

THE ST. AUGUSTINE CENSUS OF 1786

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH WITH AN

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

By JOSEPH B. LOCKEY

St. Augustine was the chief center of population in colonial Florida. It was not however at any time a town of considerable size. Indeed, the whole white population of East and West Florida in the first Spanish period never exceeded a few thousand at most. The explanation is simple. There were greater attractions elsewhere. Unlike Mexico and the other mainland regions to the south, Florida had no mines to be exploited, no extensive fields already prepared for cultivation, and no Indian serfs to do the white man's bidding. Nor did it possess the conditions of soil and climate which made the production of plantation crops by means of slave labor so profitable in the neighboring islands.

It is not strange therefore that Florida remained a barren frontier. When it was ceded to Great Britain, nearly two hundred years after the founding of St. Augustine, its wilderness stretches were broken only here and there by small garrisons in the shadows of which were to be found an absurdly small number of civilian inhabitants. Even these few, along with the government officials and the military,¹ quit the scene when the British took possession.

1. The number of inhabitants in East Florida on the eve of the transfer was estimated by Lieutenant-Colonel James Robertson at more than three thousand, including the garrison were preparing to remove to Cuba. Robertson to Amherst, Sept. 26, 1763, copy in William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich. I am under obligations to Mr. Charles Mowat for calling my attention to this interesting document.

The first years of the British occupation gave promise of a new era in Florida history. Immigrants began to pour in from various European sources, and for a while it seemed that the neglected territory was to have a permanent population sufficient to occupy and develop its vacant spaces. But the American Revolution changed the course of things. It stopped at once the flow of prospective home makers from across the Atlantic, and though later it set in motion what seemed to be a compensating stream of Loyalist refugees from the Carolinas and Georgia, it ended in blighting all the hopes of an earlier day. Neither the refugees nor the settlers who had preceded them were to remain. Under the terms of the peace of 1783, Florida reverted to its former sovereign, and now as before, change of possession prefigured a change of population. The British departed, leaving only a straggling remnant behind ² - a remnant however which was to prove, in the sequel, of great importance.

The withdrawal of the British was not complete till the very end of 1785. In the meantime the Spanish had fully re-established themselves in the old habitat. This transition is of great importance in the history of Florida. It was unlike the earlier change from Spanish to British possession. Then the exclusiveness and uniformity which marked the Spanish system of colonization gave way to the freedom and diversity which characterized the British. Now that the roles were reversed, with the British

2. This "remnant" is not intended to include the Minorcans, Italians and Greeks, who, for the most part, remained. They are treated as a group apart. Of the British subjects who departed 9,938 went to the British Isles, to British colonies and to other foreign parts, while 4,000 to 5,000, according to different estimates, returned to the United States. Thus the total number of emigrants was between 14,000 and 15,000. W. H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, I, p. 208.

departing and the Spanish returning, the cleavage was less distinct. Freedom did not wholly vanish with the British nor did exclusiveness in all its fullness reappear with the Spanish. There was more of diversity and less of uniformity than under the earlier Spanish regime. The British remnant formed a nucleus which grew by the addition of elements from the outside, and as time passed other immigrants different from the Spanish in religion, language, and culture gave the population a complexity of composition such as had never been tolerated before in a colony of Spain.

The full effect was not seen until the moment of final transfer to the United States. On that occasion no general emigration took place. In the first instance of change of sovereignty, Spanish subjects were unwilling to live under British rule; and in the second, British subjects scorned to submit to Spanish rule. When the third change took place the situation was different. Loyalties were divided; Interests were diverse. The Spanish settlers themselves were torn between sentimental and material considerations. Spain had lost its hold in America. Independent states had risen where viceroyalties and captaincies-general were before. Cuba alone of the more important areas remained subservient to the Crown ; but it was not now, as it had formerly been, a place of secure retreat. Nor was a more promising haven to be found anywhere else under the dominion of Spain. The loyal Spanish subject had to choose therefore between uncertainty under the old flag and security under the new, between despair under the one and the hope of better things under the other.

Not all the settlers of Spanish speech, to be sure, found the choice so difficult. Many had been born

in Florida. Attached to the soil rather than to the sovereign, they were not averse to the change. Of the non-Spanish elements, few looked upon the severing of the old ties with regret. Many indeed rejoiced at annexation. Among these were the former British subjects and their descendants, and among them also were the considerable numbers who had migrated more recently into the province from the United States. In the circumstances it is not to be wondered at that Florida's last change of sovereignty was unaccompanied by any great change of population.

