bead types during the colonial period (Spanish, French, British), and improving understanding of temporal change within glass bead assemblages (Marcoux 2012:179). Greasch (2001:271) argues that bead chronologies hinder an archaeologist’s ability to connect glass beads from archaeological contexts with their origin of manufacture. The bead sample from Escambe has already been assigned a chronology, so I focus on bead type, function, and origin (when possible). The analysis of the beads is informed by the method of manufacture, bead structure, and bead decoration, with bead structure referring to the composition of the bead body (Smith 1992; Marcoux 2012:163). I use methods similar to those of Graesch (2001) for characterizing attributes including bead size, diaphaneity, patination, and color. Each bead factory had its own set of screens for determining size which makes it difficult to standardize bead size (Karklins 1982:109; Sprague 2000:214). I measured each bead's maximum diameter and length with Mititoyo Digimatic calipers to the nearest millimeter. I also categorized bead types with simple geometric descriptions such as ovoid, spherical, and cylindrical to avoid unquantifiable terms like barrel or ring (Graesch 2001:272). Some of the beads in the Escambe assemblage are decorated, so I characterize the decoration techniques, which include shaping (mavrering),
inlaying, and the addition of colored strips (Kidd and Kidd 1970; Marcoux 2012:163). The color and diaphaneity of each bead was determined by moistening the bead and analyzing the artifact under a high powered microscope with backlighting. Diaphaneity refers to the capacity of beads to transmit light, and the designations I use are opaque, translucent, and transparent (Sprague 2000:215). Opaque beads do not transmit any light, translucent beads transmit light but it does not travel through the glass, and transparent beads allow sight through the glass.

**Presence and Absence**

The first step is to identify which artifacts are present in the historical records, and which should be present, but are not. All of the artifacts from 2009 to 2011 have been processed and catalogued in a Microsoft Access database. Artifact type codes in the database that relate to my thesis include beads, imported ceramics, personal items and accessories, ammunitions, case and wine bottles, and metal objects. For example, metal objects include straight razor, metal buttons, and lead seal. Any contemporary European goods and ceramics are also included in the data set.

The archaeological record at Escambe provides direct evidence of what goods were exchanged or brought into the mission; however, excavations are only a sample and not a comprehensive record of all economic interactions. Many items appear only in primary document records, and compiled secondary sources. Escambe’s artifact assemblage is small by comparison to contemporaneous sites’ assemblages, so it is important to determine the distribution of the trade goods across the site, as well as analyze the relative percentages of European goods versus locally produced Native American products.

**Distributions, Percentages, and Proportionality**

Although a small percentage of the mission has been excavated to date, several structures and affiliated features have been identified. As noted above, there are specific areas of the site
that are correlated to different activity areas within the mission. Archaeological excavations and documentary research helped to identify a stockade, a public building, and some rectangular structures. The density and distribution of artifacts across the site can help determine with more specificity the activity areas within the village compound. When comparing the amount of European ceramics with Native American ceramics, a discrepancy is immediately apparent. There is a far greater number and variety of locally produced Creek and Apalachee pottery than imported European ceramics. The majolica, El Morro, and Guadalajara vessels that were imported from Mexico make up a very small percentage of the overall assemblage. The total proportion of all European goods with respect to other goods is also assessed. Percentages of other common trade items are useful for analyzing the relative influx of externally produced goods to locally produced goods. Much research has already been done on glass trade beads, and this thesis looks specifically at the diversity of types, as well as some simple statistical description that allows comparison of the bead assemblage at Escambe internally. In addition to looking at general distributions of glass beads and other trade items, total artifact counts in proportion to areas are included in the artifact analysis.

*Origin and Function*

Many of the European artifacts recovered at Escambe were brought in by Spanish soldiers, or supplied directly from the presidio. However indirect the relationship, it is important to trace the origin of the artifact to its original source of production if possible. The presence of Chinese export porcelain or French faience denotes some form of social exchange, even if it was not moved with economic motivations. In earlier centuries, majolica was imported directly from Spain to the Florida colonies, but by the mid-1600s, majolica was manufactured and exported from New Spain (Voss 2012:40). Some Native American vessels were primarily used for
cooking and other utilitarian functions, and were the most readily available. Beads function as jewelry or clothing adornment, but were not likely worn by the Spanish soldiers or a Franciscan friar. In other words, some items were traded for their functional utility, and some were traded for their social utility.

*Personal Value: Availability, Quality, and Preference*

Besides a functional purpose, some goods were traded because of their social value, or as a result of the personal preferences of the people trading. Moreover, the social motivation behind the decision of personal value of an item is based on social function. The nature of each exchange is based on the motives and needs of the people trading. One must address several factors when looking at the presence of certain artifacts including the availability, quality, and ease of accessibility of the item in question. Gregory Waselkov (1992) implies that several Creek tribes preferred French-made weapons over British weapons and ammunition because of the quality, but the British traded munitions in far greater quantities than the French and were more willing to trade. Also, the color of the glass trade beads reflected the personal preference of the different Indian tribes (Waselkov 1992). Some tribes preferred red, but the Apalachee interpreted red as a sign of war (Mitchem 1993:399, 417). Level of symbolic meaning can be derived from the archaeological, historical, and even ethnological data. This qualitative analysis sheds light on the social interactions and economic choices of the inhabitants at Escambe. This thesis focuses on the barter system, more specifically goods in exchange for goods. In some cases silver was used to purchase horses or other necessities, so those transactions are highlighted in subsequent chapters. Voss (2012:39) states that “there is a relationship between the social values of an object and its economic cost to the consumer.”
Monetary Value and Change over Time

Since goods are valued in relationship to other goods, it is difficult to assign a monetary value to them. However, supply and shipment lists often record the monetary value of certain goods. Accounting and warehouse records also contain this information. It is useful to determine the relative value of the trade goods, and to describe changes in value over time. This analysis is dependent on the availability and quality of the items as well. I believe that some goods were more valuable than others, not just monetarily. According to the historical documents and other secondary studies, deerskins were the most common barter item used by Native America groups. Liquor was one of the primary Spanish (and perhaps the French and English as well) bartering items. These items were currency; therefore, the value of each item must be evaluated on many levels, and the term currency must be used with proper context.

Correspondences that describe economic interactions are the most useful for this project, and the data presented in the documents supplements and reinforces the archaeological data from mission San Joseph de Escambe. The artifact assemblage from Escambe is comparatively small because only a small percentage of the site has been excavated, but there is still a good representative sample of artifacts that directly relate to exchange activities. The following chapter contextualizes the historical and archaeological data used for this thesis.
CHAPTER III
HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND CULTURAL SETTING

Exploration and Conquest, 1513–1565

In order to effectively discuss mission San Joseph de Escambe’s economic role in 18th century Spanish Florida, a broad contextual overview of why Spain incorporated Florida into its expansive empire, and also the specific importance of Pensacola to the survival of this empire during colonial times is needed. North America itself was “used as a buffer zone to the lucrative areas of Mexico, Central America, and northern South America” (Bense 1999:207). A vast amount of research has focused on Spanish Florida’s formative years including exploration and colonization, and several secondary sources are available for review.

The Spanish in Florida

Florida’s extensive and complex history started with Spanish exploration in the early 16th century. Bense (1999:208) mentions early Spanish settlements in Florida, including San Miguel de Gualdape (1526), Pensacola (1559), St. Augustine (1565), and Santa Elena (1566). Paul Hoffman (2002) goes into great detail concerning Florida’s frontier settlements which includes Spanish exploration and colonization, and the subsequent British and American periods, though his focus is on the Spanish frontier of Florida. From the 16th through the 18th centuries, Florida was an outpost on the northern frontier that protected Spain’s fleets traveling from Mexico and Havana back to Spain (Worth 2013a). Some of the great European empires were vying for the most strategic and lucrative areas in North America.

Juan Ponce de León was the first to arrive on the coast of Florida in 1513 with motives derived from declining fortunes and a diminishing Native American population in Puerto Rico, where he served as governor (Clune 2003:13). His discovery of the Florida peninsula was
partially accidental, and he initially thought it was a large island (Milanich 1999:56–57). Initial motivations for these early expeditions were fueled by the need for slave labor, and the American Southeast presented a very large untapped human resource (Hudson 1997:32; Worth 2009:181, 2013b:190–192). It was not until after the conquest of the Aztecs (1519–1521) by Hernán Cortés that Ponce de Leon returned to Florida’s west coast to establish a permanent settlement. He arrived somewhere between Charlotte Harbor and Estero Bay with 200 men, some of whom were soldiers, farmers, and artisans (Clune et al. 2006:20; Eschbach 2007:11). Ponce de León’s attempt to colonize Florida was unsuccessful, and he died from an arrow wound from hostile Native American groups (Weddle 1985:38–54; Hudson 1997:32; Milanich 1999:57–59). The European’s desire for territorial expansion also motivated the French to expand into Canada, the Great Lakes region, and eventually along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico after 1682 (Roberts 2009:15). France's attempts to establish settlements in the Southeast between 1562 and 1565 prompted the Spanish to look for a defendable location in the Gulf. Concurrently, Spain was searching for an overland route to the Atlantic, and decided to focus its attention on exploring Pensacola Bay to find a secure location to settle and fortify on the way to their actual destination, Santa Elena.

_The Spanish in Pensacola_

Pensacola Bay was a particularly good location for military defenses and natural resource acquisition. Timber was readily available, and the bay’s deep port and barrier islands made it an ideal location during the colonial period (Melcher 2011:28). The same year that Pedro Arias Dávila founded Panama City for the Spaniards’ Pacific base (1519), the first known European to sail by Pensacola Bay was Alonso Alvarez de Pineda (McEwan 2000:61). The Pineda expedition created the first known map of the entire Gulf of Mexico (Weddle 1985:95–110; Worth et al.
In 1528, another Spaniard by the name of Pánfilo de Narváez attempted to travel to Pensacola Bay with an expedition, but accidentally landed in the Tampa Bay area (Coker 1999:5; McEwan 2000:61; Worth 2013b:192). Alvar Núñez Cabeça de Vaca accompanied Narváez as his accountant on that expedition, and was one of only four survivors of another fatal attempt to colonize *la Florida* (Weddle 1985:185–207; Hudson 1997:32; Coker 1999:5; Milanich 1999:62–68). All of the attempts to colonize Florida had failed, and ended in the death of these Spanish leaders. Cabeça de Vaca’s remarkable account of survival in Apalachee did not reach Spain until almost a decade after his death.

The next expedition to the Bay was not until the Hernando de Soto’s expedition to Florida in 1539. Hernando de Soto was a seasoned veteran of the Pizarro conquest of the Incas in 1531, and armed with the information he gathered from Cabeça de Vaca’s account, Soto sailed for Florida (McEwan 2000:62–63; Worth 2013b:192). Between 1539 and 1543 he was one of the first Spanish leaders to explore the interior Southeast from the Carolinas to Arkansas and Texas (Weddle 1985:208–233; Hudson 1997:62–119; Milanich 1999:68–76; Worth 2013b:192). Francisco Maldonado found a bay called “Ochuse” in 1540, and visited it several times in 1543 in search of Soto’s army (Coker 1999:6; Clune et al. 2006:21; Worth et al. n.d.). At this point, Florida held no immediate monetary value to the Spanish Crown, as there were no identified sources of gold or silver. The Native population density was also small in comparison to the Aztec or Inca (Ewen 1996; Worth 2013b:192–193). Protecting Spanish fleets moving across the Gulf and Atlantic carrying gold and silver, and establishing a settlement on the lower Atlantic coast ultimately became the primary objective. Florida was strategically valuable in protecting these New World treasure fleets and also linked the Gulf coast to Mexico (Worth 2013b:192–193).
The dissemination of information about Hernando de Soto’s expedition to the interior, and an increasing fear of French settlement in the same region, revitalized Spain’s interest in Pensacola in the 1550s (Clune et al. 2006:21–22). In 1559, Tristán de Luna y Arellano led an expedition to Pensacola Bay, sailing from Veracruz with some 1,500 people, livestock, craftsmen, and a year’s worth of supplies. He was charged with establishing an overland route to the lower Atlantic coast of South Carolina (Weddle 1985:265–286; Coker 1999:6; Milanich 1999:76–80; Eschbach 2007:12). The journey from Veracruz to Pensacola was uncomfortable and unsanitary (over 200 horses were on board), and when the expedition reached their destination they were devastated by a massive hurricane just five weeks later. Most of the supplies were still aboard the ten ships, because Tristán de Luna wanted to protect them from potential mainland threats. The hurricane forced Luna into the interior Southeast in search of food, and the colony ultimately failed and withdrew by 1561 (Clune 2003:15; Worth 2013b:193–194). A substantial amount of research is available on this subject, and archaeologists have identified two of Luna’s ships in Pensacola Bay (Smith et al. 1998; Cook et al. 2009). The identification of Luna's mainland settlement has thus far eluded researchers. The failure in Pensacola Bay spurred a later attempt to settle along the Atlantic coast, following short-lived French exploration and settlement there between 1562 and 1565. As a result, the Spanish established St. Augustine in 1565, making it the first permanent Spanish colony in Florida. Pensacola remained an afterthought to Spain and Mexico for over a century.

Missionization and the Colonial System, 1565–1698

The establishment of St. Augustine in 1565 by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was a great achievement for the Spanish Crown, and over the next five years he initiated the construction of 15 fortified garrisons along the Atlantic coast and inland to the Appalachian Mountains. Before
the establishment of St. Augustine among the Timucuan Indians, two very important events took place that would create a colonial system with a foundation profoundly different from the conquest mentality of the previous century.

_Saint Augustine and the Atlantic Coast_

The expeditions of early Spanish leaders, like Ponce de León, Pánfilo de Narváez, and Hernando de Soto, were to a great extent motivated by slaving and fortune, and as a result, Native American populations were captured, abused, and sometimes murdered. In 1542, royal law outlawed Indian slavery and abuse (Worth 2013b:192–193). In 1549, a Dominican priest named Luis Cancer made the first attempt to Christianize the Native population in Florida (Worth 2013b:192–193). His “spiritual” conquest to the Tampa Bay region was another failure, and every subsequent expedition included a military escort.

In 1565, the Spanish captured the French Fort Caroline, and massacred its inhabitants (Worth 2009:182). Several Native groups were allied with the French, and this formed the basis for some intense anti-Spanish hostility over the next few years (Worth 2009:182). Pedro Menéndez worked quickly to establish a second Spanish colonial port in Santa Elena in Port Royal Sound in 1566, and by 1568 he had established garrisons along the Atlantic coast and interior. His plan focused on the military occupation of strategic indigenous administrative centers. Menéndez accomplished this great feat with political savvy and religious coercion. He established diplomatic relations with chiefdoms by working within their own political structures, and dealing directly with the _caciques_ (Worth 2013b:197). Menéndez also sent out a handful of secular priests and some Jesuit missionaries to aid with conversions (Milanich 2004:333; Worth 2013b:194–195).
The Spanish empire expanded north into Georgia, and south to the lower Gulf coast, but over the next five years Spanish Florida would collapse and contract into a very small area around its only remaining city of St. Augustine. By 1570, only two of the 15 fortified garrisons remained: St. Augustine and Santa Elena, and the Jesuits withdrew by 1572 (Milanich 2004:334; Worth 2009:183). The Native American resistance was overwhelming, and both Spanish conquistadores and missionaries suffered from attacks and diseases. Pedro Menéndez soon contracted with the Franciscan order, and Francisco del Castillo was the first Franciscan priest to reach Florida in Santa Elena (Milanich 2004:334). Santa Elena was short-lived in part because a Guale Indian rebellion destroyed it almost entirely in 1576, leaving it in poor shape until it was finally withdrawn in 1587 (Milanich 2004:334; Worth 2009:183, 2013b:196). During this tumultuous time of rebellion and Spanish contraction, the newly formed colonial system exhibited several flaws. The primary mission era in Florida did not effectively start until 1587 when the Franciscans finally gained acceptance by indigenous groups near St. Augustine (Worth 2009:183–184).

The turn of the century marked some of the most difficult years for St. Augustine and its Spanish inhabitants, but it would also mark the beginning of the assimilation of Florida's indigenous groups into the Spanish colonial system. Spanish missionaries incorporated the Timucuan Indians surrounding the St. Augustine area into the mission system, and they also converted the Guale Indians to the north shortly after in 1595 (Worth 2009:184). One of the most well-known and longstanding missions near St. Augustine, mission Nombre de Dios, was established late in the 16th century, but its formal conception is unknown (Seaberg 1951; Gannon 1965:17; Hann 1990:426–427; Deagan 1993:92). In preparation of establishing a mission and diplomatic relations in a strategically chosen province, the cacique would
sometimes be invited to St. Augustine and given gifts and a Christian name (Milanich 2004:335; Worth 2013b:198). Franciscan missions were scattered along the Atlantic coast, and “from a European perspective the missions not only served as a religious agent…but also an efficient and essential mechanism for taming, controlling, and exploiting the vast hinterlands holdings of La Florida” (Bolton 1917; Sturtevant 1962; Thomas 1990; Deagan 1993:87).

The Spanish secular and ecclesiastical representatives created several economic structures during the mission era to support and supply St. Augustine in its formative years. These structures included the *situado*, the *gasto de indios*, and the *repartimiento*. Missions played a large part in sustaining St. Augustine when the economic structures like the *situado* became unreliable or failed completely. In part, the later economic institutions were completely dependent on the friars’ success in converting Native groups. The roles of missions were to convert natives, support the Franciscans, and provide labor for the garrison at St. Augustine (Deagan 1993:88). The Franciscans acted as religious practitioners and cultural brokers to the Native American chiefdoms (Worth 2013b:196).

