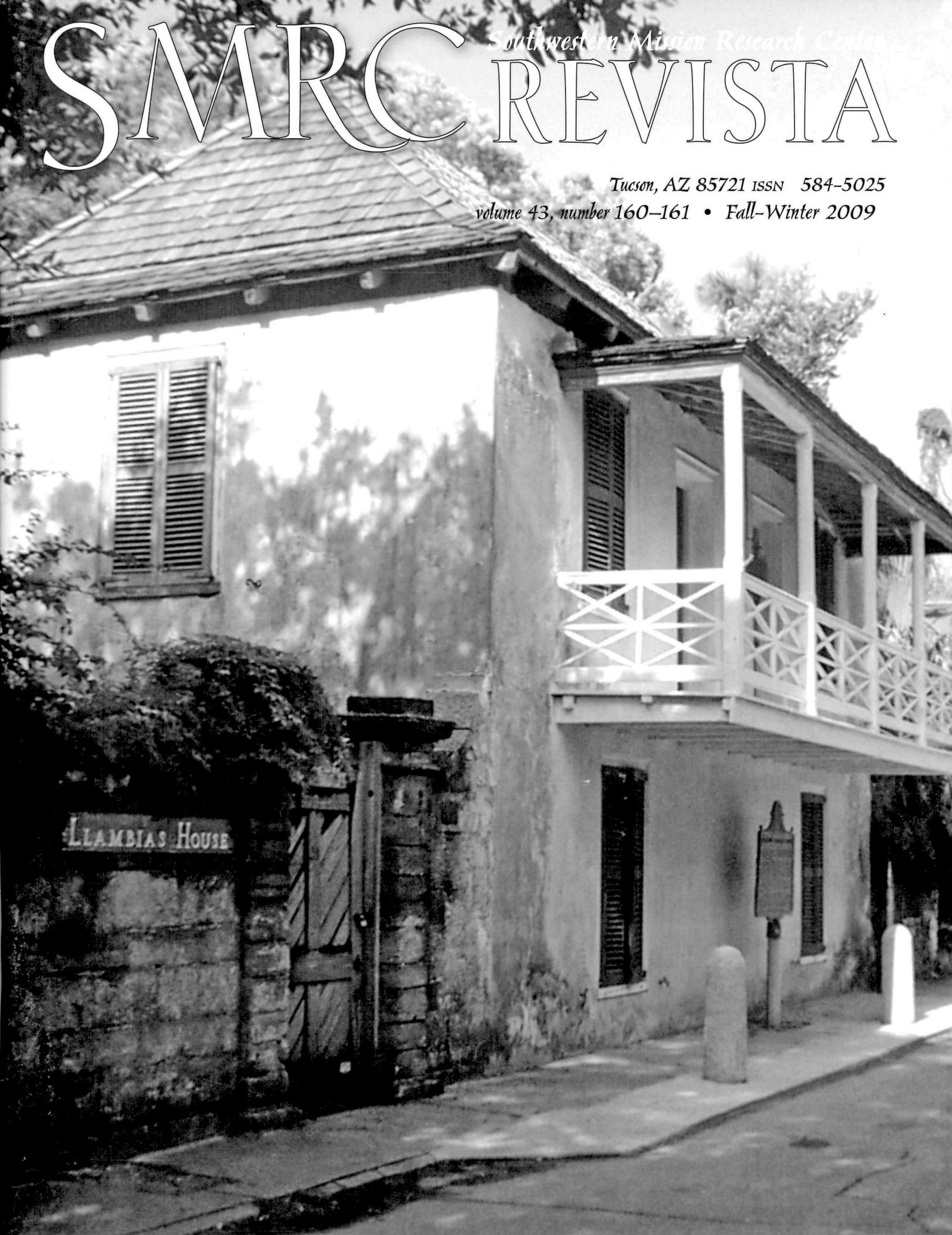


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**Front Cover:** *The Llambias House of St. Augustine, Florida. (Photo courtesy of Mark R. Barnes.)*

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Figure 1. View of the front (north) and east elevations of the Llambias House, looking southwest. (Photo courtesy of the St. Augustine Historical Society.)

## THE LLAMBIAS HOUSE: AN EXAMPLE OF SPANISH COLONIAL CARIBBEAN HOUSING IN THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES

by  
MARK R. BARNES, PH.D.

The Llambias House, located at 31 St. Francis Street in the southernmost section of the old Spanish colonial town of St. Augustine, Florida, is a nationally significant example of the Spanish colonial “St. Augustine Plan” of residential architecture that may be found throughout the Spanish Antilles (Figure 1). The definitive work on this architectural style was produced in the early 1960s by Albert Manucy and then expanded upon by other researchers. According to Manucy, a St. Augustine Plan house generally is a one- or two-story masonry dwelling with a rectangular floor plan that has one of its long sides built flush to the street line. Attached garden walls, also built flush to the street, would have extended from the front facade of the building to

the edges of the house lot to enclose an interior courtyard. A notable feature of the St. Augustine Plan was a lack of direct access to the interior of the residence from the street. Instead, access was provided through a gate in the garden wall which led to the courtyard, with two variations based on the manner of access from the courtyard to the dwelling’s interior: through a covered porch on the building’s rear or through a covered loggia on the side of the building. The Llambias House is an excellent example of the first variant (Figure 2).

Some researchers have suggested that elements of the St. Augustine Plan have their roots in older Roman and Moorish domestic building styles found in Spain, which separate the

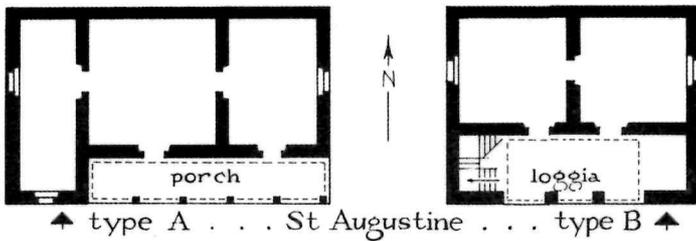


Figure 2. General floor plans of the two variants of “St. Augustine Plan” residential buildings: Type A, with entrance via a rear covered porch (exemplified by the Llambias House); and Type B with entrance through a loggia at the rear or side of the house. (Drawing from Manucy [1978:105].)

exterior or public area of the street from the interior private areas of the residence and courtyard. Transported to the New World, these Iberian building traditions were further influenced by Spanish and British Caribbean colonial building traditions, the local climate of Florida, and the 1573 Royal Spanish ordinances governing the lay-out of new towns, which required that individual houses be constructed in a manner contributing to the defense of the community.

The Llambias House, probably begun in the mid-1750s as a one-story, one-room masonry building, was later enlarged in the 1780s to a two-story, four-room dwelling with a two-story, masonry arcaded porch and wooden gallery attached to the rear that provided access to both floors of the residence. This enlargement also included the addition of a hipped roof with wooden shingles, a wooden balcony on the street facade, and an exterior chimney on the west side of the dwelling (Figure 3). The first Spanish colonial residential building to be restored in St. Augustine, in 1954, the Llambias House is presented as it would have looked during the Second Spanish Period (1783–1821).

On April 15, 1970, the Llambias House was designated by Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) on the recommendation of the National Park Service. This designation resulted from a nationwide NHL Colonial Architecture survey conducted in the 1960s by the National Park Service, from which more than seventy colonial period (Spanish, French, English, Russian, and Dutch) buildings and districts were designated. Four decades later, the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service and preservation specialists restudied the historic documentation relating to the Llambias House, examined its place in the social and political sphere of Spanish Florida, and compared the building with similar residential structures in the Spanish Caribbean. This article, extrapolated from that National Park Service study, demonstrates that the Llambias House not only is nationally significant as an outstanding example of the St. Augustine Plan of Spanish colonial residential architecture, but also reflects other significant cultural aspects not recognized at the time of its NHL designation.

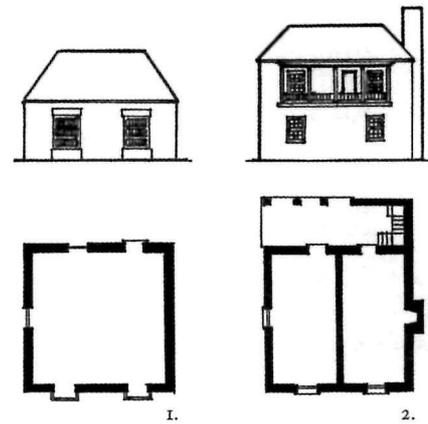


Figure 3. Conjectural floor plans and façade elevations of the Llambias House as originally constructed in the 1750s, and as enlarged in the 1780s. (Figure from James D. Kornwolf [2002:95] with the assistance of Georgiana W. Kornwolf, reprinted with permission of The Johns Hopkins University Press.)

More than 250 years old, the Llambias House has an involved history of ownership, development, and preservation. To understand the importance of this masonry residence to Spanish colonial architectural history, the history of the fortified community of St. Augustine, and the preservation movement in that town, one must first comprehend the complexity of each of these elements. For that reason, this article commences with a background history of the development of the concept of St. Augustine Plan, followed by a history of the development of the Llambias House by its numerous owners in the southern section of the Spanish colonial community of St. Augustine, and concludes by tying together the aspects of preservation and development.

### THE ST. AUGUSTINE PLAN DEFINED

Prior to 1954, when the Llambias House was restored as a house museum, architectural research and preservation of Spanish colonial properties in St. Augustine had been directed primarily at those properties planned by Spanish royal engineers and funded and executed by the Spanish government, such as the town’s masonry forts and parish church. This work included efforts by the U.S. federal government to maintain and stabilize the Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas throughout the nineteenth century, and the Catholic Church’s renovation of the St. Augustine Cathedral in 1887–1888, following a fire that consumed the wooden roof but left its massive colonial masonry walls intact.<sup>1</sup>

While these preservation efforts were being accomplished in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, a few St. Augustine Spanish colonial private residences—such as the Gonzáles-Álvarez (Oldest) House on St.

Francis Street, the Ximénez-Fatio House on Aviles Street, and the Monson House (Vedder Museum) on Bay Street—had been open to the public as tourist venues. These colonial dwellings were simply maintained by their owners, however, with no attempt made to restore them back to a particular time period.<sup>2</sup>

By the mid-twentieth century, in his volume *Early American Architecture*, Hugh Morrison (1952) compiled one of the first nationwide studies of colonial architecture in the continental United States. In the former Spanish colonial areas of the southeastern, southwestern, and western United States, Morrison focused primarily on Catholic missions and churches and colonial forts and administrative buildings funded and constructed by colonial governments. With regard to domestic architecture, the majority of information in his book dealt with Mexican Republic period (1821–1846) adobe ranch houses in California. For Morrison, domestic Spanish colonial architecture in St. Augustine, Florida could be summarized by the Gonzáles-Álvarez House, or “Oldest House,” located up the street from the Llambias House:

The ‘Oldest House’ in St. Augustine is probably typical of the Spanish domestic architecture of the eighteenth century. Sometimes alleged to have been built in 1564, it was more probably built in 1763; at least there is an unbroken chain of titles since that date. It is a simple two-story structure, the thick lower wall built of coquina limestone, the second story of frame construction with clapboard siding. A hipped roof covers second-story porches [loggias] at each end. Interiors have low ceilings, hand-hewn cedar beams, and large fireplaces [Morrison 1952:183].

In 1954, the Llambias House on St. Francis Street became the first Spanish colonial private residence in St. Augustine to be restored using detailed architectural and historical research. Accomplished with funding provided by the State of Florida and work overseen by the St. Augustine Historical Society, this restoration recreated what the house would have looked like during the Second Spanish Period (1783–1821), after the original single-story 1750s masonry building was enlarged at the end of the British Period (1763–1783).<sup>3</sup>

A few years later (1960) the Gonzáles-Álvarez (Oldest) House, also on St. Francis Street, became the second Spanish colonial private residence to be restored back to the late eighteenth century. Like the Llambias House, this property was originally constructed as a one-story masonry dwelling in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, expanded with the addition of a wood-frame second floor and side loggia during the British (1763–1783) and Second Spanish Periods (1783–1821), and subsequently modified by owners in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Prior to restoring the house to its Second Spanish Period appearance, architectural, historical, and archaeological research was conducted. This type of careful preparatory research has established the multidisciplinary methodology used for all later restorations and reconstructions of historic buildings in St. Augustine (Gjessing et. al. 1962).<sup>4</sup>

Contributing significantly to the Oldest House restoration was the research of Albert Manucy, whose study on the Spanish colonial masonry dwellings of St. Augustine defined the stylistic term “St. Augustine Plan.” Manucy, whose family had once owned the Llambias House, had for several years been the historian and restoration expert for the National Park Service at the Castillo de San Marcos, and was therefore familiar with the historical records, history, and architecture of St. Augustine. In the late 1950s, he received a Fulbright Research Scholarship to study historic Spanish architecture on the Iberian Peninsula and to compare it with Spanish colonial buildings found in St. Augustine, Florida. With this support, he published what is considered the seminal work on the residential architecture of colonial St. Augustine, *The Houses of St. Augustine, 1565–1821* (Manucy 1962).

