

FORT MOSE EDUCATION PACKET

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Table of Contents

Preface	4
TEACHER INFORMATION	
Online Exhibit (developed in 2022):	
Fort Mose: Colonial America's Black Fortress of Freedom	6
Historic Maps, Documents, Photographs	
and Art; Archaeology	12
STUDENT ACTIVITIES	
Fort Mose Vocabulary	14
Geography	17
Using Historic Maps	
The People of Fort Mose	27
Household Analysis	31
Artillery Inventory	34
Solana Descriptions	37
Picture Reading	41
Artifact ID	43
Wastepaper Basket Dig	44
The Box Dig	
Fort Mose Profile Map	49
Your House as an Archaeological Site	53
Sketch to Stretch	
RESOURCES	55

Preface

Fort Mose was the first legally-sanctioned free black town in what we now know as the United States. The Spaniards established the fort and town of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, or Fort Mose, north of St. Augustine in 1738 as a defensive outpost to protect the city from possible invasions by the British. The inhabitants were more than 100 African fugitives from English plantations in South Carolina. They lived in the village at the fort, farmed the nearby fields, and served as a first line of defense for the Spanish against invasions from the north.

The fascinating story of Fort Mose was not well known prior to the multi-disciplinary research initiated by Kathleen A. Deagan, Florida Museum of Natural History, University of Florida, more than 20 years ago. Her work and that of Jane Landers, Fort Mose Project Historian, have dramatically changed our awareness and understanding of this period in colonial history, and the role and everyday life of African Americans in the Spanish colonies.

The physical site of Fort Mose is a National Historic Landmark. Purchased by the State of Florida and now part of the state park system, Fort Mose Historic State Park provides opportunities to learn more about the community and its significance.

The Fort Mose Education Guide was developed in 1991 to complement the Florida Museum of Natural History's Fort Mose: America's Black Fortress of Freedom video and traveling exhibit. Through background information and activities, the Guide acquaints teachers and students with this very important chapter in our colonial history and fosters understanding of archaeological and historical research and concepts.

Elecia Crumpton has updated the graphic design of the Guide under the direction of Darcie MacMahon, Fort Mose Exhibit Coordinator and currently Florida Museum Assistant Director for Exhibits. Deagan, Landers, and MacMahon have an on-going interest in promoting knowledge about the story of Fort Mose. Elementary teachers Cynthia Mingo and Linda Woodcock were education consultants for the original guide. Valerie Pothier-Forrester created the maps and the drawings used in the Picture Reading activity and Michael Falck created the Fort Mose Profile Map.

The story of Fort Mose provides us a more balanced and accurate view of our colonial history, and particularly the role of African Americans in the frontier lands of the Spanish and English colonies. It also is an important example of the multi-disciplinary research necessary to reconstruct the fragmented pieces of our past and how new findings can alter old views.

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Teacher Information

More than 250 years ago, enslaved Africans risked their lives to escape English plantations in the Carolinas and find freedom among the Spanish living at St. Augustine.

In the late 1600s, enslaved Africans began to escape from English plantations in the Carolinas upon hearing that the Spaniards in St. Augustine would grant them freedom if they converted to Catholicism. In 1738, when more than 100 Africans had arrived, the Spanish established the fort and town of Fort Mose (pronounced "Moh-say"), the first legally sanctioned free Black town in what is now the United States. The story of Fort Mose is a tribute to these courageous Africans and their pursuit of freedom. While slavery was certainly the dominant practice at the time, Fort Mose sheds light on the little-known story of free Black people in colonial America.



youtu.be/zawzQKaTLSA

James Bullock, a re-enactor who brings to life the story of Fort Mose militia captain Francisco Menéndez, discusses the fort's role in the defense of Spanish Florida against the English during colonial times.

In the 1980s, Florida Museum archaeologist Kathleen Deagan set out in search of Fort Mose. After 250 years, the only evidence of the fort was buried underground, nearly lost to time. Using historical documents and maps as guides, the search narrowed to a small island in the salt marsh just two miles north of St. Augustine. Excavations revealed evidence of the fort – its moat and some interior structures, and fragments from daily life.



youtu.be/uXxZM3l6hvY

African Origins

The majority of Africans in Spanish colonies were forced into slavery, but there was a portion of society made up of free Black people. They were craftspeople, laborers, soldiers, artisans and merchants.

Although many people of African descent married other Black people in their communities, cross-cultural marriages were common and legal, which fostered a multi-ethnic society in the Spanish colonies. St. Augustine and Fort Mose were no exception. Evidence supports a rich and complex society that blended African, Spanish and Native American beliefs and traditions.

Most Africans in Spanish Florida lived in St. Augustine, both free and enslaved, and made up about ten percent of the town's population. Many came from regions of West Africa, but also from Cuba, Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua, Venezuela, Colombia and the Canary Islands.

Enslaved people who escaped from the Carolinas and came to live at Fort Mose came from many different cultural groups in West Africa.

People of mixed ancestry were known as "Castas" in Spanish colonial society. The Spanish developed a highly organized, detailed system for identifying the precise heritage of an individual, as this painting from eighteenth century Mexico illustrates. Image from public domain.



The Spanish Agenda

Laws governing slavery were much different under British rule than Spanish rule. The Spanish slave code provided certain rights. Enslaved people could buy their freedom, maintain family cohesiveness, and sue their owners for mistreatment. They could also be granted freedom for service to the Crown of Spain.

The policy of giving religious sanctuary was Spanish Florida's solution to a number of local problems. Welcoming the refugees served to strike an economic blow at the English colonies, while adding skilled workers and Catholic converts to the Spanish colonies. And importantly, these newly freed Africans could be formed into a militia to protect St. Augustine from the encroaching British to the north.

Did you know: Enslaved Africans brought with them traditions and technologies for farming, fishing, building construction, metal work, and a variety of other trades and crafts. Many of these have persisted until today as important – but often unrecognized – African contributions to American life.

Fort Mose, positioned just north of the small Spanish town of St. Augustine, would provide a first line of defense against the British invasions from the north. Spanish colonial leaders knew that newly freed people would fight to the death against their enslavers.

Black Militia

Soldiers of African heritage were regularly enlisted in militias throughout the Spanish colonies. Members were often free, well-trained, wore special uniforms and received salaries.

The militia at Fort Mose was a community-based free Black militia. The St. Augustine garrison also had a Black company as early as 1683. Its members came from Latin America and Africa, and included free and enslaved people.



Seventeenth century image of a Puerto Rican soldier. Photo courtesy Archivo General de Indias. Seville

First Fort Mose

By 1738, more than 100 African refugees had reached St. Augustine. In that year, the Spanish government established the fort and community of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose about two miles north of the town.

Many of the men joined the militia and formed a free Black company stationed at Fort Mose, a first line of defense from the increasingly frequent raids from the British.

The original fort was small, containing a watchtower, a well and a guardhouse. The fort had earthen walls and a shallow moat, and the layout was similar to other Spanish Florida forts at the time.

The community grew to 38 households of men, women and children and became a beacon of liberty for enslaved Carolinians. The 1739 Stono Rebellion in nearby Charleston was the largest slave revolt in the history of North American colonies, and the authorities blamed the Spanish for helping to incite the uprising.

In 1740, two years after the start of the Mose community, English forces attacked St. Augustine. Fort Mose was captured and the inhabitants fled to the safety of St. Augustine. During the siege, the fort was badly damaged, and the community was abandoned for twelve years.



This map shows the fortifications that protected St. Augustine in the early 18th century. Fort Mose was the northernmost official fortress protecting Spanish Florida. Further north, Fort Diego was actually the fortified home of the cattle rancher Diego de Espinosa and was often used as a remote outpost.

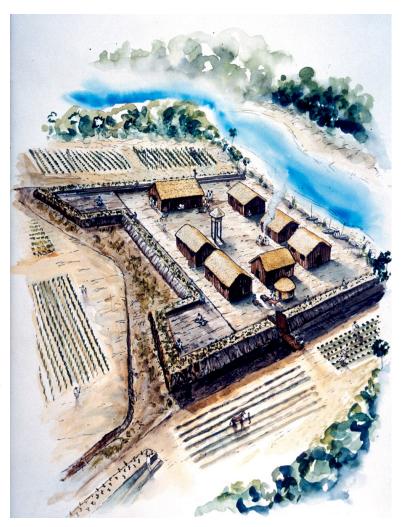
Second Fort Mose

In 1752, the town and fort at Mose were rebuilt at a slightly different location. The former residents, who were by then well settled into town life in St. Augustine, moved reluctantly back to the frontier under pressure from the Spanish authorities who still needed Mose as the colony's first defense against the English.

This new fort was a much larger walled enclosure, surrounded by a moat on three sides and river on the fourth, and contained a number of buildings. The people of Mose farmed the fields around the fort, hunted and fished in the nearby woods and steams, and probably gathered wild plants and fruits. They lived in palm-thatched houses but to date, records and archaeology have not revealed the exact location of the houses. They may have been both inside the fort walls and out on the farms.

Did you know: Archaeological evidence indicates that some of the community buildings were oval in shape and about 12 feet in diameter. They may have been similar to African houses already familiar to the Mose residents, and also to indigenous housing known locally.

The bits and pieces of everyday life recovered by archaeologists at Mose show that life there was filled with attending to the basic necessities: food, shelter, clothing and defense. These artifacts from daily life



Reconstruction of the second Fort Mose. Florida Museum illustration from the Historical Archaeology Collection

bring to life this important story for Black American history.

Fort Mose provides important evidence that Black American colonial history was much more than slavery and oppression. The men and women of Mose won their liberty through great daring and effort and made important contributions to Florida's multi-ethnic heritage.

Abandoning Fort Mose

The second Fort Mose was occupied by the Black community for eleven years. In 1763, Florida became an English colony and all of the inhabitants of the Spanish colony sailed to Cuba, including the people of Fort Mose. As Florida changed hands, the fort was occupied by the military, and then finally abandoned in 1812.

It gradually fell into ruin until its rediscovery more than a century later.

All residents of the Spanish colony, including the people of Fort Mose, relocated to Cuba in 1763.

Discovery and Excavation

From 1986 to 1988, a team of specialists headed by Dr. Kathleen Deagan of the Florida Museum carried out an archaeological and historical investigation at Fort Mose.



