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Florida and Its Historical Archaeology

Florida has figured in the development and growth of historical archaeology. *Historical Archaeology* has published numerous articles from or about Florida. The 2005 *Unlocking the Past: Celebrating Historical Archaeology in North America* (De Cunzio and Jameson 2005) has chapters on the Spanish missions and the Black Seminoles. Recently Charles Ewen (2009:383) provided an overview of the archaeology of Spanish colonialism in Florida that includes sites from Hernando de Soto's expedition and a string of sites across the state of Florida's northern tier. The themes of the research, according to Ewen (2009), include material culture studies, ethnicity, missions, colonial towns, and exploration and early contact. Furthermore, scholarship from St. Augustine has opened up issues of colonialism, gender, and ethnicity (Deagan 1983; Voss 2008:192). Rising interest in the archaeology of Florida, coming from the increasing population of the state and the positive efforts of scholars committed to public archaeology, has expanded the agenda for its historical archaeology, offering new directions for recovering the diversity of histories for Florida (Figure 1). The articles in this collection are meant to contribute to the growing consideration of material biographies, race, studies of landscapes, domination and resistance, ethnogenesis, and cosmopolitanism coming from the historical archaeology of Florida by situating the region in global perspective.

Florida offers a rich heritage for consideration of anthropological concerns. The first formal encounter between the peoples of the Florida peninsula and Spain came in 1513, and over the centuries Florida was ruled under five flags (Spain, France, Great Britain, the United States, and the Confederacy). Each occupation brought change to the peninsula as governments organized the territory, and groups of people

responded or opposed those changes and made their mark on the landscape or erased previous landscapes. Archaeological work within the state has shown how, at times, Florida has been inhabited by groups that have been part of a greater identity or idea, and in other times it was a refuge for groups trying to escape incorporation or extinction by stronger forces. By juxtaposing archaeological sites and material pasts from across the peninsula, this special issue of *Historical Archaeology* highlights common themes and diverse histories for Florida as center and periphery within a global context.

Florida as a Frontier and Borderland

Florida has been a frontier and a complicated space (Gannon 1996). The Timucuas, Apalachees, Tequestas, Tocobagas, Calusas, and other peoples on the peninsula had a range of strategies in response to the Spanish arriving on their shores. The initial, intrusive waves into Florida began with Juan Ponce de León in 1513; Pánfilo de Narváez came in 1528 with 600 men into Tampa Bay; and Hernando de Soto led a similar number on an 1539 invasion that covered much of the present-day southeastern United States. Starting in 1565, the expeditions gave way to colonies and missions. Along with the development of St. Augustine and other colonial towns, the competition among Europeans for the region increased and control over trade and groups intensified. This first Spanish period lasted until 1763 when Britain received the territory and divided it into East and West Florida (with the Apalachicola River as the dividing line). At the end of the American Revolutionary War, Spain regained the territory. During the second Spanish period, the historian Claudio Saunt (1999:5) notes that Florida was barely Spanish, and Landers (1999:82) estimates the number of blacks ranged from around 30% of the population in the 1780s to nearly 60% just before the First Seminole War.

The northern part of La Florida was a borderland, with competing national interests and violence. The First Seminole War was concurrent with the War of 1812 and the Patriots War