One important economic installment was the *situado*, which was an annual subsidy for the Florida colony at St. Augustine. The *situado* was enacted as early as 1571, and from 1573 to 1574 the payments were transferred from Spain to the treasury in Veracruz (Sluiter 1985:3; Worth 1998a:130). In 1592, Mexico City temporarily took over payments for Veracruz, but after 1594 Veracruz was made officially responsible for Florida’s financial assistance until 1702 (Sluiter 1985:3; Bushnell 1994:43). Unfortunately, the *situado* during the 17th century was frequently late, and when it did arrive on time, it was often insufficient to support the colonists (Worth 1998a:130–131). Florida depended on this annual subsidy well into the 18th century,
which proved detrimental to the growth of the Spanish Empire in Florida. During the same time that the *situado* formed, another system emerged that eventually supplemented the *situado*.

In 1593, the *gasto de indios* (Indian fund) was established to aid in diplomatic relations with the Native Americans. Officials authorized and distributed common items to Native American *caciques* neighboring Spanish Florida and their *principales*, including iron tools, firearms, beads, clothing, and horses (Bushnell 1994:46; Worth 1998a:136; McEwan 2000:74). In 1616, the *gasto de indios* was officially incorporated as a supplement to the *situado* for Florida (Sluiter 1985:5; Bushnell 1994). The Indian fund was essential for the Spanish governors to facilitate and maintain political alliances with Native American chiefdoms, but it was the missionized *caciques* that had the most direct influence over the cooperation and support from Native groups. Therefore, showering *caciques* from mission provinces with prestigious and technologically practical goods, and giving them honorific Spanish titles like “don,” were necessary and could not be avoided (Worth 1998a:137–143; McEwan 2000:73).

European expansion continued along the Atlantic coast, and over the next 30 years, French, British, and Dutch expeditions settled in key areas including Jamestown (1607), Quebec (1608), Massachusetts (1620), and New York (1626). Santa Fe in New Mexico, founded in 1610, was the second enduring Spanish settlement in the United States (Clune 2003:15–16). In Florida, the mission system was growing steadily, but not without some setbacks. In 1597, two years after the Spanish incorporated the Guale into the mission system, they rebelled against the friars, planting a seed of discontent that would blossom over the next century (Milanich 2004:337). McEwan (2000:65) states that the mission system started expanding rapidly in 1608 with the help of Fray Martín Prieto, and other friars were converting neighboring Timucuan groups at this time. The Apalachee to the west were requesting missionaries as early as 1607, but they did not
fully accept the mission system until 1633 (Boyd et al. 1999:108; Worth 1998a:159; McEwan 2000:66, 107). The Apalachee and western Timucuan regions had the largest concentrations of missions during this period, but it was an Apalachee province that held the key to St. Augustine’s survival and economic growth (Hann 1988:149–151; Deagan 1993:91).

Monetarily, Florida was a drain on the royal treasury, but there were other ways of proving economic importance. The colonial system in Florida was partly based on the production and distribution of staple foods like corn, and the Apalachee province had some of the best agricultural soils (Worth 1998a:146, 210). The colonial system represented the economic link between St. Augustine and the mission provinces, and it created two economic structures to facilitate the production and distribution of corn. In the first structure, missionized chiefdoms paid tribute in the form of corn to St. Augustine in return for gift goods and continued diplomatic relations. The governor abandoned the corn tribute system soon after it started, and replaced it with a labor system. Governor Gonzalo Méndez de Canço instituted the repartimiento, which meant that the missionized caciques contributed labor instead of corn (Worth 1998a:129). The Spanish garrison at St. Augustine depended on the supply of corn directly from the mission provinces, as well as the Indian labor for the production of additional corn and other staple foods. The wage labor system allowed caciques to contribute Indian laborers during the agricultural season in return for “trade goods in the value on one real per man-day of labor” (Worth 1998a:126). Apalachee was the major agricultural center while Timucua served as the major transportation corridor. However, by 1639, Timucua was the only remaining mission province without accessibility to the sea (Worth 1998a:150, 160, 215). The repartimiento worked well into the height of the mission period, which at its pinnacle included over 40 missions and 26,000
Christianized Indians (Griffin 1993:xv; Eschbach 2007:13). As a result, the surplus corn and other staple foods in mission communities increased substantially.

Spanish and the Native American groups utilized surplus corn production to their advantage. Consistent deficits in the annual *situado* (especially between 1639 and 1643) left the Spanish garrison at St. Augustine in famine (Worth 1998a:130). The garrison relied heavily on labor and corn production from the mission provinces, and sometimes they bent the rules of the *repartimiento* to suit their own needs. As with any system, corruption was bound to arise. On many occasions Spanish soldiers would set up private farming operations near St. Augustine called *haciendas*. Spaniards set up farms on lands with permission from the neighboring *cacique*, and the Spanish paid the Indian laborers who worked their fields with trade goods provided illegally from royal warehouses (Worth 1998a:196–198). Over time, the number of resident mission labor forces dropped, but there was still plenty of surplus corn that was “converted through barter into Spanish clothes, beads, tools, and other items for Indian leaders and into religious ornaments for the mission churches, or cash and credit for their eventual purchase” (Worth 1998a:177). Labor was the primary commodity of the 17th century, and corn was the currency. Moreover, these two factors contributed to the survival of St. Augustine, and to the growth of Spanish influence in Florida. The utility of missions was not just for religious conversion, but was also fundamental to the economy of Spanish Florida. Any lack of resources would have left St. Augustine without sufficient local, stable food sources (Worth 1998a:213). Despite the expansion and success of the missions, several internal and external factors led to a large-scale demographic collapse of Native American populations.

The four causes for the decrease in Native populations and the beginning of the destruction of the mission system of the 17th century were disease, rebellion, slave raiding, and
territorial warfare. The first Spanish explorers introduced several diseases that the indigenous population had no resistance to, and the missionaries that arrived in the late 16th century further spread disease (Worth 1998a:213). Populations steadily decreased as new encounters with Europeans spread into the interior of the Peninsula and to the west. Some Native groups were very resistant to being Christianized, made worse by the abuses and poor treatment they often received from friars and Spanish soldiers alike. The first Indian rebellion during this era was in 1647, resulting from labor abuses that involved the non-Christian Apalachee and the unconverted Chiscas (McEwan 2000:66; Milanich 2004:337). A second rebellion occurred in 1656 due to labor abuses and the destruction of two Timucuan chiefdoms by order of Governor Diego de Rebolledo (Worth 1998b:45–47). Rebolledo ordered all caciques to carry the corn to St. Augustine on their own backs, and he disregarded their complaints (Boyd et al. 1999:108; Worth 1998a:181–184). To make matters more unstable, English colonists to the north sponsored slave raids by allied Native groups who began attacking missions and Indian villages as early as 1659, and continued to do so through 1715 (Worth 2009, 2013b). All of these factors, coupled with ongoing internal political problems between Native American groups, persisted for the next 60 years. Spanish Florida contracted instead of expanding, and the mission provinces dwindled both spatially and in political power.

Expanding to far western Florida was an unnecessary risk, and it was not until a Frenchman by the name of Robert Cavelier de la Salle attempted to settle the northern Gulf coast in Texas that the Spanish took notice. News that La Salle had established a settlement spurred over 11 Spanish expeditions to look for him between 1685 and 1690 (Coker 1999:6). This final act of territorial encroachment made establishing a Spanish presence in the Gulf of Mexico of utmost importance. Spain’s hold on North America had dwindled to just a small area around St.
Augustine, and it was vitally important to keep other European forces at a safe distance. In 1693, a scientific expedition was led by Captain Andrés de Pez and Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora into Pensacola Bay in order to determine its eligibility for the construction of a presidio (Coker 1999:7). It only took a few short years for officials to approve the area, and send an expedition to establish the first Spanish colonial outpost in Pensacola.

**Settlement in Pensacola, 1698–1763**

In 1698, the Spanish selected Pensacola Bay as the location for construction of the presidio Santa María de Galve. Andrés de Arriola founded the presidio in November of that year (Bense 2003; Clune 2003:20; Melcher 2011:28–29). The officials in New Spain founded Santa María and supplied it through Veracruz, making the presidio directly responsible to the Viceroy of New Spain (Bense 2004:47; Worth 2008:3; Melcher 2011:31).

**Santa María de Galve**

The presidio not only served as a buffer zone from the French to the west, but the military garrison also acted as a penal colony (Roberts 2009:17). Convicts and soldiers resided in close quarters, and supplies were limited at best. Santa María was considered a multiethnic community with a documented population in 1708 of mestizo, Spanish (native either to Spain or its New World colonies), mulatto, and zambo (Indian and African) (Clune et al. 2003:25; Melcher 2011:31). At the time, Native American populations in the area were low, in part because of the disease spread by 16th century Spanish expeditions, and also because of ongoing conflicts between the Panzacolas and the Mobilas (Bense 2004:47). The Mobilas (from north of Mobile Bay), had decimated the local native group before the Spanish arrived, leaving the struggling Santa María colony without a large Native American population (Dunn 1917:170; Roberts 2009:21). However, recent research shows that a number of other Native American groups did
interact with the population at Santa María, including the Apalachee, Chacato (Chato), Tabaza (Tawasa), Ocatoze, Creek, and Yamasee among others (Dysart 1999; Harris 1999, 2003; Clune et al. 2003; Melcher 2011:31). Most of the interactions with native groups in the region were hostile, so Santa María had difficulty trading for supplies. There is documented evidence of local agriculture as early as 1700, but it did not prove successful enough to support the presidio population (Roberts 2009:22). Not only was food difficult to come by, but the hot temperatures and moist air rotted the timbers quickly, leaving the buildings in disrepair. Moreover, the temperature spoiled the little food that was stocked in the presidio. At times, the conditions were so poor, and the Spanish in such dire need of food, that they resorted to buying and trading supplies with the French settlement in Mobile, Alabama (Higginbotham 1977:145,151, 154, 213; Coker 1999; Johnson 1999:17, 25; Bense 2003; Waselkov 2005; Melcher 2011:29). Overall, Santa María was in perpetual disrepair, and its occupants suffered from malnutrition and severe weather.

War of Spanish Succession and Destruction of Missions

Over the next 20 years, Santa Maria struggled to survive, while events in Europe were affecting conflicts and political motivations in New Spain. One important event was the War of Spanish Succession (1702 to 1713), or Queen Anne’s War. The opposing sides were the Grand Alliance, which consisted of England, Holland, and Austria against Spain and France. The death of the last Spanish Hapsburg, Charles II, initiated the war, because Spain and France were attempting to put Philip V (a Bourbon) on the Spanish throne (Coker 1999:12). This war resulted in turning the French at Mobile into helpful allies to the Spanish at Santa María, as well as aggravating relations with the Carolina English and their Creek Indian allies (Clune 2003:21).
Santa María was established at the apex of the English sponsored slave trade, and from 1659 through 1680, a group of Native Americans called the Westo raided missions and villages. From 1685 through 1715, the Creek and Yamasee took the Westos' place and continued slave raiding (Hahn 2000:110–232, 2004:40–80; Crane 2004:26–161; Worth 2008:4). From 1702 through 1704, English raiders from Carolina and their Creek and Yamasee allies decimated the missions in Apalachee, Timucua, and Mocama, and any Native Americans that were left alive were captured for slavery, or left to become client towns in English-Creek territory (Boyd et al. 1999:108; McEwan 2000:75; Milanich 2004:341; Worth 2008:4). By 1704, several missionized Native groups fled to the immediate vicinity of St. Augustine, but by 1706, the English had effectively destroyed all Florida missions leaving several refugee Indian groups to survive on their own (Worth 2009:187). Spanish and French reports in 1704 indicate that a large group of Apalachee fled west towards Pensacola, but most passed on though and settled in French Mobile (Higginbotham 1991:189–194; Worth et al. n.d.). Also during this time, an Indian raid destroyed the Spanish village around Santa María, forcing everyone into the presidio compound, and records indicate a continued presence of Apalachee laborers receiving rations at Santa María (Childers and Cotter 1998:87–91; Harris 2003:270–274; Worth et al. n.d.). The Spanish were barely able to defend the remaining presidios at Pensacola and St. Augustine from British forces. Not only were the English attacking Spanish villages and presidios, they were also rapidly expanding the deer skin trade with groups living in the eastern interior of the Southeast (Bense 1999:208–209). By 1706, any mission Indian that survived fled, with only a few groups remaining with the Spanish in St. Augustine (McEwan 2000:75; Milanich 2004:341). Some Apalachee moved to French territory in Mobile, and other Apalachee remained in Pensacola (Worth 2008:5).
In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht finally ended the War of Spanish Succession (Coker 1999:14; Clune 2003:22). There was one condition of the treaty that greatly affected the American colonies. As Roberts (2009:35) states, “the French Bourbons received the Spanish throne, while England acquired valuable commercial territories as well as trading rights such as the *asiento*.” The *asiento* was basically a trading agreement that gave exclusive rights to the Jamaica-based English to supply African slaves to the New World colonies (Haring 1947:315; Deagan 1987:23; Roberts 2009:35). During the reign of Philip V, his administration carried out several additional reforms that affected the distribution, exchange, and types of goods in the New World (Haring 1947:314; Gibson 1966:165–174; Deagan 1987:22).

Another important event in 1715 started a massive migration of Indian groups into Florida. Yamasee and Creek slave raiders rose up against the English, and then withdrew from central Georgia and the Carolinas; most of the Creek moved west to their original homeland accompanied by their Yamasee allies, but many Yamasee moved south to St. Augustine (Worth 2008:6, 2009:187). One long-term impact of the rebellion included the return of a number of the northern band of Apalachee who had been living in exile among the English-allied Upper Creek since 1704 (Covington 1972:374–378; Hann 1988:289–91, 294–305; Worth et al. n.d.). This uprising not only brought more Native Americans into Florida, it also lessened attacks against the Spanish and their allies, and eventually marked the end of the Indian slave trade (Hann 1996:306).

*War of Quadruple Alliance*

After the War of Spanish Succession, Spanish relations with the Creek slowly improved, but their relations with the French soured. The War of Quadruple Alliance (1718 to 1721) added the French to the alliance of Austria, Holland, and England against Spain (Higginbotham 1977;
Coker and Childers 1998; Clune 2003:23). Subsequently, the French at Mobile captured and burned Santa María in 1719, eventually forcing its inhabitants to relocate 125 miles to the east of St. Joseph’s Bay where they built the presidio of San Joseph (Clune et al. 2003:80; Eschbach 2007:16; Melcher 2011:33). Even before the 1719 capture, the Native American population had little incentive to stay with the Spanish, and there is documentary evidence of a Native American settlement established in 1718 along the Chiscas River called the Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y San Luis, which contained around 70 individuals (Clune et al. 2003:29; Worth 2008:7; Roberts 2009:21; Worth 2013). The French only occupied the ruins of presidio Santa María de Galve for three short years, before the peace treaty in 1721 that ended the War of Quadruple Alliance. The Spanish abandoned Presidio San Joseph and eventually decided to build a new settlement and fortification on Santa Rosa Island (Roberts 2009:25; Melcher 2011:33).

*Isla de Santa Rosa, 1722–1756*

In 1722, a Scottish colonel of the Spanish Windward Fleet named Alejandro Wauchope arrived in Pensacola to establish the Presidio Isla de Santa Rosa east of Punta de Sigüenza, on the bay side of the barrier island that separated Pensacola Bay from the Gulf of Mexico (Coker 1975; Clune et al. 2003:82; Eschbach 2007:11). The Spanish selected this location because they thought it would protect them from Native American attacks, which had besieged the Presidio of Santa María. Although the location on the barrier island protected them from hostile Indians, it did not protect them from the forces of nature. During its 30 year existence at Santa Rosa, the presidio’s inhabitants suffered at least eight significant hurricanes, two of them covered in detail in historical records. The hurricanes caused considerable damage, and the settlement was in constant need of repair (Eschbach 2007:17; Melcher 2011:34–35).
One storm in particular nearly leveled the entire presidio in 1740, and fray Marcos de Hita established a new mission one year later (Urueña 1741a, 1743, 1753; Worth 2013c:2). In 1741, Fray Marcos de Hita y Salazar requested a list of supplies for a new pueblo he called “New Pueblo of the Chiscas” located along the Chiscas River which was later known as Escambia River (Urueña 1741a; Worth et al. n.d.). Evidence from documentary sources imply that this was the new Apalachee mission under Chief Juan Marcos, who had originally established the mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y San Luis at the mouth of the river in 1718 (Worth et al. n.d.). The move up river could have resulted from many events, including the establishment of the Spanish outpost at San Miguel, and the immigrations of several Yamasee after the 1740 siege on St. Augustine. The Chiscas mission was in a very important location on the Escambia River, and the closest town was an Upper Creek town called Tawasa. Tawasa was a major trading outpost that also used the river as a trading route into Alabama (Worth 2008:10). The European trade network was very complex at this time, and England’s southward and westward expansion from Carolina and Georgia was a constant encroachment on St. Augustine and Pensacola (Coker 1999:16). At the same time, France was attempting to control trade with the Indians in Louisiana, and aiding the Spanish in Pensacola, despite Spanish external trade prohibitions (Coker 1999:16). Villages that actively engaged in trade were the most successful, and only four missions remained, two at St. Augustine and two in Pensacola.

After 1720, the number of refugee and mission Indians around St. Augustine decreased significantly, and by 1743, only four villages were left at St. Augustine, including Tolomato, Palica, Pocotalaca, and La Punta (White 2002:46; Milanich 2004:341). The Yamasee mission of Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta was established in the 1720s and abandoned in 1754 (John E. Worth 2013, pers. comm.), and another mission by the name of Pocotalaca was
abandoned that same year. After 1754, only two missions remained around St. Augustine, Nombre de Dios Nuestra Señora de la Leche, and Tolomato (Waters 2009; Worth 2009:190). Archaeologists have investigated Pocotalaca, but the analysis of investigations for comparison is beyond the scope of this thesis. Archaeologists have not been able to find some missions near St. Augustine, including Tolomato (Waters 2009). The two mission sites in St. Augustine were supplemented by two missions among the Yamasee and Apalachee in Pensacola (Worth 2013b). Some Native Americans may have been living in the Presidio Santa Rosa, but other groups lived at mission villages inland at San Joseph de Escambe and San Antonio de Punta Rasa (Worth 2008, 2009; Melcher 2011:34).