During his research, Manucy found records and graphic images of Spanish St. Augustine demonstrating that private residences in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were built of the most readily available local building material—wood—and that residential masonry construction appeared only in the early eighteenth century. The English, who attacked and burned St. Augustine in 1586, described it as a “little town or village without [fortification] walls, built of wooden houses” (Manucy 1962:15). The town was rebuilt shortly after, and its wooden residences described by Fr. Andrés de San Miguel: “[A]ll the house walls are built of wood [*madera*] and the roofs of palm [*palma*], with some of the main ones of [sawn] board [*tabla*] . . . the Spaniards make the walls of their houses out of cypress [*savino*] because it does not rot when in the ground” (Manucy 1962:15). A map dated 1593 shows some of the 120 houses making up St. Augustine to be constructed of “vertical [sawn] board walls and thatched roofs,” dwellings for the nearly 700 people in the town (Manucy 1962:16). The use of wood as the primary material for residential construction would continue well into the next century, for in 1675, Bishop Calderón noted that “most of the houses they build are flimsy and without much room, since they are merely boards with palm-thatched roofs” (Manucy 1962:20).

As early as 1580, Governor Pedro Menéndez Márques reported the discovery of shell stone, or *coquina*, deposits on Anastasia Island to the east of the town of St. Augustine. However, his successor in 1596, Governor Gonzalo Méndez Canzo, believed masonry or shell stone construction to be impractical in St. Augustine due to the locally unstable geological conditions: “[I]n digging one cubit [about 18 inches] beneath the surface one finds sand and water” (Manucy 1962:17). It was the sacking and partial burning of the wooden town by English pirates in 1668 and the establishment of the British colony of Carolina in 1670 that precipitated the change in building material for St. Augustine’s private residences. To protect Spanish Florida from future pirate attacks and threats from British colonies to the north, the Spanish crown authorized funds and technical personnel to open the coquina quarry on Anastasia Island in 1671. The cornerstone was laid in 1672 for the construction of

the Castillo de San Marcos, a masonry fort completed in 1697 (Manucy 1962:19–20).

A third building material that appears to have first come into use in St. Augustine during the late seventeenth century was tabby (Spanish *tapia*), a type of concrete composed of water mixed with sand, burned oyster shells, and oyster shells that was poured into wooden frames to create walls, floors, and roofs for colonial houses and walls to enclose courtyards. More durable than wooden construction, tabby buildings required continual maintenance of their lime plaster covering to prevent deterioration by water intrusion (Manucy 1962:164).<sup>5</sup>

The completion of the Castillo de San Marcos was paramount to St. Augustine's successful defense when English forces unsuccessfully besieged the fort in 1702, at the beginning of the War of Spanish Succession.<sup>6</sup> Before withdrawing, however, these forces burned nearly all of the wooden and tabby private residences in the city, leaving the inhabitants to start over in constructing their residences. Based on his research, Manucy (1962:8, 11) argued that none of the approximately three dozen currently extant masonry colonial residential buildings in St. Augustine can be dated to a time before this event, but instead should date after 1702.<sup>7</sup>

Although it took some time for Spanish settlers to recover from the 1702 attack, by 1713 Governor Don Francisco de Coroles had constructed a new coquina-masonry Governor's House at the west end of the town plaza with the shell stone quarried on Anastasia Island. Fifty years later, when Spaniards departed St. Augustine under the terms of the Treaty of Paris, there were 342 private dwellings in the town: 124 (36 percent) of coquina masonry, 140 (41 percent) of tabby, and 78 (23 percent) of wood (Manucy 1962:33). What had once been a wooden town in 1702 was three-quarters masonry or tabby construction in 1763. During the intervening years, the economic situation evidently had improved to the point where many St. Augustine families were able to afford masonry and tabby residences, which, while more expensive, were more durable and resistant to rot and fire than wooden buildings (Manucy 1962:9).

At the end of the French and Indian War, Spanish Florida was transferred to Great Britain, marking the beginning of the British tenancy (1763–1783). An English resident of this period, Dr. William Stork, described the Spanish masonry houses in St. Augustine as "built of free-stone, commonly two stories high, two rooms upon a floor, with large windows and balconies; before the entry of most of the houses [at the rear] runs a portico of stone arches; the roofs are commonly flat" (Manucy 1962:28)—foreshadowing Manucy's St. Augustine Plan. An additional description of the Spanish colonial houses in St. Augustine was supplied by William Gerard de Brahm:

All houses are built of Masonry; their entrances [at the rear] are shaded by Piazzas [porches] supported by Tuscan Pillars or Pilasters against the South Sun. The houses have to the East windows projecting 16 or 18 inches into the street, very wide and proportionately high. On the West side their Windows are commonly very small, and no Opening of

any kind to the North, on which side they have double walls 6 or 8 feet asunder, forming a kind of Gallery [loggia], which answers for Cellars and Pantries . . . No house had any Chimney for a Fire-place. [Manucy 1962:29]

During the initial years of St. Augustine's British occupation, the government housed its soldiers in the tabby and wood houses left by the Spanish families who departed en masse to Cuba. The naturalist William Bartram reported that the British soldiers, before they were housed in barracks at the renovated St. Francis Convent, "pulled down 'about half the town' to make firewood, which was scarce" (Manucy 1962:34). While this loss of tabby and wooden dwellings was occurring, several pre-1763 Spanish masonry colonial houses were being enlarged by the more-affluent British colonists, who "remodeled many of the better (coquina) ones, and built scores of small timber-frame houses for a flood of refugees from the [American] Revolution to the north" (Manucy 1962:8).

Remodeling appears to have been undertaken primarily on the masonry buildings. This included adding a masonry or wooden second floor, usually with a street-side balcony; building a chimney on the side of the building; and replacing wooden shuttered windows with glass panes. Often times, however, the British found it convenient to retain the Spanish-inspired side entrances to the courtyard and rear-porch or side-loggia entrances to the house, both of which provided shade and protection from the summer heat.

At the end of the American Revolution, Florida and St. Augustine were returned to Spain in 1783, and in 1788 the Spanish Royal Engineer Mariano de la Rocque resurveyed the town, finding a total of 266 residential buildings that included:

. . . 133 houses of wood (*madera*), 114 stone (*mamposteria*), and only 19 tabby (*ostion*). Probably the latter were survivors of the tabby houses so numerous before 1763. Most of the wooden buildings were recent makeshifts from hectic Tory times. [Manucy 1962:46]

When St. Augustine became part of the United States in 1821, the total number of buildings had increased to approximately 300. Several of these were coquina masonry, a good number of which had been built during the Second Spanish Period. By the time Manucy published his study 141 years later, however, all that remained of the colonial residential buildings were 31 coquina-masonry residences, 1 wooden building, and a tabby fragment of a garden wall; only about one in ten colonial residential buildings noted in 1821 had survived. Manucy (1962:10) believed that the surviving masonry buildings were "the better houses, not representative of the total architecture" that once made up St. Augustine. Nearly all of these residences have undergone rebuilding and alteration since construction; those houses "which survived catastrophes underwent a sort of continuous development, in which countless structural additions were made and few taken away" (Manucy 1962:9).

In 1978, Manucy published an article entitled *Changing Traditions in St. Augustine Architecture*, in which he presented

additional views on the cultural and environmental factors influencing St. Augustine Plan houses. Among these were Spanish regulations pertaining to the size of the house lots allotted to citizens:

According to laws enacted in 1563 and 1573, the formula for allocating real estate to settlers in the Americas was based upon the amount of land needed to sustain a foot soldier—that is, a peasant, or *peón*. The term for the quantity of land and its produce was *peonía*. After living on the land five years, the grantee gained fee simple title. A gentleman—a *caballero*—having a horse and larger responsibilities naturally required more support. His allotment, called a *caballería*, was about five times the size of a *peonía*. [Manucy 1978:99]

The *peonía* lot would have measured 50 Spanish feet fronting on the street, with a depth extending back about 100 Spanish feet, or roughly 44 by 88 English feet (Early 2004:8). Although this was the model as set forth in Spanish regulations, in St. Augustine the “irregular placement of the streets as well as the inconsistencies in the dimensions of lots and blocks are traceable to such factors as the topography of the peninsular site, drastic turnovers in population with wholesale property transfers and abandonments, loss of records, collapse of fences and blurring of property lines, not to mention the inevitable encroachments upon public lands” (Manucy 1978:101, 103). The Llambias House is located on a rectangular lot significantly larger than the *peonía* lot authorized by Spanish regulations, with about 90 feet of street frontage and a lot depth of about 160 feet (English measurement).

Another factor influencing St. Augustine architecture was the Spanish attempt to adapt traditional Iberian masonry housing to a New World environment where the most readily available building material was wood. It would be more than one hundred years after the founding of the colony (1565) before wooden residences gave way to masonry ones in St. Augustine. From his research on traditional Iberian housing, Manucy (1978:106) found Spanish farmhouses “with a loggia-like area facing south. The function of the open-sided (loggia) room was clearly utilitarian: it housed the farm cart and sheltered the accesses to tool and supply storerooms.” He also noted that balconies, so plentiful in Spain, were mainly utilitarian, for drying grain or clothes, and called *solanas*, or sun galleries. In Florida, however, “the structural members of the balcony became shorter and heavier than the Spanish prototypes, perhaps because lumber was more plentiful, and the depth of the balcony increased from a narrow three or four feet to a comfortable five or six . . .” (Manucy 1978:108).

Reexamining his definition for the St. Augustine Plan, Manucy saw two stylistic forms, both of which evolved out of the one-story, one- or two-room “common” masonry cells:

The simpler one consists of two or more rooms fronted by a piazza [a roofed porch, open on two or three sides, at the rear of the building, usually columned, sometimes arcaded],

which is closed at one end by the body of the house. Entrance [to the house] is via the piazza, which faces the side yard (never the street). If the house is two-story, the closed end of the piazza contains the stair. There may be a street balcony. [Manucy 1978:106]

The more refined version of the plan has an open-sided room or loggia [a space contained within the body of a building and used as an open-air room, usually with the open side columned or arcaded] instead of a piazza. In both cases, the plan is oriented to shield the piazza or loggia from north winds but to admit the low winter sunshine. In the summer the open area faces the prevailing southeast breeze, but gives shade from the burning sun overhead. Of 289 dwellings shown on the 1788 [Rocque] map, 60 have the St. Augustine plan with either the loggia (32) or piazza (28). [Manucy 1978:106]

Manucy believed the coquina-masonry St. Augustine Plan buildings were the logical outcome of a long Spanish tradition of private dwelling construction that was transferred to the New World, but modified to adapt to the environmental conditions of Florida:

From the earliest palm-thatch hovels to [coquina] shell-stone-and-shingle, St. Augustine structures were indigenous and Spanish artisans were obliged to adapt traditional practice to available materials, with attendant structural changes. Graphic sources of the sixteenth century represent St. Augustine housing as timberframe with vertical board walling and thatch roof. There followed a progression to monolithic walls of the concrete called ‘tabby,’ which is a mix of lime and sand with shell aggregate, tamped into board forms. [Manucy 1978:103]

[U]ntil the beginning of the Castillo (1672), stone walling was deemed too heavy for the light sandy soil with its high water table. When the English burned the town in 1702, aid from the king’s treasury along with stone from his quarries (opened for the Castillo in 1671) combined to usher in an era of stone housing. Walling was generally coursed, squared rubble, with lime-plastered surfaces. Both board timberframe and tabby continued, sometimes in combination with each other or with stone. [Manucy 1978:103–104]

Based on the approximately 30 Spanish colonial coquina dwellings, like the Llambias House, extant in present-day St. Augustine, Manucy observed:

The Spanish foundation had remarkable solidity, comprising as it did the inflexible old town plan with its narrow shaded street. Upon this foundation the Spanish builders erected simple utilitarian houses, which were well adapted to the environment. But neither of the great traditions, as they met at St. Augustine, was purely Spanish or purely English, for the transplantings from the homelands had flowered diversely as they grew in the American climates. What the English inherited at St. Augustine was vernacular

architecture, and the features they added were in a vernacular of their own. [Manucy 1978:132]

Over 250 years of Spanish occupation and the intrusion of a brief British ownership, the vernacular Spanish-inspired private dwellings changed from wooden dwellings to tabby and finally to masonry. Throughout all the change in materials, however, the basic Spanish colonial architectural floor plan—of covered porches and galleries on the rear or loggias on the side of a simple masonry dwelling—was retained because it suited the Florida climate.