In the first season's excavation archaeologists uncovered the remains of the fort itself, with its moat, clay-covered earth walls and wooden buildings inside the fort. They also found a wide variety of artifacts; military items such as gunflints, flattened bullets, metal buckles and hardware; household items such as thimbles, nails, ceramics, and glass bottles; and food items such as burned seeds and bone.

By combining all sources of information, from the archives of Spain to the soils of the former fort, researchers are reconstructing a social history of the people who lived at Fort Mose more than 200 years ago.



Archaeologist Kathleen Deagan and collaborators screen Fort Mose soil for artifacts. Florida Museum archive photo



Archaeologist Jean-Claude Salime excavates at Fort Mose. Florida Museum archive photo

Climate Change

Fort Mose is situated in a salt marsh adjacent to a tidal creek. Since the 1700s, a portion of the fort has eroded into the water due to dredge and fill activities and sea level rise. As climate change accelerates sea level rise and coastal erosion, these impacts worsen. In fact, along Florida's long coastline, more than 4,000 cultural heritage sites are at risk from erosion and a potential 2-meter (6.6 feet) rise in sea level. Scientists estimate that Fort Mose may be under a foot of water by 2100 (or sooner).



The fragile site of Fort Mose is threatened by sea level rise. Image courtesy Google Earth (Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO Landsat/Copernicus)

New Work at Fort Mose

Archaeologists James Davidson (University of Florida) and Lori Lee (Flagler College) teamed up to investigate the impacts from erosion and learn more about life at Fort Mose before its story is lost to the sea. Their excavations continue to reveal the ephemeral remains of architectural structures and artifacts from daily life, from military gear to personal adornment. They look to learn even more about this amazing site and to bring to life the history of the pioneering African Americans who called it home.

Fort Mose Today

Today the site of Fort Mose is a state park and UNESCO Slave Route Project Site of Memory. An engaging visitor center on the mainland interprets its story and showcases many of the artifacts from the museum's excavations. These humble artifacts provide details about daily life at the fort - cooking and eating, house construction, defense, religion and entertainment.



An archaeologist documents evidence of human activity. Photo courtesy Lori Lee

You might also like....

Historical Archaeology: Fort Mose

www.floridamuseum.ufl.edu/histarch/research/st-augustine/fort-mose

Book: Fort Mose: Colonial America's Black Fortress of Freedom, University Press upf.com/book.asp?id=9780813013527

Fort Mose Historical Society www.fortmose.org

Fort Mose Historic State Park

www.floridastateparks.org/parks-and-trails/fort-mose-historic-state-park

St. Augustine: America's Ancient City www.floridamuseum.ufl.edu/staugustine

Historic Maps, Documents, Photographs and Art

Historic maps and documents are primary source materials used by historians, and archaeologists to learn about earlier places, times, events, individuals, and cultures. These important tools allow researchers to reconstruct the past by using clues left by people who actually participated in the events. However, both documents and maps may contain the biases of those preparing them. Historical information may also be further distorted by the biases of those interpreting the primary sources. Documents may include census records, legislation, official documents, letters, supply lists, birth and death records, diaries, catalogs, newspaper articles, etc.

Historic photographs and art also provide clues about the past. Photographs and art should be selected that contain cultural or physical elements that are useful for drawing inferences about people and their way of life or about the issues they faced. Students must carefully examine them. Does the clothing provide clues about the time period, economic status, gender, or season? If you are studying a photography, was it taken inside or outside? What does the background tell us? Picture reading" is a systematic process of posing questions about the visual clues in photographs and art that helps students improve their thinking skills.

Archaeology

Archaeology is the branch of anthropology that is concerned with the scientific study of remains of past human life. Archaeology is often confused with geology, a science dealing with the earth's history as recorded in rocks, and paleontology, a branch of geology dealing with fossil remains of plants and animals.

Archaeologists study the material remains of past human activity. This activity may have taken place hundreds of thousands of years ago or last year. The material remains are called artifacts. Objects made by humans, such as pottery, bottles, statues, toys, or baskets are artifacts. Natural objects, such as stones, shells, or bones, may also be artifacts if they have been altered and/or used by humans. A place where artifacts are found is called an archaeological site. The context of an object is more important than the object itself. Detailed laboratory analysis (microscopic, molecular, and sub-atomic) of archaeological site materials reveals previously hidden information about earlier peoples. Archaeologists spend a great deal of time trying to precisely determine what behaviors and activities are represented by the artifacts.

Some archaeologists study objects collected long ago and stored in museums. Others study the trash created by modern societies, including our own. Still others study items they find by digging in the soil (an excavation). Each distinct layer of soil is called a stratum (plural: strata). The stratigraphy is the sequence of strata; in undisturbed locations, younger levels are above older ones. Archaeologists are interested in whether artifacts are found together (associated) if they are part of the same context or set of interrelated conditions, and what sequence of activities is revealed by the stratigraphy of a site.

Through the scientific excavation of archaeological sites and the study of artifacts, archaeologists can begin to reconstruct the way of life of a group of people or their culture. Archaeologists work with specialists in many different sciences, a multidisciplinary approach, to attempt to answer questions about past human life. Each archaeological site is irreplaceable because it is unique in the information it contains. Thus the destructive excavation process should never be undertaken without proper preparations to preserve the complex stories held within the ground.

FORT MOSE EDUCATION PACKET Student Activities

Objective:

The student will become familiar with the vocabulary words used in the Fort Mose unit.

Materials and Resources:

- Vocabulary words
- + Crossword puzzle

Directions:

Review the vocabulary words with the students.

Ask the students to use the words in sentences or stories and to complete the crossword puzzle.

Vocabulary Words:

archaeological site - a place where artifacts are found

archaeologist - a person who studies the material remains (artifacts, soil patterns, soil chemistry, etc.) of past human activity

archaeology - the study of the remains of past human life

archive - a place in which historical documents are preserved

artifact - any object people have made or used

census - an official count of the population

centimeter - a unit of measure

chronology - sequence of events

colonial - related to the time period of the original 13 colonies forming the United States or the Spanish colonies in Latin America and the Caribbean

continent - one of the 7 great divisions of land on the globe

excavation - the careful digging of an archaeological site for study

flint - used in 17th- and 18th-century firearms to strike a spark to ignite a charge

Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose or Fort Mose (mo-say) -

the first free black settlement in the United States

historian - a person who studies the past using written records

historical document - an official, written record used in the past

moat - a deep and wide trench, sometimes filled with water, around a fort

occupation - a person's job

paleoethnobotanist - a person who studies plant materials from an archaeological site to learn about past environments, diet, and other uses of plants

salt marsh - flat land subject to overflow by salt water

topographic contour map - a map that measures small differences in the height of the ground

zooarchaeologist - a person who studies animal remains from an archaeological site to learn about the diet of the people who once lived there and other uses of animals

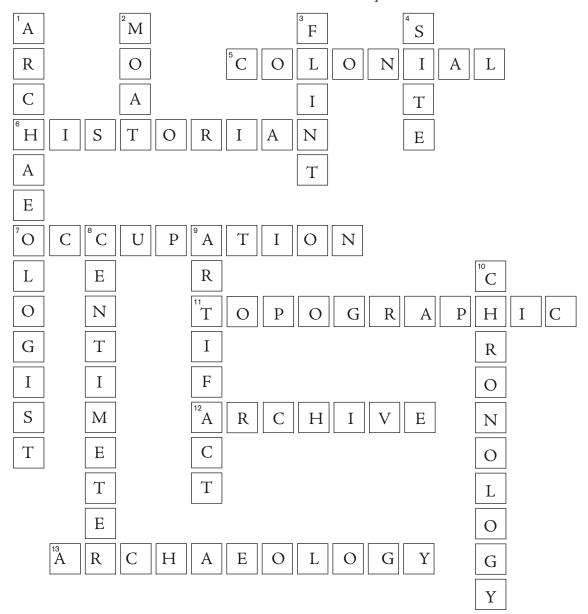
Acr	oss	Down
5.	related to the time period of the early	1. a person who studies the material remain
	Spanish or English colonies	of past human activity
6.	a person who studies the past	2. a trench around a fort
	by using written records	3. used in firearms to strike a spark
	a person's job	4. a place where artifacts are found is called
	a map that measures small differences in height	an archaeological
	a place where historical documents are kept	8. a unit of measure
13.	the study of the remains of past human life	 any object people have made or used sequence of events
	2	3 4
	5	
	6	
	7 8 9	
		10
	11	
	13	

Across

- 5. related to the time period of the early Spanish or English colonies
- 6. a person who studies the past by using written records
- 7. a person's job
- 11. a map that measures small differences in height
- 12. a place where historical documents are kept
- 13. the study of the remains of past human life

Down

- 1. a person who studies the material remains of past human activity
- 2. a trench around a fort
- 3. used in firearms to strike a spark
- 4. a place where artifacts are found is called an archaeological _____
- 8. a unit of measure
- 9. any object people have made or used
- 10. sequence of events



Objective:

The student will be able to recognize the location of the following on a variety of maps: Florida St. Augustine, Fort Mose, South Carolina, Georgia, Cuba, Spain, England, West Africa. He/she will be able to trace the route followed by the Fort Mose residents.

Background for the Teacher:

It is important for students to learn the geographical relationships of the above locations so that they can begin to understand and appreciate the complex interactions among the Africans, Spanish, English, and Indians.