No adequate study has ever been made of these old inhabitants of Florida. In the rapid process of development they have been forgotten. Hardly had the American flag been raised when a multitude of settlers began to pour into the newly acquired territory from the neighboring states and from more distant sources as well. Others crowded upon their heels. Little by little the old were lost in the throng of the new. The human landscape took on a changed appearance. Few of its old features meet the eye today, and from these but a faint notion of the original shape of things can be derived. The details that lie hidden from view must be revealed before the early scene can be made to appear in its true perspective and full significance. To do this is the work of the historian.

His task will not be easy. He may be able to recover, without too great difficulty, the more or less tangible facts regarding the numbers, composition, and character of the pre-annexation inhabitants ; but he will find more elusive the problem of determining to what extent and in what manner those inhabitants influenced the life of the state. It is not sufficient to note simply that they were lost in the

crowd of newcomers. It is essential to know how they were lost, to what extent by mere submergence and to what extent by fusion. In either case, it is important to know whether they affected in any considerable degree the social, economic, and political conditions of the state, whether they bore their full share of the responsibilities in the life that surrounded them, whether they made intellectual and moral contributions in proportion to their numbers-whether, in short, they became an active, or an inert, element in the body politic.

Obviously, there is matter here for historical inquiry. Obviously, also, investigation ought to begin with the earliest data obtainable. Neglected as the subject has been, much of the material necessary for its complete elucidation has been lost beyond recall. Fortunately, however, not a little of the highest value survives. To this category belongs the document reproduced in part below. It is the draft of a census of St. Augustine and its environs made in 1786 under the direction of the parish priest, Thomas Hassett,³ and completed by him late in that year. The time seemed appropriate for taking stock of the population. The British had departed and the old town, after a period of captivity, was again facing the future under the auspices of Spain. But it was a strange town, and the authorities at Havana and at Madrid must have been curious to see its human chart. Could they have been beset thus early by misgivings? If so, they could hardly have been reassured by the facts the census revealed.

Whether it was suspected or not, a population of declining loyalty to Spain was being formed. Many

3. The name is variously spelled. In the census of 1786 it appears as above. For biographical information regarding Hassett, see J. B. Lockett, "Public Education in Spanish St. Augustine," this *Quarterly*, XV (Jan. 1937), pp. 148-157.

of the persons enumerated in 1786 as Spanish subjects lived to become, in 1821, citizens of the United States. Their children and grand-children in greater number were among those who renounced the old allegiance and acclaimed the new. If the census of 1786 stood alone, it would still form the point of departure for fruitful investigation. Fortunately it does not stand alone. Among the East Florida Papers in the Library of Congress there are other documents of equal value, such as fragmentary lists for 1784, a census of St. Augustine for 1793, and a general census, more or less complete, of East Florida for 1814. Similar records for West Florida exist in the archives of Spain. There, also, it may be possible to obtain additional data relating to East Florida. When all the official documents have been searched out and made available for study, along with such private records as may survive, our knowledge of the pre-annexation population of Florida can begin to take more definite form.

The census with which we are now concerned is incomplete. It expressly omits from enumeration the troops and the employees of the royal treasury. It professes to include the rest of the inhabitants in the town and in the immediate vicinity to a distance of five leagues. But not all these seem to have been counted. In the town, "employees of the royal treasury" (*dependientes de la Real Hacienda*) seemed to embrace all officials, from the governor down. In the country, none of the inhabitants appear to have been enumerated, or, if they were, the lists are not now found with the census returns. It must be remembered that the document with which we are now dealing is merely the draft of Hassett's report. A clean copy must have been sent to the Captain-General. When it comes to light it may be found to

contain the missing data respecting the settlers in the outlying area, and perhaps, also, the solution of numerous minor problems that arise from the imperfections of the draft.

Meanwhile the gaps must be filled by estimates. Information in contemporary documents would seem to warrant setting down 450 as the number of officers and men comprising the garrison.⁴ For the government officials and their families and dependents no comparable data is at hand. They were few, undoubtedly. More numerous were the residents in the vicinity of the town. In 1793, before any great change had taken place, the number on the Matanzas River by actual count was 110, on the North River 126, and on the Camino de la Feria, 10, making a total of 246. Whether all these were within the range of five leagues or, whether it was the intention to include the nearer settlers on the St. Johns are questions which cannot now be answered. Making due allowance for these uncertainties, an estimate of 300 for the unenumerated civilians and their dependents, in town and country combined, would not seem excessive. Adding this number to Hasset's aggregate (943),⁵ gives a total of 1243 civilians, and if to this sum be added the number allowed for the garrison, the grand total becomes 1693 souls.