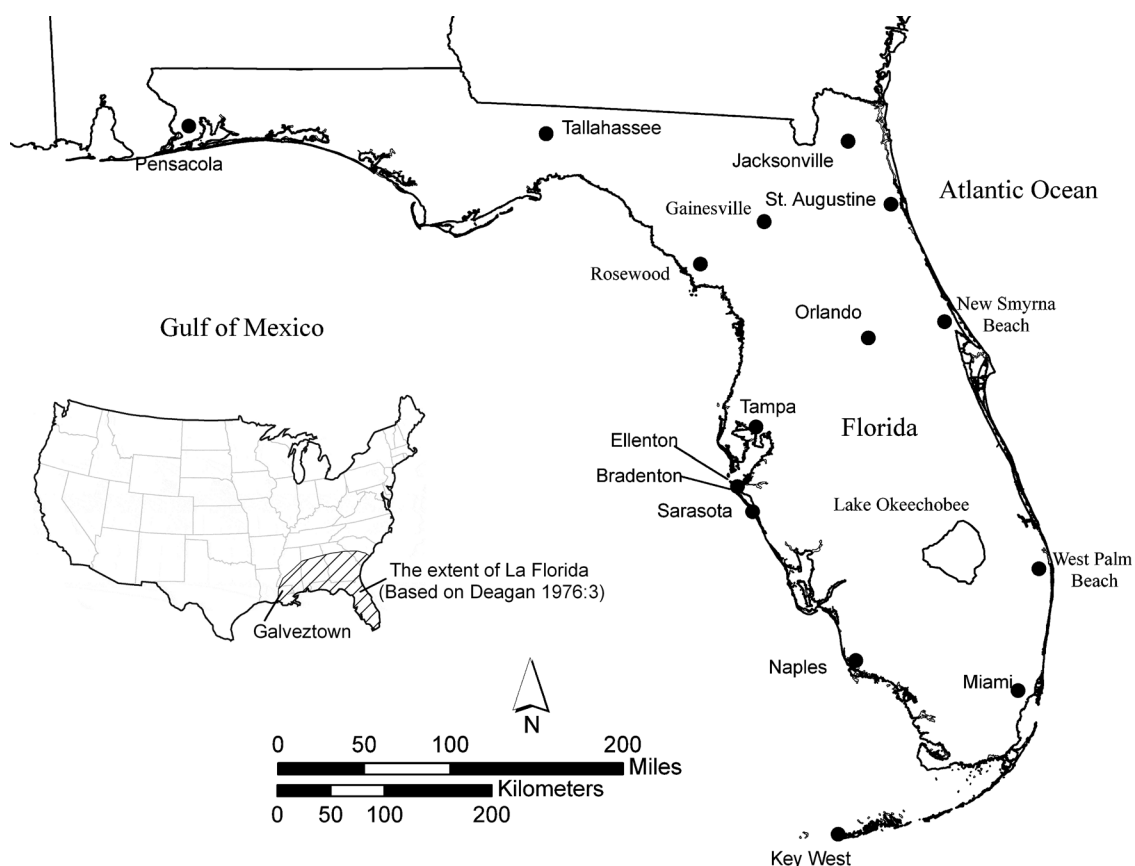


FIGURE 1. Map of Florida, noting major cities and places mentioned in "Cosmopolitanism and Ethnogenesis, Colonialism and Resistance," with an inset map of the United States indicating La Florida. (Map by Dan Hughes, 2011.)

in northeastern Florida. The inability of Spain to control the territory led to the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, with the United States taking the territory in 1821. Attempts to control Florida led to a series of conflicts known as the Second (1835–1842) and Third Seminole (1855–1858) wars. The Armed Occupation Act of 1842 led to an increased American presence throughout the peninsula. These wars may have receded from American national memory but left their marks on the peoples of La Florida.

Florida entered the union as the 27th state in 1845. A territory that had been a haven from slavery during the Spanish period, Florida became a slave state and joined the Confederacy in 1861. Federal elections brought national focus to the state: the 1876 presidential election led to the end of Reconstruction. The Spanish-American War of 1898 returned the military to Florida, and many there supported Cuba's fight

against Spanish rule. North-south travel was encouraged by the late-19th-century construction of railroads (famously by Henry Flagler on the east coast and Henry Plant on the west) and early-20th-century road construction for automobiles (the Tamiami Trail, the road across the Everglades from Tampa to Miami, opened in 1928). The boom times intertwined tourism and construction of new residences, but the real-estate boom bubble burst in 1926. Growth, particularly with the migration of retirees, picked up after the Second World War, creating modern Florida (Mormino 2005).