Santa Rosa was not only supplying two newly formed missions, and protecting them with Spanish garrisons, they were also contemplating the construction of another presidio on the mainland. After the hurricane in 1740, a storehouse was built on the mainland with a small detachment of soldiers to protect it near present day downtown Pensacola (Faye 1941; Harris and Eschbach 2006; Benchley et al. 2007; Worth 2013c). In 1741, there is documentary evidence of a brick kiln that was constructed somewhere on the mainland, and in 1742, the governor sent some women and children with food and supplies to the San Miguel outpost while Santa Rosa was under reconstruction (Gorraez 1756 in Urueña 1753; Worth 2013c:2). A 1744 report by Pedro de Rivera y Villalón declared that another storm would not be good for the presidio, but the Santa Rosa presidio should not be abandoned completely (Coker 1999:17). Hurricanes hit Santa Rosa in 1751 and 1752, but the Spanish still did not start the transfer to the mainland until 1754 (Childers 2003a; Melcher 2011; Worth 2013c:4). The presidio at Santa Rosa was taking hits from massive storms, and also from the inconsistent situado. Economically, the presidios in
Pensacola were struggling, and as a result, the Spanish seem to have become even more reliant on trading with the French and other Native American groups living in the vicinity.

The Pensacola Situado

The royal coffers in Mexico City funded the *situado* for Pensacola, but supplies purchased as a part of this stipend like food, military arms, building materials, and clothing arrived by ship from Havana and Veracruz (Roberts 2009:50–51). The stipend that Pensacola received from the *situado* was managed by a paymaster, and account records are available for most of Pensacola’s first Spanish period. The little money that Pensacola did receive through the *situado* was infrequent and delinquent, making the settlers rely mostly on goods purchased at Veracruz. Supplies purchased at Veracruz were unfortunately very expensive, subject to high interest rates, and much of the food arrived spoiled (Coker 1979:7; Roberts 2009:51). At this time the Spanish colonial settlements were still prohibited from exporting goods for trade with foreign merchants, leaving them to rely completely on the *situado* for support. Over 40 percent of the subsidy went to salaries for the garrison, and that amount fluctuated depending on the number of individuals present at the presidio for that year (TePaske 1959:77–79; Coker 1979:6; Roberts 2009:51). In addition, money was only useful if there were goods to purchase; otherwise, it was used to pay for goods previously provided by the French. Reliance on the *situado* led to a reliance on illicit trade, and this practice continued though the occupation of Santa Rosa, while relations with native populations only deteriorated at the start of the French and Indian War.

Local Historical Context

The geomorphology of the Lower Escambia River has not changed much over the past 250 years, and the site is located on a Pleistocene alluvial terrace (Worth et al. 2011:4). The Escambe site is located 12 leagues from Presidio San Miguel along the Escambia River, or eight
leagues by land (Ullate 1761). The site itself is 100 hectares measuring some 180 m by 80 m
with the village located south of the primary riverine boat landing for the Molino terrace (Worth
et al. 2011:5).

Mission San Joseph de Escambe

Escambe was referred to in historical documents as Pueblo San Joseph de Escambe. In
reality, Escambe was less like a mission and more like a satellite village or town. According to
Worth et al. (2012:1) "the end result of a mission was the full assimilation of its congregants into
a Spanish society...become[ing] part of the ordinary governmental and ecclesiastical structure."
Escambe did have a Spanish garrison and a church with a visiting friar. The Apalachee living
there were fifth generation Christians, so the town’s main purpose was not converting new
Indian groups (Worth et al. 2012:4). The Spanish were garrisoned at Escambe for political
reasons, and the Apalachee were more like middlemen concerning politics and economics.
Escambe was also a nexus of international trade, and the next chapter demonstrates
archaeological and documentary evidence of English and French trade goods filtering in via the
Creek. Escambe was strategically placed along the path to the Upper Creek towns near
Montgomery, Alabama, and the residents at Escambe traded frequently with the residents of
those Upper Creek towns (Worth et al. n.d.). The Creeks were known to accept intermediary
trade with other Native groups, and this fact is exhibited by the establishment of several Creek
towns in the region; one in particular (Tawasa in 1759) was in close proximity to Escambe. After
the Spanish cavalry was detached to Escambe, the Creek became weary and at least some
resented the encroachment of the Spanish military so close to their homes. Still, Creek traders
passing though Escambe would exchange foodstuffs and deerskins with the residents before
making their way to Santa Rosa and San Miguel for more trading. The Spanish soldiers often
traded brandy, and on occasion, chocolate, bread, corn, and tobacco in exchange for whatever the Creeks were carrying with them (Román de Castilla y Lugo 1761a; Worth et al. n.d.)

In 1718, Escmabe's chief Juan Marcos Ysfani led a small group of Apalachee refugees out of Creek territory down into the western border of Spanish territory in proximity to the presidio of Santa María de Galve. Juan Marcos had recently been appointed "Governor of the Apalachee" by the viceroy of New Spain upon his visit to Mexico City the previous year. More specifically, he established a new Apalachee town at the mouth of the River Chiscas (later known as the Escambia River) some five leagues from Santa María (González de Barcia Carballido y Zuñiga 1723:341–342; Worth et al. n.d.). Unequivocal archaeological evidence of this mission has not been found, and records mentioning the resident Apalachee are scarce. Towards the end of the Santa María into the Santa Rosa occupation, but several archaeological sites have been investigated that are possible locations of this mission. The mission was called Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y San Luis, and seems to have been abandoned shortly after the new mission was established upriver (Worth et al. 2012:3).

In 1741, Presidio Santa Rosa chaplain Fray Marcos de Hita y Salazar ordered supplies for a "New Pueblo of the Chiscas" (Urueña 1741a). The identity and location of the new mission is not specified anywhere in contemporaneous documentation, especially from 1741 through 1757. However, it is depicted on some cartographic documents, and there are several documents from 1757 to 1763 that mention the Escambe mission. Juan Marcos, who was in his 40s at the time of Escambe's establishment, continued to act as Apalachee chief throughout this period. Records indicate that even though the supplies for the new church were ordered in 1741, they were not received until 1742 (Castro Cid 1753). Supplies for the new church were also listed in the 1741
and 1743 situados for Presidio Santa Rosa, which included enough for 30 additional Native Americans in 1741 only (Urueña 1752a, 1753, 1756).

Spanish and Creek relations were deteriorating by the late 1750s, and in 1758 a peace treaty was brokered in an attempt repair those relations. In May of 1758, Andrés de Escudero, chief of Punta Rasa, brokered the treaty in the pueblo of Tuquipache (Talapusa Province) with the head cacique of all the Upper Creek groups, Acmucayche. Acmucayche offered a white fan as a symbol of peace to the governor as well as a red pipe in the name of the war captains (Escudero 1758); the second meeting of the junta at the end of May did not go as well. The Creek war captains complained to Escudero that they were being treated very poorly whenever they visited the presidio, and they claimed the Spanish were violating the treaty. One example of abuse occurred whenever they arrived by land; the soldiers would receive them with fixed bayonets, and escort them inside without even letting them unload their pack horses (Escudero 1758). The third meeting was even worse, and the war captains painted the white fan red symbolizing a threat of conflict. Escudero knew that the governor must change the way he treated the Creek war captains, and he convinced Acmucayche that things would indeed change. The fourth and final meeting ended on 30 July 1758 with the Creek washing the fan, and the governor promising to treat them "like sons;" however, the Creek left with the final remark that the Spaniards had less justification to the land they were living on because they had won it by blood and fire, but the Indians considered the land their birth land (Escudero 1758). The treaty was a success, but the terms were tenuous, and any small mishap would tip the balance against the Spaniards.

By 1756, the garrison had formally moved to the mainland at San Miguel, but the cavalry was not officially formed until captain don Luis de Ullate arrived from Havana in 1759.
In 1760, 15 cavalry soldiers were detached to Escambe, and according to documents, they all (including the officer) stayed in an "old Indian made" house while the horses were left out in the open tied up at night (Ullate 1761). The original garrison of four infantry soldiers was augmented with cavalry as a result of hostile threats from the English allied Creeks during the French and Indian War (Ullate 1761; Worth 2008; Worth et al. 2012:5). Ullate (1761) also mentions that the infantry at Escambe needed to be augmented because they wanted to make sure the forced laborers did not run away, and because they needed an area to pasture the horses so that they did not need to rely on the presidio for horse feed. In June of 1760, captain of cavalry Ullate and engineer Phelipe Feringan Cortes visited Escambe, planning to construct lodging for officers, the troop, and a stable for the horses. They brought Sargento Francisco Guerrero, 64 year old head of laborers at San Miguel, and convict laborers to complete the work. After a few days Ullate left the village, with officer Pedro Ximeno in charge of the project (Ullate 1761). Guerrero specifically mentioned repairing the church, and cutting wood in order to build the soldiers' barracks in his testimony (Guerrero 1761). Pedro de Alba, a 60 year old former mariner at San Miguel, accompanied Guerrero and mentioned cutting wood for the stable (Alba 1761). On 12 August 1760, however, a "furious hurricane descended" on San Miguel and Escambe destroying nearly all of the buildings that Feringan Cortez had constructed just two months earlier (Feringan Cortés 1760). Governor Román determined that officer Ximeno withdraw, leaving eight cavalry soldiers behind for the season.

In February of 1761, Escambe's sister mission was attacked by three Native Americans. Francisco Roldán was acting corporal in Escambe during the winter of 1761, and he wrote a very important letter to the governor only nine days after the attack on the village of Punta Rasa (discussed in the next section). He mentioned that Juan Marcos's wife was visiting a nearby
Creek town called "The Head of the River" and the chief there told her that some of his fellow tribesmen found some letters in the woods near the town (Roldán 1761). Upon inspecting the letters, Roldán determined that they were from the dead soldiers of Punta Rasa, so he sent them to the governor, and petitioned for more protection for the detachment at Escambe. Roldán complained that the living conditions were so poor, and the weather so severe, that they had no place to guard their weapons other than under the bedrolls that the soldiers slept on (Roldán 1761). None of the buildings had been repaired since the last year's hurricane, forcing the detachment to live in the friar's dilapidated house, and Roldán warned that the Creek were beginning to revolt against the Spanish. In Roldán's (1761) letter he mentioned that Tafisa, the chief of the Head of the River, said that the Creek who raided Punta Rasa stayed at his village, and took everything with them when they left leaving his people "to perish." Tafisa requested some corn from the governor, but Román did not comply. Ullate quickly petitioned for at least a stockade to be built around the house until proper construction could be resumed, but Román thought it was a waste of money and time and "thus it remained [with] nothing [to be] rebuilt at any price" (Ullate 1761:245r).

Over the 20 years of occupation the mission’s village configuration changed often. Major activity areas and buildings that would have been present before the 1760 construction efforts included a plaza, church, friary (possibly with attached kitchen), and village with eight to ten residential dwellings. When the cavalry arrived they had no place to stay, so they stayed in an Apalachee house, as noted above. The construction of four additional public structures began in June 1760, including a stockade, stable, barracks, and officers’ quarters, but Feringan Cortés (1760) also noted that the church needed to be fixed as well. Other structural features that likely would have existed, but were not mentioned in the documents, include the cacique's house, a
well, trash disposal areas, privies, and a cemetery (probably within the church). Only one of all the above listed structures has been identified with certainty in the present archaeological excavations.

Based on an analysis of census records from the combined Apalachee-Yamasee refugee town dating to 1763, there were approximately 33 to 49 people living at Escambe, which equates to four or six families (Solana 1759; Worth 2011b). Specifically, there were about 30 Apalachee, 1 visiting friar, and 15 cavalry, including 1 officer by 1760 (Worth 2013a). The 30 Apalachee appear to be the same population who had been living at Soledad near the mouth of the river under Juan Marcos since 1718 (Worth et al. 2012:4). This group is interpreted to be the Apalachee who migrated from the Upper and Lower Creek country, combined with some of the French-allied Apalachee who had lived near Mobile between 1704 and 1718. Three infantry soldiers and a cabo (corporal) were stationed at Escambe in 1749 or 1750 to discourage trade with the Creeks, but there is no record of them staying for the entire occupation aside from one soldier named Antonio de Torres who testified in 1761 that he had been living at the village for 11 years (Yarza y Axconá 1750; Román de Castilla y Lugo 1757; Torres 1761). The Apalachee chief was Juan Marcos Fant (Ysfani), and the Spanish officer in charge after 1760 was Ensign Pedro Ximeno. Ximeno was later charged with conducting illicit trade with Upper Creek groups, which is detailed in the next chapter. The Apalachee received Spanish rations from the situado, and the missionaries and soldiers were equipped and fed from Santa Rosa and San Miguel successively.

On most occasions there were only two Franciscan chaplains stationed at the presidio at any given time, and they would only visit nearby missions. In the 17th century a mission with a resident friar was called a doctrina, and one with a visiting friar was called a visita. Escambe
would likely have been a *visita*, but a *convento* and *cocina* were built at the mission so the visiting friar had proper accommodations. They were usually supplied with oil and wine for mass. At least eight different chaplains served during Escambe's occupation, but only two were documented to have any connection with Escambe. Fray Marcos de Hita was the founder of the mission, and Fray Antonio de Silva was stationed at Punta Rasa as *el padre doctrenero* during its early years, but later moved to Escambe (John E. Worth 2012, pers. comm.).

The last two governors of the presidio of San Miguel de Panzacola were Miguel Román de Castilla y Lugo and his successor Diego Ortiz Parrilla. Román's term was from February 1757 to 21 October 1761 (Ahumada y Villalón 1757; Román de Castilla y Lugo 1761b). Parrilla took over in October of 1761, and served until Pensacola was handed over to the British in 1763. Four soldiers including Antonio de Torres and Dionicio de la Cruz (widower of an Indian woman) lived in the mission for at least 11 years. From 1760 to 1761 anywhere between 9 and 16 cavalry stayed at Escambe, including the following: Pedro Ximeno, Lázaro Joseph de Torres, Antonio Ramirez, Antonio Rodriguez, Miguel Pérez Calzadillas, Eligio Romero, Joaquín Castañeda, Thomás Joseph Hernández, Manuel Joseph Arellano, Antonio María Ramirez, and Joseph Jaoquín Mexía. Some of the soldiers are listed in muster rolls, mostly from Román de Castilla y Lugo (1761a). Juan Antonio de Sandoval gave a testimony in Ullate (1761). He was a soldier of the light cavalry sent to Escambe in 1760 as the first installment of 15 men eventually detached to Escambe with Don Thomás Sebastián as lieutenant. Sandoval was only 19 years old, and got into a fist fight with a Creek named Quilate over a deal that ended badly (Sandoval 1761). Pedro Ximeno was *alferez* (ensign) after Sebastián in August 1760, and Felix Rodríguez was a *cadete*, which is a soldier with proven hidalgo status. The Spanish military detachment comprised only a
small portion of the population of Escambe, and they also occupied the mission for the least amount of time.

The Apalachee were part of the Muskogee speaking group, and their name has been interpreted to mean "on the other side" (Swanton 1922:109). They were agriculturists, cultivating maize, beans and other staple foods, along with tobacco; locally abundant yaupon holly was harvested for ritual purposes (Hann 1988:126–127). Pedro Luis was the principal of Escambe (Ximeno 1761) Several Native American family names show up on two separate census lists from Worth (2011b), and the most common names include Isfani, Osinjulo/Sinjulo, and San Luis.

By 1761 Spanish-Creek relations were deteriorating, partially due to Ximeno's trade abuses (Worth 2013a). Sometime during 1760, a war chief named Meztizo came to Escambe to trade for brandy, and reportedly got so intoxicated he sold the jacket off his own back. Pedro Ximeno was the ensign during that time, and Meztizo accused Ximeno of selling him watered down brandy, demanding his coat back the next morning (Alba 1761:125v-136r; Ullate 1761:242r–243; Worth et al. n.d.). Ximeno refused, and death threats were exchanged instead goods. The aftermath of 9 April 1761 raid on Escambe resulted in two deaths, four captures and imprisonments, and one nearly fatal scalping. Twenty-eight Alibamos led by Meztizo raided the village around 7:00 pm during vespers, stealing horses and equipment, and burning the mission after they left (Ytuarte 1761a Worth et al. n.d.). Ullate (1761) described the raid as a surprise attack, but also mentioned that the Creek had an informant telling them how many people comprised the mission, and when the women would be washing by the stream. Cavalry soldiers Miguel Pérez Calzadillas and Lázaro de Torres were killed, Joaquín de Castañeda, Thomás Hernández, Antonio María Ramírez, and Manuel Joseph Arellano were captured by the Creek
raiders, and Joseph Joaquín Mexía was scalped and left for dead (Ytuarte 1761b; Worth et al. n.d.). Amazingly, Joseph Joaquín Mexía survived the scalping, and shows up in hospital records in various muster rolls in Pensacola, all from the AGN. Later that same spring, two other soldiers were attacked and killed about a league from the presidio while they grazed the governor's horses, and Ullate blamed their deaths on Román's negligence. He stated that the governor made explicit that he was ordered to protect the presidio, not conquer Indians tribes, and refused to give proper protection to the frontier settlements (Ullate 1761). After the raid, the Apalachee refugees joined the Yamasee refugees and formed a town outside the walls of San Miguel with Andrés Escudero as their cacique.

**Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa**

The mission was located on Garcon Point in Pensacola Bay, and is the result of the relocation of an unidentified Yamasee community that was living near Presidio San Miguel (Worth 2013c). Punta Rasa was situated on the path to the Lower Creek towns south of Columbus, Georgia (Worth et al. n.d.). Garcon Point was good pasture land for horses, and documents indicate that the Yamasee were trading for horses from the Creek, who in turn, got their horses from the English. The specific details of this direct and indirect trade are discussed in the next chapter. Complaints about the Yamasee trading with the English were addressed, but there were not enough soldiers to spare, so the illicit commerce continued (Güemes y Horcasitas 1751; Yberri 1753; Worth 2008:10–11). In 1750, the acting governor voiced his concerns to the viceroy about the Apalachee and Yamasee communicating and trading with the English (Güemes y Horcasitas 1751; Worth et al. n.d.).

The origin of the Yamasee community at Garcon Point are quite different from those of Escambe. Following the Yamasee War in 1715, some Yamasee established a town near the
Spanish outpost at San Marcos de Apalache called Tamasle (Primo de Rivera 1718:693v–694r; Worth et al. n.d.). By the mid-1730s, Tamasle appears to have remained a distinct mission, conventionally named San Antonio de la Tama (Morales et al. 1735; Arredondo 1736; Ojitos 1736; Montiano 1738; Worth et al. n.d.). However, it was not until after the 1740 attack by General James Oglethorpe on St. Augustine that a large group of Yamasee refugees had settled in at least two successive locations in the proximity of Pensacola Bay. Historical documentation has confirmed the location of one Yamasee village is situated on present-day Garcon Point, where the Yamasee mission of San Antonio de Punta Rasa was officially established in 1749.

Based on an analysis of census records from 1763, there was approximately 54 to 70 people living at Punta Rasa which equates to 10 or 12 families (Solana 1759; Worth 2011b). In addition, four infantry soldiers were stationed at the mission when it was established in 1749. Punta Rasa also had a friar, but it is unclear whether he was a resident or just visiting. The Yamasee chief was Andrés de Escudero, and he was a young and very influential individual. Family names that show up on two separate census lists include Escudero, Sanacaliche/Anacaliche, Micón/Micono, and Tolentino (Worth 2011b).

In part, the Yamasee were originally descendants of the Altamaha or Tama chiefdoms, from central and eastern Georgia in the 1660s (White 2002:24; Worth 2004:245). The earliest settlements were located along the Georgia coast, and some early town names include Altamaha, Ichisi, and Ocute (Worth 2004:245). After more than a decade living as refugees among the Spanish missions, from 1683 through 1685, the Yamasee settled in southeastern South Carolina, and the Lower Creek towns of Tuskegee and Chiaha briefly joined with them (Green 1991:24; Worth 2004:248–249). The Yamasee remained in this area for the next 30 years, offering their services as opportunistic slave raiders and deerskin traders for the English. One of the larger
migrations to Florida was after the Yamasee War, which was caused by conflicts over trade abuses and British encroachment on Yamasee lands (White 2002:31). Refugees of the war settled in the vicinity of St. Augustine, and eventually became part of the final communities of Tolomato and Nombre de Dios (Worth 2004:252). The Yamasee had a distinctive identity as a group, and the bounced back and forth between the English and the Spanish for several years before finally settling in Florida, and accepting Christianity. They spoke Muskogee and had a mixed subsistence economy based on farming supplemental to hunting, fishing, and gathering (Worth 2004:245, 250). The political system of the Yamasee was less defined than that of their contemporaries, which consisted of centralized matrilineal inheritance (Worth 2004:250). There is evidence of their political system from the 1750s when Escudero was elected as governor of the Punta Rasa Yamasee, and he was entitled to bring all other refugee Yamasee to one location for governing (Escudero 1757).

On 12 February 1761, three Creek assailants attacked San Antonio de Punta Rasa killing five people, and seriously injuring a nursing infant. The attackers had come to the presidio to trade some meat for liquor, and were treated poorly by the governor and Spanish soldiers (Ullate 1761). Cavo Juan Gutierrez was killed, along with his pregnant wife Rosalia Milan, and his five year old daughter (Román de Castilla y Lugo 1761a; Ullate 1761; Ximeno 1761). Soldiers Juan Nicolás Casimico and Simon Abellafuerte were also killed in the attack (Román de Castilla y Lugo 1761a; Ullate 1761; Ximeno 1761). There is also account of Milan's nursing infant who was wounded, but survived the attack. Juan Nicolás Casimico was from the company of interim captain don Joseph Escovar, and Simon Abellafuerte was a 1st company soldier under the command of cadete don Santiago Eraso (Ytuarte 1760, 1761b).
San Miguel de Panzacola and the Seven Years War

Between the years 1754 and 1756, the residents of Santa Rosa moved to the mainland into the newly constructed presidio San Miguel de Panzacola, and in 1757 Miguel Román de Castilla y Lugo arrived to govern the presidio (Coker 1999:18; Benchley et al. 2007; Melcher 2011:35–36). That same year, Talapoosa Indians threatened to attack the presidio because one of their caciques had been killed in Apalachee territory, and Román requested support, and built a stockade against attacks around the fledgling presidio. Tensions kept building, and the Spanish feared attacks so greatly that in 1760 they destroyed the houses outside the presidio, and moved all personnel into the compound (Coker 1999:20). The residents of San Miguel witnessed a devastating hurricane that same year that destroyed over half the buildings in the presidio as well as defensive construction that had been started at mission San Joseph de Escambe (Feringan Cortés 1760; Coker 1999:20). Peace with the Upper Creek was tenuous at best, and it was apparent that Román was not helping situations. Román finally petitioned for help once the spring 1761 war with the Creeks got out of hand, but reports got back to the viceroy of how Román's administration was corrupt and inept. The viceroy decided to replace Román, so he sent Parrilla with secret instructions to conduct an investigation. Ultimately, Román was sent to Veracruz without any responsibility or potential for advancement. This was the same year that Upper Creek raiders destroyed both Pensacola missions, and even though peace negotiations were underway when Parrilla arrived, Román's success was outweighed by the viceroy's decision to replace him. A more detailed explanation of Governor Román’s private enterprises and the conflicts with the Upper Creeks is discussed in the following chapter.
The French and Indian War ended in 1763 with the Treaty of Paris, which called for the exchange of Florida for Havana and Manila (Clune et al. 2003:82). Havana and Manila were Spanish colonies captured by the British during the war. As a result of the war Spain acquired Louisiana, and effectively gave Florida to the British in exchange for Cuba (Bense 1999:210; Clune et al. 2003:82). The Spanish and Indian residents of Pensacola evacuated to Veracruz, thus ending the First Spanish Period (Gold 1965; Clune et al. 2003; Worth 2008).
CHAPTER IV
ANALYSIS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL DATA

Economic Systems Present

There are several explanations for how certain items make it into a town, other than just noting the presence or absence of an object on a particular site. With most personal or heirloom items found on a site, it can be reasonably assumed that they were brought into the area based on personal preference, and that they hold a personal value as opposed to an economic value to the person who brought the item in. In other words, some of the European artifacts present at Escambe may have been brought in as personal items, not as items for bartering. A good example would be some of the Mexican majolicas and other earthenwares. Those items were likely supplied to the Spanish soldiers, or purchased before they detached to Escambe. Figure 2 depicts the possible ways that Escambe was receiving goods, and from what sources. It is important to note that Escambe's external supply of goods was directly imported mainly in two ways: through formal and informal supply from the Pensacola presidios, and from trade and exchange with other bartering groups. The inhabitants of Escambe were also getting goods indirectly from other sources through trade with Spanish/Mexican and British sources. Certain economic systems play a role in bringing goods to and from an area, and they are discussed below with specific regional examples.
Gift Goods

The previous chapter mentioned several instances where the Spanish gave Native American chiefs goods and political titles in exchange for their loyalty and continued services. Examples from the 17th century are more common than those from the 18th century. The *gasto de Indios* was the primary fund used to pay for gift items, like beads, to *caciques* and other Indians (Worth 1998a:138–143; Blair 1960:170). Ullate (1761:245) gives a typical example of gifting in his testimony to Governor Parrilla. He mentions that unconverted, non-mission Indians visiting from a distance were given a medallion of silver with the effigy of the king, and a hat when they arrived in at San Miguel for a treaty. Gift goods were meant to promote good political relations with Native American groups, and often times, were considered to be prestige items that promoted better sociopolitical standings within the native groups. The communities at Escambe and Punta Rasa probably did not receive an abundance of "gifts" from the Spanish, but they did receive a "dole" of foodstuffs.
Local Production

It is a given that the communities at Escambe and Punta Rasa were locally producing food for subsistence and pottery. For centuries, Native Americans made their own pottery, and Native American pottery sherds are frequently dominant on frontier sites where they and the Spanish lived together. At Escambe, over 95 percent of the ceramics recovered were Native American, showing that even the Spanish were primarily using Native American pottery for daily functions. Although the residents at Escambe made their own vessels and most likely grew some of their own food, they also relied on food rations and other supplies from the Spanish government.

Supply and Demand

In the 17th century, the Native groups provided the labor to grow, harvest, and transport food to the growing Spanish colonies. The Spanish relied heavily on their service for survival. The system changed by the 18th century, and Native Americans began to rely on rations from the yearly situado for their survival. Frontier towns like Escambe received rations from the nearby Spanish presidios. Governors and military officers would request extra supplies for families settling in new areas, and sometimes friars would request goods for new churches, and rations for the Indians that would help with the constructions. These supplies and rations were a major source of goods and food, but were not adequate for survival.

Supplies for the anticipation of 200 newly established communities to settle in Apalachee in 1738 were substantial, and included items like farming equipment, various seeds, weapons and ammunition for hunting and protection, livestock, and salted meat (John E. Worth 2012, elec. comm.). Unfortunately, the supplies would have primarily been for the first year of occupation only, and not meant for long-term use. Spanish military salaries included a small amount of
money for purchasing rations and supplies, in addition to the small amount of food that was rationed to them each day. In 1741 for example, daily food rations for soldiers included one pound of *harina* (flour), six ounces of *jamon* (cured ham), and two ounces of *manteca* (butter) and *queso* (cheese) on days of abstinence (Urueña 1741b:121v–126v). This food ration was given out for the first six months, and then replaced with one *real* per day for the next six months with the exception of the pound of flour that was given out the entire year (Urueña 1756). In 1761, Ullate reported that the small ration of wheat and ham supplied to the soldiers was largely insufficient, and their pay was hardly enough to buy food and supplies for their families. To make matter worse, the stores were "comprised of liquor and other sweets that [were] not for the decency of the said soldiers" (Ullate 1761:255). Ullate (1761) also made note of gambling in the presidio, and accused Governor Román of allowing it. Instead of ham, the soldiers received a *real* for their daily pay, and they gambled it away; the money making its way right back to the governor's pocket. The claim was intrepid, but it was clear from other accounts and testimonies that Román may not have been the most favored governor in Pensacola history. In addition, the yearly *situado* was never consistent, and the daily food rations rarely sufficient, so the soldiers often purchased goods that arrived from Veracruz, Havana, and local store merchants with the money they received.

**Purchased Goods**

As mentioned in the previous chapter, inflated prices and inconsistent shipments carrying soldier's salaries made capitalism a tough system. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to address the change in salaries and wages for soldiers and changes in prices of marketable goods over time, but a general description is important for the context of this thesis. From 1700 to 1763 goods like salt, butter, and oil did not fluctuate in price, but goods like horses, liquor, and
clothing did. To put things in perspective, in 1764 the monthly pay of a capitan was 800 reales, and the price of a horse was about 410 reales (Urueña 1752b). A used machete was worth three reales, but a new machete was worth 11 (Urueña 1741b). At first glance it looks like the captain has more than enough to pay for all his needs, but the difference in pay from a captain to soldier is drastic. A soldier's monthly pay in 1764 was only 80 reales, which averages out to two reales a day (Urueña 1741b). From 1720 into the 1750s the pay rates for soldiers and captains were very consistent, with the soldier making about 90 pesos a year, and the captain making ten times that amount in one year (Urueña 1752b). Most soldiers had to rely on other means to get the goods and supplies necessary to survive.

Bartering

Trade has been the mode of communication, and a medium of exchange of goods and ideas, since the beginning of human history. Trade was one of the most visible and controversial economic methods of obtaining goods, especially at Escambe. By law the Spanish were not allowed to trade with any foreign sources including Native American groups not allied with Spain (Roberts 2009:9–10). The governor permitted the Yamasee chief to open a small store at Punta Rasa to control the distribution of goods from San Miguel, but this was not illicit in nature (Román de Castilla y Lugo 1759a). The Native American groups living at Escambe and Punta Rasa were allied with the Spanish, so the government was more lenient with their trading preferences, for a time at least. The Apalachee and Yamasee actively and directly traded with each other, the Creek, and the French. They also indirectly traded with the British as is discussed in detail in the following section. The Spanish government sought to intervene and diminish trading with foreign and other Native American groups in the frontier settlements by placing small detachments in each mission village. However, illegal trade in the frontier villages
persisted, in some instances under the direction of the active military officer at Escambe under the orders of the governor himself. Many governors tolerated and encouraged illicit trade as a means of survival and personal gain, and they even participated in the buying and selling of illicit goods themselves (Johnson 2003:317).

Illicit Trade

There is evidence of illicit trade in Pensacola's Spanish colonies since Santa María de Galve. The French at Mobile traded with the Spanish presidio on many occasions when Veracruz and Havana could not supply the colonists with the quantities of goods they needed (Johnson 2003:316). During the War of Spanish Succession, allied French traders established operations in Havana, Veracruz, and Cartagena that opened more trading options for the Spanish (Haring 1947:292–316; Johnson 2003:317). Illicit trade played a large role in the survival of Escambe, and sustaining the regional economy as a whole. The military officer's political and economic decisions for self-preservation and advancement are apparent in historical documents.

Contraband does not just pertain to trading with foreigners; it also includes trade in illegal goods and avoiding taxes (Pijning 2001:734; Roberts 2009:10). For more information on contraband trade during the early first Spanish period in Pensacola see Roberts (2009), and for more information regarding political economy theory, see Patterson (1999).

Bartering Entities

Several groups were actively engaged in trade, especially the ones who were technically not supposed to be trading. The Spanish Presidios Santa Rosa and San Miguel housed a number of different people including military personnel and family, travelers, Native Americans, convicts, and specialists (e.g., surgeons, blacksmiths).
Spanish Presidios

Santa Rosa was in a constant state of repair, and in most cases uniforms and materials for soldiers were deducted from their salaries, leaving them very little to live on. Sometimes materials for the presidio were purchased from Havana, but after the 1752 hurricane that destroyed Santa Rosa, items were purchased at higher rates from merchants in Mexico City (Castro Cid 1753; Worth 2013c:6). Transporting horses for the newly formed cavalry at San Miguel was even more of a hassle, so the decision was made to purchase horses from Spanish-allied Indians living in nearby missions (Ahumada y Villalón 1757; Worth 2013c:11). After the establishment of Presidio San Miguel new reforms were instituted to increase the productivity, protection, and survival of the new settlement. The original official policy that Pensacola could only receive supplies from Veracruz was amended due to the unreliable nature of situado shipments to arrive on-time (or intact) from the port city. The presidios could now be supplied by Havana, Mexico City, or Veracruz (Worth 2013c). They subsequently supplied the frontier settlements and surrounding missions with rations, supplies, and equipment. Supplies were scarce and materials were expensive at other port cities, so the people bartered whenever the opportunity presented itself, legal or otherwise.

Upper Creek

The Creeks represented a collection of smaller groups that were politically organized, but not a true confederacy (Johnson 2012:32). The Creeks were part of the Muskogee Language family that include Alabama, Apalachee, Chickasaw, Chocktaw Hitchiti-Miskasuki, and Koasati speakers (Martin and Maultin 2000:xiii; Foster 2007:1–2). European observers most commonly divided the Creeks into the Upper and the Lower Creek based on geography (Figure 3). The
Upper Creek were from east central Alabama along the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, but also included groups from eastern Tennessee, and northwest Georgia and Mississippi (Waselkov and Smith 2000:242).

The Upper Creek are subdivided into four groups based on regional affiliation: Tallapoosa, Abihka, Okfuskee, and the Alabamas (Ethridge 2003:28; Johnson 2012:31). Important historic towns included Muccolossus, Tuckabatchee, Little Talahassee, Okfuskee, Okchai, and Tawasa (Braund 1986:3). Micos were individuals from high ranking families, and
equivalent to second order leaders, or a "chief of chiefs" (John E. Worth 2014, elec. comm.). Acmucayche was the *mico* during the occupation at Escambe, but Spanish documentation often referred to him as *cacique*. The term *cacique* is a term used by Spaniards for Apalachee and Yamasee groups and refers to first order leaders or a headman. Hahn (2004) notes that *micos* advanced politically as a result of gaining prestige in the form of European trade goods and titles, and the same can be said for some of the Spanish-allied Apalachee and Yamasee chiefs. There were factions among the Upper Creek that allied with the French, British, and Spanish. Tawasa was primarily a Spanish-allied Upper Creek town on the Escambia River, not far from Escambe. During at least two periods in the mid-18th century (1738 and 1759–1761), Tawasa was the principal Creek outpost along the Spanish frontier, and all other towns noted in documents were clustered at least 70 leagues away from Santa Rosa (Tijanape Valero 1738; Román de Castilla y Lugo 1759b; Galloway et al. 2004:186–187; Worth 2008:10).