A few additional words of comment must bring this introduction to a close. The inhabitants, it will

4. The garrison sent to St. Augustine in June, 1784 comprised 500 officers and men. (*Estado que manifiesta* . . . in AGI :PC, Leg. 1395, p. 3189). The Census of 1793, found in the East Florida Papers, shows a total of 438.

5. This total does not exactly correspond with the one given in the article cited above (Note 3). What the correct figure may be is difficult to determine, for Hasset's summary is missing and in places the census is mutilated. Moreover there are evident errors in Hasset's computations. The finished document, as it was forwarded to the Captain General, may have been free from error; if so, it would doubtless show a total of slightly more than 943, rather than less.

be observed, were listed by groups in the following order : (1) Foreigners ; (2) Minorcans, Italians, and Greeks ; (3) *Floridanos*; and (4) Spaniards. The Minorcans, Italians, and Greeks were by far the most numerous. Space unfortunately does not permit the inclusion of their names.⁶ Next in number came the foreigners. They were composed principally of the element described on a preceding page as the remnant of the British occupation. Next in order were the *Floridanos*. To them attaches a peculiar interest. Born in the province under the former Spanish regime and suffering exile rather than bow to a foreign flag, they had shortly before returned with their families to the old surroundings. The Spanish comprised the smallest group. Enumeration of the government officials and officers of the garrison would have swelled their total. Some of the enlisted men also, doubtless, were Spanish, though it is likely that most of them were of Cuban birth. Few of these ever came to form a part of the permanent population. Accordingly they are of little concern to the present study. Our interest here centers in the real settlers whose names, with the exceptions already indicated, appear in the census reproduced below.

HASSETT'S CENSUS⁷

[Draft]

A list of the foreigners, Minorcans, Italians, Greeks, old Floridans, and Spaniards (except the troops and employees of the Royal Treasury) who reside, this, the nineteenth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, in the city of St. Augustine, East Florida, and in its vicinity to a distance of five leagues, with indication of the names, nationality, religion,

6. It is not to be inferred that these people were regarded as unworthy of consideration. Quite the contrary. Nothing would be more interesting than an intensive study of them from their earliest days in Florida to the present time.
7. East Florida Papers, box marked "Census Returns 1784-1814."

trade or occupation, age, number of children, and white or colored dependents, based on the register of the current year and on measures that I, Thomas Hassett, Parish Priest, Vicar and Ecclesiastical Judge of the said city, have taken for the purpose, this, the day, month, and year stated above.

To wit:

FOREIGNERS OF DIFFERENT RELIGIONS AND NATIONALITIES

Family No. 1

Ana Hester. ⁸ Widow, native of Georgia, Lutheran, laundress, 32 years of age.
Geremias Hester. Unmarried, native of Georgia, Lutheran, farmer, 23 years of age.
Guillermo Optan. Son of the widow Hester, native of San Juan in this province, Lutheran, unmarried, 13 years of age.
 Whites, male 2, female 1; Total 3

Family No. 2

Don ⁹ *Thomas Tuneo.* ¹⁰ Native of Scotland, Calvinist, merchant, unmarried, 24 years of age.
 White, male 1; Negro slaves, female 2; Total 3

Family No. 3

Don Juan Hudson. Native of Ireland, planter, ¹¹ Catholic, 28 years of age.
Dona Maria Evens. Native of America, ¹² Catholic, 56 years of age.
Juan Teats. Apprentice, white, native of England, catechumen, 16 years of age.
Jorge Stefanopoly. Overseer, white, native of Corsica, married (his wife absent), Catholic, 40 years of age.
Duncan Noble. Native of Scotland, tailor, Catholic, 25 years of age. *Agregado.* ¹³
 Whites, male 4, female 1; Negro slaves, male 29, female 17, none baptized; Total 51

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8. The names are reproduced throughout as they appear in the original.
 9. The use of Don and Dona by the maker of this census is of uncertain significance. If it was intended to mark off a social class, some of the omissions are difficult to explain.
 10. Tonno or Tunno in other contemporary documents.
 11. *Hacendado*, in the Spanish.
 12. In the Spanish, *natural de America*.
 13. This term is retained untranslated because of the difficulty of finding an English equivalent. In some cases, as in this one perhaps, the *agregado* was a mere lodger; in others he may have been a domestic, an employee, or associate in business; in others an orphan; in others, a virtual member of the family.