Diplomatic recognition of the territory and even statehood rarely led to full political control or surveillance over its entire area, as large portions of the state remained a frontier until the early 20th century. Those dynamics of frontier, refuge, and shifting control provide a rich potential for the exploration of cosmopolitanism

and ethnogenesis, colonialism and resistance—a diversity of colonial situations over time that is part of identity formulations.

Colonialism and Cosmopolitanism

Recently, anthropologists, such as Silliman (2005), have stressed the differences among culture contact, conquest, and colonialism in order to clarify the power relations and social dynamics involved in different engagements between Europeans and Native Americans. Spanish colonialism remade the lives of the indigenous people and created new social identities. Domination also required military control as well as control over workers. Resistance works on two levels. There is resistance as a confrontation with larger polities, and there is also resistance in the multiethnic communities; Baram (this issue) cites James C. Scott (2009), who explores this notion in terms of refuge from the state.

To bring out this “history from below,” particularly for the studies revealing fleeting communities, places destroyed by military means or erased by economic failures, a range of techniques are employed by the scholars in this collection. Ceramic analysis, zooarchaeology, geographic information systems (GIS), reinterpretations and discoveries from the archival record, and landscape analysis bring out facets of histories nearly forgotten. Throughout the collection, the contributors took advantage of presenting analyses and interpretations in terms of named individuals. The studies reveal figures whose names entered the archival record, some through creating material inequalities and others by asserting their freedom. Some have national fame, such as Osceola, and others are conserved by state parks, such as Robert Gamble, ensuring their continuing presence on the cultural landscape; but most have nearly been erased. Even when not named, the studies bring out the choices and decisions informed by agency, taste, and market forces through their material legacies in specific times and places. The concern with individuals is not meant to expand the concept of individualism (Leone 2005) but to remember the lives lived in their complexities.

In exploring colonial situations and legacies, scholars are turning to the concept of cosmopolitanism for its ethics (Meskell 2009). A cosmopolitan archaeology asks questions for contemporary archaeological practices, as is

discussed below, but in the studies in this issue cosmopolitan archaeology involves revealing socially mixed situations by paying special attention to the practices of people under conditions of uneven power relations. Cosmopolitanism includes the fluidity of life for individuals and the dynamics of identities such as ethnogenesis. For Florida, the recursive aspects of this cosmopolitan archaeology fit the conclusion reached by Jane Landers in *Black Society in Florida* (1999:252–253): “As the landscape, economy, and racial and social systems were being reshaped, so was the historical production. Florida’s past was bleached and homogenized until it looked less disturbingly Caribbean and more comfortably southern.” The new contemporary social dynamics in Florida are encouraging studies that bring out the diversity of Florida’s peoples, past and present.

Appiah (2006:xv) lays out two strands for the notion of cosmopolitanism:

One is the idea that we have obligations to others, obligations that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kind, or even the more formal ties of a shared citizenship. The other is that we take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance.

The careful tracing of materiality, within the complexities of Florida as a frontier, brings out those dynamics. The differences among the people of Florida, the diversity of the territory, involve and require consideration of race, class, and gender, and the specific trajectories that developed into various groupings of people demonstrate the anti-essentialist, the antiracist significance of recovering the past of the region. The choices in houses, names, crops, and ceramics signal the emergence and reproduction of new social identities. As a frontier throughout its modern history, Florida was a refuge and an opportunity for many different groups of people. Historical archaeology is recovering and revealing dynamic details of their lives in Florida.