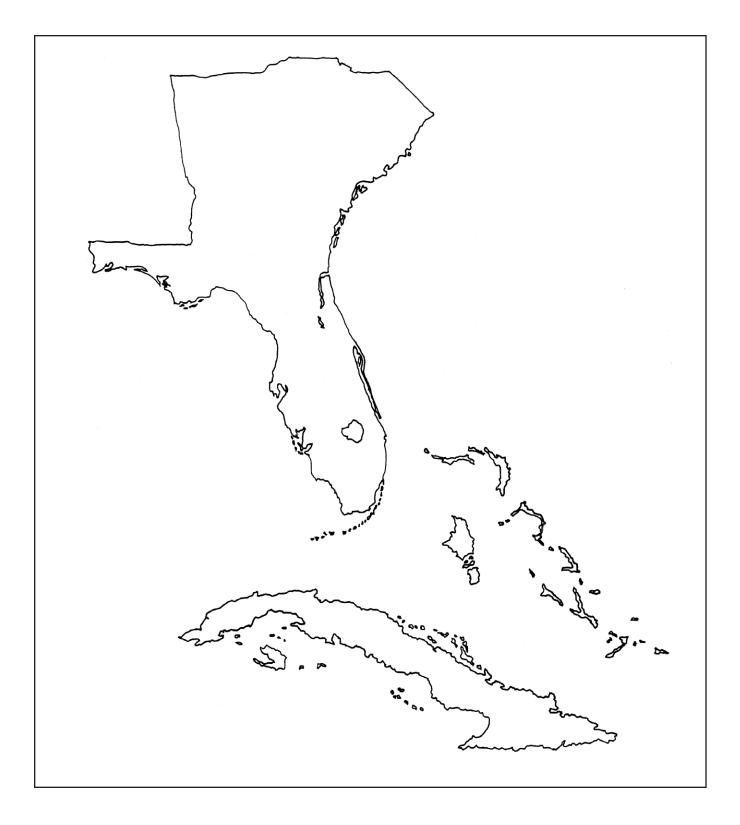
Materials and Resources:

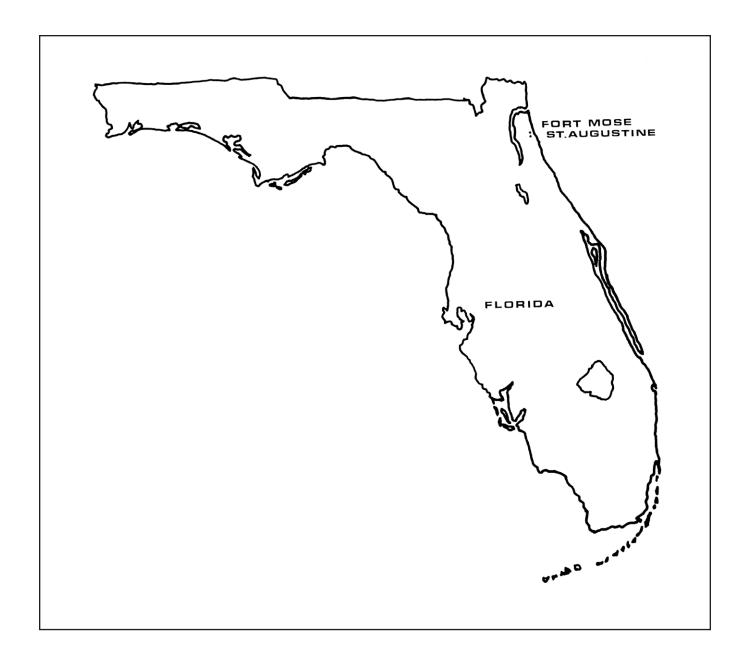
- Maps of Florida, Southeastern United States and Caribbean, North America, South America, Europe, and Africa
- Pencils

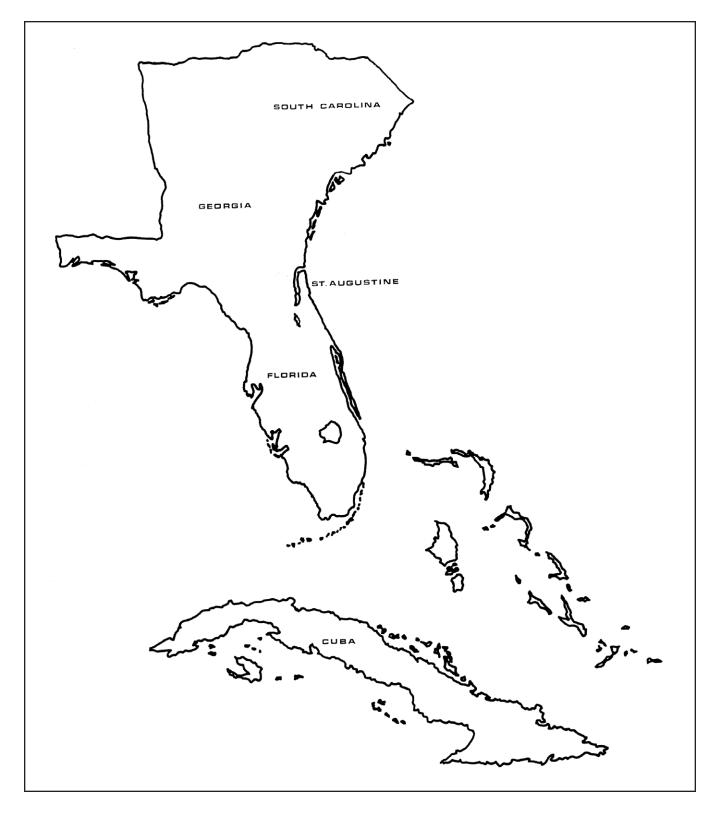
Directions:

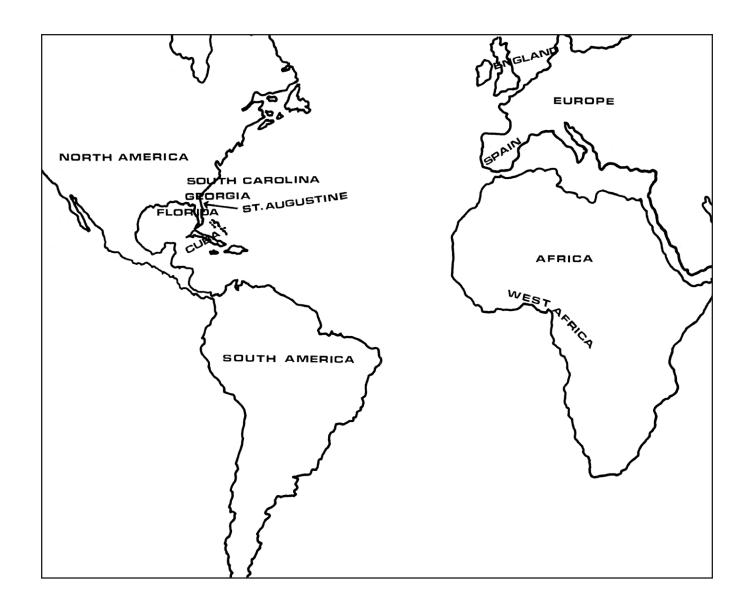
- 1. On the Florida map, ask students to locate St. Augustine and Fort Mose.
- 2. On the map of the Southeastern United States and the Caribbean, ask students to locate Florida, St. Augustine, Georgia, South Carolina, and Cuba.
- 3. On the map of North America, South America, Europe, and Africa, ask students to locate Florida, St. Augustine, Georgia, South Carolina, Cuba, England, Spain, and West Africa.
- 4. On the same map ask the students to use arrows to trace the travels of the people of Fort Mose from Africa to South Carolina to St. Augustine to Fort Mose to Cuba.
- 5. Ask the students to pretend they are residents of Fort Mose and to write about their travels, the places they have lived, and what their lives are like. Their narratives may be in the form of a diary, letter(s) to family or friends, a story, play, or report for the Spanish government. The students could also artistically interpret their lives through drawings, paintings, dioramas, collages, etc.

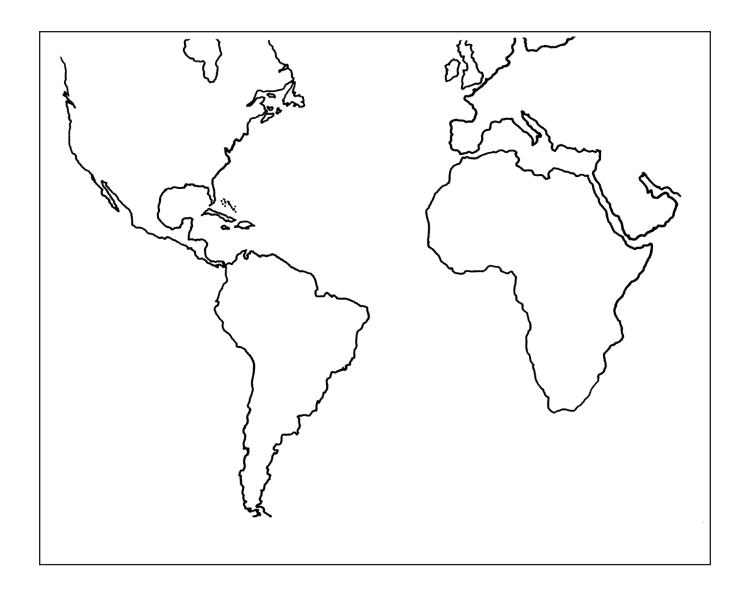












USING HISTORIC MAPS

Objective:

The student will gain an awareness of how historians and archaeologists use historic maps to reconstruct the location of earlier places.

Background for the Teacher:

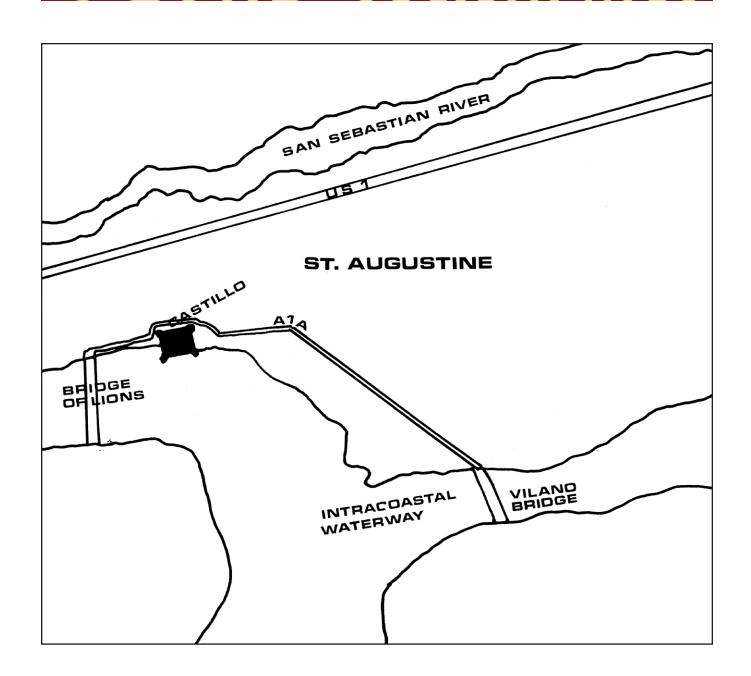
Historians and archaeologists compare historic and present day maps to help them reconstruct locations of places that no longer exist.