Family No. 4

- Don Francisco Felipe Fatio.*¹⁴ Native of the Swiss canton of Bern, Catholic, planter, 63 years of age.
*Dona Maria Magdalena Crispel.*¹⁵ His wife, native of Italy, Catholic, 58 years of age.
Dona Sophia Filipina. Their daughter, native of London, unmarried, Catholic, 19 years of age.
Dona Juana Cross. Native of New York, orphan, catechumen, 12 years of age. *Agregada.*
*Don Jorge Flemming.*¹⁶ Native of Ireland, Catholic, merchant, unmarried, 25 years of age. *Agregado.*
 Whites, male 2, female 3; Negro slaves, male 5, female 6, none baptized: Total

16

Family No. 5

- Don Juan Leslie.* Native of Scotland, Protestant, merchant, unmarried, 35 years of age.
Don Juan Foraster. Native of America, Protestant, unmarried, 20 years of age. *Agregado.*
Don Jorge Clark. Apprentice, native of this city, Catholic, 13 years of age.
 Whites, male 3; Negro slaves, male 3, female 7, none baptized ; Total

13

14. The information regarding Francis Philip Fatio, the founder of the Fatio family in Florida, is not altogether accurate. He was not a native of the Canton of Bern but of Vaud, his birthplace being near Vevey on Lake Geneva. It is a question whether he was a Catholic. His family, it appears, had been Protestant for generations. In an earlier list (1784) in the East Florida Papers he is represented as desiring to become a Catholic. Whether he became one in fact I do not know. In any event he died a Protestant. The information regarding Fatio's birthplace and religion was obtained from an unpublished "Tableau Genealogique de la Famille Fatio" and from Susan L'Engle's *Notes of My Family and Recollections of My Early Life*, an extract from which and a copy of the Tableau were kindly furnished me by Mr. Francis P. Fleming. Fatio's property in slaves is only partially indicated in this census. Apparently only those in town were listed. Two years earlier he owned three houses in St. Augustine (one of which was a store), a total of eighty-two slaves, about a hundred head of cattle, twenty-odd horses, and two vessels, one a schooner and the other a sloop.

15. Should be Crispel.

16. How interesting to see the name of George Fleming in juxtaposition with that of Sophia Philipa Fatio! Here in a census, of all places, is a budding romance. Four or five years later they were married and from that union stems one of Florida's most distinguished families. From the census of 1793 we learn that George Fleming was the son of Thomas Fleming and Maria Welsh. From an earlier list (1784) in the East Florida Papers we learn that Thomas Fleming was Scotch, apparently a widower, and a farmer with four slaves. Like Fatio he must have been Protestant, for he is represented as being undecided whether to embrace the Catholic faith.

Family No. 6

Dona Richeld Blent. Native of America, married (her husband, Don Ricardo Story, absent), Lutheran, 24 years of age.

Juana Laurey. Her niece, native of America, 6 years of age. Whites, female 2; Negro slaves, male 1, female 1, neither baptized ; Total

4

Family No. 7

Dona Honoria Clark. Widow, native of Ireland, Catholic, planter, 40 years of age.

Dona Margarita. Her daughter, native of this province, Catholic, unmarried, 16 years of age.

Gualtero Witter. Her son, native of this province, Catholic, unmarried, 14 years of age.

Don Daniel Griffin. Native of Ireland, Catholic, unmarried, lodger in this home, 26 years of age.

Thimoteo Howard y Claveria. Spanish orphan sheltered by Senora Clark, 11 years of age.

Whites, male 3, female 2; Negro slaves, male 8, female 7; Total

20

Family No. 8

Eduardo Ashton. Native of Ireland, Catholic, tailor, 38 years of age.

*Maria Hinsman.*¹⁷ His wife, native of America, 33 years of age.

Juan Parish. Stepson of Ashton, native of America, unmarried, catechumen, farmer, 17 years of age.

Samuel. Son of Ashton and his first wife, catechumen, 13 years of age.