During the 17th century the Alabamas warred with the French at Mobile and were heavily engaged in trade with the Spanish (Waselkov and Smith 2000:248). In 1703, the English convinced the Alabama to declare against the French; additionally the Alabama probably had a part to play in Moore's expedition against the Apalachee that same year (Swanton 1922:194–196). After the British attacks on Spanish-allied Apalachee in 1704, the Alabama warred with Mobile and Pensacola (Waselkov and Smith 2000:248–249; Johnson 2012:33). After the Yamasee War in 1715, they switched allegiance to the French at Mobile, and allowed the French to build a fortification on their territory called Fort Toulouse (Braund 1986:19; Hahn 2004:86, 229–270; Worth 2008:12). The French were in competition with the British for trading rights with the Native Americans, and until the 1740s, food was the major focus of a list including "maize, bear oil, hickory nut oil, venison, fish, beans, and deerskins" (Waselkov 1992:37). The
French depended primarily on the profit of selling liquor (brandy) to the Creeks in exchange for deerskins after the 1740s, but they also traded munitions and clothing items. The French argued that their goods were of higher quality than British goods, and there was supporting evidence that the Creeks preferred French gunpowder, gunflints, and musket balls over English equivalents (Waselkov 1992:41–43).

Lower Creek

The Lower Creeks were located along the Chattahoochee River, and the banks of the Flint and Ocmulgee Rivers where towns like Coweta and Cusseta were located (Braud 1986:3; Foster 2007:1–2). Before 1691, all of the Lower Creek groups were situated along the Chattahoochee River, but from 1691 to 1715, they moved to the Ocmulgee, Savannah, and Oconee Rivers in central Georgia, where they were in direct contact with Carolina traders from Charlestown (Worth 2000:278–279). After the Yamasee War, the Lower Creeks relocated back to the Chattahoochee River where they would remain for the next 60 years (Worth 2000:286).

The English referred to the Lower Creek as the Ochese Creek, or simply "Creek," and the Spanish normally referred to them as the Uchise. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, the Lower Creek routinely stole horses from Spanish Florida, especially the Apalachee territory, and sold them to the English in Carolina (Braud 1986:17). The Creek found trade with Carolina extremely convenient, and the English supplied them with guns and cloth in exchange for captured Indian slaves and deerskins. The Lower Creek quickly fell into debt; however, because the English allowed trade with credit (Braud 1986:19). Especially during the 18th century, the principal Creek item traded for European cloth and liquor came to be deerskins (Waselkov 1998:200–202). The British were able to successfully meet Creek needs on Creeks terms, but they took advantage of them with the credit system (Braud 1986:78, 1993:26). Mounting debt,
addiction to rum, and unrelenting abuses from English traders led to the Yamasee War, and an all-around anti-English sentiment among most Creek tribes.

Primary Transportation Routes

The Spanish Presidios in Florida were normally supplied by ships from Havana and Veracruz. Those ports were sometimes supplied by ships coming from Cartagena in South America, and trans-Atlantic fleets coming from Cadiz and Seville, Spain. Smaller vessels traveled up smaller waterways, and Native Americans used canoes for river travel. Canoe travel was preferable to foot travel because most major waterways connected distant waterside communities (Worth 1998a:152). If the English used water routes, they built small craft for travel (Crane 2004:128). After the establishment of Presidio Santa María de Galve, a unique trade route formed on the Gulf between Veracruz and Mobile (Johnson 2003:338).

There was a major trade route up the Escambia River into present-day Alabama, where trade with the Upper Creeks flourished during the 18th century (Worth 2008:10). Fort Toulouse offered prime lead balls and gunpowder to the Creek, and was constantly resupplied by boats traveling up the Alabama River from Mobile (Thomas 1989:32; Waselkov 1992:36). The fort itself was the terminus point of a land route leading south to Mobile and Pensacola, but it was also directly on the famed English Lower Path to Charleston (Thomas 1989:32). More specifically, it was located near the intersection of two branches of the Lower Path, where one came from the northwest and Chickasaw lands, and the other came from the west and Choctaw lands (Thomas 1989:32).

During the 17th century, at the height of the mission period, St. Augustine and the Apalachee capital in Tallahassee were connected by a primary road called the Camino Real (Royal Road). The Camino Real stretched west from the St. Johns River towards the easternmost
missions in the Timucua province (Worth 1998a:155). During the 18th century, several paths existed that led between Mobile and Pensacola, and up into Creek territory. One major reason for the placement of Mobile on one of the largest inland river systems in the region was for access to trade with powerful groups such as the Choctaw (Waselkov 2002:11). The English preferred overland packhorses, drivers, slaves, and Indians to carry trade goods and supplies from Charlestown and Savannah (Thomas 1989:33; Crane 2004:127; Waselkov 1992:36). From English territory to the borders of Florida and Louisiana ran two diverging routes called the Upper and Lower Paths that were used by Charlestown traders in the southwest (Crane 2004:136).

Archaeological Evidence of Trade

After four successive years of archaeological investigations at San Joseph de Escambe, several artifacts were recovered that could have been used for trade. I discuss each artifact type that is present on the site in the archaeological assemblage while addressing its origin, function, and distribution on the site, as well as its possible trade value. Trade value is assessed by preference of the trading entities, not a monetary value. Trade items used in bartering in most instances were exchanged for other goods. There were common trade items that were readily available, and there were primary trade items that were considered the currency at the time of Escambe's occupation. The analysis of the trade assemblage at Escambe is preliminary, and should not be considered an exclusive example of the economic structure of the settlement. Only one to two percent of the entire site has been excavated, and the trade items recovered are just a representative sample. Also, I did not analyze iron materials like nails or buttons, or glass bottle fragments, which could have easily have represented equipment or supplies issued directly to
solders or friars. These items (especially the glass bottles) could have been traded, however, and should be considered for more in depth research that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Glass Trade Beads

Glass beads are ubiquitous on colonial sites, especially during the 18th century. Diagnostic bead types can be good chronological markers, and their presence in an assemblage supports evidence of trade interactions between European and Native American groups. Beads were manufactured in four primary ways, which include drawn, wound, blown, and molded. Beads made by the drawn and wound methods are represented in Escambe's archaeological assemblage. Drawn beads were manufactured by "blowing and stretching a gather of molten glass between two mandrel until a tube of glass with a desired thickness was obtained" (Graesch 2001:272). Diagnostic traits of drawn beads include elliptical perforation and elongated air bubbles parallel to the bead perforation as a result of the stretching process (Graesch 2001:272). Massive quantities of beads could be manufactured in a single production episode making them the most commonly occurring bead type on archaeological sites (Sprague 2000:202; Graesch 2001:272). Drawn beads can be finished in four ways, including in a cold state; individually in a cold state, en masse; and in a warm state individually and en masse (Allen 1983:27; Sprague 2000:205). Drawn beads are structured in three distinct ways: simple (one layer of glass), compound (two or more layers), and complex (Duffield and Jelks 1961:40–41; Sprague 2000:205). Complex beads have decorative designs of extra glass pressed into the bead.

Wound beads are the second most common bead types found on sites, and are normally produced individually, creating a greater diversity than drawn beads (Deagan 1987:160). In the wound process, a rod of glass without a central hole is heated to a plastic state, then wound around a wire or mandrel (Sprague 2000:208). Wound beads show stress lines and small circular
bubbles in a pattern encircling the bead perforation (Deagan 1987:160). Some spherical wound beads were mavered, which typically produced eight to ten facets, and were transparent or translucent clear, blue, green, purple, black, or opaque white glass (Deagan 1987:178). Glass beads were colored with different elements including the most common and ancient colorant, cobalt. In addition, black glass is rarely opaque black but is actually a deep shade of green (due to the presence of iron) or violet (from manganese) (Pendleton and Francis 2009:55).

Some Native American groups preferred certain colors of beads over others; for example, the Guale at mission Santa Catalina seem to have preferred blue, white, and black (dark violet) (Blair 1960:177). Red beads are absent from most sites in the Southeast, with the exception of Cornaline d' Aleppo beads; even Escambe's assemblage contained no red or green colored beads. Color preference may play a role in glass bead preference, but not much research has been conducted on the matter. McLamb (2000:84–86) proposed possible explanations for color preferences among the Apalachee, but her work was rejected for explaining the absence of red beads among the Apalachee (Blair 2009:177). Work done at the Presidio of Los Adaes in Louisiana by George Avery (2008) showed a general preference for black colored beads on local Caddo sites.

Little is known about the Spanish bead industry from the 16th to the 18th century, and most beads that are recovered from Spanish sites after the early 17th century are contemporaneous with those found on English and French sites (Deagan 1987:158–159). Beads most commonly show up in Spanish records as abalorios and cuentas. The first glass factory in New Spain was founded in 1542 in Puebla, Mexico (Francis 2009:7). Beads were mass produced and originally given to Native Americans as gifts. After time, open gifting evolved into
bartering, and beads were used for trading, acting as currency on many occasions whether for religious, political, or social purposes.

The seed bead is the predominant bead type in the Escambe assemblage, and they occur in blue (n=43), black (n=50), and white (n=40). The other types identified in the assemblage include tube and barley corn beads (for clothing), and faceted and melon beads (for necklaces). One Cornaline d’Aleppo bead was also recovered.

Seed beads are a secondary item to clothing, but a primary item (sold separately in sacks, bundles, and strings) for trade. Seed beads were often used in embroidery decoration on clothing (Deagan 2002:131). Most of the blue beads are translucent and pitted or deteriorated (Figure 4).

FIGURE 4. Seed beads recovered from 8ES3473 with clear beads inserted as modern spacers. (Photo by author, 2013.)
Under a microscope the black beads are actually very dark shades of blue, purple, brown, or red. The white beads have much smaller perforation diameters, and are also more homogenous in shape than the other seed bead color groupings. Barleycorn beads are small, wound, ovoid beads that were common among traders from 1758 to 1784, and are so named because of their resemblance to pearls of barley (Kidd and Kidd 1970; Waselkov 1998:200). Cornaline d' Alep p beads were used for embroidery on clothing, or necklace beads, and were specifically reserved for Spanish personal use according to Mitchem (1993:405–409). They are usually dull red with a green or white core, and were popular from the 17th though the 18th centuries (Noël Hume 1969:54). The beads were made from either drawn or wound methods (Sprague 2000:209). Cornaline d' Alep p beads were common on Florida Apalachee missions (including San Luis) from 1633 to 1704, but they are most frequently found on French occupation sites (Deagan 1987:168–169). One blue cobalt melon bead (Figure 5) was recovered from excavations at Escambe, and similar examples are represented in the bead assemblage from St. Catherines Island, Georgia (Pendleton et al. 2009:40, 291). Unfortunately, no additional information beyond the description of the bead's attributes is given. In addition, a clear, wound, faceted necklace bead was recovered from Escambe that could be of French origin (Janet Lloyd 2011, pers. comm.)
Buttons and Cufflinks

Little documentary information is available about 18th century button production or use in Spanish contexts, and little research has been conducted on 18th century Spanish military or elite clothing (Deagan 2002:157,160). As it happens, most buttons found on Spanish colonial sites are either British or French, and buttons in Spanish colonies were imported both legally from Spain, and illegally through trade with English merchants (Blair 1960; Deagan 2002:160–161). Some military uniforms had cufflinks, and square cufflinks with paste jewels were most common during the first half of the 18th century. Only a few buttons were recovered from excavations at Escambe, and most of the identifiable samples were post-mission porcelain or milk glass buttons. Spanish soldiers had very specific dress codes, and buttons, sleeve links, buckles, and other attachments are considered secondary items to the primary uniform. Most of
the items that were related to Spanish military clothing would have been supplied by the
presidios, paid for from the soldiers' salaries. The friar would wear robes and sandals, mostly due
to the extreme poverty and religious nature of the Franciscan order. It is uncertain if the
Apalachee would be wearing any secondary European style items on their clothing aside from
glass trade beads.

Jewelry and Personal Items

It is nearly impossible to separate the social value or function of jewelry, and other
similar personal items, because they can also have religious, magical, and religious functions
(Deagan 2002:107). During the 18th century, gold and emeralds were the dominant jewelry
materials as well as paste stone insets, which were made from stone instead of glass (Deagan
2002:109, 122). Not everyone could afford gold and precious stones like emeralds or rubies, so
in most cases brass or silver with glass insets were used as substitutes. One possible earring or
small pendant of brass with a green glass inset was recovered from Escambe, and it could have
belonged to one of the soldiers' wives, or perhaps one of the Apalachee (Figure 6).
Folding razors were a common trade item in the 18th century. *Navajas de afeitar*, or folding razors, were squared and blunt rather than pointed, they lacked a tang, and they had a hole in one side of the blade to receive the pivot that attached the blade to handle (Deagan 2002:234). They averaged between 10 and 14 cm in length, with one side of the blade straight, and the other tapering. A straight folding razor blade was recovered from Area C inside a possible dwelling structure associated with mission red-filmed Native American pottery. In situ, the object looked like a small iron concretion or heavily oxidized nail, but X ray imagery revealed the form of the metal object to be that of a folding razor (Figure 7). The southern end of the site (Area C discussed in Chapter II) contained several overlapping structures that could have been associated with domestic dwellings made in the typical Spanish fashion. Several trade items were recovered from one section of Area C suggesting that one of the dwellings could have
belonged to the *cacique* Juan Marcos, or some other high ranking individual. The excavation unit that the razorblade was recovered from also included several seed beads, and other European items that were not found anywhere else on the site.

![Image of folding straight razor](image-url)

FIGURE 7. X ray image of folding straight razor recovered from 8ES3473. (Image by author, 2012)

Gaming pieces for gambling were also popular on frontier sites. There is documentary evidence of gambling at Presidio San Miguel, and there is archaeological evidence at Escambe. *Tablas* (backgammon), *damas* (checkers), and other board game counters were made in a variety of shapes and from different materials (Bell 1969:137–143; Deagan 2002:295). Gaming pieces from Spanish sites include simple disks made of bone or ceramic. Possible examples recovered from Escambe include one made from greenstone, which does not naturally occur south of Montgomery, Alabama (Figure 8) (John E. Worth 2014, pers. comm.). These personal items may
have been traded, but most likely were used for onsite entertainment or ceremonial purposes, and were produced regionally.

FIGURE 8. Greenstone gamming piece recovered from 8ES3473. (Photo by author, 2011.)

Firearms and Ammunition

Firearms and ammunition were major trade items during the late 17th century, and into the 18th century. The English supplied Creeks with guns so they could bring back deerskins and Indian slaves, but the French traded better quality ammunition and powder after the Yamasee War (Waselkov 2002). Firearms changed over time, but the Spanish military used a standard set of weapons during the occupation of Escambe. Documentary evidence of the attack on Escambe implied that all of the weapons (guns, swords, etc.) except for four were stolen during the raid (Ytuarte 1761b; Worth et al. n.d.). The four weapons left behind were two swords, a carbine, and a pistol. The rest of the munitions were taken back to San Miguel after the mission was safe to salvage.

The first single action flintlock was produced in 1620, and it contained a pan cover over the steel which is known as the frizzen (Noël Hume 1969:213). By the 18th century a different
kind of flintlock was employed called a Snaphaunce lock. It was a mechanism where the flint was struck against a steel or battery separate from the pan cover (Noël Hume 1969:212). The Spanish adopted a new flintlock weapon called the *miquelet* that was used until 1728, and the *miquelet* produce a unique wear pattern on gunflints because of their harsh spring action (Hamilton and Emery 1988:202; Kenmotsu 2000:353; Deagan 2002:276–277). Typical 18th century French style flintlock weapons were called *fusiles* and *carabinas*. The *fusil* was adopted by the Spanish military in 1703, but the .69 caliber weapon did not become standard issue until 1728 (Brown 1980:40, 166; Deagan 2002:280). After 1730, a smaller carbine musket (*carabina*) and pistol (*pistola*) were introduced, in addition to the *la Francesa* that became standard in 1752 (Brown 1980:170–171; Deagan 2002:281). Another gun that may have been used by the Spanish military during the occupation of Escambe was the *trabuco carbine*, more commonly known as the blunderbuss, and it fired shot out of a flared brass barrel (Deagan 2002:279–280).

Weapons, and their parts, rarely survive in the archaeological record with the exception of gunflints and bullets. There has been a fair amount of research done on gunflint manufacture and sourcing, and one of the common conclusions is that most gunflints recovered from colonial sites in America are either French or English. There has been no conclusive study on sourcing Spanish or Native American manufactured gunflints, although new studies have revealed that color of the flint material alone cannot determine the origin of its manufacture. Durst (2009:22–28) explains the problems with identifying the source of manufacture of gunflints based on material color, and the dating of gunflints based on morphological characteristics. Morphological characteristics including spall, or blade manufacture, and square or rounded can no longer be used to determine the chronological sequence of gunflints based on Durst's work. "French and English spall type gunflints would have been investigated by analyzing mechanical, rather than
chemical composition because geochemical properties of flint are too homogenous for trace elements to be of value" (Hamilton and Emery 1988:148–149; Durst 2009:19). One honey amber gunspall was recovered from Escambe (Figure 9).

FIGURE 9. Gunflint recovered from 8ES3473. (Photo by author, 2013.)

Normally, French gunflints are distinguished by a honey-yellow or blond flint that contains inclusions (Kenmotsu 2000:344). Additionally, in French spall manufacture the spall's heel was reduced through pressure flaking into a semi-circular form (Hamilton 1979:211; Kenmotsu 2000:246). The gunflint recovered from Escambe is relatively small, and worn, and was used in a pistol or rifle. Some tertiary flakes of the same material were recovered from a different area of the site suggesting that flints were probably reworked and reused. The Apalachee were trading with both English- and French-allied Creeks, so it is impossible to
identify the origin of the gunflint. The Spanish soldiers could have brought it with them, but it is likely they were sourced from France or England.