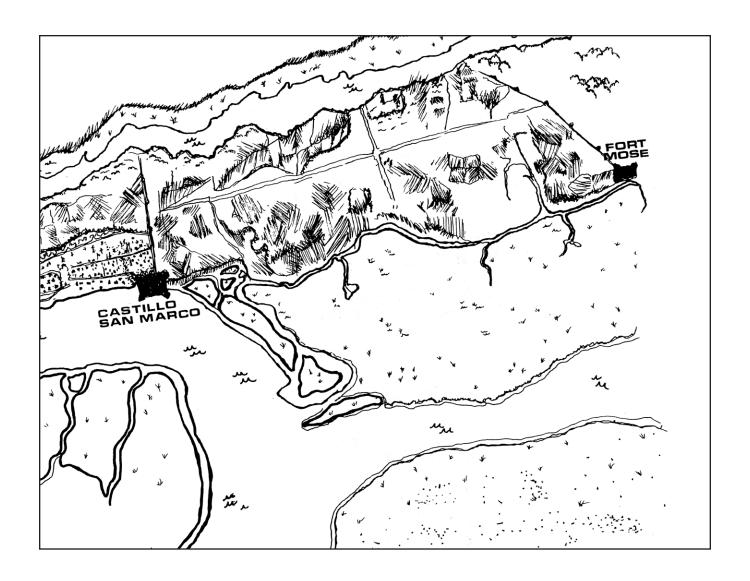
Materials and Resources:

- + 1763 Castello map
- present-day map of St. Augustine area
- + pencils

Directions:

- 1. Ask students to compare the 1763 and the present-day maps. How are they similar? How are they different?
- 2. Ask students to draw Fort Mose on the present-day map.
- 3. Ask students to draw a map of their classroom, school or neighborhood. Discuss how maps may distort the exact locations of objects or buildings and how someone reading them in ten, twenty, or fifty years might interpret them differently.
- 4. Make a relief (three-dimensional) map of St. Augustine and Fort Mose.





THE PEOPLE OF FORT MOSE

Objective:

The student will use the 1759 census records to describe the population of Fort Mose.

Background for the Teacher:

Census records are historical documents that provide valuable information about the population of a community.

Materials and Resources:

- + 1759 Census of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose
- worksheets and pencils
- graph paper

Directions:

- 1. This activity is for group work or higher level students. Give students the 1759 census and the worksheet. Ask them to examine the household records to learn more about the population of Fort Mose.
- 2. As a comparison ask students to do a census of their classroom households. Each student should record the names, ages, and relationships of the occupants of their own household. The class could then answer the same questions as used with the Fort Mose census records. Ask the students to compare the 1759 households with those of their classroom. The students could also use their classroom data to make bar graphs and answer the corresponding questions.
- 3. To encourage them to learn more about their own families, ask students to record as much of their family trees as possible. Students could also interview older family members about past events, places, or people via a first-person interview or by telephone or mail.

1759 CENSUS of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose

HOUSE #1

Francisco Menendez, Captain, age 55 years, married to Ana Maria de Escovar, age 39

HOUSE #2

Antonio Eligio, Lieutenant, age 45, married to Juana Elixio, age 40, and their children -Andres, age 24, and aria, age 20

HOUSE #3

Francisco Escovedo, second lieutenant, age 45, married to Francisca Roso, age 50

HOUSE #4

Pedro Graxales, age 44, head of household, and attached to his household -Manuel Rivera, age 33

HOUSE #5 - Salvador Cinquero, age 60, head of household, and attached to his household -Antonio Gallardo, age 20, married to Maria Quintero, age 18, and their son, Antonio, age 1

HOUSE #6

Pedro de Fuentes age 60 married to Juana de Araujo, age 78, and attached to the household -Manuel tan, age 45

HOUSE #7

Francisco Menendez, age 50, married to Maria de los Angeles, a e 30, and their children, Juan Gaspar, age 18, and Maria Margarita, age 14

HOUSE #8

Joseph Escovedo, age 28, married to Maria Loreto, age 25

HOUSE #9

Francisco Roso, age 54

HOUSE #10

Francisco Xari, age 45, married to Maria Flora, age 50

HOUSE #11

Antonio Caravallo, age 50

HOUSE #12

Pedro de Leon, age 30, married to Manuela Gavino, age 35, and their children Maria, age 11, Micaela, age 8, and Josepha, age 6

HOUSE #13

Thomas Chrisostomo, age 40

HOUSE #14

Francisco Diaz age 35, married to Francisca Garcia, age 20, and their children, Miguel, age 7 and Maria, age 1

HOUSE #15

Antonio Blanco, age 35

HOUSE #16

Domingo de Jesus, age 50, married to Maria del Rosario, age 35, and their children, Francisco, age 11,

age 9, Mariana, age 7, Pedro, age 4, and Joseph, age 1

HOUSE #17

Santhiago Solis, age 50, married to Maria de los Dolores, age 40

HOUSE #18

Juan Rodriguez, age 78, married to Ana Maria Rodriguez, age 60, and their children, Juan Lamberto, age 35, Francisca, age 25, and Francisca's children Juan Antonio, age 7, Ana Maria, age 4, and Francisco Joseph, age 1

HOUSE #19

Francisco de Torres, age 55, and his son, Juan de Arranzate, age 30

HOUSE #20

Joseph de Pena age 55, head of household, and attached to his household, Juan Francisco de Torres, age 40, and Nicolas de Briones, age 30

HOUSE #21

Joseph Fernandez, age 30, head of household, and attached to his household, Francisco Grandeman, age 55, and Juan Antonio de Jesus, age 25

HOUSE #22

Francisco Sori, age 55, head of household, and attached to his household, Juan de Jesus, age 30, Juan Baptista, age 28, Bentura Hernandez, age 25, and Francisco de Meza, age 40

Census conducted by Fray Gines Sanchez, February 11, 1759 Source: Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo 2604

THE PEOPLE OF FORT MOSE

Directions:

Examine the 1759 Census of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose and answer these questions to learn more about the people of Fort Mose.

- 1. What was the total population of Fort Mose?
- 2. How many adult (consider someone an adult if he/she is 15 years or older) females lived there?
- 3. How many adult males lived there?
- 4. How many children (14 years or younger) lived there?
- 5. How many households had children?
- 6. How many households had only one inhabitant?
- 7. What was the average size of the households?
- 8. How many households had grandchildren?

On graph paper, make separate bar graphs for the male and female populations of Fort Mose. Plot the number of individuals in each 10 year age range. Answer the following questions.

- 1. Which age had the greatest number of males?
- 2. Which age had the greatest number of females?
- 3. How many children were age 1 -10?
- 4. Which age group had the largest number of people?
- 5. Which two age groups had the smallest number of people?

THE PEOPLE OF FORT MOSE

Directions:

Examine the 1759 Census of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose and answer these questions to learn more about the people of Fort Mose.

- 1. What was the total population of Fort Mose? (67)
- 2. How many adult (consider someone an adult if he/she is 15 years or older) females lived there? (15)
- 3. How many adult males lived there? (37)
- 4. How many children (14 years or younger) lived there? (15)
- 5. How many households had children? (6)
- 6. How many households had only one inhabitant? (4)
- 7. What was the average size of the households? (3 rounded to the nearest number)
- 8. How many households had grandchildren? (1)

On graph paper, make separate bar graphs for the male and female populations of Fort Mose. Plot the number of individuals in each 10 year age range. Answer the following questions.

- 1. Which age had the greatest number of males? 21 -31 (1 Omen)
- 2. Which age had the greatest number of females? 1-10, 11-20, and 31-40 had the same number (5 females)
- 3. How many children were age 1 -10? 12 (7 males and 5 females)
- 4. Which age group had the largest number of people? 21 30? (total males & females, 13)
- 5. Which two age groups had the smallest number of people? 61-70(0) and 71-80(2)

HOUSEHOLD ANALYSIS

Objective:

The student will use the 1759 household analysis record to learn more about one of the inhabitants of Fort Mose.

Materials and Resources:

- 1759 Household Analysis
- + pencils

Directions:

Give each student a copy of the 1759 description of the Francisco Menendez household worksheet. Ask students to read the description and answer the questions.

1759 HOUSEHOLD ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

Directions:

Read the description of Household 1 and answer the questions.

Household 1:

Francisco Menendez, age 45, and his wife, Maria de Escovar, age 39. Francisco was born around 1704 and Ana Maria de Escovar was born around 1720. Francisco Menendez had escaped to St. Augustine from Carolina in 1724 or 1725, but became the slave of the royal treasurer, Don Francisco Menendez Marques. He was freed by Governor Montiano in 1738. Menendez was the Captain of the Mose militia and the acknowledged leader of the free black fugitives and their families from 1726 until 1763, (Governor Montiano referred to the people of Mose as the subjects of Menendez.) When Mose was evacuated in 1763 Menendez, his wife, and four dependents went to Cuba with the Spanish. These dependents were probably an adult child, spouse, and grandchildren, since Francisco and Ana Maria lived alone in 1759.

Children assume the surname of their mothers by Spanish custom so their daughter may have been Maria Escovar, the free black who married Juan Nicholas Roman, from Cumana, Venezuela, in 1745. The godparents at this wedding were high status individuals, Don Juan Jazinto de Pena, a royal treasury official, and Dona Francisca de Leon one of St. Augustine's old families. It would be expected that the f amily of Mose's most important citizen would select high ranking sponsors for the marriage of their child.

- 1. How old was Francisco Menendez when he escaped to St. Augustine?
- 2. How old was Menendez when Governor Montiano freed him?
- 3. How long was Menendez the leader of the free black fugitives?
- 4. How old was Menendez when he went to Cuba?

1759 HOUSEHOLD ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

Directions:

Read the description of Household 1 and answer the questions.