Felipe. Son of Ashton and his first wife, catechumen, 12 years of age.

Juliana. Daughter of Ashton and his first wife, catechumen, 11 years of age.

Eduardo. Son of Ashton and his first wife, catechumen, 9 years of age.

Ysabela Mott. Daughter of Maria Hinsman, native of this province, Catholic, 11 years of age.

Ynes Mott. Like Ysabela, daughter of Maria Hinsman and her first husband, native of this province, Catholic, 9 years of age.

Whites, male 5, female 4; Total

9

Family No. 9

Maria Hazard. Native of America, widow, Protestant, 45 years of age.

Ysabela Perry. Daughter of the above, native of America, Protestant, married (her husband absent), 25 years of age.

Maria Perry. Daughter of Maria Hazard, native of this province, Catholic, unmarried, 13 years of age.

Enrique Mayro. Son of Ysabela Perry, native of this province, 4 years of age.

17. Hindsman and Heinsman in other contemporary documents.

- Regina Margarita White.* Widow, native of Prussia, Protestant, 65 years of age. **Agregada.**
Whites, male 1, female 4; Total 5
- Family No. 10
- Maria Collen.* Married (her husband absent), native of America, Protestant, 35 years of age.
Ana. Her daughter, native of America, 8 years of age.
Whites, female 2; Total 2
- Maria Luisa Rodrigues.* Native of America, Catholic, widow, 27 years of age.
Joseph Maria de Jesus Gero Villar. Her son, native of Mobile, Catholic, 11 years of age.
Whites, male 1, female 1; Total 2
- Family No. 11
- Jorge Bachos.* Native of Bengal, Protestant, unmarried, tailor, 37 years of age.
Maria Harris. Mulatto slave of the above, Protestant, 40 years of age.
Hindu, male 1; Mulatto, female 1; Total 2
- Family No. 12
- Thomas Cordery.* Native of America, butcher, Protestant, 64 years of age.
Maria Leasewell. His wife, native of America, of the same religion, 59 years of age.
Estevan. Their son, native of this province, of the same religion, unmarried, 16 years of age.
Sara Morphy. Grand-daughter of the Corderys, native of America, 5 years of age.
Catalina Morin. Native of America, Protestant, unmarried, 24 years of age. **Agregada.**
Whites, male 2, female 3; Total 5
- Family No. 13
- Barbara Strasburg.* Widow, native of Germany, Catholic, farmer, 60 years of age.
Margarita Hinsmant. Her daughter, native of America, unmarried, Catholic, 27 years of age.
Ynes Hinsmant. Her daughter, native of America, unmarried, Catholic, 24 years of age.
Whites, female 3; Total 3
- Family No. 14
- Santiago Clark.* Native of Scotland, innkeeper, Protestant, 31 years of age.
Margarita Crerich. His wife, of the same religion. 48 years of age.
Jayne Teats. Apprentice, white, unmarried, Protestant, 14 years of age.
Whites, male 2, female 1; Negro servants, male 3, none baptized; Negro slave, female 1, not baptized; Total 7
- Family No. 15
- Juan Hopquins.* Native of England, Protestant, shoemaker, 35 years of age.

- Ysabel McMullen* His wife, native of Scotland, Protestant, 42 years of age.
- Groves Doran.* Native of Ireland, Catholic, shoemaker, 40 years of age. *Agregado.*
- Whites, male 2, female 1; Total 3
- Family No. 16
- Barbara Jaysmen Simpson.* Widow. native of Pennsylvania, Catholic, 33 years of age.
- Anna.* Her daughter, native of this province, 11 years of age.
- Felipe.* Her son, native of this province, 4 years of age.
- Whites, male 1, female 2; Total 3
- Family No. 17
- Antonio Hinsman.* Native of America, Catholic, farmer, 36 years of age.
- Leonora Genopley.* His wife, native of America, Catholic, 19 years of age.
- Maria Barbara.* Their daughter, native of this province, 5 months of age.
- Ynes Ana Antonia.* Child of unknown parents, taken in by Leonora Hinsman, one month of age.
- Juan Ly.* Native of America, Protestant, farmer, unmarried, 20 years of age. *Agregado.*
- Whites, male 2, female 3; Total 5
- Family No. 18
- Jorge Hinsman.* Native of America, farmer, Catholic, 33 years of age.
- Maria Ysabela.* His wife, native of America, Catholic, 18 years of age.
- Whites, male 1, female 1; Total 2
- Family No. 19
- Jayme McGirt.* Native of Carolina, farmer, Lutheran, 50 years of age.
- Ysabela Sanders.* His wife, native of the same, of the same religion, 43 years of age.
- Jayme.* Their son, native of the same, unmarried, farmer, 20 years of age.
- Juan.* Their son, native of the same, unmarried, farmer, 18 years of age.
- Esacarias.* Their son, native of the same, unmarried, farmer, 16 years of age.
- Daniel.* Their son, native of the same, unmarried, farmer, 14 years of age.
- Roverto.* Their son, native of the same, unmarried. 12 years of age.
- Maria.* Their daughter, native of the same, 10 years of age. All are of the same religion as their parents.
- Whites, male 6, female 2; Negro slaves, male 4, female 2 none baptized; Total 14
- Family No. 20
- Joseph Hues.* Native of London, farmer, Lutheran, widower, 56 years of age.