The houses which have survived are massive masonry buildings, cool in summer, warm in winter, sound and practical, and not to be changed in a hurry. Yet, as we have seen, radical adjustments could be made to meet new conditions, and indeed often were. It was not unusual to double the size of a small masonry home by adding a timberframe story; flat roofs gave way to shingled gable or hip roofs, often with dormers in the garret. And while the trend was unmistakably toward high-ceilinged spaciousness in the Georgian manner, even the new houses kept such niceties as loggias and street balconies, which were not only functional but pleasing to the eye and comfortable for living. [Manucy 1978:132]

At the time of Manucy's 1978 article, Dr. Kathleen Deagan, of the University of Florida, Gainesville, was undertaking a major archaeological survey of downtown St. Augustine to define the limits of its buried sixteenth-century Spanish occupation. Deagan's fieldwork formed the basis for Manucy's (1997) final volume on Spanish colonial architecture, *Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine, The People and Their Homes*, in which he noted:

[M]ost of San Agustin town lots were *peonía* size: 50 by 100 Spanish feet (44 by 88 U.S. feet). This conclusion results from map and documentary studies of 1976–77 and is supported by archaeological findings. Kathleen Deagan asserts, [this type of house lot] "is found at all kinds of households in all time periods of First Spanish St. Augustine" [1565–1763]. [Manucy 1997:62]

By this time, Manucy had conducted sufficient research to establish an apparent link between the colonial dwellings of St. Augustine, such as the Llambias House, and their contemporaries in Spain:

[I]t is clear from the later survivors that they are related to the folk architecture of northern Spain, the home of Pedro Menéndez, the town's founder. Today in Oviedo and Santander Provinces one can see masonry houses, often with overhead balconies, fronting the streets. House lots are fenced to serve as corrals and stables. And in the town of Treceño there are houses with roomy ground-floor loggias, open to the yard through an arcade of two or three arches. These same styles can be seen in St. Augustine, and they have been there a long time. [Manucy 1997:5]

As Manucy was publishing his final work on the architecture of St. Augustine, Pamela Gosner (1996) was working on a study on historic architecture of the Spanish Antilles (Cuba, Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico), which was published as *Caribbean Baroque, Historic Architecture of the Spanish Antilles*. In this volume, she argued that the masonry houses on the former Spanish colonial Caribbean islands and those in St. Augustine, Florida, were derived from the same Iberian Peninsula architectural traditions and shared many architectural elements. According to Gosner, the Roman townhouse, or *domus*, introduced into the Iberian Peninsula in the first century A.D., was the basic model for later Spanish colonial buildings in the New World. The *domus*—in particular, the residence built in towns—was built right up to the street front and could be entered only through a single opening, or *vestibulum*, which

. . . led into an area open to the sky known as the atrium. This was surrounded by small rooms, and usually had a pool, the *impluvium*, in the center. The atrium was a semi-public area; beyond it, and more private, was a larger open area, usually surrounded by a pillared corridor, called the *peristylum*; from this opened the rooms for family living. The house was only one story in height whenever space permitted, and even when it had an upper floor all attention was concentrated on the ground floor. [Gosner 1996:130]

The practicality of the Roman *domus* meant it would continue to be a basic traditional house form in Iberian towns even after the breakup of the Roman Empire and into the fifth and seventh centuries A.D., when the Iberian Peninsula was subjugated by the Visigoths. In A.D. 711, Spain was invaded by an army of the Umayyad Caliphate during their expansive conquests of northwest Africa.<sup>8</sup> This Caliphate quickly overran most of the Iberian Peninsula and, being familiar with Mediterranean building traditions, adopted in large part the Iberian house forms they found there for their domestic architecture.

The inward-facing character of the Roman house appealed to the Muslim ideal of domestic privacy, as did its suitability for the warm climate of southern Spain. However, certain modifications were necessary for even greater seclusion. The entrance, instead of leading directly into the atrium, led either into a vestibule or a room; the doorway leading from this room to the patio was not in line with the entrance, so that even with the doors open, the interior of the house was not completely visible from the street. Second and even third stories were more common than under the Romans, making stairways necessary; these usually were located in the patio. Openings were screened with lattice-work panels which allowed the occupants to see out unobserved; sometimes these were elaborate projecting balcony windows called in Arabic *meshrebeeyah*. The Roman colonnade often became an arcade, with Moorish or stilted arches supporting a gallery of wood; if space did not allow such an arcade the gallery might be supported on cantile-

vered beams. Following the Roman custom, the exteriors of the houses were unornamented, with flat plastered white-washed walls, but the interiors were decorated with plaster reliefs, tiles, fountains, and other features. [Gosner 1996:130–131]

Over the next seven centuries, the kings of Castile and Aragon slowly recaptured the Iberian Peninsula from the Moors, a process that ended in 1492, with the taking of the Alhambra, and coincided with the initial Spanish voyages of exploration to the New World. The similarity of climates between Spain and the New World encouraged the transplanting of Iberian architectural traditions to the colonies. Spanish colonists introduced a number of architectural elements reflecting both Spanish and Moorish traditions common to the Mediterranean area, such as patios surrounded by galleries, louver and grille window coverings, and plain white-washed walls (Gosner 1996:131).

By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, masonry houses in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico had an “entrance vestibule (or *zaguán*), which was usually at one end of the front [of the building], and which communicated with the patio by means of an archway.” In the patio were “stairways to the upper floors . . . generally placed at one end of the gallery” (Gosner 1996:136), similar to the St. Augustine Plan as defined by Manucy. By this time the execution of the patio also began to change more toward the St. Augustine Plan:

Arcaded galleries surrounding the patios [on the back side of the houses] also became more common in this period . . . . These were now almost invariably of masonry construction . . . . The stairway to the upper floors was still located in the gallery . . . . [Gosner 1996:136]

Another feature found on early Spanish Caribbean houses, like those found in St. Augustine, were balconies on the façade and wooden grilles, or *rejas*, over the windows:

Balconies are another typically Spanish feature, both in southern Spain and in the island colonies. Early balconies were small, separate structures in front of each upper window, with a separate pent roof of tiles and railings and colonnettes of turned wood. They were supported on beams which projected from the walls . . . . The small individual balconies of the 17<sup>th</sup> century became single ones extending the full width of the house . . . . When ground-floor windows existed, they might project slightly from the facade, and they were always provided with turned wood grilles (*rejas*). [Gosner 1996:136–137]

## Summary

The St. Augustine Plan, as defined by Manucy from his research on such buildings as the Llambias House, represented a convergence of many cultural aspects. The first of these was the Spanish Ordinances dictating the layout of a city plan, the dimensions of an individual house lot, and even the placement of the residence on that lot. As noted by James Early (2004) in

his book, *Presidio, Mission, and Pueblo, Spanish Architecture and Urbanism in the United States*,

Manucy believed that house lots in St. Augustine generally conformed to the standard smaller lot defined in the urban Ordinances of 1573, the *peonaría*, fifty by one hundred Spanish feet, or forty-four by eighty-eight English feet. He endorsed Kathleen Deagan’s finding that a common layout was characteristic of these lots throughout whole period 1565 to 1763. . . . Ordinary houses were placed directly along the street with a porch attached to one of their sides at right angles to the street. Larger houses extended from the street back into the lots. A freestanding kitchen and utility structure was often placed in a rear corner of the lot and a garden wall ran down one of its long sides. [Early 2004:18]

The second aspect was the building materials used by the residents of St. Augustine to construct their homes. Wood predominated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and continued to be used for the rest of the colonial period as building material for modest homes. In the eighteenth century, as the economy of the colony improved, tabby was used to construct the homes and courtyard walls of the residents. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, coquina masonry—sometimes used in conjunction with wood or tabby—became the main building material of the more well-to-do residents:

Most two-story houses had upper stories of wood above lower ones of tabby or of stone. The grandest houses had two stories of stone with flat roofs of tabby slabs concealed behind parapets. The use of tabby for walls probably began about 1700 and stopped about sixty-five years later during the British period. [Early 2004:18]

The third aspect was the introduction of certain Spanish traditional masonry building elements that were transplanted to Florida during the eighteenth century from Spain and the Spanish Caribbean islands. Among these features were balconies on the second-story façade, windows enclosed with wooden *rejas*, and garden-wall doorways to courtyards, from which access to the residence was gained either through covered rear porches or side loggias. The rear porch or side loggia also provided protection from both intruders and the climate:

Shaded side [loggias] and rear porches, sometimes with roofs adjusted to admit the winter sun, were a standard feature of St. Augustine houses for well over two centuries. The front balcony extending over the street, now characteristic of many houses in the city, was first recorded in a description of the governor’s house in 1713. The overhanging balconies were supported by extensions of the timbers holding up the second floor, by extensions pegged into those timbers, or by wooden corbels. [Early 2004:19]

Lastly, according to Manucy, the twenty-year British colonial hiatus (1763–1783) saw the addition of certain British traditions

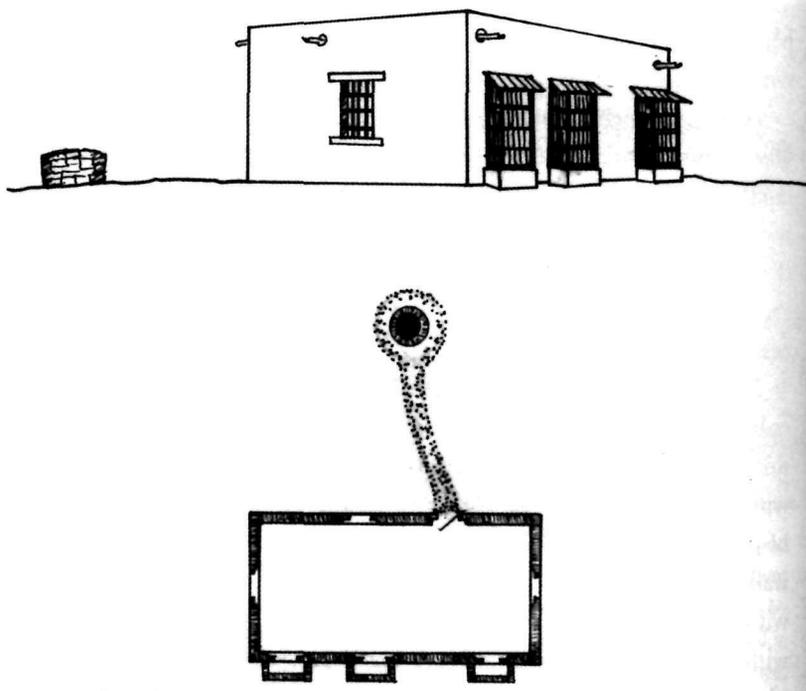


Figure 4. Alternative conjectural floor plan and east and north (front) elevations of the original (1750s) Llambias House, with a flat roof with parapet and rain spouts rather than a wooden frame roof as shown in Figure 3. (Drawing by Elsbeth K. Gordon, courtesy of St. Augustine Historical Society; figure originally published in Gordon [2002:142].)

to the Iberian-inspired architectural heritage of St. Augustine. British building features included hipped roofs with wooden shingles, masonry chimneys, and the replacement of wooden rejas with glass pane windows, made possible by an improvement in the economic situation in Florida (Early 2004:19).<sup>9</sup>

The Llambias House, begun in the 1750s as a modest one-story, one-room masonry residence, was located some distance from the more affluent area of the town plaza a few blocks to the north. With the renovation of the nearby Catholic convent into a military barracks during the British period, this area increased in economic and social importance. It was at the end of this period, in the early 1780s, that the major additions to the Llambias House were undertaken. The house is a classic example of the St. Augustine Plan's rear-porch-entrance variant, as originally defined by Manucy, which features all of the above-noted cultural and architectural aspects.