Household 1:

Francisco Menendez, age 45, and his wife, Maria de Escovar, age 39. Francisco was born around 1704 and Ana Maria de Escovar was born around 1720. Francisco Menendez had escaped to St. Augustine from Carolina in 1724 or 1725, but became the slave of the royal treasurer, Don Francisco Menendez Marques. He was freed by Governor Montiano in 1738. Menendez was the Captain of the Mose militia and the acknowledged leader of the free black fugitives and their families from 1726 until 1763, (Governor Montiano referred to the people of Mose as the subjects of Menendez.) When Mose was evacuated in 1763 Menendez, his wife, and four dependents went to Cuba with the Spanish. These dependents were probably an adult child, spouse, and grandchildren, since Francisco and Ana Maria lived alone in 1759.

Children assume the surname of their mothers by Spanish custom so their daughter may have been Maria Escovar, the free black who married Juan Nicholas Roman, from Cumana, Venezuela, in 1745. The godparents at this wedding were high status individuals, Don Juan Jazinto de Pena, a royal treasury official, and Dona Francisca de Leon one of St. Augustine's old families. It would be expected that the family of Mose's most important citizen would select high ranking sponsors for the marriage of their child.

- 1. How old was Francisco Menendez when he escaped to St. Augustine? 20 or 21
- 2. How old was Menendez when Governor Montiano freed him? 34
- 3. How long was Menendez the leader of the free black fugitives? 37 years
- 4. How old was Menendez when he went to Cuba? 59

ARTILLERY INVENTORY

Objective:

The student will use the 1759 Inventory of Artillery to learn more about the militia at Fort Mose.

Materials and Resources:

- Inventory of Artillery
- pencils

Directions:

Ask students to examine the 1759 Inventory of Artillery and answer the questions.

INVENTORY OF ARTILLERY at Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose

Directions:

Examine the artillery record and answer the questions.

Iron cannons, 3 pounders, mounted on carriages - fair condition	2
Iron swivel guns of half a pound - good condition	4
Equipment sets for the cannons - fair condition	2
Equipment sets for the swivel guns - fair condition	4
Cannon balls for the cannons	14
Shot for the swivel guns	28
Pounds of gunpowder - good condition	40
Pounds of matchcord for firing ordinance - fair condition	12
Cloth cartridges or charges of gunpowder - fair condition	14
Cloth cartridges for grapeshot - fair condition	14
Cloth cartridges for powder for the swivel guns	
Cloth cartridges for grapeshot for the muskets	28
Gunpowder horn with firing pins - good condition	
Large chests or bins for storing munitions	2
Muskets - fair condition	
Report by Captain of Artillery, Don Manuel de Barros, 4/20/1759	

- 1. What types of weapons were used at Fort Mose?
- 2. How many cannon balls were there for each cannon?
- 3. How many shots were there for each swivel gun?
- 4. Thirty-seven adult males lived at Fort Mose. How many had muskets? 24 How many did not?
- 5. What was the total number of cloth cartridges?
- 6. If each musket had one cloth cartridge, how many extras were there?

INVENTORY OF ARTILLERY at Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose

Directions:

Examine the artillery record and answer the questions.

Iron cannons, 3 pounders, mounted on carriages - fair condition	2
Iron swivel guns of half a pound - good condition	4
Equipment sets for the cannons - fair condition	2
Equipment sets for the swivel guns - fair condition	4
Cannon balls for the cannons	
Shot for the swivel guns	28
Pounds of gunpowder - good condition	
Pounds of matchcord for firing ordinance - fair condition	12
Cloth cartridges or charges of gunpowder - fair condition	14
Cloth cartridges for grapeshot - fair condition	14
Cloth cartridges for powder for the swivel guns	28
Cloth cartridges for grapeshot for the muskets	28
Gunpowder horn with firing pins - good condition	2
Large chests or bins for storing munitions	
Muskets - fair condition	24
Report by Captain of Artillery, Don Manuel de Barros, 4/20/1759	

- 1. What types of weapons were used at Fort Mose? iron cannons, iron swivel guns, muskets
- 2. How many cannon balls were there for each cannon? 7
- 3. How many shots were there for each swivel gun? 7
- 4. Thirty-seven adult males lived at Fort Mose. How many had muskets? 24 How many did not? 13
- 5. What was the total number of cloth cartridges? 84
- 6. If each musket had one cloth cartridge, how many extras were there? 4

SOLANA DESCRIPTIONS

Objective:

The student will use the Report of Father Juan Joseph de Solana to Don Pedro Agustin Morel de Santa Cruz to learn more about life at Mose and St. Augustine.

Background for the Teacher:

In 1759, the Bishop of Cuba asked Father Juan Joseph de Solana, the parish priest, to write a description of St. Augustine and its environs, including Fort Mose. This historic document provides valuable information about 18th-century life in Florida.

Materials and Resources:

- Solana Descriptions
- + pencils

Directions:

Give each student a copy of the Solana Descriptions worksheet. Ask students to read the descriptions and answer the questions.

Directions:

In 1759, the Bishop of Cuba asked Father Juan Joseph de Solana, the parish priest, to write a description of St. Augustine and its environs, Inc, uding Fort Mose. The following excerpts are from this historic document. Read the descriptions and answer the questions.

....There are now many children of good families in this city, but the presidio is so poor and has no higher schooling nor is there the slightest possibility of sending the children to the city of Havana to study, so, for that reason they are idle and develop vicious habits ... it would serve your Majesty well to add two more priests to the convent-one to teach Philosophy and the other Theology

... in the city ... there are 303 houses ... 23 are of stone and have a flat roof...26 are roofed with board or shingles ... some of the rest are two story, some are one story ... 190 are roofed with straw ... and the rest are roofed in board or palm thatch...the Castillo is at the extreme northern end of the city, and in the south is a small bastion of stone with two six pound cannons, a wall one meter wide extends from the Castillo to the bastion almost to themiddle of the city next to the bank of the river ... the citizenry is composed of Spaniards, Indians, Blacks and Mulattos

...the Governor earns 5,000 pesos yearly, the sergeant mayor, 976, his aide, 540, his second aide, 300, a doctor earns 600, the surgeon 540 an engineer, 1,000 ... the royal treasurer earns 1,500 pesos, the keeper of the government storehouses, 590, and the royal accountant, 500

... and the poor soldiers suffer ... because of the lack of able medical staff and their low salaries ... they cannot overcome the horror that the name Florida causes to everyone

... the water they drink comes from wells which are good, and easily dug because the soil is so sandy there are many here ... the fruits which are like those of Europe are white and black figs, peaches, quince, blackberry, sour cherries, and ... very tasty grapes ... and in the countryside there are many natural products ... there are sweet and sour oranges...and

these forests are primarily of pine, evergreen, oak, ash, laurels and various types of pine from which they make pirogues and canoes

... the free blacks also form another company which has a captain, lieutenant, second lieutenant, sergeant and forty soldiers

... the Fort at Mose is situated on the banks of the River which runs to the north, and at a distance of 3/4 of a league from the presidio, the part that faces the river has no protection or defense whatsoever and is formed by two small bastions which look landward on which are mounted two four-pound cannons and six swivel guns divided among them, and on the wall whose face appears to be of thirty tree-trunks, the earthwork embankment is covered with thorns and the moat is three feet wide and two feet deep, and although the number of free blacks who should garrison it is that already referred to, there are only twelve fit for the work who are divided into two watches and six take guard duty each week, when daylight comes they go to their work and are replaced by four soldiers, two artillerymen and one corporal who become the garrison, the rest (of the free blacks) live in the city which because it is tolerated results in these labors and obligations for them, the housing which it includes are some huts or shacks of palm thatch, the chapel is ten meters long and six wide, the walls which are under construction are made of wood and the sacristy, which is finished, and in which the priest lives, is a very small room and serves as the chapel for the fort.

Source: Report of Father Juan Joseph Solana to Don Pedro Agustin Morel de Santa Cruz, 22 April 1959 Santo Domingo 516 on microfilm reel 28K, reel 2, P.K.Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

SOLANA DESCRIPTIONS continued

- 1. Where would the children go to study?
- 2. What subjects would the two new priests teach?
- 3. How many cannons were in St. Augustine?
- 4. Who composed the citizenry?
- 5. Who earned the three highest salaries?
- 6. Who earned the lowest salary? second aide
- 7. Why did the soldiers suffer?
- 8. List 5 things the people ate.
- 9. How many soldiers were in the free black company?
- 10. How many cannons were at Fort Mose?

SOLANA DESCRIPTIONS continued

- 1. Where would the children go to study? Havana
- 2. What subjects would the two new priests teach? Philosophy, Theology
- 3. How many cannons were in St. Augustine? 2
- 4. Who composed the citizenry? Spaniards, Indians, Blacks, Mulattos
- 5. Who earned the three highest salaries? Governor (5,000 pesos), royal treasurer (1,500 pesos), engineer (1,000 pesos)
- 6. Who earned the lowest salary? second aide (300 pesos)
- 7. Why did the soldiers suffer? lack of able medical staff, low salaries
- 8. List 5 things the people ate. white and black figs, peaches, quince, blackberry, sour cherries, grapes, sweet and sour oranges
- 9. How many soldiers were in the free black company? 40
- 10. How many cannons were at Fort Mose? two four-pound cannons

PICTURE READING

Objective:

The student will examine a drawing of Fort Mose for visual clues about the lives of the people.

Background for the Teacher:

The artwork is based on archaeological and historical research. "Picture reading" is the careful examination of art or photographs. This systematic process of posing questions about visual clues helps students improve their thinking skills.

Materials and Resources:

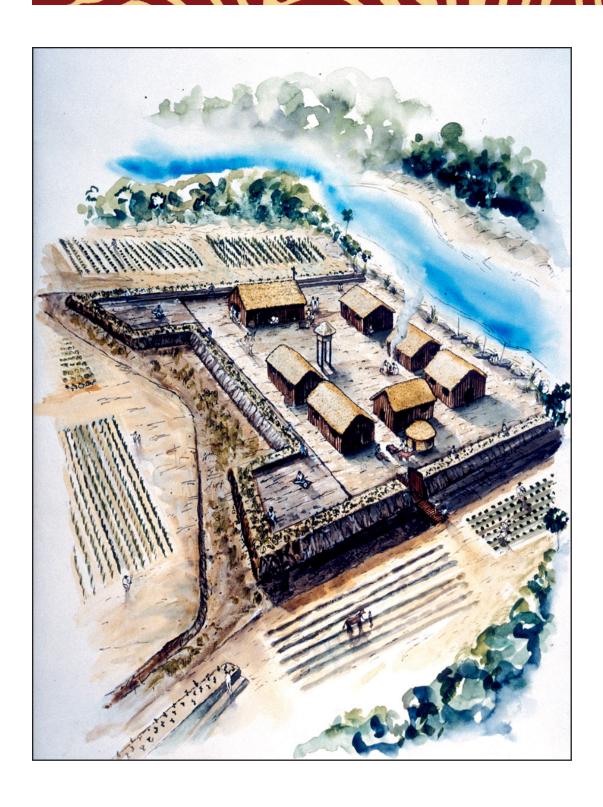
- Fort Mose drawing
- + paper and pencils

Directions:

- 1. Students, either individually or in small groups, study the drawing.
- 2. Ask students to record the inferences they make about the fort and activities of the people.
- 3. Students can expand their inferences into a narrative or short history.
- 4. Students can also create their own drawings of Fort Mose based on what they have learned.