Joseph. His son, native of the same, unmarried, farmer, of the same religion, 15 years of age.		
Geremias Hester. ¹⁸ Native of Georgia, farmer, unmarried, Protestant, 21 years of age. <i>Agregado.</i>		
Luis. Native of America, farmer, Protestant, 13 years of age. <i>Agregado.</i>		
Whites, male 4; Total		4
Family No. 21		
Randolph MacDonell. Native of Scotland, Catholic, farmer, unmarried, 45 years of age.		
Alexandro MagDonel. Native of the same, unmarried, farmer, Catholic, 26 years of age.		
Whites, male 2 ; Negro slaves, male 4, female 2, none baptized ; Total		8
Family No. 22		
Deophus Hill. Native of America, Protestant, farmer, 43 years of age.		
Theresa Thomosa. His wife, native of the same, of the same religion, 41 years of age.		
Sara. Their daughter, native of the same, unmarried, of the same religion, 15 years of age.		
Chrischeany. Their daughter, native of the same, unmarried, of the same religion, 12 years of age.		
Maria. Their daughter, native of the same, of the same religion, 8 years of age.		
Ysabela. Their daughter, native of the same, of the same religion, 5 years of age.		
Whites, male 1, female 5; Negro slaves, male 7, female 4, none baptized; Total		17
Family No. 23		
Don Geremias Fis. ¹⁹ Native of New York, planter, Protestant, married (his wife absent), 54 years of age.		
Geremias. His son, native of this province, of the same religion, at present absent, 7 years of age.		
Whites, male 2; Negro slaves, male 7, female, none baptized; a free Negro called Diego, Catholic, <i>Agregado</i> , 1; Total		17
Married couples in this group	13	
Whites, male		47
Whites, female		38
Total number of whites		85
Negroes, male		72
Negroes, female		54
Total number of Negroes		126
Total number of souls as seen in the preceding list, as made evident in the marginal totals. To wit:		
White persons		85
Negroes		126
Total		211
Note: To this total must be added a Hindu and a mulatto woman, making in all		213

18. Probably the same as the Geremias Hester in Family No. 1
19. Fish?

MINORCANS, ITALIANS, GREEKS, AND OTHERS CONSIDERED AS SUCH ²⁰

Number of married couples in this group	97		
Whites, male		241	
Whites, female		228	
Total number of whites			469
Negroes, male			33
Negroes, female			37
Total number of Negroes			70
Total			539

FLORIDANS

Family No. 1

Sebastian Espinosa. Unmarried, sailor, native of this province, 40 years of age.

Josepha Espinosa. Native of this province, widow, 40 years of age.

Nicolas Sanchez. Their nephew, unmarried, farmer, 26 years of age.

Bernardino Sanchez. Their nephew, unmarried, shopkeeper, 24 years of age.

Joseph Sanchez. Their nephew, native of this province, farmer, 22 years of age.

Ramon Sanchez. Native of Havana, their nephew, sailor, 18 years of age.

Maria de la O. Sanchez. Their niece, native of Havana, unmarried, 20 years of age.

Maria Andrea Sanchez. Their niece, native of Havana, unmarried, 16 years of age.

Whites, male 5, female 3; Negro slaves, male 5, female 1; baptized; Total

14

Family No. 2

Alfonso Rivero. Native of this province, unmarried, tobaccoist, 30 years of age.