Florida in Global Perspective

As Brent Weisman wrote back in 2003, Florida matters for archaeology. Here we build on his point, focusing on how the historical archaeology of Florida offers insights for the

study of the modern world. The papers explore their case studies carefully but also suggest future directions for research, both for specific concerns and general implications. Implicit in many, more central in others, are the heritage consequences of the arguments. The studies illustrate the potential of historical archaeology in Florida with the hope that the arguments, suggestions, and examples encourage more debate and publications out of the 17,000+ cultural resource management reports that exist in the state. While the studies in the collection deepen the investigations into the northern tier of Florida and expand southward, the rich heritage of the state includes more topics for archaeological consideration. In particular the emergence of contemporary Florida, the settlement of Florida following the Civil War with the movement of Anglo-American settlers into the region, created a vibrant “Florida Cracker” society that exists in heritage studies but not in archaeological perspectives. For a different type of example, Florida is one of the world’s leaders in the production of phosphate, a material needed to fertilize crops and wash clothes; this industry has shaped the landscape of much of central South Florida. Whether exploring military instillations from the Spanish-American War to the Cold War, or the development of elite leisure on the coasts, from the separation and intermingling of ethnic groups in the 19th and 20th centuries to tourism and its make-believe lands, Florida continues to be a frontier for research.

The studies in this issue have similarities that reflect the strength of research on Florida and its peoples; there are, of course, many other archaeological studies of Florida, but this collection represents a conscientious effort to situate the material record in a global perspective. The narrative openings of nearly all the contributions reflect the humanistic goal of recovering the forgotten or muted histories. Several studies invoke the lives of individuals; other studies consider ceramic assemblages and the cultural landscape. Across the articles are considerations of key themes for a place of diversity. All the articles attempt to shed light on aspects of cosmopolitanism, ethnogenesis, colonialism, and resistance. Throughout, the various authors demonstrate how Florida can challenge archaeologists’ ideas of how social identities change over time.

In his article on cosmopolitanism, Dan Hughes examines how diversity can be used to examine the possibility of cosmopolitanism. Using a statistical approach to examine the diversity that exists in ceramics used in the 18th century in Florida, he argues that, by examining the consumptive patterns of inhabitants, archaeologists can bridge the micro- and macroscale chasm that exists between agency and the larger world system. Through his examination of various sites in Florida he demonstrates the possibility of what he terms “nascent cosmopolitanism” as an extension of ethnogenesis that develops when populations are deprived of the materials needed to maintain cultural identities.

Arlene Fradkin, Roger Grange, and Dorothy Moore, in their article on the struggles of an indentured Minorcan community in the British colony of East Florida, demonstrate how shared experience can lead to the development, or ethnogenesis, of a new identity to resist the institutions of colonialism. Examining the faunal remains from a settler’s house, the authors mine the data to show the struggles of living within a failing colonial entrepreneurial endeavor. In addition, using valuable historical accounts, the authors demonstrate how the inhabitants of Turnbull’s New Smyrna settlement ultimately united and resisted colonialism and the forces of social control to escape the conditions created within an indentured community on Florida’s frontier.

Rob Mann explores how town planning can act as a mechanism of social control by preventing the abandonment of a town by inhabitants living under adverse conditions. Mann explores the interpretation of spatial data in light of the social control systems instituted by the Spanish government for its colonial possessions. In his article, Mann utilizes historical documents as well as field data to demonstrate how the Spanish kept a population of Canary Islanders/Isleños from abandoning their garrison community on the Florida-Louisiana border despite the despicable conditions under which they were forced to live. In addition, the study offers a view on the boundaries of Florida that extended far beyond present state lines.

Michelle Formica examines West Point’s use of French tactical techniques to train the U.S. Army, and their use in the confines of the Florida theater during the Second Seminole War. Her archaeology of education follows the U.S. Military

Academy's standardization of its globally oriented education system. Formica proposes a new method for examining the effectiveness of training and education in the development of military fortifications on the Florida frontier. Utilizing GIS-based data and a modern military battlefield analysis tool ("key terrain, observation and fields of fire, cover and concealment, obstacles, and avenues of approach," or KOCOFA), Formica examines how training and education failed against Native American resistance in the Florida interior.

In her article on the Gamble Plantation, on Florida's west coast just south of Tampa Bay, Felicia Silpa illustrates the movement and continuity of colonial plantation practices. Examining the historical record and the developmental history of the plantation, she explores the implications of Virginia-style plantations in Florida. Silpa documents the colonial expansion of the plantation system out of the Virginia tidewater to Middle Florida in the early 1800s and eventually to the Manatee River on the Florida frontier.