Fort Mose Drawing

Inferences about Fort Mose can be made from the drawing. Students may comment on items such as: the shape of the fort, location on creek, interior buildings, surrounding fields, activities of the people.



Objective:

The student will develop observational and descriptive skills. He/she will learn the importance of artifacts.

Background for the Teacher:

Careful observation of a site is critical if an archaeologist hopes to identify objects that are artifacts. When artifacts cannot be idenfified, complete and accurate descriptions are important. When examining objects, archaeologists determine if they were used by people, how they were used, and if they were made by people. An artifact provides insights into the skills, tools, techniques, traditions, and standards of living about the time and place it represents. "Artifact reading" encourages students to handle objects and formulate hypotheses about the past based on personal examination.

Preparation for the Activity:

Prepare enough object sets so that 2 to 4 students may work in a group with 4 to 6 similar objects. The object sets could include broken pottery, stones, shells, clothes pins, pencils, bottle caps, straws, etc.

Materials and Resources:

- Enough object sets containing 4 to 6 similar objects for every group of 2 to 4 students
- Paper and pencils 1 set per student group

Directions:

- 1. Discuss with the students the importance of good observational and descriptive skills.
- 2. Give each student group an object set. Ask them to pretend that they have never seen the objects before. Ask them to describe each object as completely as possible in terms of its size, color, shape, etc. They should then determine if the object was made by people, if it was used by people and how it was used. Have the students use their imaginations when describing the use.
- 3. Compare the object descriptions written by the student groups. How are they similar?
- 4. Ask each group to pick an object in the classroom and describe it. Can the other students guess which object was picked? This activity shows how a lack of information or an object out of context can be confusing and misleading.

Objective:

The student will practice procedures used by archaeologists when excavating a site. The student will analyze the data obtained to draw conclusions about activities and their sequence. This activity will take at least an hour. The thoroughness of each group's procedure is important.

Background for the Teacher:

To an archaeologist, the context of an artifact is as important as the artifact itself. Archaeologists make detailed records of the exact depth, location, size, and shape of everything in the ground. This precise information about an object's location in the ground can tell us how old it is, what it was used for, and sometimes even who might have used it and put it there. This detailed information is particularly critical because archaeology is a destructive process; the excavation of a site destroys it.

Preparation for the Activity:

Arrange with the janitor and/or other teachers ahead of time to save their wastebaskets on certain dates. Caution the teachers to make sure nothing private is thrown away. Ask the other classrooms to prepare a chronological list of activities for the day. By examining the trash and comparing it with the day's chronology, students will learn the basic concept of stratigraphic sequence.

Materials & Resources:

- 12 or less wastebaskets divide class into groups of 2 to 4 students; each group should have one wastebasket
- · classroom chronology for each wastebasket distribute after students have completed their "excavation"
- · newspapers to place on floor under each wastebasket
- + ruler or yard stick 1 per student group
- Excavation Form and pencils 1 set per student group
- masking tape to label the artifacts, 1 tape roll per group

Directions:

- 1. Discuss how an archaeologist determines the age of an artifact. Student responses should include the depth of an object (older objects should be on the bottom), comparison with similar objects of known dates in museum collections, and object composition (for example, plastic is 20th century and glass is post 1492 in America).
- 2. Divide the class into groups of two to four students. Give each group a wastebasket from another classroom and ask the students to reconstruct that class's day from the contents. The students should be able to determine each class's grade level, order of subjects, and any unique information. Students should label each artifact and record the level at which it was found. If there are several examples of one object they may count the number at the level and record the total rather than labeling each individual one.
- 3. Ask each group to report their findings. Compare their conclusions with the actual chronology for each wastebasket. How accurate were the conclusions? What artifacts were misleading? What artifacts provided the most valuable information? What procedures were important in preserving information and not destroying it? Was the order of activities recorded correctly? How would the students change their techniques to obtain more information?

EXCAVATION FORM

Directions:

Use 4 levels to excavate the wastepaper basket. Decide the depth of the levels. For each level, count and record the artifacts. Draw some of the artifacts.

LEVEL 1 depth:	Number of artifacts:
Description of artifacts:	
LEVEL 2 depth:	
Description of artifacts:	
LEVEL 3 depth:	Number of artifacts:
Description of artifacts:	
LEVEL 4 depth:	
Description of artifacts:	

Conclusions:

Reconstruct the order of events for the day.

What was the grade level?

What artifacts provided the most valuable information?

What artifacts were misleading?

What procedures were important for preserving information?

THE BOX DIG

Objective:

The student will pactice procedures used by archaeologists when excavating a site. The student will analyze the data obtained to determine artifact interrelationships and draw conclusions about activities.

Background for the Teacher:

When excavating a site, archaeologists make detailed records of the exact location, size, and shape of everything in the ground. The context of an object is of primary importance. Detailed laboratory analysis of the soil surrounding the object may reveal more information than the object itself. Students can follow the same procedures in their own dig site - a specially prepared box. Careful measurement and mapping of objects will provide the most clues. This activity will be most successful in teaching artifact interrelationships if a group of materials that tell a story are buried in each box.

Preparation for the Activity:

Sand or dirt should be placed in each box alternating with the "artifacts." Only a few objects should be buried in each box and at different levels within the boxes. The sand or dirt does not need to fill the box nor be made level. Try to bury a group of materials that tell a story. Not only will this be more interesting to a student, it will be more realistic. One dissimilar object could be added to the box to show outside interaction. Do not include objects in the boxes that students could get hurt on during their excavations (eg. pins, knives, items with sharp edges). The following are examples of object groupings that could be used (all the items listed for each group do not need to be included in a box):

- + paper clip(s), erasers, pencil, pen, part of a ruler, piece of string
- + bottle opener, bottle top, sandwich bag, candy wrapper, piece of a potato chip bag, apple seeds
- comb, barrette, hair clip, hair roller, bobby pin
- · machine parts eg. clock, watch
- + nails, screws, washer, nuts, bolts, pieces of wood or metal
- buttons, pieces of fabric, safety pins toy parts
- wooden spoon, egg shell, piece of a flour bag, empty vanilla bottle, recipe, measuring spoon bones from a chicken or other animal
- seeds-many of the same type or a variety of types

Materials and Resources:

- shoe box to 12" x 12" (or slightly larger) cardboard box for every 2 to 4 students.
- large spoon(s) for each student group
- + small brush(es) for each student group ruler 1 per student group,
- · Level Forms and pencils
- sand or dirt enough for all the boxes
- · object groups enough for each box

Objective:

- 1. Ask the students to think about procedures that would be important in preserving information. Discuss with them the importance of accurate field notes (written descriptions of the soil itself and what was found in it), measurements, artifact drawings, and maps.
- 2. Ask the students to follow archaeological procedures in digging their box. One level of soil (in this instance, 5 centimeters) should be removed at a time. They should scrape their tools across the soil; not dig straight down. For each level, the Level Form should be completed, artifacts drawn and maps made. The students should take turns performing all the tasks.
- 3. Ask the students to use their imaginations to explain how artifacts may have become buried. Can they reconstruct the event that was taking place who the participants might have been, and how the objects were used? Their explanations should be based on what they found but also allow opportunity for creativity. The students should conclude that different types of activities occur in different types of places and leave different evidence.
- 4. Ask the students to prepare archaeological reports for their digs. The reports should include the conclusions they have made about the lost culture they have discovered and their completed Level Forms.
- 5. Discuss with the students how procedures may be modified to obtain more information, the kinds of information that couldn't be determined from the dig, and the importance of artifact interrelationships.

LEVEL FORM

LEVEL #	
Depth in centimeters: cm to cm	
SOIL DESCRIPTION Color:	
Soil Type (circle): Sand Clay Dirt Other	
ARTIFACTS Number:	
Description:	
Drawings:	
Map of Artifacts:	

FORT MOSE PROFILE MAP

Objective:

The student will use the Fort Mose Profile Map to learn more about how an archaeologist interprets a site.

Background for the Teacher:

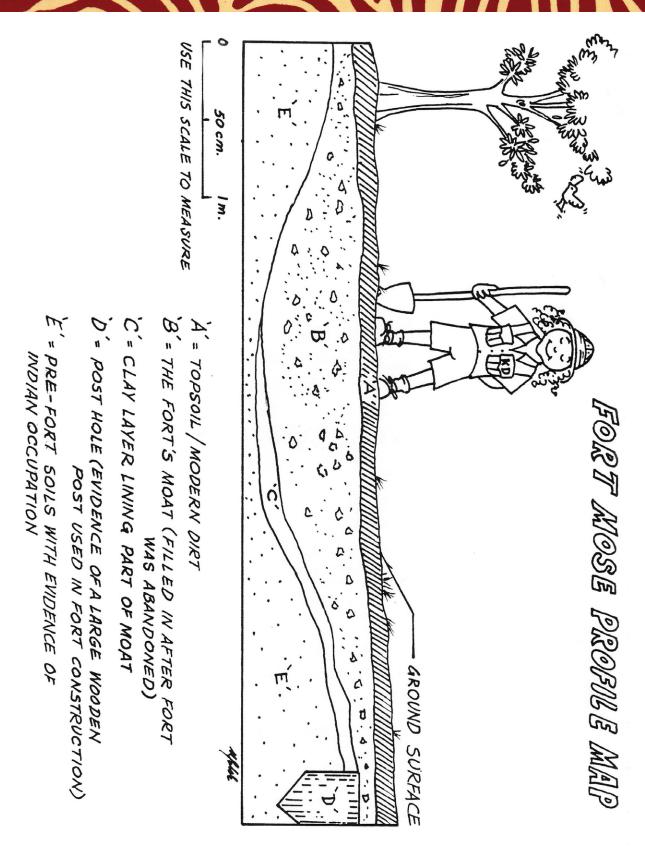
Archaeologists use profile maps to help them interpret the features and sequence of activities at archaeological sites. Maps are created for at least two of the four walls of every excavation unit (an area of specific proportions that is dug in small increments) after the unit has been completely dug. A profile map is a precisely measured drawing that reflects changes in the soil types in the excavation unit. The map is also a key for linking the various forms of field data.