## BACKGROUND HISTORY OF THE LLAMBIAS HOUSE<sup>10</sup>

The general area of the Llambias House, in the southern quarter of the colonial community of St. Augustine, was influenced first by the presence of a Franciscan church and convent complex and later by the renovation of the church complex into the British and later Spanish military barracks. The southern quarter of the community was delineated by St. Francis Street (originally called Convent Lane) and San Salvador Street on the north and south, and the Rosario Defense Line (now Cordova

Street) and Matanzas River on the west and east, respectively. This area of the town was probably first occupied by Spanish colonists in the late sixteenth century, after construction of the wooden church and convent of St. Francis, which was located about 150 feet east of the future site of the Llambias House. The southern quarter's distance from the plaza meant that its house lots (generally peonía-sized lots) would have been allocated to colonists of more modest means, as the Laws of the Indies reserved larger town lots around the plaza for the well-to-do.

At the beginning of the War of Spanish Succession, the wooden church and convent were damaged by the South Carolina militia during the 1702 attack on the city, but were rebuilt using coquina masonry with the assistance of funds provided by the Spanish government in the mid-eighteenth century. In the six decades following the 1702 attack, a number of modest private residences were erected along both sides of Convent Lane on peonía-sized house lots. Although most were constructed of wood and tabby, by the 1750s, a few one-story, coquina-masonry, one- or two-room dwellings also stood on Convent Lane. One of these was the Llambias House (Figure 4). The entrance to the building was through the rear, probably under a covered patio. The roof may have been flat or pitched, and the windows were probably enclosed with wooden shutters and rejas. The ability of some individuals, such as Pedro Fernández, to build even modest masonry residences in the southern quarter of the town indicates a general improvement in affluence among the inhabitants of St. Augustine during the first half of the eighteenth century (Puente 1764; Manucy 1962:14–40).

The British significantly altered this area of St. Augustine between 1763 and 1783 by converting and enlarging the St. Francis church and convent into a substantial, two-story military barracks, and inadvertently allowing their troops to demolish most of the modest Spanish tabby and wood residences in the area. The expenditure of British government funds to create a large barracks would have made the southern quarter of St. Augustine an attractive area to construct residences for affluent government civil servants, as well as for commercial use to support the needs of the soldiers housed in the barracks.<sup>11</sup>

To accommodate some of these newer and wealthier residents, a few of the extant coquina-masonry one-story Spanish colonial buildings along both sides of St. Francis Street (including the Llambias House) were taken over and enlarged by British civilian colonists. It was toward the end of this twenty-year period that the Llambias House was expanded. Changes included a second story built of coquina masonry, a wooden balcony on the street-side second story, a two-story masonry arcade and wooden gallery on the rear side (which provided a rear entrance to the building), and a masonry chimney on the west exterior side. This expansion also would have included the addition of a pitched roof with wooden shingles and the installation of windows with glass panes (see Figure 3).

The land south of the Llambias House on St. Francis Street generally remained undeveloped until the late nineteenth century, used primarily as garden plots for garrison soldiers under both British and Spanish regimes. After 1821, when the United States acquired Florida, the open area south of the barracks was used as a military cemetery, where the bones of troops recovered from the 1835 Dade Battlefield were interred.<sup>12</sup> This burial ground became a National Cemetery in the 1880s (Mowat 1943; Rocque 1788; Sewall 1976:16).

Following the Civil War, houses were built on federal property for military personnel, and an African American residential neighborhood developed along nearby Charlotte Street. Several large residences were constructed on St. Francis Street near the Llambias House, notably the Stickney House at 282 St. George Street (which for a brief time around World War I served as Flagler Hospital). St. George Street south of St. Francis Street was not cut through until the early 1890s, and the neighborhood there did not fully develop until the first three decades of the twentieth century. A few private residences also were built on Marine Street early in the century. Since 1907, the State of Florida has operated the old St. Francis Barracks complex as the State's National Guard Headquarters (Mowat 1943). Around this time, the owners of the Llambias House apparently took down the rear masonry and wood porch constructed in the 1780s, replacing it with a two-story wooden porch and gallery, and created a front door to provide direct access to the house from the street. Eventually, in the mid-1950s, with a growing interest in the preservation of historic residences in St. Augustine, the Llambias House was acquired and restored to its 1780s appearance.

## Llambias House History

The first owner of record of the Llambias House was Pedro Fernández, who was noted as the owner of a stone house and associated house lot on a map drawn by the Royal Spanish engineer Juan Elixio de la Puente, dated January 29, 1764 (Figure 5).<sup>13</sup> This map was produced just as Spain was relinquishing Florida to British rule under the terms of the Treaty of Paris ending the French and Indian War, with Puente assigned the task of plotting and briefly describing every house in St. Augustine on a map and recording the property owners. Few private property records for St. Augustine prior to the Puente Map have yet been located, so there is no record as to when Fernández acquired his property or built his one-story, one-room masonry dwelling; a good estimate is that this part of the building was extant by the mid-1750s. Built of *pedra* (stone, coquina), Fernández's house "stood on a good-sized lot, running 120 *varas* north and south and 16 *varas* east and west (approximately 360 by 48 feet). It was one of a cluster of properties on the south side of Convent Lane (now St. Francis Street) in the block west of the convent and church of San Francisco" (Waterbury 1997:1). According to the map,

... Pedro Fernández and his wife Josepha Baesse, were living in what Puente recorded as #383, a stone house in Block "m". The one next door [to the west], where Josepha's mother, Manuela de Rutia, lived, was [wooden] frame. Other houses along the south side of the street were tabby, [wood] frame or coquina (stone), the mix indicating the economic range of many St. Augustine neighborhoods. [Waterbury 1997:7]

The Fernández family left St. Augustine shortly after Puente completed his map, and settled in Havana, Cuba, rather than live under British rule. In addition to surveying the town, Puente also acted as a real estate agent for displaced Spanish families and attempted to sell their properties and relay the money to them at their new homes in Cuba. Puente recorded on July 7, 1764, that he sold Fernández's masonry house and lot for 150 pesos to Jesse Fish, a local representative of a New York mercantile firm. Fish had lived in St. Augustine during the last years of the First Spanish Period and would continue to live in the community during the British Period and into the Second Spanish Period, until his death in 1790 (Poppeliers 1965:1).

As the time for Spanish withdrawal approached, and due to the lack of sales in most instances, Puente simply turned over to Fish the responsibility of selling the remaining St. Augustine houses and hoped Fish would send the monies on to the families in Cuba as the sale of houses occurred. As a result, Jesse Fish became one of the major property owners in St. Augustine after 1764, or at least trustee of private property of departing Spaniards, who otherwise would have faced forfeiture of their property to the British Crown without any compensation (Waterbury 1997:1). Fish's land claims were considered so vast, however, that the incoming British Governor Patrick Tonyn dis-

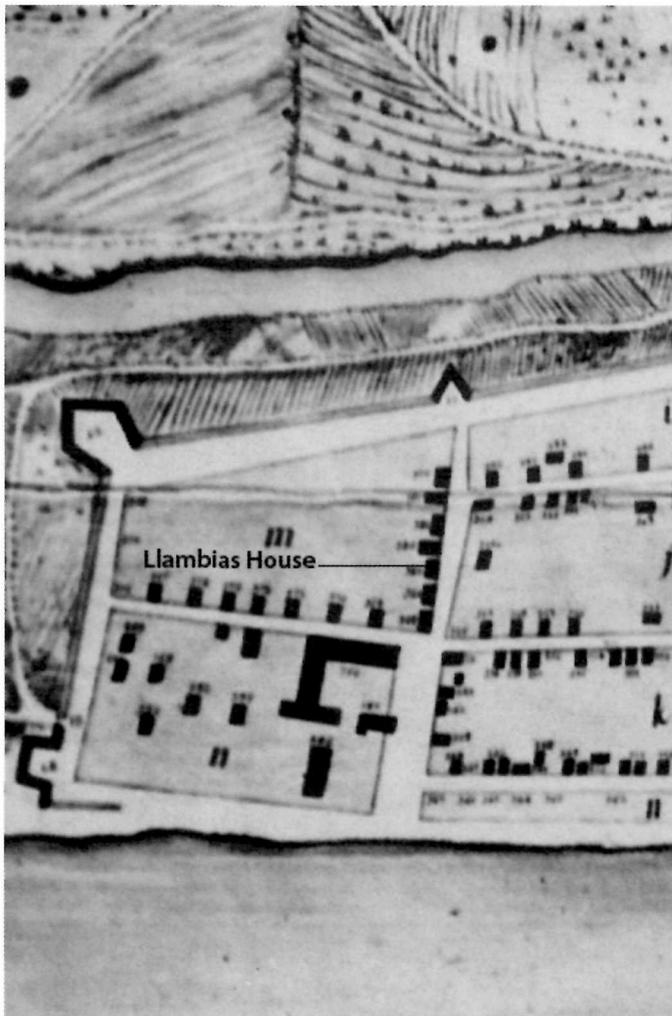


Figure 5. Detail from the Elixio de la Puente Map, dated January 29, 1764, showing the location of the Pedro Fernández one-room, single-story, masonry house on Block M as building #383, in the southernmost part of the town. (Photostat scan courtesy of the St. Augustine Historical Society, modified by author.) frame roof as shown in Figure 3. (Drawing by Elsbeth K. Gordon, courtesy of St. Augustine Historical Society; figure originally published in Gordon [2002:142].)

regarded many of them, complicating future real estate transactions when Spaniards returned in 1783.

During the twenty-year period of British administration, two town maps of St. Augustine were produced: the Moncrief Map of 1765, and the Jeffreys Map of 1769. The first

... shows Fish as owner of all of the houses on this block, among them the Fernandez [Llambias] House. However, it seems that the British Government either disregarded or did not recognize Fish's ownership of this or the other houses east and west of it because four of those were granted to Richard Henderson, an Englishman. [Poppeliers 1965:1]

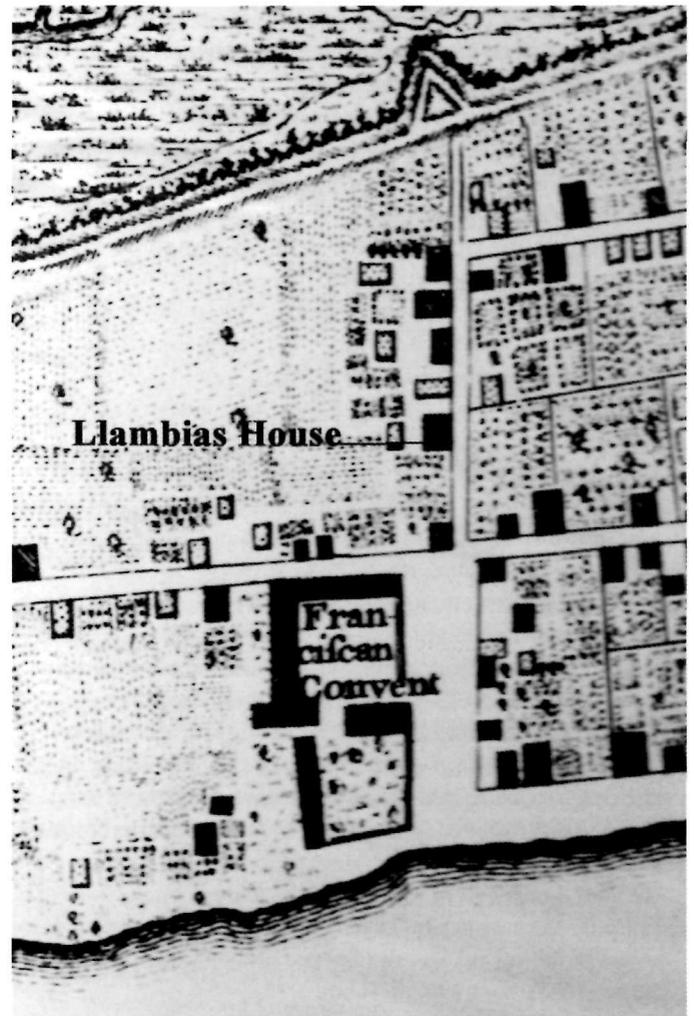


Figure 6. Detail from the 1769 Jeffreys Map of St. Augustine, showing the location of a one-room, single-story, masonry house in the same location as the Pedro Fernández (Llambias) House on the Puente map from five years earlier (see Figure 5). (Photostat scan courtesy of the St. Augustine Historical Society, modified by author.)