Rebecca Saunders's article examines how ceramic styles change and blend over time during the protohistoric period in and around St. Augustine. Arguing for a continuation of market trade, Saunders considers the division of Altamaha/San Marcos and Jefferson wares resulting from market forces and not the movement of individuals within the mission system. Tackling the issues associated with level-of-production studies, Saunders demonstrates through historical examples how household industry does not always indicate agency but instead can be an example of reactions to market forces. This article serves as an excellent example of the changes experienced by Native American cultures during contact periods and the need for archaeologists to ensure that they reach farther back into the past as they work in the historical periods.

Uzi Baram explores resistance and resilience during the second Spanish period. The maroons of the early-19th-century community of Angola, on the Manatee River, continued the saga of the search for freedom within La Florida. Angola is one of many communities lost to history for which search and recovery is an ongoing endeavor. The article interprets the archival record for its foodways, illuminating maroon choices for crops. The descriptive images in the archival record offer the opportunity to recover the texture of the lives of people within

cosmopolitan communities who fought for their freedom in the hammocks and swamps of Florida's Gulf Coast.

Terrance Weik takes the reader into the ethics of cosmopolitanism with a discussion on race and racialization. Using his research on the life history of the Seminole leader known as Osceola, Weik explores the collective and individual racialization of African and Native Americans and their shared past within the Florida frontier. Weik uses the historical record to provide an insightful discussion concerning the racism that has impacted the cultural representation of the Seminoles of Florida. The article serves as an important example for how the present has been shaped by interpretation of the past and a reminder to historical archaeologists of the complexities of the historical record.

John Worth, in his examination of Spanish Indians of Southwest Florida, provides an insightful exploration of ethnogenesis. Starting with information on the relocation of Spanish Indians with Seminoles to Oklahoma, Worth unravels a mystery relating to the identity of these people who lived along Florida's coast. Utilizing primary documentary evidence gathered from the archives in Cuba and Spain, Worth demonstrates the entwined history of the south-moving Creek Indians who met and joined with north-sailing Cuban fishermen along Florida's coast. The blending or creolization of these groups is documented to show how these two groups merged to become one community.

Brent Weismann examines the linkage between agency/the individual and cosmopolitanism to show how individuals react to issues of modernity. Using an historic Seminole figure, Weisman shows how named individuals responded to renewed contact in the late 19th century and brokered their existence between their community and the outside world. Through a discussion of their materiality, recorded in historical documents, he is able to demonstrate how some of the figures openly embraced the changing times while managing to keep wood-frame structures even more traditional than the common thatch structures that had been developed as the Seminoles were pushed farther into South Florida at the end of the Seminole wars. Thus the individual, as the article argues, is able to reach a balance through responses to personal interests and the larger world.

Wars and Struggles, Identities and Race, and Landscapes of Change

The integrating themes for the papers include history, the archaeological search for sites of significance that helped create the map of Florida; conflict, the wars seen on the landscape of Florida and the struggles by Seminoles, maroons, Minorcan workers, and the enslaved; social identity, specifically the dynamics of race and racialization as labels were created and contested; power, the continuities and discontinuities of habitation at Smyrna, Galveztown, and Angola; and the meaning of things, models and comparisons that bring out the significance of architecture, places, and the landscape. These themes radiate from historical archaeology scholarship but have important ramifications for understanding the dynamics in Florida and for larger views of the past across the continent. The examples of the archival records on the Spanish Indians, analysis of mission ceramics, and comparisons of Seminole architecture bring out the variation in a complicated place that deserves more scholarly attention.

Florida was in the shadows of empires, a place of imperial ambitions and military and political intrigues. It witnessed the convergence of different ways of life and sustained new social identities and material arrangements. The complexities of political control, social variation, and economic transformations make it an important locale for theoretical debates on historical archaeology's contributions to understandings of technologies, practices, and ideas in the modern era.

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