Materials and Resources:

- · Fort Mose Profile Map and study questions
- + pencils

Directions:

Ask students to examine the Fort Mose Profile Map and to answer the questions to learn more about the features and sequence of activities at the site.



FORT MOSE PROFILE MAP continued

Directions:

Examine the Fort Mose Profile Map and answer the following questions to learn more about the features and sequence of activities at Fort Mose.

- 1. How deep was the moat?
- 2. How wide was the moat?
- 3. How wide was the post?
- 4. How deep were the pre-fort soils?
- 5. How deep is the topsoil?
- 6. Which layer is the oldest?
- 7. Which layer is the most recent?
- 8. Which layer was dug into to make the moat?
- 9. The bottom of the moat is on top of which layer?
- 10. What happened after the moat was filled in?
- 11. What happened after the post was removed?
- 12. Who lived here before Fort Mose was built?

FORT MOSE PROFILE MAP continued

Directions:

Examine the Fort Mose Profile Map and answer the following questions to learn more about the features and sequence of activities at Fort Mose.

- 1. How deep was the moat? app. 62 cm
- 2. How wide was the moat? 5 m
- 3. How wide was the post? app. 37 cm
- 4. How deep were the pre-fort soils? app. 62 cm
- 5. How deep is the topsoil? app. 12 cm
- 6. Which layer is the oldest? E
- 7. Which layer is the most recent? A
- 8. Which layer was dug into to make the moat? E
- 9. The bottom of the moat is on top of which layer? C and E
- 10. What happened after the moat was filled in? A layer of topsoil or modern dirt was deposited.
- 11. What happened after the post was removed? The hole was filled in with other sediment.
- 12. Who lived here before Fort Mose was built? Indians

YOUR HOUSE as an archaeological site

Objective:

The student will gain an awareness of how archaeologists use artifacts to piece together the story of our past.

Background for the Teacher:

See Wastepaper Basket Dig, Background for the Teacher.

Materials:

paper and pencils

Directions:

- 1. Discuss with students the kinds of information that artifacts can tell us.
- 2. Ask students to imagine their home as an archaeological site in 200 years. Ask them to draw their houses and place at least 5 items in each room that would identify their bedrooms, kitchen, living room, or other areas. What other living areas would have diagnostic artifacts? What information is missing? What types of objects tend to become artifacts? Students should discuss the types of materials objects are made from and the role of value and condition. Ask the students to add fences or walls, clothes lines, storage sheds, etc. to their drawings that would also leave a physical record.
- 3. Sometimes artifact location can be misleading. Ask students to think of examples of artifacts in the "wrong" location that could cause misinterpretation of the type of living space. For example, a bottle cap, pottery fragment, and corn kernal would suggest a kitchen but might also be found in a living room or bedroom if the former residents sometimes had popcorn and soda snacks in either of those locations.

SKETCH TO STRETCH

Objective:

The student will listen to a story about Fort Mose, draw a favorite scene from the story and help sequence the drawings made by all the students.

Materials:

• Pencils and small pieces of paper

Directions:

The teacher will dramatize life at Fort Mose by telling the children a story using as many descriptive words and events as possible. Examples of events that might be highlighted include:

- 1. The trip from South Carolina to Spanish Florida.
- 2. The arrival at Fort Mose and meeting of old friends.
- 3. Hunting and fishing.
- 4. St. Augustine street scene.
- 5. Battle with the English.

The children should listen to the story and then sketch a scene from it. Ask the students to place the drawings in a chronological order to make a classroom "picture book" of Fort Mose.

Sketch to Stretch may be used as a culminating activity. Other possible culminating activities include making murals or dioramas, role playing, or producing a play.

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BLACK FRONTIER SETTLEMENTS IN SPANISH COLONIAL FLORIDA

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In the many fine frontier studies generated by Frederick Jackson Turner's pioneering work of the late nineteenth century, one area that has suffered noticeable neglect is the Spanish borderlands of Southeastern North America, and in particular, the volatile frontier of Spanish Florida. Yet the sixteenth-century Spanish considered the Southeast of vital strategic importance. The Crown expended great efforts to establish defensive settlements and maintain a tenuous sovereignty in La Florida, which in its original conception stretched from Mexico, in the west, to Newfoundland in the north. The first effective, and the most enduring Spanish settlement within La Florida was established by Pedro Menendez de Aviles at St. Augustine in 1565.

St. Augustine became a military outpost of the Spanish empire, manned by a Spanish garrison, but it also became a key port city, and the administrative and religious center for the colony. Outside this multi-ethnic "primate city" was a hinterland populated by numerous Indian tribes whom the Spanish sought to convert and control. The history of Spanish Florida thus incorporates the elements historians have identified as primary agents of Spanish colonial frontier expansion — a conquistador, missions, and a military presidio.

For most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Spanish in St. Augustine were plagued by Indian and pirate attacks, natural disaster and disease, and after 1670 they also had to contend with English enemies on their frontier. The establishment of Charlestown triggered a century of military and political conflicts which have largely shaped the literature on Spanish Florida. The social history of colonial Florida has been largely ignored, and the group receiving the least historical attention has been the blacks, without whom the colony would surely have failed.

The black presence in Florida is coterminous with the European. Blacks played significant, often critical, roles in Florida's history. Yet they remain "invisible" in the literature. This lacuna is due, in part, to the limited availability of sources, and partially to a lack of interest by more traditional historians. Yet there are remarkably rich sources for the black history of Spanish colonial

Florida, and finally, a growing interest in the nature and function of its black community.

The people of Mose lived on the peripheries of Spanish settlements ...[and] were people who straddled cultures, astutely pursued their own advantage, and sacrificed greatly to achieve ... their freedom.

Of particular interest is the ongoing study of the first known free black settlement in North America, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose. This settlement, like the refugee Indian towns outside St. Augustine, was born of the Anglo/Spanish rivalry on the Southeastern frontier. One element in the conflict was the slave-raiding practiced by both European powers. These early contacts may have pointed the way to St. Augustine and suggested to the Carolina slaves the possibility of a refuge among the enemy. By 1687 fugitive slaves began arriving and because they requested religious sanctuary, they were not returned as the British owners demanded. Instead, they were sheltered, instructed, and baptized and married in the Catholic faith, and employed, ostensibly, for wages. As more Carolina runaways trickled in, St. Augustine officials pleaded for official guidance, and in 1693, Charles II granted the blacks freedom on the basis of religious conversion "so that by their example and by my liberality others will do the same." And others did.

The population grew so large that in 1738, the new Spanish governor, Manuel de Montiano, decided to establish a new town for the freed British slaves about two miles north of St. Augustine. The new town was strategically located across the route of possible land invasions, and on the edge of one of the water passages into St. Augustine. War was on the horizon and the governor clearly recognized the benefits of a northern outpost manned by those with the most to lose from an English victory. Moreover, Mose was purportedly located in fertile lands, with good water and riverine resources nearby, and the governor hoped that the black homesteaders would eventually help provision St. Augustine.

The layout of this town is yet unknown, but the new residents constructed a walled fort and shelters described by the Spaniards as resembling thatched Indian huts. A priest was assigned to the convert village and the men organized themselves into a militia. Approximately thirty-eight families were living in the town by the following year. In gratitude, the freedmen vowed to "shed their last drop of blood in defense of the Great Crown of Spain and the Holy Faith, and to be the most cruel enemies of the English." They soon had their chance, for General James Oglethorpe of Georgia led a major invasion of the Spanish province in 1740. Mose had to be evacuated, but the free black militia played a significant, and heretofore unappreciated, role in the defense of St. Augustine. Although the first town was destroyed in the fighting, Mose was reestablished in 1752.

The second town site is now the subject of an ongoing archaeological investigation directed by Dr. Kathleen Deagan of the Florida State Museum, and funded by the Florida legislature. In its first season, Dr. Deagan's team located the second Mose fort and excavated parts of the surrounding moat and earth embankment, as well as the large structures within the fort. The archaeologists have uncovered food remains and artifacts of military life such as gunflints, bullets flattened by impact, buckles, buttons, pottery and bottles. The 1988 dig will concentrate on searching for the associated village.

A household census of 1759 and the St. Augustine parish registers have already revealed much about these remarkable frontier residents. Many of them were born in West Africa and had endured British slavery. Some had lived among the Yamassee Indians and had experienced hostilities with non-Christian tribes before making dangerous escapes to St. Augustine. There they

lived within the Spanish city and later in their own outlying village, where they associated closely with the seven different native tribes living under St. Augustine's protection. Meanwhile new infusions of African-born and creole runaways continued to be incorporated into their group. The people of Mose may have spoken several European and Indian languages in addition to their own, and they had been exposed to a variety of subsistence techniques, food ways, labor patterns, and artistic and craft traditions. They adopted certain elements of Spanish culture, but what mixture of customs might they have adopted as well? And what in their own traditions might have influenced Spanish culture?

Continued historical and archaeological research will be required to answer these questions and more. But the results of these studies on Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose will tell us much about ethnic interaction on the frontier, the social history of free blacks in a Spanish slave society, and the process of Afro-Hispanic cultural formation. The people of Mose and others like them lived on the peripheries of Spanish settlements — often between the Spanish and their enemies. They were people who straddled cultures, astutely pursued their own advantage, and sacrificed greatly to achieve and maintain their freedom. In the process, they also played critical roles in advancing Spain's colonial frontiers.

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FORT MOSE: AMERICA'S FIRST FREE BLACK COMMUNITY

by Kathy A. Deagan

Fort Mose (pronounced "Moh-say"), though not a familiar name in Florida's history, was the first free black community in North America. Mose provided the setting for a remarkable chapter in the history of Florida and the United States. Much of what we know about Mose and its inhabitants (as well as much of what is included in this discussion) comes from the research of historian Jane Landers. She has done much of the primary documentary research on Mose, working in conjunction with archaeologists at the Florida Museum of Natural History, who conducted two years of excavation at the site of Mose.