The 1769 Thomas Jeffreys Map (Figure 6) shows the Fernández (Llambias) House still as a small one-story, masonry house. The Fernández property went through at least five different owners, or trustees, during the British Period. Most notable was the last owner of this period, Nicholas Turnbull, whose wealthy father established an unsuccessful Minorcan colony at New Smyrna, Florida (Poppeliers 1965:2; see Appendix for a complete chain of title for the Llambias House during the British Period).

Jean Parker Waterbury, who chronicled the history of the Llambias House, observed that Turnbull was probably responsible for the enlargement of the one-story, masonry Fernández House in the last years of British rule, apparently having had the means to renovate and expand the property:

One or another of the five owners in those years built atop the original house a second floor with coquina walls; the ground floor was divided into two rooms, and an enclosed coquina stairway rose from an arcade built across the south side of the house. Above the arcade with its coquina pillars a wood gallery ran past the two new upstairs rooms.

On a July 1783 plat of the property, prepared for Nicholas Turnbull, the arcade and the room division show clearly. Turnbull had become the owner of what was now identified as “#2 in Moncrief’s quarter” when Governor Patrick Tonyn granted it to him “for a yearly rent of one peppercorn if demanded.” He, Turnbull, would be fined 20 shillings a year “until a house 24 x 17 with brick chimney” was erected. The house he had, and the chimney was built. At the time of 1783 census, Turnbull, a minor government official, was living in the house; he was still in St. Augustine and probably in his house in mid-March of the next year [1784]. But in the next few months Turnbull, Tonyn and most of the British in St. Augustine had gone, moving out as Spain regained the province.

With his map of the town prepared for the new Spanish government, Chief Engineer Mariano de la Rocque provided a “*plano particular*” which listed the blocks, houses and lots, construction of the buildings, their condition and their owners as of April 1, 1788. Now what had been the Fernández-Turnbull property was numbered #281 in Block 42, and described as “house of masonry in fair condition [property] of the King with its Land.” Rocque’s map shows not only the arcade [and gallery structure on the south side of the building] but also the interior dividing walls of the house. [Waterbury 1997:8; Figure 7]<sup>14</sup>

Unfortunately for Turnbull, he acquired the house just as British rule was ending.<sup>15</sup>

With Turnbull gone, the Spanish Governor recognized Jesse Fish’s earlier claims to the Llambias House in addition to other properties he had been entrusted with some twenty years earlier, making him once again a major property owner of many houses in St. Augustine. By the time of his death on February 8, 1790, however, many of these houses were falling to ruin. The elderly Fish was too ill to maintain the properties, and with his son “removed to London,” his properties had remained unattended (Poppeliers 1965:2).

After Fish’s death, the large number of deteriorated and abandoned houses in the town caused Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada to order that they be sold at auction with the proceeds going to the Spanish crown. Waterbury recounts that the Llambias House was one of those which had suffered some deterioration:

It was about that time when, according to architect Barrette, “a major catastrophe occurred at this house . . . it was stripped of woodwork before 1791.” But it still had its British second floor, according to the earliest written records of that addition, a September 1791 deed prepared

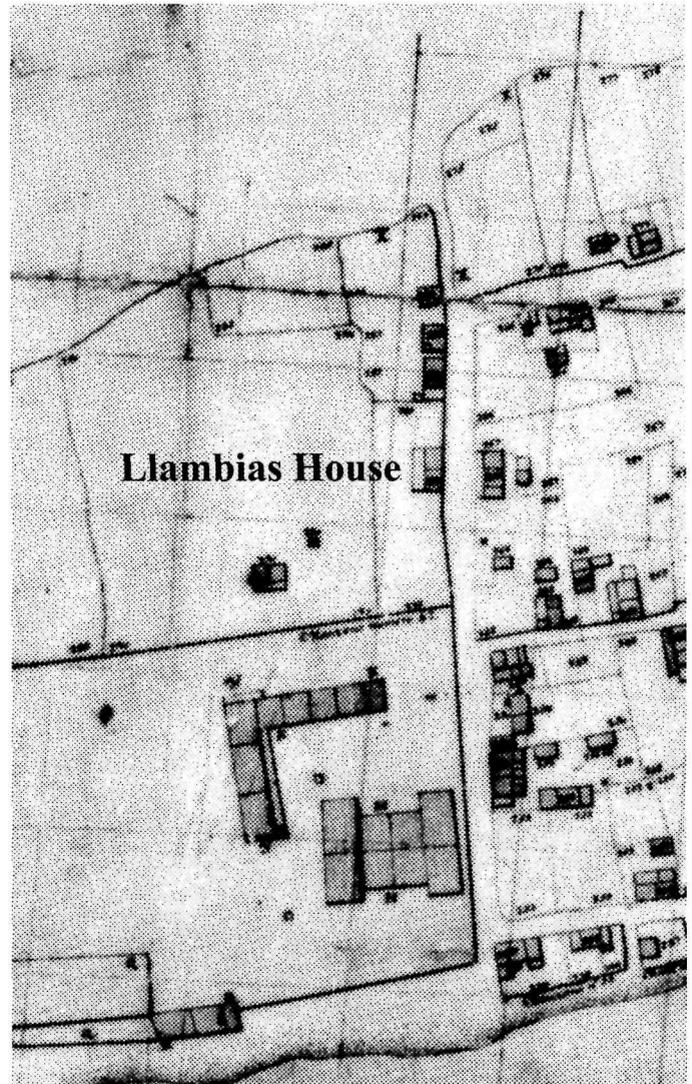


Figure 7. Detail from the Mariano de la Rocque Map, dated April 25, 1788, showing a larger building with the addition of a rear porch and gallery at the location of the Fernández (Llambias) House, and the division of the first floor into two rooms. (Photostat scan courtesy of St. Augustine Historical Society, modified by author).

after the auction: “house of mamposteria [coquina] covered with shingles . . .” Those shingles would have been used only on a peaked roof, customarily above a second story. [Waterbury 1997:8–9]

On December 15, 1790, the two-story masonry house on St. Francis Street was sold to Mariano Moreno, a sergeant of grenadiers stationed at the Castillo. A formal title to the property, issued to Moreno on March 21, 1791, described the Llambias House as “a masonry house with a shingle roof and corresponding lot, situated on St. Francis Street which the deceased had owned and had acquired by legitimate titles which have been submitted for proof” (Poppeliers 1965:2).

Moreno's ownership was short and the property title changed hands twice before it was purchased on November 7, 1795, by Juan Andreu, a native of Minorca who had come to Florida during the early years of the British Period to join the elder Turnbull's New Smyrna colony (Poppeliers 1965:2). Andreu lived in the house until his death in 1813, and bequeathed it to his widow, Catalina Pons, also a Minorcan. On August 14, 1818, upon the death of Pons, her daughter Catalina Andreu Giraldo and son-in-law Antonio Giraldo inherited the masonry house on St. Francis Street, but they would lose the title in 1827 through their inability to pay their debts (Poppeliers 1965:2-3, Waterbury 1997:9).

In the succeeding fifty years the property went through several owners (see Appendix), among them U.S. Army Captain Benjamin K. Pierce, brother of President Franklin Pierce (Waterbury 1997:9); and Dr. William Haynes Simmons, one of the founders of Tallahassee, the site of the new territorial capital of Florida (St. Augustine Historical Society n.d.). It was finally purchased in April of 1838 by Peter and Joseph Manucy (Graham 1978:109; Quinn 1975:165-170; Deed Book N, pp. 12, 229-230). In 1854, the Manucy family sold part of their property along St. Francis Street, which included the Llambias House, to Catalina Usina Llambias, in whose family it would remain for the next 65 years. It is from the late nineteenth-century Llambias family that the colonial building at 31 St. Francis Street derives its name.

During the Civil War, the Llambias family—Southerner sympathizers—left St. Augustine; the house was stripped of its furniture and woodwork, and the ground floor was used as a stable by Union soldiers. After the war, repairs were made and boarders taken in to help pay the bills (Quinn 1975:233-237; Mortgage Book A, pp. 126, 312; Mortgage Book B, pp. 80).

Catalina Llambias deeded the house to her two daughters—Ana Cornelia Bravo, a widow, and Antonia W. Llambias—for \$5,000 in 1877. After her death in 1886, the daughters purchased some additional frontage on St. Francis Street “to enlarge the old flower garden.” In 1893, however, “the tide waters of the Mantanzas River and Maria Sanchez Creek met on St. Francis Street [and] inundated the lot for several days with salt water,” so that “t’was some time before this small piece of ground would satisfactorily grow any vegetation whatsoever” (Waterbury 1997:11-12).

Stuart Moffett Barnette, the architect who restored the Llambias House in 1954, believed that in the 1890s, the Llambias family constructed a direct access from St. Francis Street into the house, which opened into “a narrow hall [that] led from the [front] entrance on the street back to the porch door and the garden” (Waterbury 1997:12). The last modification the Llambias family made to the house, Barnette believed, occurred between 1910 and 1917, when “. . . the stairwell space at the west ends of the two porches was altered and enclosed to form a new room on each floor. He suggested that it was at this time that the straight-run stairway was built at the east end of the porch” (Waterbury 1997:12).

Following the death of Antonia Llambias, the remaining twelve Llambias heirs sold the house in 1919 to Harry Campbell, a summer resident of Provincetown, Massachusetts, and director of the Cape Cod School of Art (Quinn 1975:237; Deed Book W, pp. 284-285; Deed Book 42, pp. 178-180). Later that year it was reported in the local paper that

Harry Campbell, who purchased the Llambias place on St. Francis Street, has a force of men at work clearing the grounds of the rank growth of vegetation and also is receiving material for building an addition to the coquina dwelling. The grounds are spacious and advantage will be taken of this to beautify them. The old coquina building will not be demolished, but will be preserved as one of the old landmarks of the Ancient City and the addition will not detract from the ancient appearance of the main building. Campbell's addition was a two-story L on the west side of the back of the building. [*St. Augustine Record*, November 28, 1919; SAHSBS pp. 10]

Between 1919 and 1938 city directories and newspapers list a variety of tenants and commercial uses of the Llambias House, but no real preservation of the building was undertaken (see Appendix). Finally, on December 28, 1938, the building was purchased by the Carnegie Institution as part of a long-range program of restoration and preservation in St. Augustine. The building was deeded to the city by the Carnegie Institution:

John O'Neill, director of the Historical American Building Survey, a general government project involving the American Institute of Architects in every state, was here in April for the purpose of making measured drawings of the Llambias House and to advise with the Board of Trustees regarding its possible development.

Marion Sims Wyeth of Wyeth and King, Architects, Palm Beach, Florida, a well-known authority on Spanish architecture, came to St. Augustine upon the invitation of the Board of Trustees, to make a study of the problem of how best to preserve and restore the old Llambias House.

At a special meeting of the City Commission of St. Augustine on December 22, 1938, that body voted to accept trusteeship of the Llambias property, then being secured by the Carnegie Institution with the assistance of the St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science, “for use in the public interest for a demonstration in methods of preservation and restoration of St. Augustine.”

Chosen by Carnegie for the first material acquisition in the Restoration and Preservation Movement, the old Spanish-type balconied house, with adjacent garden, long has been recognized as one of the most interesting and valuable of the old coquina houses of the city. [*St. Augustine Record*, July 30, 1939; SAHSBS pp. 12].<sup>16</sup>

A ten-year lease was signed in 1939 with the Garden Club to maintain it as a garden center; in 1946, however, the Garden Club decided they could no longer afford to maintain the build-

ing and terminated their lease. Once again the Llambias House went through a series of short-term leases, but by the early 1950s the building had become too deteriorated to be rented to tenants. At this time a full-scale restoration was launched with funds provided by the State of Florida, the St. Augustine Historical Society, and Xavier L. Pellicer, a local banker and Llambias House trustee. Stuart Moffett Barnette, professor of architecture at Cornell University and formerly with the National Park Service, prepared the plans. Work was completed in 1954 and dedication ceremonies held in January 1955. The house was opened to the public under the management of the St. Augustine Historical Society.