Various sizes of lead bullets and shot were employed for different tasks. When hunting, it was best to use shot rather than bullets. Smaller shot would be most effective for hunting birds, and large shot for hunting deer, and shot was mass produced using a trench or shot colander (Brown 1980:63–64; Deagan 2002:285–286). For military purposes the musket ball was widely used, and the caliber of the bullet needed to be just slightly smaller than the gun barrel for optimal accuracy and deadly force (Deagan 2002:285–286). Percussion cap bullets were not patented until 1822 during the American period (Noël Hume 1969:215), so any post-mission period bullets recovered from Escambe were not included in this analysis. The Spanish bala, or musket ball, was usually .53 caliber or larger, which is equivalent to 13.4 mm in diameter (Navia Osorio y Vigil 1725). Shot is subdivided into two categories: posta (buckshot) and perdigon (birdshot). Birdshot was anything smaller than 8 mm in diameter, and buckshot ranges between bullet and birdshot sizes. Only one musket ball and four buckshot were recovered from Escambe; the rest were very small birdshot (Figure 10).
The range for *perdigon* was 150 ft. or less which may have been useful for fighting in densely wooded areas (Navia Osorio y Vigil 1725:183). The spatial distribution of shot at Escambe is useful in determining where the shot was used or discarded in respect to the stockade line, or identifying the possible location of the barracks (Figure 11). Based on the diameter of the bullet recovered from Escambe (13.7 mm), it was most likely used by one of the cavalry soldiers in their *carabina* or *pistola* since typical *bala* sizes for *carabinas* and *pistolas* for light and regular cavalry ranged from 15.24 mm to 13.46 mm in diameter (Navia Osorio y Vigil 1725). The Spanish would have brought their own weapons, but the bullets and gunpowder could have been traded, especially since weapons and ammunition were scarce and expensive to re-supply.
FIGURE 11. Distribution of lead shot (Area A, B, and C from north to South). (Prepared by author, 2013.)
Lead Clothing Seals

Trade cloth had several different purposes, and was usually sold in bales, rolls, or skeins (bundles of yarn). The bales were clasped and marked with seals, usually lead or some other metal, and the seals are what survive in the archaeological record. The cloth or yarn is considered the primary item, the lead seal the secondary item, and sewn clothing the tertiary item. Bale seals or "cloth marks" of different sizes and shapes were common on sites associated with textile trade, and attest to the quality of cloth being shipped (Adams 1989:1). English examples fall into two classes including official (after excise tax) seals, and merchant seals (Noël Hume 1969:269). Merchant seals from the 18th century are usually constructed in two sections, with numbers on the back representing cloth measurements (Noël Hume 1969:270–271). French examples, notably from the French India Company, include seals used as clamps over drawstrings or wires to seal lids or bags (Noël Hume 1969:271). French bale seals have been recovered from Santa María and San Miguel excavations reinforcing the idea that Mobile and Pensacola were trading (Johnson 2003:328). Clothing seals are not widely researched, and it is sometimes difficult to identify the origin of the seal, often because there was such an abundance of merchants making their own seals.

One lead seal was recovered from Escambe as well as a possible seal fragment (Figure 12). This seal is not of Spanish origin because there is a "k" on the front, and the Spanish language does not use the letter "k". It is most likely English in origin and the 653 under the "k" represents the length of the cloth traded. It is important to note that seals were required by English law to be affixed to each segment of cloth to show its length at the time of purchase (John E. Worth 2014, elec. comm.). The presence of this seal does not imply that cloth was
traded directly to Escambe; however, it does evidence the possibility of the English-allied Creeks bringing it to the town indirectly.

FIGURE 12. Lead cloth seal recovered from 8ES3473. (Photo by author, 2013.)

Smoking Pipes

During the 18th century, various types of clays were used to make smoking pipes, the most common being white ball clay. This type of pipe is erroneously referred to as Kaolin in North American literature (Bradley 2000:107). Pipe stems were long (13 in. or more), and that is one of the reasons why so many stem fragments are found on colonial sites. As is well known, the larger the bore diameter, the older the pipe, but the mathematical equation is not as accurate for dating small samples (< 300) or for any pipes produced after 1800 (Noël Hume 1969). During the first quarter of the 18th century, side cartouches became more common with the maker's mark extending down the stem (Noël Hume 1969:305). Examination of the bore
diameter, bowl shape and size, and stem thickness supplies a general assessment of the pipes manufacture date, but small samples provide unreliable data (Bradley 2000:113). A small amount of pipe fragments were recovered from Escambe, and 98 percent of them were made from red clay, and most likely made by the Apalachee or Creek, not Europeans. One diagnostic ball clay stem fragment was recovered from excavations at Escambe, and it had a maker's mark stamped in a cartouche along its two sides. The letters "GLA..." were stamped on one side and the other side had "...DSON" on it. The bore diameter was 6/64-in. which suggests that it was made sometime between 1680 and 1710, but maker's marks were not common in that time period (Noël Hume 1969:298). During the second half of the 18th century the maker's name, usually accompanied by the city where the factory was located, was stamped on the molded stem of pipes (Bradley 2000:116–117). Davidson T. and Company was a pipe-maker working out of Glasgow, Scotland, from 1861 to 1910 (Bradley 2000:116–117). The pipe stem fragment from Escambe was most likely made by this company, and was imported either from Scotland, or indirectly from a British source. Another interpretation would be that the stem fragment belongs to the British period occupation at Escambe, because there is cartographic and archaeological evidence of a later British farmstead located somewhere near the mission site.

European Ceramics

Archaeologists consider ceramic assemblages one of the most diagnostic artifact groups for identifying social status, political standing, gender, and ethnicity. Ceramics also are the most visible artifact type on historic sites, and aid in chronological sequencing of the various occupations. The current premise stands that imported ceramics from Europe and China are more expensive, and imply a higher status than locally produced ceramics (Voss 2012:39). It is also widely accepted that ethnicity and social status of an individual or group can be determined to at
least some extent by the types of ceramics present at an archaeological site (this premise includes Native American pottery). Current studies are elucidating the fact that the relationship between ceramics and status was extremely complex, and that there is no general rule or equation that can be used to link the two variables. Voss (2012:39, 44) provides documentary analyses that give additional information of economic cost and social meaning of ceramics in Spanish colonies, and states that archaeologists tend to base their assessments of the economic value of ceramics on social value, rather than documentary evidence of monetary cost.

I use Voss's (2012) majolica analyses in my interpretation of the European export ceramics recovered from Escambe. I do not look at the social value or monetary value of the ceramic and glass vessels by themselves, but instead I look at the containers as being the secondary materials for the primary trade items. Aguardiente, or brandy, was one of the primary items that the Spanish traded to Native Americans, and specific examples are discussed in a subsequent section. Glass and ceramic containers are preserved in the archaeological record, but wooden barrels are not. I am most interested in the function and contents of the vessel, rather than type, material, or decoration. However, it is important to address these attributes in order to properly identify them for qualitative analyses like trade value.

The ceramic assemblage at Escambe is predominately Native American with approximately 98 percent being Apalachee and Creek-style ceramics. The Native American assemblage is comprised of archaeological types most closely representing a mixture of Blackmon phase ceramics from early 18th century Lower Creeks, and San Luis phase ceramics from Apalachee of the same time period (Knight and Mistovich 1984; Scarry 1984, 1985; Mistovich and Knight 1986; Worth et al. 2011:7). The Apalachee were living among the Creek for a while before they relocated to Pensacola, and they also continued to trade with the Creek
well after their relocation (Worth 2008). When the Escambe assemblage is compared to those of
the presidios, European ceramics dominate. These ratios are common when comparing frontier,
or mission, settlements with presidio or Spanish military settlements. Fragments of European
ceramics recovered from Escambe include three types of Mexican majolica, Guadalajara
earthenware, Chinese porcelain, and French faience. There are other Spanish ceramics present as
well, including unglazed and lead glazed earthenwares, and El Morro ware, but the exact origin
of production can only be postulated for these ceramics at this time. Tin-glazed earthenwares
share a long history that starts not in the Netherland town of Delft, but in Moorish Spain and
Renaissance Italy (Bedford 1966:5).

*Mexican Earthenwares*

The Florida terrain was vastly different from the heavily forested regions of Spain; wood
resources were available, but not to the extent that the Spanish were used to. The Spanish
colonies had to rely heavily on ceramic jars and glass bottles instead of wood and leather
containers that were frequently used in Spain (Deagan 1987:25). The tin-enamed earthenware,
commonly known as majolica, has been categorized by researchers based on attributes of paste
type and color, surface treatment, and decorative motif (Deagan 1987:25). In the late 1960s, John
Goggin (1968:203–206) named and described 24 different types of majolica, but that
organizational framework has been refined to a classificatory system based on the origins of
production of majolica varieties (Deagan 1987:53). In the early 16th century, Chinese porcelain
greatly impacted the majolica designs and motifs, and well into the 18th century Chinese patterns
continued to be popular, especially on larger vessels (Lister and Lister 2001:82, 87). The phoenix
symbol was a particularly common oriental image displayed on Mexican majolicas (Lister and
Lister 2001:103). By the end of the 16th century the diffusion of styles and elements in the
Americas originated from pottery centers in Mexico, Panama, Guatemala, and Peru (Lister and Lister 1974; Deagan 1987:27). The history of Mexican majolica began a few years after the Spanish took over the Valley of Mexico in 1521, and the Mexican colonists "took a Spanish idea, originally inherited from the Muslims, and perfected by the Italians" (Lister and Lister 2001:79, 85). Puebla, Mexico had become the primary pottery production center, with Mexico City turning out lesser wares, and trade guilds in New Spain controlling majolica production (Lister and Lister 2001:80; Voss 2012:40). During the 18th century, common vessel forms included the lebrillo, albarello, bacín, and plato (Lister and Lister 2001:80,106,113,132).

Puebla majolicas are distinguished from the Mexico City wares by their distinct paste, glaze, pigment, and design motifs. Puebla majolica paste is creamy white to pale peach because of the mixing of red and white clays, and the designs depict Oriental influences (Deagan 1987:79). Puebla Blue on White is the most abundant 18th century Puebla majolica from 1675 to 1830 (Deagan 1987:83–84). Puebla polychrome has blue on white elements, but also black, lacelike elements inspired by Oriental designs. Chinese and Talaveran (Talavera, Spain) wares influenced early 18th century decorations, but later examples of Puebla wares exhibit bands and lines along the rim, with pendant lobes at the intervals from the rim bands with floral or faunal elements in the center of the vessels (Deagan 1987:84). In the documents majolica commonly shows up as loza under the classifications ordinaria, fino, entrefino, refino or común (ordinary, fine, medium fine, extra fine, and common), and vessel types include pocillos, jarras, tazas, and lebrillos (Deagan 1987:84; Lister and Lister 2001:80; Voss 2012:49). Playa Polychrome is similar to Puebla wares, but has the addition of black line highlighting in a floral motif on the rim-band (Deagan 1987:87). Samples of this majolica type have been recovered from the presidio at Santa Rosa and from San Joseph de Escambe. Abo Polychrome was popular from
1650 to 1750, and had a distinct Italian color palette, but also contained unique Moorish designs and motifs (Deagan 1987:28–29, 79–80). Abo Polychrome is distinguished by its elaborate floral and animal designs painted in a wide variety of colors including yellow, orange, green-blue, and brown. The designs on the interior of the vessels in addition to the rims are always encircled by an orange band, with one brown line above, and two below it (Deagan 1987:79–80). Other designs include human figures with blue and orange clothing. Similar examples of Abo Polychrome were recovered from Santa Rosa in Pensacola, and St. Augustine that included a variety that had a brown banded orange border (Deagan 1987:80). The same variety was recovered from Escambe (Figure 13).

FIGURE 13. Abo Polychrome type majolica recovered from 8ES3473. (Photo by author, 2013.)

Guadalajara polychrome ware was produced from 1650 to 1800, and has also been known as "Tonalá ware" and "Aztec IV Polychrome" (Deagan 1987:28–29, 44). This ware was exported
from Mexico, and is found in abundance in Florida, Cuba, and Mexico. The earthenware has a compact body of a tan or gray paste, and the surface is covered with a buff slip then painted with geometric or floral designs (Deagan 1987:44, 46). Guadalajara vessels frequently appear in Franciscan mission sites in western Florida and Georgia, so it is possible they could have been used by the friars themselves (Fairbanks 1972). A sample of Guadalajara polychrome was recovered from Escambe from Area B near the stockade line. It has the typical polished surface with red and brown paint decorations (Figure 14).

![Guadalajara Polychrome earthenware](image)

**FIGURE 14.** Guadalajara Polychrome earthenware recovered from 8ES3473. (Photo by author, 2013.)

**Chinese Porcelain**

In 1699, China opened the port of Canton to a restricted, but legally sanctioned foreign trade. By the end of the 18th century, Chinese export porcelain was one of the most common
ceramics found on British archaeological sites (Frank 1969:22; Noël Hume 1969:257). Wan Li, T'ien Ch'ien Lung (1736–1795) porcelain types reached California and Mexico in the early 18th century, and were a fairly expensive tableware (Frank 1969:59, 81; Noël Hume 1969:257). The porcelain was made from a combination of kaolin clay and finely ground feldspathic rock, and can be easily be distinguished from its delftware imitations. Predominant characteristics included a high gloss glaze that never flaked, and which produced a thin, translucent line on either side of the paste (Noël Hume 1969:258). Vessels in the 18th century were decorated with a blue underglaze, and commonly highlighted with overglaze red and gilding. Most samples found in the archaeological record have little evidence of overglaze or gilding because it fuses with the surrounding dirt matrix (Noël Hume 1969:259). Two fragments of Chinese porcelain were recovered from Escambe in Area C, and they belong to the same vessel.

French Faience

Faience, or faïence, is a tin glazed earthenware, usually identified as having a blue tint, similar to English and Dutch delftwares. Faience earthenware was influenced by Spanish and Italian majolicas in the 15th and 16th centuries, and was named after the town of Faenza where some of the first shipments were exported from (Bedford 1966:6). Rouen was the location for the earliest potteries in France, and the blue on white decorations were largely influenced by Chinese porcelains (Morely-Fletcher and McIlroy 1984:167). Rouen type faience is coated with a rich brown lead glaze on the back of various vessel forms; the coloring is a result of iron oxides in the glaze. Rouen type faience generally occurs on French sites before 1755, but French wares were traded into British and Spanish colonies into the late 18th century (Noël Hume 1969:141). The type of Rouen polychrome found at Escambe was manufactured from 1740 to 1790 (Figure 15).
FIGURE 15. Rouen type faience recovered from 8ES3473. (Photo by author, 2013.)

Other European Exports

Unglazed olive jars were the most ubiquitous of the New World Spanish ceramics from the 16th to the 19th century. Three main styles have been characterized (early, middle, and late), and the fragment recovered from Escambe is representative of the middle style (Deagan 1987:31). Most samples from the 18th century are flat rimmed, and have a pale-green glaze on the inside of the vessel (Figure 16). The olive jar was a popular vessel for storing liquids and was commonly referred to in documents as botija, botijuela, and botija perulera (Deagan 1987:31).
El Morro ware was produced from 1550 to 1770 (Deagan 1987:28–29). El Morro was a lead-glazed coarse earthenware commonly occurring in utilitarian forms, but the use of the name "El Morro" is restricted to assemblages in Florida (Deagan 1987:50–51). Deagan (1987:50–51) describes El Morro vessels as wheel thrown, with a distinctively granular, quartz sand tempered paste. The lead glaze is usually confined to the inside of the vessel, is thin, and irregular in color varying from orange or olive green, to brown, light green, and rust. Utilitarian forms included "globular bowls, bacines, platos, tazas, pitchers, and escudillas (Deagan 1987:50–51). Several fragments representing different vessel forms were recovered from Escambe, which show that
the residents were utilizing some of the more common Spanish wares (Figure 17).

![Various examples of El Morro earthenware recovered from 8ES3473. (Photo by author, 2013.)](image)

FIGURE 17. Various examples of El Morro earthenware recovered from 8ES3473. (Photo by author, 2013.)

Documentary Evidence of Trade

In the next section, I address several examples of trade items that are not present in the archaeological record at Escambe, but are instead mentioned in the documentary record.

Spanish Units of Measurement

It is necessary to discuss Spanish units of measurement, and other etymological terms associated with trade in order to understand the primary documents utilized for this section. Coin purchases are given in *pesos*, where one *peso* was equivalent to eight *real* in silver or eight *tomin* in gold. Length measurements and distances were frequently mentioned in historical documents pertaining to how far away a pueblo or *hacienda* was from a presidio. Spaniards would describe
distances in *leguas* overland or by water. According to the calculations of Worth (2011b) one common league (*legua común*) is equivalent to 3.5 mi. or 5.6 km, and a legal league (*legua legal*) is equivalent to approximately 2.6 mi. or 4.2 km. Escambe was 8 *leguas* from San Miguel by land, but 12 by water. Several ceramic form examples were given in the previous section, but specific terms were used for containers related to trade. Several documents reference brandy in *anclotes*. This is a rare term used to describe a container that was half the size of a normal *barril*, or barrel (John E. Worth 2011, elec. comm.). A normal barrel contained about 36 gal. of liquid like beer, wine, or olive oil. The Spanish used *arrobas* to measure liquid, and one *arroba* was equivalent to about four gal. Thus, one *anclote* was 4 1/2 *arrobas* in size, so it contained about 18 gal. of liquid. One *anclote* was also equivalent to four wine bottles, or *botellas* (Worth 2011b). These measurements seem practical because *aguardiente* was considered a hard liquor and would not need to be served in larger barrels used for less potent alcohol.