Ft. Mose was officially established in 1738. It served as St. Augustine's defensive outpost, protecting it from possible invasions by the British. Its full name was Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, but it was often referred to simply as "Mose." Nearly one hundred free black men, women and children inhabited the village at the fort, farmed nearby fields and manned the defenses.

In order to understand the circumstances and significance of the establishment of Mose, we must begin some 250 years earlier and examine the Spanish attitudes toward non-white peoples--especially slaves--that evolved after Columbus claimed the New World for Spain.

In Spanish lands, slavery was governed by the "Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alfonso El Sabio." Based on the Code of Justinian, a body of Roman law dating from the sixth century, it was incorporated into Spanish law in the thirteenth century by Alfonse X.

The "Siete Partidas" held that slavery was against natural law, for God had created all people free. Slavery originated as an accident of war, when victors enslaved rather than killed their vanquished enemies. Slavery was, therefore, not a natural or preordained condition for anyone regardless of race, and because of this, Spanish slaves had specific legal rights and protections. These included the right to hold and transfer property, sue in the courts, buy their freedom, take legal recourse against cruel masters, and be protected from the separation of family members.

Catholic theology, which recognized the sanctity of the family and the brotherhood in Christ of all men, slave and free, also influenced the circumstances of Spanish-held slaves. The formation of black religious brotherhoods was encouraged. Masters regularly served as godparents and marriage sponsors for their slaves thereby the church sanctioned kinship ties, (very much like "in-laws") between slave and master. Catholic doctrine also led to a flexible attitude toward manumission.

Early Black Presence

The first African to arrive in the New World was Juan las Canaries, a crewmember on Columbus's 1492 flagship, the Santa Maria. After 1517, with the Indian population being decimated by European diseases, large numbers of Africans were brought to the Spanish colonies as slaves. These slaves provided much of the labor for Spanish mines and plantations; however, there were always some free black colonists. Some were craftspeople or laborers. Many were soldiers.

Black soldiers were incorporated into Spanish militia companies from the sixteenth century onward. A black militia was present in Florida by the seventeenth century, in which both free and slave men served as soldiers and officers.

Other free black persons in the colonies were escaped slaves. They formed "maroon" communities in nearly all Spanish colonies, including Florida.

One consistent feature of early African-American colonial experience was the interaction between black and Indian peoples, frequently leading to alliances. Florida was no exception. Edicts prohibiting such alliances were put forth in Hispaniola within 10 years of the arrival of the first black slaves. The 1526 Vasquez de Allyon settlement at San Miguel de Gualdape (in southern South Carolina) was one of the earliest colonial ventures in what was then La Florida. A large number of black slaves were included in the expedition and colony. Their rebellions, along with Indian aggression, were instrumental in the colony's demise.

By the late seventeenth century the advantages of being in Spanish lands created a movement of fugitive blacks south from British Georgia. The first of these fugitives arrived in St. Augustine in 1687. Five men, three women and a three-year-old child escaped in a boat to Florida, where they were given work and instruction in Catholicism. A year later British claims were made for their return. Governor Quiroga of St. Augustine, however, refused to release them since they had gainful employment, were Catholic converts, and some had married.

In 1693, Charles II of Spain made sanctuary official. He issued an edict that the Spanish policy toward runaways was that of "giving liberty to all ... the men as well as the women ... so that by their example and by my liberality others will do the same." The invitation was out: come south to freedom.

Many blacks accepted the invitation over the next three decades, frequently with the assistance of Indians.

The British did not appreciate this Spanish policy. In 1728 the frustrated British launched an unsuccessful retaliatory attack against St. Augustine. Black soldiers fought so bravely in defense of the town that the governor abolished the slave market and freed those soldiers who were slaves.

A Town for Freed Men

In 1738 Governor Montiano decreed that all fugitives from South Carolina would be given unconditional freedom. Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose was established for these freed men. The village and fort were located about two miles north of the Castillo de San Marcos, in view of St. Augustine. Mose was connected to the town by a tidal creek.

Initially 38 men and their families took up residence there. They were expected to farm the area and to provide a northern defense line against possible British attack. Who better than escaped slaves to fight against their former masters? They were given rations of food from the royal storehouse to supplement the food they

were able to farm or forage. The town had a church, and a priest was assigned to give the sacraments and provide instruction in Catholicism to newly-escaped slaves.

A small fort was constructed at the village. It was a square earth-berm structure with a flanker at each corner. The earth walls were surrounded by a moat filled with cactus (opuntia sp.). Inside the walls stood at least one large house, a lookout tower and a well.

Documents indicate that some part of these structures may have been constructed with stone, but their primary material was wood.

This first fort and town at Mose existed for less than two years. In 1740 the English Governor of Georgia, General James Oglethorpe, attacked St. Augustine. At Oglethorpe's approach, the Spaniards evacuated the people of Mose to the safety of the Castillo. One of Oglethorpe's officers, Col. John Palmer, with his men occupied Ft. Mose for the British.

During the attack Oglethorpe laid siege to St. Augustine. Spanish troops--including about twenty free black soldiers--surprised Palmer, routed the British from Mose, and destroyed what was left of the fort. Twenty-seven days after he arrived Oglethorpe withdrew his troops in the face of a Spanish relief force.

Mose lay abandoned for the next twelve years during which the free blacks lived in St. Augustine among the other townspeople. Slaves continued to escape from South Carolina to St. Augustine during this time.

Finally, in 1752, Ft. Mose was rebuilt and the town reestablished. The new fort was located about 1/4 league farther north than the first fort, on the banks of what is now Robinson Creek. It was a larger, three-sided structure, with the side facing the river open and unprotected. The walls were of earth, probably planted on top with cactus, and featured bastions at the northwest and southwest corners. Archaeological evidence indicates that the earthen walls were at least partially faced with clay.

The fort was surrounded by a shallow moat, about three feet wide and two feet deep, also planted with cactus. The fort had two 3-pounder cannons and four iron half-pound stonethrowers as artillery--in addition to 24 muskets for the soldiers.

A map from 1764 shows seven structures within the fort. By 1762, a defense line of earth and yucca had been constructed, extending between Mose and the San Sebastian River to the west. No maps show the precise location of the village, but it is highly probable that the people lived quite close to the fort, if not immediately around and in it.

Our archaeological research has located and verified this 1752 fort and the defense line extending outward from it. It is on a small marsh island north of the Castillo de San Marcos. Portions of the moat, earth wall and interior structures have been excavated.

Much of what we know of the settlement comes from the description its parish priest, Father Solana, made in 1759. Further, a 1759 census has been discovered recently in the Archive of the Indies in Spain. There were at that time 22 houses or "huts" in the community, which according to Solana, were made of thatch. The details of these houses have yet to be determined archaeologically; however, one oval-shaped "hut" made of posts and thatch, with a diameter of about 12 feet has been located. We hope also to learn the degree to which African building traditions were retained by the residents, and to what degree American Indian and European traditions were adopted.

Sixty-seven people lived at Mose in 1759; 37 men, 15 women, 7 boys, and 8 girls. Most of the households consisted of married couples and their children, although several contained three or more single men. There was a large church, measuring about 30 by 16 feet, made of boards and thatch. All of the Mose residents were Catholic, probably converted after their arrival in Florida. It is possible, however, that some may have been converted by Portuguese missionaries before they left Africa.

Undoubtedly the round of religious festivals and feast days, along with the ceremonies for baptism, marriage and death, provided the important social events for the community. Although no religious confraternity is specifically recorded for Mose, there were a very large number of such brotherhoods in St. Augustine. The frequency of black religious brotherhoods in other parts of the New World makes it likely that there was one at Mose also.

The people of Mose farmed, although crop yield was insufficient for their needs. Continuous raids by English-allied Indians made farming dangerous. Mose received a ration of corn, cassava and beef from the Crown, and archaeological studies show that the residents supplemented their diet with products gathered and hunted from the land, particularly fish and shellfish.

Francisco Menendez: An Early Black Leader

One of the most interesting of Mose's residents was Francisco Menendez, Captain of the black regiment. He was the acknowledged leader of the Mose community. The Spanish referred to the town's residents as the "subjects" of Menendez.

Menendez was 45 in 1759. He was married to Maria de Escovar, also of Carolina, and they had at least one child. A Mandingo from West Africa, he had escaped from English slavery and had fought with Yamassee Indians in the Carolinas for about three years. In return, one of the Yamassee chiefs agreed to help Menendez get to St. Augustine. Menendez and his ally were betrayed however, by another Indian named "Mad Dog", and sold into Spanish slavery. He became an officer in the regiment while still a slave. In 1738 Menendez was freed after a more powerful Yarnassee chief petitioned the Spanish governor on his behalf.

Menendez assumed command of the original, Mose regiment of 1738. He held that position until 1763 when Florida became a British colony and Mose was evacuated to Cuba along with the rest of St. Augustine. The free African-Americans at Mose were part of a larger population of free and slave black persons in and around St. Augustine, composing some 15 to 20 percent of the total population. Black people in St. Augustine held a variety of jobs. Records indicate they worked as cattlemen, shopkeepers, bakers, soldiers, blacksmiths and carpenters. The parish records reveal that St. Augustine's black population was drawn from many parts of Africa and Latin America, as well as from Florida and the Carolinas.

About 15 percent of the black population was free. The people of Mose often intermarried inhabitants of St. Augustine. Some of the free Black soldiers married slave women, and there were at least two marriages between Mose residents and Indian women--one of them from the Carolinas who probably came to Florida in the company of her soon-to-be husband.

The people who settled Mose were fierce guerilla fighters, who risked (and sometimes lost) their lives for freedom. From them we are learning a more balanced and accurate version of colonial history, that provides an alternative to slavery and defeat for early black Floridians. Blacks in Florida made astute political alliances with both Indians and Spaniards in pursuit of their freedom.

Mose was abandoned by the Spanish in 1763, when Florida was ceded to England. All of the residents went to Cuba with the other inhabitants of St. Augustine. The fort itself was occupied intermittently by military forces until 1812, owing to its strategic position. But never again was it a black community.