In 1967, the Altrusa Club assumed custodial responsibility for the Llambias House, putting it to use not only for their meetings but also as a popular site for weddings, conferences and other functions. One of their first acts was to construct a kitchen wing designed by one of their members, architect Lea Wells. In 2005, the St. Augustine Historical Society resumed its role as custodian, continuing its use for meetings and special events. For the last several years, a visit to the Llambias House has been a component of the Florida Humanities Council's Spanish St. Augustine Teacher Workshops, which are open to educators from across the country.

## DOCUMENTATION AND RESTORATION

The first professional effort to document the Llambias House was undertaken in 1937 by architectural photographer Frances B. Johnston, whose photographs show that the exterior plaster had ashlar scoring at this time. These photographs are on file with the St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library.

In 1958, Mr. Jack Boucher, photographer with the National Park Service Historic American Building Survey (HABS), took two exterior black-and-white photographs of the Llambias House, which had been restored four years earlier. Then in March of 1965, Mr. John C. Poppeliers, architectural historian with HABS, compiled ten pages of historical and descriptive data on the house. The Boucher photographs and Poppeliers's historical data, extrapolated from research compiled by Doris C. Wiles and Eugenia B. Arana (1965) of the St. Augustine Historical Society, are available on the HABS website.<sup>17</sup>

This HABS information appears to have been at least part of the basis for considering the Llambias House as a potential National Historic Landmark (NHL) in a Colonial Architecture survey conducted by the National Park Service in the late 1960s.<sup>18</sup> Mr. Charles W. Snell, historian with the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, undertook the analysis of the Llambias House. Apparently using Manucy's (1962) published work as his guide, Snell reported his findings for the Llambias House to the Secretary of the Interior's advisory board on November 28, 1969:

Erected prior to 1763 and reaching its final form by 1788, the Llambias House is a restored example of an organic growth dwelling built on a variation of the "St. Augustine

plan." The "St. Augustine type" of residence was developed by the Spanish between 1703 and 1763 to meet the local climatic needs of Florida. In the period 1763–1783 the English added further refinements to this plan, so that extant examples reflect both Spanish and English architectural influences. The Llambias House is one of the few extant structures in St. Augustine whose origin dates to the First Spanish period. Its date of construction is unknown, but when Florida was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, Pedro Fernandez owned the stone house that stood on this site. [Snell 1969]

At some later time, an expanded statement of significance, building history, and condition was compiled for the Secretary's advisory board. That report stated,

The basic "St. Augustine" residence was essentially a simple rectangular structure of from two to four rooms, with a loggia or porch, and often a street balcony. The plan was used in two forms. The more popular one had a loggia (an open-sided room) as an integral part of the plan, centered on the side. The other version of the plan, of which the Llambias House is an excellent example, substituted a sheltered porch [on the rear of the building] for the loggia. In both cases, the main entrance was through either the loggia or porch, which opened onto the garden in the rear. Houses constructed on the "St. Augustine" plan were usually oriented with the open areas facing south or east, so that in summer the prevailing southeast winds ventilated the large rooms and made the loggia or porches cool and pleasant. Thick masonry walls of the houses insulated against summer heat and held out the cold in the winter. As the sun dropped toward the south horizon during the winter months, sunlight crept into the loggias and porches, flooding them with light and warmth while the bulk of the houses protected the open areas from the prevailing cold northwest wind. [Anonymous n.d.]

Acting on the positive recommendation of its advisory board, the Secretary of the Interior designated the Llambias House a National Historic Landmark on April 15, 1970. By a letter dated June 30, 1970, Mr. Ernest P. Kidd, city manager of St. Augustine, made application for a certificate and bronze plaque for the Llambias House (Sheely 1970). On August 28, 1973, Mr. Bruce J. Miller, deputy director of the Florida-Caribbean District of the National Park Service, presented a bronze plaque for the Llambias House to Mrs. Jean Gundrum, president of St. Augustine's, Altrusa Club, who had been appointed as custodian of the Llambias House by the St. Augustine Historical Society in 1967 (Anonymous 1973).

As with a great number of landmarks designated in the early 1970s, the Llambias House National Historic Landmark did not possess either a boundary or formal nomination form at the time of its designation. This was corrected on June 24, 1977, when Dr. William Murtagh, keeper of the National Register of Historic Places, approved a boundary study and a nomination

form for the Llambias House that was completed by James Dillon (1977), architectural historian with the National Historic Landmarks, in the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation in Washington, D.C.

In the late 1990s, the National Register Programs Division of the National Park Service's Southeast Regional Office began a project to update documentation on selected landmark properties. Using funds from Challenge Cost-Share Grants, teachers and students from the preservation schools at the Savannah College of Art and Design and Georgia State University undertook an intensive study of the history and documentation

of these landmarks, which included the Llambias House. The first observation from this multi-year study was that the Llambias House had undergone a series of rebuilding and restoration phases throughout the last 250 years. This allowed the National Park Service to develop a description of these changes, greatly aided by the discovery of a number of historical renderings of this building that were not available at the time of its 1970 landmark designation. The changes may be summarized as follows:

### **The 1750s House**

The original house, probably constructed in the 1750s by Pedro Fernández (as shown on the 1764 Puente map), consisted of a one-story, one-room masonry building fashioned from coquina (a porous shell stone) quarried on nearby Anastasia Island. This building measured approximately 24 feet by 36 feet, and about 9 feet in height, with walls about 18 inches in thickness. It would have been plastered inside and out, to protect the coquina stone from the elements, and on the interior would have had a tabby floor. The house could have had either a flat tabby roof supported with wooden beams or a wooden frame and thatched gabled roof (Waterbury 1997:7; see Figures 3–4).

In accordance with Spanish regulations for the founding of towns and the placement of residences within the town, the house was built right on the edge of the street line, with one of its long sides facing the street. Typically, walls or fences were also built on the edge of the street line and extended from the facade of the building to the edges of the property in order to provide privacy and security for the interior courtyard. The entrance



*Figure 8. View of the rear elevation of the Llambias House with the reconstructed two-story, coquina-masonry arcaded porch and wooden gallery as they would have appeared in the 1780s. The enclosed area on the west side of the rear addition contains the coquina masonry and wood stairs leading to the second floor. A new kitchen facility dating to 1967 is on the left side of the courtyard. (Photo courtesy of the St. Augustine Historical Society.)*

would have been through a gate in one of the walls, leading into the courtyard. Once inside the courtyard one could enter a doorway, probably sheltered by a covered porch, located on the back side of the building (see Figure 2).

Six windows appear to have provided light and ventilation for the interior of the house at this time: at least two windows on the front (north side), two on the rear (south side), one each on the east and west (or short) sides. Small masonry dwellings of the period generally lacked windows with glass panes due to the expense of such architectural features, which had to be imported into St. Augustine. Traditionally, the window openings on such

modest dwellings would have been covered with locally made rejas, or vertical wooden slats, behind which were wood shutters that could be closed from the inside (Waterbury 1997:7).

### **The 1780s House**

Sometime toward the end of the British Colonial Period occupation of St. Augustine (1763–1783), the Llambias House was enlarged to a two-story, four-room masonry residence.<sup>19</sup> The original 1750s building now became the first floor of the enlarged residence, and was divided into two equal-sized rooms by the addition of a masonry dividing wall that probably helped to support the second floor (see Figure 7). Also made of coquina masonry, the second story had the same dimensions as the earlier coquina building (24 feet by 36 feet) upon which it was built, with a floor plan of two rooms (18 feet by 24 feet)—each with its own access to a balcony on the street façade—and the wooden gallery on the rear. The second story would have had two windows on its front (north) and rear (south) and one window on its east side (see Figure 1). It seems likely that at this time imported glass windows would have been installed in all window openings on both floors, replacing the locally made wooden rejas and shutters.

As part of the 1780s enlargement, an addition on the back (south side) of the building was constructed. Running the entire length of the rear of the house was a one-story open porch with coquina-masonry arches, which supported a second-floor, covered wooden gallery (Figure 8). The floor plan for the porch would have covered an area of about 10 feet by 36 feet. Located



Figure 9. This wood-engraved image of St. Francis Street by Frederick William Quarterly, after a watercolor painting by Henry Fenn, was published in *Picturesque America*, as edited by William Cullen Bryant, in 1872. The image is also printed in Elspeth K. Gordon's *Florida's Colonial Architectural Heritage* (2002:143). Shown are the Oldest House (Gonzalez-Alvarez House) in the right foreground and, further up the street on the left side, the east and front elevations of the Llambias House. The house's hipped roof covered with wooden shingles, street-side balcony on the second floor, and two windows on the ground floor are evident, but there is no apparent opening to the building from the street.



Figure 10. Detail from a 1870s stereoptican view (part of the *Florida, The Land of Flowers and Tropical Scenery* series) showing the facade of the Llambias House. The first floor has two large windows, but no direct access to the interior of the building from the street. The second floor has a wooden balcony that matches the Quarterly engraving of 1872 (see Figure 9). (Stereoptican from the author's private collection.)

at the west end of the porch was an exterior stair, part wood and part coquina masonry, leading from the porch to the second floor gallery and the rooms on the second floor (see Figure 2). Covering the porch, gallery, and building was a hipped roof with wood shingles.

On the façade of the enlarged house was a second-floor wooden balcony extending out about 4 feet and running the length of the building. Second-floor façade balconies, common on St. Augustine Plan colonial dwellings, continued to be built on local residences into the Florida Territorial period (1821–1845). Accessed via two doorways, this balcony was covered with a hip roof, as shown in an 1872 engraving (Figure 9) and an enlarged detail from a stereoptican view from the 1870s (Figure 10).

An exterior chimney of stuccoed coquina masonry also was added. Covering the first-floor window on the west end of the original 1750s building (see Figure 3), the chimney was connected to fireplaces in the first- and second-floor rooms on the west side.

### Later Changes

Sometime during the late nineteenth century the 1780s porch and gallery addition at the rear of the Llambias House became deteriorated and was torn down. The owners replaced it with an all-wooden, two-story, open porch and gallery. At this time, the

stairs connecting the porch with the gallery were moved from the west to the east side of the porch, as shown in a photograph taken around 1916 (Figure 11). Later, between 1910 and 1917, this wooden porch-and-gallery feature was enclosed with wood siding and windows (Figure 12). A smaller chimney that provided heat to the first- and second-floor east-side rooms may have been added to the east side of the house sometime in the 1890s, as it does not show up in either the 1872 engraving or the 1870s stereoptican view of the house; neither does the front door, which was probably added around this time as well, providing direct access into the Llambias House from St. Francis Street.

### Restoration

The appearance of the Llambias House today is the result of a 1954 restoration by the St. Augustine Restoration and Preservation Association in cooperation with the St. Augustine Historical Society (see Figure 1). This first professional restoration of a colonial residence in St. Augustine was executed under the direction of restoration architect, Stuart Moffett Barnette, of Ithaca, New York. A detailed bound volume of Barnette's work is on file at the St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library.

As early as 1939, Verne E. Chatelain, Director of the St. Augustine Historic Program and former National Park Service historian, set the tone for the future restoration of the Llambias



Figure 11. Rear (south) elevation of the Llambias House ca. 1910. The view shows the late nineteenth-century, two-story, wooden porch and gallery that replaced the original masonry-and-wooden one constructed in the 1780s. It also shows the staircase on the east side of the porch (the original 1780s staircase having been built on the west side of the porch). In the foreground is a coquina masonry well, and just above the roof line on the east side of the house is a small chimney probably constructed in the late nineteenth century. (Photo courtesy of the St. Augustine Historical Society.)



Figure 12. East elevation of the Llambias House, in 1954. Part of the documentation collected by the architect prior to initiating restoration of the building, this photograph shows the early-twentieth-century enclosure of the two-story wooden porch and gallery on the rear of the house, as well as the small late-nineteenth-century chimney added on the east side. Both of these features were removed in 1954. On the front of the house is the second floor wooden balcony, which was also necessarily removed and reconstructed. (Photo courtesy of the St. Augustine Historical Society.)