*Common Trade Items*

There is documentary evidence of English and French spirit bottles being shipped to Spanish colonies during the 18th century which constitutes the primary source of bottles in the region (Deagan 1987; Graesch 2001:268). The most popular trade items with the Creeks from the French and English in the 18th century were duffels, blankets, strouds, limbourg cloth, coats, shirts, combs, beads, hatchets, knives, brass kettles, scissors, gunflints, gunpowder, lead balls, muskets, vermilion, and brandy (Waselkov 1992:39–40, 1998:194–199). Stroud was an English coarse woven and dyed wool that came in bales, and Limbourg cloth was French made, lightweight woolen cloth which was often red or blue (Waselkov 1992:45–48; 1998:194–199). Rum was the usual English trade liquor, and was diluted with water and sold by the bottle or barrel (Waselkov 1998:205–215).
Smaller trade items like lead balls, gunflints, and beads were shipped in bundles. The English shipped all glass beads in bundles or on strings, and were priced based on weight or number of strings (Woodward 1965; Waselkov 1998:205–215). Strung beads were further separated by color and relative size, although some trade lists specify types of beads including bugles (drawn tubular beads), barley corn (wound oval varieties), and common seed beads. English gunspalls were usually made of "black flint" and shipped in casks or rundlets, each containing 4,000 to 5,000 flints (Waselkov 1998:205–215). Lead was transported in barrels weighing roughly 50 lbs., and then it was traded in the form of bars, cast balls, and shot with prices based on count or weight (Waselkov 1998:205–215).

Colonial settlements used a mixture of locally produced and imported ceramics, but most locally produced ceramics were procured through trade with local Native American groups (Voss 2012:44). Memorias and facturas (requisitions and invoices) are a good source for information about the monetary value of particular items, and the description of each item gives some insight into how the people perceived the items worth. Voss (2012:46) has looked at some requisitions and noted that very little attention is paid to ceramics; however, foodstuff and clothing are described in great detail. Ceramics are written in the records as loza or loza surtida (assorted ceramics), and were usually shipped in crates holding 25 vessels (Voss 2012:46–47). In every record she analyzed, vessel form was the predominant descriptor, not decoration or aesthetic qualities. Most ceramics were priced around two to five reales per dozen, which made them less expensive than imported Asian porcelain or European refined earthenware (Voss 2012:49).

Examples of Exchange from Primary Documents

Several documents show direct evidence of trade in the Spanish missions of Escambe and Punta Rasa. The primary item that the Spanish traded was brandy, but Native American groups
traded for a variety of items. I have chosen five documents and fully translated them in order to
glean the most detail of the specifics of each exchange. I describe them in chronological order
because each correspondence depicts a trade agreement, and abuses incurring from the
Spaniards. I also include several excerpts for other document types that evidence trade.

The first document is a letter from the Yamasee cacique of Punta Rasa, Andrés de
escudero. Escudero details several instances of abuse that the Upper Creek received from the
Spaniards when they came to trade at the Presidio San Miguel. He included his explanations in
the minutes of the peace treaty between the Creeks and the Spanish government in July of 1758.
The first offense occurred when some Creek traders came to San Miguel to sell horses to
Governor Román. The governor offered them brandy for the horses, but not an amount that the
traders were satisfied with. According to Escudero (1758) the Indians "asked for two or three
anclotes of brandy for their horses, [but Román] gave them two [of] the little [anclotes] that did
not amount to one [anclote] for their horses." This is just one of several instances where the
governor did not offer a reasonable price for the horses he was trying to procure. Escudero
complained in the letter that the exchange was not actually a true trade, but rather an acquisition
(Escudero 1758:361). Escudero was not specific to the number of horses sold, but did say that
the Creek wanted a total of 54 gal. of brandy for the horses, but the governor only offered them
18 gal. (one anclote).

In the second document, Governor Román wrote a short response to a previous letter that
Andrés de Escudero wrote concerning the lack of payment for an exchange of horses for brandy.
Escudero declared (in a previous letter) that there was a mistake in regard to the payment for a
mare that a man named Thomás bought. Román declared that he was not there to witness the
exchange, but that Vizente, the sergeant (Thomas), and Juan Delgado all said that they gave the
brandy for seven horses. Then, confusingly, Román declared that everyone was wrong, and he did not see any evidence for the exchange for the mare. Afterwards, Román referenced yet another transaction for a horse that he purchased and paid for by his own hand. He could have been referring to the mare, but it is unclear. In this letter Spanish soldiers gave an undisclosed amount of brandy in exchange for seven horses provided by the Indians. This letter is dated to 4 May 1760, but it is more likely that it is from 4 May 1759. Another letter was translated from Escudero to Román, and it mentions that Escudero received Román’s correspondence. The letter from Andrés Escudero is dated 16 May 1759, and mentioned the purchase of the mare, and also went into more detail about the “other” horse that Román purchased (Román de Castilla y Lugo 1760:367).

In the third correspondence Escudero responds to Román's letter concerning the purchase of horses for brandy, and with silver. Escudero explained that he clarified everything in the previous letter he wrote to Román concerning the horse exchange. He noted that the Indians who made the trade with the Spanish soldiers did not complete the exchange because they did not have any anclotes to receive the brandy from the soldiers. Escudero informed Román that he also sent the same letter to Juan Delgado, and that Delgado should have been aware of the discrepancies with the purchase as well. He sent the letter to Juan Delgado because Delgado was the one who sent Escudero a receipt that said he did not receive the horse because the Indian he traded with did not have any containers for the brandy (Escudero 1759:364). Escudero also talked about another incident (mentioned above) about an Indian who sold a cinnamon colored horse for an anclote and a half, but kept the mare because he too did not have the containers to receive the brandy. He stated that "Your Lordship did not give the anclotes to the Indian, they did not carry them from here [Punta Rasa], nor did they ask for them there [San Miguel], nor can
they acquire them, because there are none” (Escudero 1759:364). It seems there were several cases where payment for the horses could not be completed because Creek could not produce containers for the brandy, nor did the Spanish supply the containers.

The confusion concerning the horse exchange seemed to be between two different Spanish soldiers, Juan Delgado and Thomas Vizente, and the Uchises (Lower Creek) Indians. Unfortunately, there are no other letters about the resolution of the problem of payment. This is just one event that soured the relationship between the Creek and Spaniards, and the problem seemed to stem from Governor Román. Escudero mentioned another mishap with horses that were purchased for silver, but there is no further elaboration on when the transaction occurred, or if it had any relation to the seven horses from the original complaint (Escudero 1759:364). The transaction of horses for silver may be the same transaction that Román mentioned paying for with his own hand in the previous letter (Roman 1760). In this example, the amount of brandy exchanged for seven horses is not known, nor is the amount of silver known for the exchange of one horse. The cinnamon colored mare was almost exchanged for 1 1/2 anclote (27 gal.) of brandy, but the transaction was not completed. Based on the three documents presented so far, if one horse was worth 27 gal. of brandy, then seven horses would have been worth around 189 gal., or 10 1/2 anclotes of brandy. This means that in Escudero's 1758 letter, the Native Americans wanted two or three anclotes, so they could have sold two horses. These are just speculations, and more examples would have to be researched to provide better evidence of these calculations. Regardless, it seems that the Spanish soldiers offered the brandy, but not the containers to hold it so that it could be transported away by the Creek traders. This could mean that they reused the barrels in which they stored the brandy, and the barrels were in short supply, or that they stored the brandy in larger barrels, and smaller containers were not available.
In the fourth document, Escudero received permission in December of 1759 from the governor to establish a store at Escudero's house in Punta Rasa. Escudero complained that some Creek bought liquor from San Miguel residents, and they caused some minor trouble in Punta Rasa. Escudero wanted control over the amount of liquor sold, and he basically wanted a license to sell the liquor himself (Román de Castilla y Lugo 1759:366). The Spanish administration required Indians to have licenses for trading, and they also had explicit rules for the moderation of certain goods. Román briefly references the guidelines when he says “…I concede him the license so that he would be able to open a Public store in his house, and to sell the said goods in agreement with weights and measurements…” (Román de Castilla y Lugo 1759:366). He mentioned weights and measurements, but does not go into detail. Román also mentioned that the license had renewed every year since 1757 (the first year after the official establishment of Presidio San Miguel), and also said that a proclamation was posted publically each year in the main plaza of the presidio (Román de Castilla y Lugo 1759:366). This is an interesting example, because it provides evidence that even though Escudero's store regulated shipments coming to Punta Rasa from San Miguel, it also shows that the Spanish government gave a Native American a license to sell liquor. This example also shows that Román is ensuring that he is the only supplier to Escudero, making the Yamasee chief his official representative for the sale and distribution of liquor in Punta Rasa.

The last document is an excerpt from cavalry captain Luis de Ullate's testimony against Governor Román in 1761. The last governor of first period Spanish Pensacola was Diego Ortiz Parrilla, and he conducted a full investigation of Román when he took the position in October of 1761, acting on confidential viceregal orders. Part of that investigation was the collection of any documents pertaining to Roman's dealings, as well as testimonies of officers acting under his
administration. In Ullate's testimony to Parrilla, he talked about different incidents when Román committed trading abuses to the neighboring Creek Indians. For example, three Indians and a boy went to San Miguel to sell some meat to anyone that would buy it. The governor promptly seized the meat, insisting that it should be for the hospital (Ullate 1761). His mayordomo Pedro de Goycochea gave the Indian four anclotes of brandy for three tercios of meat, but the Indian had requested eight anclotes of brandy. The traders attempted to haggle for a reduced price, but the mayordomo insulted and mistreated them with "words and deeds." The Creek traders left angered, and vowed that the soldiers would have to pay. One tercio is equivalent to 150 lbs., so in this example, 72 gal. (four anclotes) were exchanged for each tercio of meat. In total, 450 lbs. of meat were exchanged for 216 gal. (12 anlcotes) of brandy. Based on previous exchanges, that was enough brandy to buy at least seven horses. The Creek wanted 24 anclotes for the meat, but they received half that amount. This is the same case in the 1758 Escudero letter where the Spanish gave the Native Americans half of what they wanted in exchange for horses. It is very apparent that the Native Americans' perception of the trade value of their goods differed greatly from the Spaniards' view (or at least Governor Román's view).

During his testimony Ullate also mentioned another instance where Governor Román conducted illicit trade. In addition to the "mishaps" with the horse trade, Román also had Native Americans come to his house in secret to trade goods and supplies that he needed for his house in exchange for brandy (Ullate 1761:257–259). Not only were the comestibles for the provision of his own house, the Native Americans also accused him of diluting the brandy he sold them.

While under investigation, Román tried to divert all of the accusation he received over to his ensign, Pedro Ximeno, at Escambe. Several witnesses including cacique Juan Marcos testified against Ximeno, stating that his poor treatment of the Creek who traded at Escambe was
the reason for its demise. Marcos (1761) was not present in Escambe during the exchange between Ximeno and the war chief named Mestizo, but he did hear the news when he returned to the pueblo. Ximeno normally paid Juan Marcos's wife one bottle of brandy for every deerskin she dressed for him. This meant that anytime Creeks brought deerskins to the pueblo, Marcos's wife dressed them for Ximeno (Marcos 1761). Juan Antonio Sandoval, a light cavalry soldier stationed at Escambe, also witnessed the poor way in which Ximeno conducted his trade. He stated that the soldiers previously stationed at Escambe traded bread, chocolate, or tobacco with the Creeks in exchange for whatever they brought with them, and this was all done in friendship and peace (Sandoval 1761). He also stated that once Ximeno took over, he traded liquor and sometimes corn for horses, skins, blankets, and anything else they brought with them (Guerrero 1761). In one instance he sold two barrels of brandy for one horse, which was more than what the governor offered for horses. The only problem was that Ximeno got the Indians drunk from the brandy he literally just sold them, and when they complained, he sent them away angry and unsatisfied with the trade arrangement. When Francisco Guerrero came to Escambe to repair the church, he noted that Ximeno came to him and asked him for brandy he could borrow and sell. He also noted that the Indians were complained about the brandy Ximeno gave them, because they thought it was diluted. (Guerrero 1761). One of the men who accompanied Guerrero, Pedro de Alba, witnessed first-hand the exchange between Ximeno and Mestizo. Alba stated that Mestizo brought a flesh colored waistcoat with him, and became so inebriated that he sold it to Ximeno. When he tried to get it back in the morning, Ximeno refused and sent them away (Alba 1761). This was the final insult for the Creek, because soon after, Mestizo led the surprise attack on Escambe, fulfilling his promise he made that morning; "Kill me, because if you do not kill me
now, I will come back and recover my clothes, and I will kill you, and anyone that is with you" (Alba 1761).

It is clear from the documents that certain levels of resentment existed within the military ranks, and between the Spanish and the neighboring Creek tribes. Most of the documents have to be taken at face value, and it is only through the corroboration of multiple documents that any event can be validated. It is unclear whether Ximeno and Román worked together to profit from their trade arrangements, but Ximeno took the fall once Román was investigated by Parrilla, though he subsequently mounted a robust defense supported by Andrés Escudero. There was a great deal of political and social motivations amongst officials, clergymen, civilians, military officers, soldiers, and Native Americans during this time period. These varying motivations intersected at the exchange network nodes of San Joseph de Escambe and Punta Rasa, and represent just two local examples in a much larger regional socioeconomic landscape.
A Local Model for Regional Comparisons

Escambe and Punta Rasa were different from other frontier native villages because of the presence of Spanish soldiers and a visiting friar. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to compare Escambe's assemblage with that of the contemporaneous missions of St. Augustine, it is important to briefly discuss some of the possible archaeological sites that could be used as comparisons in future research and investigations using the frontier settlement of Escambe as a local model. I have separated the comparative sites into regional sites and state/nation sites occupied by the Spanish, French and English; some of which had connections with the two missions in Pensacola.

*Spanish Comparisons*

Escambe's artifact assemblage and documentary record is a useful tool for creating a model for comparisons to other contemporary sites in the region. This frontier settlement model is based on two local sites occupied by Spanish soldiers and missionaries. The model could be used to compare the Escambe trade good assemblage with other contemporary Spanish missions that have been investigated archaeologically. Community life at St. Augustine revolved around the military and the Catholic Church, much like Pensacola, the only major difference being the lack of Spanish soldiers stationed directly in the missions surrounding St. Augustine (Johnson 2003:332). The missions of La Punta, Pocotalaca, and Nombre de Dios were located outside of St. Augustine, and are the only 18th century mission settlements that have been archaeologically excavated to date (Waters 2009:165). The three primary Native American groups that occupied the region during this time were the local Timucuan, the relocated/refugee Guale, and the
Yamasee (Waters 2009:165). To date, Pocotalaca has no Florida Master Site File number, and is known in records as San Antonio de Pocotalaca and Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Pocotalaca (Worth 1998a, 1998b; Waters 2009:172). It was established in the 18th century as a refugee village that served both Guale and Yamasee groups, and over 95 percent of the ceramics recovered from excavations are aboriginal (Worth 1998a; Waters 2009:172).

La Punta's official name was Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta, and it was established in the 1720s (Worth 1998a; Waters 2009:170). The mission is located south of St. Augustine and is situated between Maria Sanchez Creek and the Matanzas River. La Punta was documented to have mostly refugee Yamasee from the Yamasee War, and some Apalachee (Worth 1998a:142; Waters 2009:170). Around 1743, only four villages were around St. Augustine including Tolomato, Palica, Pocotalaca, and La Punta (White 2002:43). In 1754, mission settlements were absorbed into the two remaining missions of Tolomato and Nombre de Dios, and by 1759, La Punta is no longer mentioned in historic records (White 2002:46; John E. Worth 2013, pers. comm.). Sometime after 1740, most of the Yamasee refugees traveled to Pensacola, where they eventually established Punta Rasa, in 1749 (Worth 2008, 2013a).

Archaeological investigations at La Punta revealed red filmed pottery characteristic of Yamasee, and over 85 percent of the ceramics were Native American (Boyer 2005:78–81; Waters 2009). The small percentage of European and Asian ceramics included Mexican majolicas, British delftwares, slipwares and stonewares, French faience, and Chinese porcelain (White 2002:82). The most common majolica types were Puebla Polychrome and Puebla Blue on White (White 2002:87), which is similar to the assemblage at San Joseph de Escambe. Prior to 1740, trade with the English was illegal, but English tablewares and smoking pipes were still the
dominant artifacts of the European assemblage at La Punta, located just a mile from St. Augustine itself (White 2002:69, 85).

The mission Nombre de Dios was established in 1586, and the physical mission site includes both the Nombre de Dios and Fountain of Youth sites. The mission was officially known as Nuestra Señora de la Leche, but also showed up in documentary records as Nombre de Dios Macariz and La Leche (Worth 1998a; Waters 2009:169). During the first half of the 17th century it was occupied primarily by a Timucuan populations (Waters 2009:169). After the 1715 Yamasee War, La Leche was eventually also inhabited by the Yamasee. Nombre de Dios contained 51 people, in 11 or 13 families, and Tolomato contained 28 people in 10 families (Solana 1759; Worth 2011b). These population sizes are comparable to Escambe and Punta Rasa, respectively. Over 90 percent of the ceramics recovered from 18th century deposits at Nombre de Dios are aboriginal with only 2 percent being Spanish majolica (Waters 2009:169–170). According to historical records the Native Americans living at Nombre de Dios were addicted to alcohol and were leading lives of "dissolution and disorder" (Montiano 1738; Hann 1988:263).