House when he wrote, “I feel it may be far better to repair and strengthen the structure in its present form, and not attempt a restoration” (Waterbury 1997:3). Delayed by the Second World War, however, the work that finally commenced in 1954 represented the end product of a more-than-decade-long effort to raise funds, conduct research on the property, and develop a comprehensive restoration plan—by which time the Llambias House was severely deteriorated (see Figure 12). Barnette attempted to retain as much original fabric as possible, but, after extensively documenting them, ended up overseeing the removal of the wooden roof, front balcony, late nineteenth-century rear wooden porch and gallery, and a good percentage of the coquina-masonry walls comprising the second floor (Figure 13); the coquina masonry comprising the first floor, which consists of the earliest part of the building (c. 1750s), was largely saved.

Based on Barnette’s architectural research, a decision was made to restore the house to its appearance following its enlargement in the 1780s. This would involve reconstructing the wooden roof, front balcony, 1780s rear addition, and the deteriorated sections of the walls of the second floor. After examining the remains of masonry footings and socket holes for wooden beams on the rear of the building (Figure 14; Waterbury 1997:16–25), Barnette developed a plan for rebuilding the two-story, coquina-masonry arcaded porch and wooden gallery,

using the opportunity to move the stairs back to the west side of the porch, where they once had been.

To replicate the type of windows appropriate to the period of the 1780s, double-hung windows with small glass panes in a 12/12 and 6/6 configuration were installed in the window openings of the Llambias House during the restoration. A shed-roofed dormer with a window on the side of the roof facing the courtyard was retained, as was siding parallel to the roof line. All woodwork, such as blinds with fixed louvers and doors (6-panel, cross pattern), also dates from 1954.

The balcony as reconstructed has supports of chamfered wooden posts and an X-pattern balustrade, which was popular in St. Augustine during the Territorial and early Statehood periods (post-1821) (see Figure 1). Horizontal wooden support members for the balcony have beaded edges.

The small chimney on the east side of the house was removed in the 1954 restoration, and the façade door providing access into the building from St. Francis Street was closed off. In keeping with the St. Augustine Plan, a new access to the dwelling was created via the courtyard through a wooden gate in a coquina-masonry wall on the east side of the building. From there a walkway leads to the rear porch and the house is entered through the back side of the building. There is a low coquina garden wall (6 feet high) with wooden picket top and gate to the west, and a higher coquina garden wall (8 feet high) to the



Figure 13. Rear (south) elevation of the Llambias House during restoration in 1954. The Llambias House had become so deteriorated by then, the architect found it necessary to remove the back wall of the 1780s second story as well as the late nineteenth-century porch and gallery, the window frames, and the roof before commencing restoration. (Photo courtesy of the St. Augustine Historical Society.)

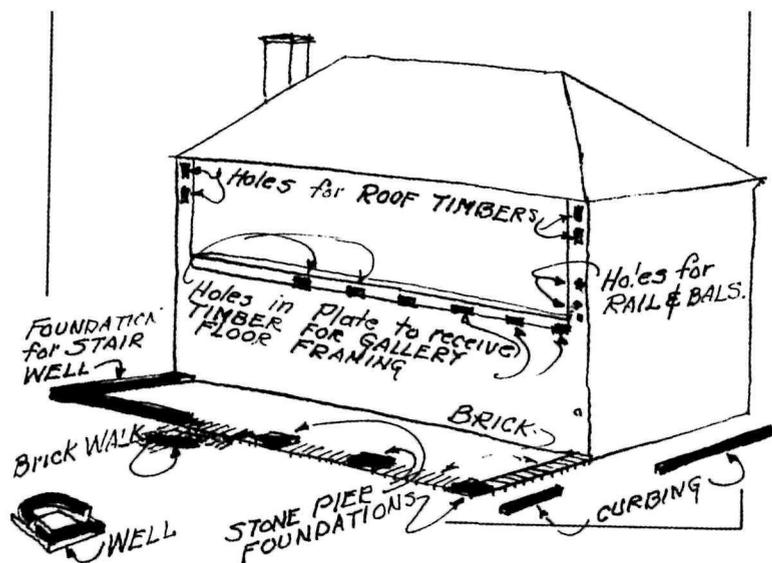


Figure 14. Sketch by Stuart M. Barnette, showing his findings along the south side of the Llambias House. The remains of the stone pier foundations were used in 1954 to reconstruct the first-floor, coquina masonry arched porch, and the holes in the back of the building were used for floor framing and roof timbers to reconstruct the second-floor wooden gallery of the 1780s. (Figure from Waterbury [1997:21] is published here with the permission of the St. Augustine Historical Society.)

east, through which access to the Llambias House is provided. Both of these walls were constructed in the 1954 restoration and are noncontributing features in terms of historic status.

The landscaped courtyard and the buildings and structures behind the house are not part of the colonial period landscape. A round coquina well that was restored in 1954 appears in a 1916 photo (see Figures 13–14), but whether it dates to colonial times is unknown. Constructed next to the well is a wood-and-masonry arbor. A one-story, wood board-and-batten, gable-roofed service building is located along the south side of the courtyard. A one-story, masonry, gable-roofed building that houses a kitchen is located along the west side of the courtyard (see Figure 8). The latter three features were constructed as part of the 1954 restoration, and all four features are considered non-contributing.

### ***The Neighborhood Today***

The Llambias House is sited on a large town lot (90 feet wide and 160 feet deep) on the south side of St. Francis Street. Adjacent to the house, on the west along St. Francis Street, is St. Francis Park, a bicentennial project that continues toward the intersection of St. Francis and St. George streets. Across the intersection, to the northwest, is a Second Spanish Period colonial building: the Garcia-Dummett House. To the east of the Llambias House, along the north side of St. Francis Street, are a number of historic nineteenth-century buildings that include two Spanish colonial period buildings: the Tovar (Cannonball) and Gonzáles-Álvarez (Oldest) Houses, both located between the intersections of St. George and Marine Streets with St. Francis Street.

During the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth centuries, the area directly to the south of the Llambias House was open and used for gardens (see Figure 6). This same area, between Aviles Street to the east and Cordova Street (the old Rosario Defense Line) to the west, is presently residential in nature with houses dating mainly from the twentieth century. Most of the buildings show the influence of Craftsman, Mediterranean Revival, and Colonial Revival styles popular in early decades of the twentieth century. Southeast of the Llambias House is the Florida National Guard complex. This complex contains several historic buildings of the nineteenth century, and two colonial-era structures: St. Francis Barracks and the King's Bakery. Tree-lined streets, within walking distance from downtown, make this area one of the most pleasant and distinctive residential neighborhoods in St. Augustine.

## **CONCLUSION**

With its designation as a National Historic Landmark in 1970, the Llambias House was recognized as an outstanding and rare surviving example of the St. Augustine Plan in the continental United States. Some researchers have interpreted elements of this style of building as derived to some extent from traditional masonry residential buildings in southern Spain, reflecting architectural aspects possibly dating from the Roman and Moor-

ish periods. Spanish colonists appear to have brought elements of this residential building tradition to the Spanish Caribbean islands, where examples contemporary with those constructed in St. Augustine in the mid-1700s to the first decades of the nineteenth century may still be found, and from whence this style was transmitted to the principal town of Spanish Florida, St. Augustine.<sup>20</sup> The Llambias House represents a variant style of the St. Augustine Plan, with a rear entrance under a covered porch.

Archaeological and documentary evidence indicate that St. Augustine Plan residences were constructed as early as the last decades of the sixteenth century and continued to be built into the last years of Spanish rule over St. Augustine. Many of these buildings were constructed of wood, however, and—due to fires, hurricanes, climate, and warfare throughout the history of the city—exist today only in the archaeological record and as sketches on contemporary maps.

By the early decades of the eighteenth century, residential masonry buildings were being constructed in St. Augustine using shell stone from local coquina quarries. Many, like the Llambias House, were modest one-story, one- or two- room dwellings on the model of wooden and tabby structures then extant in the town. During the British period (1764–1783), some of these masonry dwellings were expanded to include second floors, facade balconies, and side loggia or rear porch entrances. Although these were generally regarded as traditional Spanish colonial additions, British enhancements to the buildings were also made with the addition of chimneys, peaked roofs with wooden shingles, and windows with glass panes.

The Llambias House is one of a small number of First Spanish Period (pre-1763) masonry buildings in St. Augustine that were modified in the latter decades of the eighteenth century and have survived to the present. According to research conducted by Albert Manucy,

The [St. Augustine Spanish colonial] houses which have survived are massive masonry buildings, cool in summer, warm in winter, sound and practical, and not to be changed in a hurry. Yet, as we have seen, radical adjustments could be made to meet new conditions, and indeed often were. It was not unusual to double the size of a small masonry home by adding a timber frame story; flat roofs gave way to shingled gable or hip roofs, often with dormers in the garret. And while the trend was unmistakably toward high-ceilinged spaciousness in the Georgian manner, even the new houses kept such [Spanish-inspired] niceties as loggias and street balconies, which were not only functional but pleasing to the eye and comfortable for living. Economics never permitted the architectural opulence found in Charleston, and in St. Augustine the qualities of extreme simplicity and utility were never lost. [Manucy 1978:132]

Restoration of the Llambias House, according to architect Stuart Moffett Barnette,

. . . may be regarded as a pioneering venture in at least three instances. It is (a) the first instance in St. Augustine where a thoroughly professional approach to the restoration of a historic building was undertaken; (b) it is the first time the restoration of a house of Spanish origin in the southeastern part of the United States has ever been attempted; and (c) it constituted the initiation of the first major effort to organize the scanty and widely dispersed historic documentary material on Spanish colonial architecture located in the Southeastern United States . . . . [Waterbury 1997:24]

Were the structure not restored in 1954, its continued deterioration might have made preservation infeasible and this significant and rare First Spanish Period residence might have been lost. At the same time, the information accumulated from this “pioneering venture” and other Spanish colonial house restorations that followed enabled Manucy to define the St. Augustine Plan as a distinct Spanish colonial private residential building style, a variant of which the Llambias House has come to be recognized as an excellent example.

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The draft NHL study for the Llambias House was reviewed and commented on by the following peer reviewers: Arleen Pabón, Ph.D., Professor, School of Architecture, Florida A & M University, Tallahassee, Florida; Susan R. Parker, Ph.D., Executive Director, St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida; Jerry Gurulé, Ph.D., Historian-Linguist, Spanish Colonial Research Center, National Park Service, Albuquerque, New Mexico; Mr. Santiago Javier Gala Aguilera, Architectural Historian, State Historic Preservation Office, San Juan, Puerto Rico; Ms. Caridad de la Vega, Contract Historian, National Historic Landmarks Division, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.; and Ms. Barbara Mattick, Chief, Division of Historic Resources, State Historic Preservation Office, Tallahassee, Florida.

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more readable and informative article. The author thanks all of the good people who worked to get this article published.

### NOTES

1 These early preservation efforts by the federal government contributed to the designation of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas by President Calvin Coolidge as National Monuments in 1924, under the authority of the 1906 Antiquities Act, and their ongoing preservation under the auspices of the National Park Service. The Cathedral of St. Augustine was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1970, as the most intact Spanish colonial government-planned and -executed religious structure in the Southeastern United States; this recognition has encouraged the Catholic Church to maintain the property. See Barnes (2008) for a detailed history of the St. Augustine Cathedral.

2 The Gonzáles-Álvarez (Oldest) House was designated a National Historic Landmark on April 15, 1970, under the same Colonial Buildings Survey that designated the Llambias House as a landmark. The Ximénez-Fatio House was individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places on July 23, 1973; the property received a Save America’s Treasures Grant in 2004 for restoration. The Monson House (Vedder Museum) burned in 1915, leaving just the foundations upon which a building was later reconstructed. These three properties and the Llambias House are considered contributing elements of the St. Augustine Town Plan Historic District National Historic Landmark, which was also designated by the Secretary of the Interior on April 15, 1970.

3 See Waterbury (1997) for a detailed account of the 1954 restoration.

4 It would appear that the pioneering restoration efforts at the Llambias and the Gonzáles-Álvarez (Oldest) Houses contributed to the designation of these two buildings as National Historic Landmarks in 1970, as outstanding examples of both variations of the “St. Augustine Plan” of Spanish colonial residences. Following their restoration, there were in the 1960s and 1970s a number of colonial house restoration and reconstruction projects throughout St. Augustine. These projects were part of a major city-wide effort to provide St. Augustine visitors with an accurate physical interpretation of the colonial setting of the city. Key to this effort was the research by the staff of the St. Augustine Historical Society, who in the 1960s undertook an architectural survey, compilation of a building history, and chain of title for each of the extant colonial residential buildings and structures in the town. This property research was often cited in National Park Service’s Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) building recording projects in St. Augustine, and together demonstrated that a significant concentration of Spanish colonial (or pre-1821) buildings and structures existed within the area of the Spanish colonial town plan, which led to its listing in National Register of Historic Places and designation as a National Historic Landmark on April 15, 1970.

5 Tabby architecture constituted nearly a third of all residential buildings in the town by the 1760s, but with the growing availability of coquina masonry from the quarries on nearby Anastasia Island, it was abandoned toward the end of the eighteenth century (Manucy 1962:164). A fragment of a tabby garden wall associated with the Lindsay House at 214 St. George Street is the only Spanish colonial (pre-1821) tabby remnant extant in present-day St. Augustine.

6 The War of Spanish Succession (1701–1713), known as Queen Anne's War in the New World, was precipitated by the efforts of the French King, Louis XIV, to extend his country's influence and power by placing his grandson Philip, Duke of Anjou, on the Spanish throne after the death of the last Hapsburg Spanish King (Carlos II, 1665–1700). England and Holland were opposed to the union of French and Spanish dominions, which would have made France the leading European power and diverted Spanish New World trade from England and Holland to France. Queen Anne's War, the second of four major colonial wars to occur on the North American continent, saw the South Carolina militia seize, burn, and pillage the town of St. Augustine but fail to take the Castillo de San Marcos in 1702. Two years later (1704), the Carolinians returned to Spanish Florida, destroying the Apalachee missions in the panhandle of Florida and effectively limiting Spanish authority to northeast Florida. The War of Spanish Succession ended with the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht (April 11, 1713), but really only set the stage for further conflicts between the colonies of England, France, and Spain in North America. These finally ended with the conclusion of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), at which time the British occupied Florida and established St. Augustine as the capital of East Florida. See "Queen Anne's War in North America" (2006) at [www.encyclopedia.com](http://www.encyclopedia.com).

7 Researchers for the O'Reilly House, in St. Augustine, have recently proposed that at least part of this building may have been constructed as early as c. 1691, during the First Spanish Period. See [www.oreillyhouse.org](http://www.oreillyhouse.org).

8 The Umayyad army invading the Iberian Peninsula was composed mainly of Moorish troops from the newly conquered and converted lands of northwest Africa. In the mid-700s, shortly after the conquest of most of the Iberian Peninsula, the capital of the Umayyad Caliphate, in Damascus, Syria, was overthrown by the Abbasid Dynasty. Surviving members of the Caliphate reestablished their capital in Córdoba, in the Andalusia area of southern Spain. Córdoba was conquered in the early 1000s by Islamic rivals. During the Middle Ages the Umayyad Caliphate in Spain became renowned as a refuge for religious tolerance, scientific inquiry, translation of ancient writing, and the construction of architectural wonders, such as the Alhambra and the Grand Mosque of Córdoba (Gosner 1996:130).

9 Susan R. Parker (1999), in her dissertation, *The Second Century of Settlement in Spanish St. Augustine, 1670–1763* (1999), used probate inventories from ten private coquina-masonry buildings dating from the first half of the eighteenth century to show that well-to-do Spanish colonists residing close to the plaza did have residences with roofs of wooden shingles (pg. 90), windows with glass panes (pg. 93), masonry chimneys (pg. 94), and, where a first floor contained a shop, direct access to the shop from the street (pg. 94). Parker proposes that the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century settlers who came from Asturias, in northern Spain, were culturally predisposed to wooden dwellings, where a "tradition of building with timber" existed (pg. 83), and that southern Iberian masonry traditions began to enter St. Augustine with the craftsmen who built the Castillo (pp. 84–85), starting in the 1670s. She notes "a substantial number of arrivals from Iberian regions (Castile and Andalusia) where masonry construction prevailed prompted a preference for masonry instead of wood" dwellings in St. Augustine during the first half of the eighteenth century (pg. 86).

10 The history of the Llambias house is taken from research by Doris Wiles and Eugenia Arana (1965) of the St. Augustine Historical Society, which was used in the Historic American Buildings Survey, "Fernandez-Llambias House," HABS No. FLA-171 (1965), as prepared by John C. Poppeliers; an unpublished descriptive and historical study of the Llambias House prepared by Comprehensive Employment and Training Act workers in the 1990s; and from the publication, *The Many Lives of the Llambias House*, authored by Jean Parker Waterbury (1997).

11 The British colonial barracks complex continued to serve the Spanish military in the Second Spanish Period (1783–1821), and eventually became a permanent U. S. Military Reservation in 1832. The St. Francis Barracks is currently the headquarters of the Florida National Guard.

12 Dade Battlefield was designated a National Historic Landmark on November 7, 1973, and is currently an interpreted Florida State Park.

13 The Juan José Elixio de la Puente Map contains the following legend: "Plan of the Royal Fort, bastions and line of San Augustine of Florida Plaza, with its major parish, convent and church of San Francisco, houses and lots of the neighborhood and plus some factories and cultivated lands outside its boundaries, everything according to and in the form it exists today 22 of January 1764, when as a consequence of having given it up to the British Crown, the rest of the [Spanish] troops and Spanish families from the garrison and surroundings of the above mentioned Plaza of San Augustine have embarked and are leaving to La Havana [Cuba] and Campeche [Mexico]" (translation provided by Jerry Gurule, historian, National Park Service). According to Susan Parker (1999:112), the Puente Map "is the earliest document of property ownership for the entire town [of St. Augustine] that is available at this time. The map indicates owner's name, parcel size, and construction materials of the buildings on the lots." Puente commenced his mapping of St. Augustine in December, 1763 and completed his task in January, 1764. For this reason, the Puente Map is variously dated as 1763 or 1764 in different studies.

14 The 1788 Mariano de la Rocque Map also shows that the lot size of the Fernández (Llambias) House was significantly enlarged to take in more than half of the frontage of the block fronting on St. Francis Street. This is a further indication of the affluence of the owner of the house that was responsible for its enlargement.

15 In the closing years of the Seven Years War (1754-1763), referred to in North America as the French and Indian War, Spain joined forces with its familial ally the French King. Unfortunately for Spain, superior British naval and land forces swept through the Caribbean and occupied the strategic Spanish port of Havana, Cuba. To obtain the return of Havana, the Spain gave up Florida to England at the Treaty of Paris, which ended the war in 1763. Twenty years later, the situation was reversed when the England lost control of the eastern North American seaboard to the alliance of French, Spanish, and American forces at the end of the American Revolution, and by treaty Florida once again became a Spanish possession in 1783.

16 St. Augustine Historical Society Building Survey (SAHSBS), Manuscript, n.d. NOTE: The Historic American Building Survey (HABS) drawings mentioned as being done in this year are not included in the HABS website.

17 Historic American Building Survey, #55-SAUG-42, Llambias House. Copies of the HABS documentation for the Llambias House are available online at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs-haer/>. The HABS program was intended as a make-work program of the National Park Service during the Great Depression, employing out-of-work architects and historians to record and document historic buildings throughout the United States.

18 The National Park Service's National Historic Landmarks (NHL) Program has produced numerous architectural, historical, and archaeological theme studies under the auspices of the 1935 Historic Sites Act. A number of these theme studies are found on the NHL website [www.cr.nps.gov/nhl/](http://www.cr.nps.gov/nhl/). At this early period in the program's development, however, a written theme study was not produced for colonial architecture under which the Llambias House was designated as an NHL. Instead, a one-page mimeograph description was produced for each colonial building to be considered for landmark status. These were reviewed by the National Park Service's Advisory Board, whose recommendation was passed on to the Secretary of the Interior for designation as a NHL, which is the United States' highest formal recognition of the national significance of a cultural resource.

19 The twenty-year British occupation of St. Augustine and Florida is cited as 1763–1783 in this landmark study. However, the Spanish did not leave St. Augustine until the middle of 1764, as part of a period of transition to British rule. Likewise, when the British were required to return St. Augustine to the Spanish in 1783, actual British administration overlapped with the Spanish until the middle of 1784.

20 While the author was researching this revised National Historic Landmark nomination, the staff architectural historian of Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office brought the Machín-Ramos House (c. 1800), located in San Lorenzo, Puerto Rico, to his attention as one example of a rubble masonry (*mampostería*) Spanish colonial house in the Caribbean that shares many architectural aspects with St. Augustine Plan residential buildings in St. Augustine, Florida. The Machín-Ramos House was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on May 5, 1989.

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## APPENDIX

### *Chronology of Ownership of the Llambias House*

- 1764 Pedro Fernández was the first owner of record of the lot and house at 31 St. Francis Street. He appears to have acquired the lot in the 1750s (probably *peonía* sized: 50 by 100 Spanish feet [44 by 88 U.S. feet]), and constructed a one-story, one room *coquina*-masonry house (see Figures 2 and 3). Fernández's house forms the first story of the present house, and is one of a small number of pre-1763 colonial buildings left in St. Augustine. It is shown in outline on the Puente Map of 1764 and the Jeffreys Map of 1769 (see Figures 5 and 6).
- 1764 The Fernández property was sold to Jesse Fish on July 7, by Royal Engineer Juan Elixio de la Puente, agent for the Spanish families who left Florida as the province was transferred to Britain at the end of the French and Indian Wars.
- 1765 Incoming British Governor Patrick Tonyn, who did not recognize Fish's ownership of properties in St. Augustine, granted the house and lot to Richard Henderson.
- 1783 Henderson sold the house and lot to Thomas Adam sometime after 1765. Upon Adam's death, the property was conveyed to Charles Ogilvie's agent in St. Augustine, Edward Corbet. Governor Tonyn approved the transfer of title to settle debts owed by Adam to Ogilvie on June 18, 1783.
- 1783 Nicolas Turnbull acquired the house shortly afterward. It is possible that Turnbull was responsible for enlarging the house to a two-story, four-room *coquina*-masonry building, with a wooden balcony on the second-story facade, a two-story rear masonry-and-wood gallery addition, and a masonry chimney (see Figure 3). This building is shown in outline on the Rocque Map of 1788 (see Figure 7).
- 1784 At the end of the American Revolution, Turnbull left St. Augustine in mid-1784. With Spanish authority reinstated, ownership of the property reverted back to Jesse Fish.
- 1790 The house was sold at auction to Mariano Moreno on December 15, after Fish's death.

- 1792 Moreno sold the house to Pedro Marrot on August 27.
- 1795 Marrot sold the house to Juan Andreu on November 7.
- 1813 Upon the death of Juan Andreu, ownership of the house passed to his wife, Catalina Pons.
- 1818 Upon the death of Catalina Pons, ownership of the house passed to her daughter, Catalina Andreu Giraldo.
- 1827 Andreu's and Pons' son-in-law, Antonio Giraldo, lost the house through nonpayment of debts and on May 1, the house was purchased at auction by Captain Benjamin X. Pierce.
- 1827 Captain Pierce sold the house on November 1, to Dr. Thomas H. Simmons.
- 1835 Dr. Simmons sold the house to Rev. Edmund Thomas.
- 1838 Rev. Thomas sold the house to Peter and Joseph Manucy on April 23. Joseph Manucy purchased his brother's part of the house on September 4, the same year.
- 1854 Joseph Manucy sold the building on June 20 to Catalina Llambias, after whom the house is named. This house is pictured in an 1872 engraving and 1870s stereoview (see Figures 9 and 10).
- 1877 Catalina Llambias bequeathed the building to her relatives Ana Cornelia Bravo and Antonia M. Llambias on February 21. It is likely that these owners opened a doorway on the facade of the house to provide direct street access into the house during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Some time later (between 1910 and 1917), they replaced the 1780s open rear porch and gallery with a two-story wood framed structure. This wood framed structure on the back of the house is shown in Figure 11.
- 1919 On March 31, following the death of Antonia Llambias, her heirs sold the property to Harry M. Campbell. Campbell was probably responsible for enclosing the two-story rear porch and gallery as shown in Figure 12.
- 1932 On July 5, Campbell sold the property to the Newbill family.
- 1938 The Newbills sold the Llambias House to the Carnegie Institute of Washington on December 28, as the first step toward preservation of the property. The Carnegie Institute conveyed the property to the City of St. Augustine three days later.
- 1954 The Llambias House was restored to reflect the house as it existed in the Second Spanish Period (1783–1821) (see Figure 1). The property at the present time is owned by the City of St. Augustine, with the St. Augustine Historical Society providing for its preservation and interpretation.