*French Comparisons*

It is beneficial to look at other Native American sites that were influenced by competing European powers in order to understand the exchange process and social networking. Fort Toulouse is a good example of a French site located among Upper Creek Indians. We know from documentary evidence that the Spanish were trading with the Apalachee and the Upper Creek Indians, and some Upper Creek Indians were allied with the French (especially the Alabama towns). As previously discussed, the Upper Creek were divided into three major groups including the Tallapoosas, the Apiscas, and the Alabamas (Waselkov and Smith 2000:242). In
1717, the Alabama invited the French to build Fort Toulouse at the junction of the Coosa and Talapoosa Rivers to act as a trading post (Johnson 2003:333). Fort Toulouse was just one in a string of fortified settlements established along the Mississippi River corridor to block the advance of the English, and gain control over Indian trade in the area (Johnson 2003:332). For the French, trade regulations with the Indians changed frequently, but they also gave them economic aid, and distributed gifts among them routinely (Thomas 1989:32, 43). The Native Americans commonly sold massive quantities of deerskins for French guns, powder, and balls which they considered superior to British products (Thomas 1989:34). The French also traded brandy for deerskins, and they were frequently accused of diluting it, a common practice of the Spanish as well. Sometimes the French at Toulouse would sell goods to the Alabamas for up to a 50 percent discount in order to maintain alliances (Thomas 1989:35). Deerskins were far more valuable in England than they were in France or Spain, and the French could not compete with British prices or quality of goods (Thomas 1989:36).

English Comparisons

The English engaged in trade with most Native American groups in the Southeast, with the exception of the Choctaw who traded primarily with the French. Charlestown was considered a substantial center of trade in the Southeast. The fur trade was not as popular in the south, so they traded for skins and leather instead, importing an average of over 54,000 skins annually to England from 1699 to 1715 (Crane 2004:109, 11). As noted in previous chapters this was also the same time period that the English were engaged heavily in Indian slave trade. In exchange for deerskins, the English gave woolen cloth and hardware imported from England, as well as rum, guns and munitions (Crane 2004:115–117). All of these examples would provide useful comparisons using the local model presented in this thesis.
Conclusions

Trade in 18th century west Florida was a complex mixture of social interactions and political motivations from various groups including the Upper and Lower Creek, Yamasee, Apalachee, Spanish, French, and English. The European powers were vying for exclusive trade rights with the Native Americans, and each power used different methods for integrating themselves into aboriginal political and economic systems. Frontier settlements in the periphery of major cities, towns, presidios, and other fortified centers acted as buffer zones; tendrils of a larger nexus reaching out into new areas. Within this network, frontier settlements became smaller-scaled nexus points creating a complex socioeconomic landscape. Each town had its own connections, and more or less operated with little constraint from its imperial source. Political changes in Spain, France, and England rippled across the ocean to the colonial networks. The geographic separation caused these changes to be less forceful, and political and social agendas followed their own paths into the colonial network. In order to integrate the Native population, the colonial system had to adapt to the Native systems, and rules were made lax for optimal results. The Spanish used religious and economic coercion to work themselves into the complex political system of the Native groups they came into contact with, and these influences can be seen in the archaeological and historical record.

Mission San Joseph de Escambe was a frontier settlement occupied during a turbulent period of major political shifts, and small scale economic changes. The Apalachee living at Escambe traded frequently with the Upper Creek groups, who in turn traded with English and French sources. Only a small contingent of soldiers was stationed at Escambe until it was augmented with a detachment of cavalry soldiers for the last two years of its existence. During
this time, peace treaties, hurricanes, and governmental shifts all affected the daily life of the inhabitants. Trade with foreigners was illegal, but trade persisted between the groups living at Escambe and Punta Rasa, and other Native groups for two decades. Evidence of these trade interactions is visible in the artifact assemblage of mission Escambe, as well as the documentary record of Punta Rasa.

Historical documents can provide evidence of what the people at the time considered important, in contrast to what we find archaeologically, and what we signify as indicators of trade. When looking at the trade on a local scale at Escambe it is clear that the currency was not gold and silver, but instead liquor, food, deerskins, and horses. Prized everyday trade goods were not beads, ceramics, and other common trade items discovered archaeologically. The most important items do not survive in the archaeological record, and must either be inferred from excavated secondary items, or from historical documents. Items that do survive in the archaeological record should be analyzed as either primary or secondary items. For example, we find bottle glass and olive jars in artifact assemblages, but it was the rum that they contained that was the primary trade item. Deerskins deteriorate over time, but archaeologically there is still evidence of the activity of dressing the skins. Historical documents indicate that the Apalachee chief's wife dressed skins on site, and a glass scraper was found in excavations at Escambe. In this sense the archaeological and historical records complement each other, each data set supplementing the other to provide a more complete reconstruction of the socioeconomic landscape in the region.

Another important concept that is overlooked is the intricacies of communication. The Native American groups and the Spanish spoke completely different languages. Most of the Indian groups from the area were from the same language family group, but the spoken
languages were different. Language was a tool for trade, and trade was a medium for cultural change. The economic interactions within cities, and in frontier settlements, change the way each party perceived the world. New words and new items were passed along, and transformed the cultures within that network. A multidimensional (social, economic, political, and religious) and multiscalar (local, regional, and international) approach is needed in order to fully understand the complexities of these interactions, as well as to most accurately depict the socioeconomic landscape of the 18th century in the region.

Escambe was a nexus of an interaction sphere for multiple ethnicities, and it was the political and economic motivations of the Spanish at several individual levels that probably led to its destruction in 1761. There were devastating social and political repercussions resulting from the poor trade decisions of the military officers and the governor of Pensacola at the time. A pattern emerges that includes English and Spanish interactions with Native groups over time; trade abuses and the mistreatment of the aboriginal populations resulted in uprising and destruction. Even though Escambe's economy has not been fully reconstructed, the information presented in this thesis still provides a new insight into the daily lives of a frontier settlement in the 18th century, and how a local scale analysis is important to understanding Escambe's role in a regional context.
REFERENCES

Adams, Diane L.

Ahumada y Villalón, Agustín de

Alba, Pedro
1761 Testimony in Román (1761) Proceedings against Ensign Pedro Ximeno, 9–14 July, Marina 17, Expediente 9, folios 125v–126r, Archivo General de la Nación, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Allen, Jamey D.

Arredondo, Antonio de
1736 Census of Indians, 27 November, Santo Domingo 2591, Archivo General de Indias, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Avery, George
2008 Seed Bead Color Patterns from Colonial Period Sites in Texas and Louisiana. *Journal of Northeast Texas Archaeology* 28:57–63.

Bedford, John

Bell, Robert C.

Benchley, Elizabeth D., R. Wayne Childers, John James Clune, Cindy L. Bercot, David B. Dodson, April Whittaker, and E. Ashley Flynt


Blair, Craig 1960 *Diving for Pleasure and Treasure*. World Publishing, Cleveland, OH.


1993 *Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.


Castro Cid, Miguel de 1753  *Receipts for Purchases for Presidio Isla de Santa Rosa, Punta de Sigüenza, Mexico, 20 December,* Archivo General de la Nación, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 1739, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.


Duffield, Lathal F. and Edward B. Jelks  
1961  *The Pearson Site*. Archaeological Series, No. 4. University of Texas, Austin.

Dunn, William E.  

Durst, Jeffery J.  

Dysart, Jane E.  

Eschbach, Krista  
2007  *An Examination of Eighteenth Century Spanish Colonial Socio-Economics as Seen at Presidio Isla de Santa Rosa*. Master’s thesis, Division of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of West Florida at Pensacola.

Escudero, Andrés de  
[1757] Request to the Governor, April, Historia 571, folio 356r, Archivo General de la Nación, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1758  Letter to the Governor, Tuquipachi, 28 July, Historia 571, folios 361r/v, Archivo General de la Nación, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1759  Letter to the Governor, Punta Raza, 16 May, Historia 571, folios 364r/v, Archivo General de la Nación, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Ethridge, Robbie  
2003  *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Ewen, Charles R.  

Fairbanks, Charles

Faye, Stanley

Feringan Cortés, Phelipe
1760  Letter to Francisco Cagigal de la Vega, 22 November, Historia 571, folios 343r–344r, Archivo General de la Nación, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Foster, Thomas H. II

Francis, Peter, Jr.

Frank, Ann

Galloway, Patricia, Marvin D. Jeter, Gregory A. Waselkov, John E. Worth and Ives Goddard

Gannon, Michael V.

Gibson, Charles

Goggin, John
1968  *Spanish Majolica in the New World*. Publications in Anthropology, No.72. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Gold, Robert L.
González de Barcia Carballido y Zuñiga, Andrés
1723  *Ensayo Cronológico para la Historia General de la Florida*. Madrid: Nicolás Rodríguez Franco

Gorraez, Joseph de
1756  Testimonio de los Autos fechos con el motivo de el uracán acaecido en la Ysla de Santa Rosa, en los días tres, quatro, y cinco de Noviembre de el año proximo pasado de 1752, 23 December, Mexico 2448, Archivo General de Indias, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Graesch, Anthony P.

Green, William

Griffin, John W.

Grinnan, Joseph

Guerrero, Francisco
1761  Testimony in Román (1761) Proceedings Against Ensign Pedro Ximeno, 9–14 July, Marina 17, Expediente 9, folios 125r–125v, Archivo General de la Nación, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Güemes y Horcasitas, Juan Francisco de
1751  Order to Juan de Yarza y Ascona, 10 February, General de Parte 38, Expediente. 4, Archivo General de la Nación. Ronald Wayne Childers, translator, on file, Archaeology Institute, University of West Florida, Pensacola.
Hahn, Steven C.  
2000  The Invention of the Creek Nation: A Political History of the Creek Indians in the South’s Imperial Era, 1540–1763. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of History, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

2004  *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670–1763*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Hamilton, T.J.  

Hamilton, T.J. and K.O. Emery  

Hann, John H.  


Hann, John H, and Bonnie G. McEwan  

Haring, Clarence Henry  

Harris, Norma J.  


Harris, Norma J. and Krista L. Eschbach  
Higginbotham, Jay

Hoffman, Paul E.

Hudson, Charles
1997 *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South’s Ancient Chiefdoms*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Johnson, Patrick

Johnson, Sandra L.


Karklins, Karlis

Kenmotsu, Nancy

Kidd, Kenneth E., and Martha A. Kidd

Knight, Vernon J. and Tim S. Mistovich
Lightfoot, Kent G. and Antoinette Martinez

Lister, Florence C., and Robert H. Lister


Little, Barbara J.

Loucks, Jill L.

Marcos, Juan
1761  Testimony in Román (1761) Proceedings against Ensign Pedro Ximeno, 9–14 July, Marina 17, Expediente 9, folios 121r–121v, Archivo General de la Nación, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Marcoux, Jon Bernard

Martin, Jack B. and Margaret McKane Mauldin

McEwan, Bonnie G.
McEwan, Bonnie G. and Jeffrey M. Mitchem
1984  Indian and European Acculturation in the Eastern Unites States as a Result of Trade. 

McLamb, Jennie L.
2000  Glass Trade Beads and Spanish Missions in La Florida. Master's thesis, Department of 
Anthropology, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

McMahon, Patricia, and Danielle Dadiego

Melcher, Jennifer A.
2011  More than Just Copies: Colono Ware as a Reflection of Multiethnic Interaction on the 
18th-Century Spanish Frontier of West Florida. Master’s thesis, Division of Anthropology and 
Archaeology, University of West Florida at Pensacola.

Milanich, Jerald T.
1999  Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians. 
Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.


Mistovich, Tim. S. and Vernon James Knight, Jr.
1986  Excavations at Four Sites on Walter F. George Lake, Alabama and Georgia. Office of 
Alabama State Museum of Natural History, University of Alabama, Archaeological Research, 

Mitchem, Jeffery M.
1993  Beads and Pendants from San Luis de Talimali: Inferences from Varying Contexts. In 
Florida, Gainesville.

Montiano, Manuel de
1738  Letter to the King, 4 June, Santo Domingo 865, Archivo General de Indias, Documents 
Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Morales, Pedro, Antonio Navarro, Pedro del Corral, Ignacio Venegas, Francisco Gutiérrez, 
Joseph de Flores Rubio, and Gabriel de Llerena
1753 Chapter List, 17 September, Santo Domingo 867, Archivo General de Indias, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Morley- Fletcher, Hugo and Roger McIlroy

Navia Osorio y Vigil, Álvaro de
1725 Reflexiones Militares del Zizconde de Puerto. ParteSegunda, Tomo V, Libro XI. En que se trata de las Disposiciones para una Batalla ya resuleta por ti, y por los Enimigos. Turin: Juan Francisco Mariesse

Noël Hume, Ivor

Ojitos, Manuel
1736 Census of Convents and Missionaries in the Province of Santa Elena de la Florida, Their Age, Quality, and Ministries in which They Occupy Themselves, 17 October, Santo Domingo 867, Archivo General de Indias, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Patterson, Thomas C.

Pendleton, Lorann S. A., Elliot H. Blair, and Eric Powell

Pendleton, Lorann S. A. and Peter Francis, Jr.

Pijning, Ernst

Primo de Rivera, Joseph
1718 Letter to Governor Juan de Ayala, 28 April, Santo Domingo 843, folios 689–694, Archivo General de Indias, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.
Roberts, Amanda


Roldán, Francisco
1761 Letter to the Governor, 21 February, Historia 571, folios 356r–357r, Archivo General de la Nacion, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Román de Castilla y Lugo, Miguel
1757 Letter to the Viceroy, 28 May, transcribed 1761, Marina 17, Expediente 19, folios 53r–56v, Archivo General de la Nacion, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1759a Petition Regarding Andrés de Escudero, 21 December, Historia 571, Folio 366r, Archivo General de la Nacion, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1759b Letter to Viceroy, 4 April, Marina 17, folios 330r–333r, Archivo General de la Nacion, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1760 Letter to Andrés de Escudero, 4 May, Historia 571, folio 367r, Archivo General de la Nación, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1761a Proceedings Against Ensign Pedro Ximeno, 9–14 July, Marina 17, Expediente 9, folios 119r–129r, Archivo General de la Nacion, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.


Sandoval, Antonio de
1761 Testimony in Román (1761) Proceedings Against Ensign Pedro Ximeno, 9–14 July, Marina 17, Expediente 9, folios 121v–122r, Archivo General de la Nacion, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Scarry, John F.
1984 Fort Walton Development: Mississippian Chiefdoms in the Lower Southeast. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, OH.


Seaberg, Lillian

Sluiter, Engel

Smith, Marvin T.

Smith, Rodger C., John R. Bratten, J. Coz Cozzi, Keith Plaskett

Solana, Juan Joseph
1759 Letter to Doctor Don Pedro Agustin Morel de Santa Cruz, 22 April, Santo Domingo 516, Archivo General de Indias, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

South, Stanley


Sprague, Roderick

Sturtevant, William C.

Swanton, John, R.

TePaske, John J.

Thomas, Daniel H.

Thomas, David Hurst

Torres, Antonio de
1761 Testimony Before Miguel Román de Castilla y Lugo, 9 July, Marina 17, folios 122r–123r, Archivo General de la Nacion, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Tijanape Valero
1738 Declaration at San Marcos de Apalachee, 15 March, Santo Domingo 2593, Archivo General de Indias, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Trigg, Heather B.

Ullate, Luis de
1761 Extracts From Statement Presented to Governor Diego Ortiz Parrilla, Marina 17, folios 215r–267r, Archivo General de la Nacion, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Urueña, Juan Joseph de
1741a Report to the Viceroy, Mexico, 12 August, transcribed in Urueña (1753), folios 21v–31r, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1741b Calculation of the Supplies Needed for Presidio Isla de Santa Rosa, Punta de Sigüenza, Mexico, 12 August, General de Parte 33, Expediente 101, folios 121v–126v, Archivo General de la Nación, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.
1743  Report to the Viceroy, Mexico, transcribed in Urueña (1753), folios 32v–33r, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1752a  Calculation of the Supplies Needed for Presidio Isla de Santa Rosa, Punta de Sigüenza, 20 January, General de Parte 38, Expediente 155, Ronald Wayne Childers, translator, on file, Institute of Archaeology, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1752b  Salaries and Ration Allowances for Presidio Isla de Santa Rosa, 17 April, General de Parte 38, Expediente 72, Archivo General de Indias, John E. Worth, translator, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1753  Report to the Viceroy, Mexico, 26 May, transcribed in Gorraez (1756), folios 18v–35r, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1756  Calculation of the Situado for Presidio San Miguel, Alias Panzacola, Mexico, 26 November, General de Parte 38, Expediente 221, folios 252v–256v, Archivo General de la Nación, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Voss, Barbara L.

Wallerstein, Immanuel.

Waselkov, Gregory A.


Waselkov, Gregory A., and Marvin T. Smith

Waters, Gifford J.

Weddle, Robert S.

White, Andrea P.

Woodward, Arthur
1965  *Indian Trade Goods*. Oregon Archaeological Society, No. 2. Portland, OR.

Worth, John E.


2011b Bibliographical Information on Indian Evacuees from Pensacola to Veracruz. Manuscript on file, Department of Anthropology, University of West Florida, Pensacola.


2013c From Island to Mainland: The Spanish Transfer from the Presidio Santa Rosa to San Miguel de Panzacola. Paper presented at the 65th Annual Meeting of the Florida Anthropological Society, St. Augustine, FL.

Worth, John E., Norma J. Harris, and Jennifer Melcher

Worth, John E., Norma J. Harris, Jennifer Melcher, and Danielle Dadiego

Worth, John E., Danielle Dadiego, Michelle Piggott, and Jennifer Melcher

Ximeno, Pedro

Yarza y Axcona, Juan de
1750 Report on the State of Presidio Isla de Santa Rosa, Punta de Sigüenza, 30 June, Guadalajara 104, Archivo General de Indias, Ronald Wayne Childers, translator, on file, Archaeology Institute, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Yberri, Jose de
1753 Report on Moving the Presidio to San Miguel, 29 August, Mexico 2445, Archivo General de Indias, Ronald Wayne Childers, translator, on file, Archaeology Institute, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Ytuarte, Juan Antonio de
1760 Muster Roll, November, Historia 571, folios 11r–17r, Archivo General de la Nacion, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1761a Muster Roll, 10 January, Historia 571, folios 25r–28r, Archivo General de la Nacion, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1761b Muster Roll, 10 April, Historia 571, folios 33r–36v, Archivo General de la Nacion, Documents Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.