White, male 1; Total

1

Family No. 3

Miguel Chapus. Native of this province, sailor, 44 years of age.

Getrudis Carrillo. His wife, native of this province, 33 years of age.

Joseph Julian. Their son, native of Havana, 13 years of age.

Francisco Navarro. Sailor, native of this province, 35 years of age. *Agregado.*

Juana Peres. Free Negress, native of this province, Catholic, 54 years of age.

Whites, male 3, female 1; Free Negro, female, Catholic 1; Total

5

20. Summary only.

Family No. 4

Antonio Montes de Oca. Shoemaker, native of this province, 47 years of age.
Paula de Torres. His wife, native of Minorca, 39 years of age.

Mateo Lorenzo. Son of Paula and her first husband, native of Mosquitos, unmarried, crippled, 16 years of age.
Juana Lorenz. Daughter of Paula and her first husband, native of Mosquitos, 11 years of age.
Whites, male 2, female 2; Total

4

Family No. 5

Catarina Aguilar. Free Negress, married (her husband absent), Catholic, native of this province, 48 years of age.
Joseph de Rivas. Free mulatto, native of Havana, shoemaker, 19 years of age, married.
Free mulatto, male 1; Free Negro, female 1; Total

2

Family No. 6

Lorenzo Llanes. Sailor, unmarried, native of this province, 38 years of age.
White, male 1; Free mulatto, male, native of this province, 1; Negro slave, male 1, not baptized; Total

3

Family No. 7

Antonio Puello. Sailor, widower, native of this province, 56 years of age.
Maria Manuela. His daughter, unmarried, native of this province, 14 years of age.
Antonio. His son, native of Havana, 12 years of age.
Whites, male [2],²¹ female 1; Negro slave, female [1], Catholic ; Total

[4]

Family No. 8

Don Francisco Joseph Huet. Native of this province, merchant, 30 years of age.
Dona Rosalia Faustina. His wife, native of Havana, 33 years of age.
Rosalia. Their daughter, native of Havana, 10 years of age.
Maria Nicolasa. Their daughter, native of Havana, 7 years of age.
Joseph Ramon. Their son, native of Havana, 3 years of age.
Maria de la Concepcion. Their daughter, native of Havana, 2 years of age.
Francisco Joseph. Their son, native of Havana, 1 year of age.

Don Francisco Huet. Father of Don Francisco native of Spain, brother of the third order of St. Francis, 78 years of age.
Luis Contreras. Unmarried, native of this province, trader, 21 years of age. *Agregado.*

21. Numbers in brackets have been inserted by the translator, the manuscripts being torn at these points. The missing numbers in some cases, as in this one, are obvious. Elsewhere they were arrived at by calculation.

- Maria Rita Brava*. Unmarried, native of Havana, 17 years of age. *Agregada*. Whites, male 2, female 5; Total 10
- Family No. 9
- Lorenzo Rodrigues*. Native of this province, sailor, 55 years of age.
- Ysabela Piuna*. His wife, native of Germany, Catholic, 40 years of age.
- Maria del Carmen*. Their daughter, native of Havana, unmarried, 22 years of age.
- Nicolas*. Their son, sailor, unmarried, native of this province, 25 years of age.
- Theresa de Jesus Rodrigues*. Their daughter, native of Havana, 10 years of age.
- Joseph Gonzales*. Native of Havana, unmarried, 14 years of age. *Agregado*.
- Ricardo Bustan*. Native of America, unmarried. 13 years of age. *Agregado*. Whites, male 4, female 3 ; Free mulatto, male 1; Negro slave, female 1, not baptized; Total 9
- Family No. 10
- Don Thomas Cordero*. Native of this province, merchant, 63 years of age.
- Dona Leonor Gonzales*. His wife, native of this province, 61 years of age.
- Don Ypolito Gonzales*. Notary Public, native of this province, widower, 45 years of age.
- Juan Joseph*. Son of Don Ypolito, native of Havana, 14 years of age.
- Juana de Dios*. Daughter of Don Ypolito, native of Havana, 12 years of age. Whites, male 3, female 2; Total [5]
- Family No. 11
- Juana Montes de Oca*. Widow, native of this province, 44 years of age.
- Juan Eugenio Gonzales*. Her son, unmarried, native of Havana, 17 years of age.
- Joseph*. Her son, native of Havana, 10 years of age.
- Antonio Joseph*. Her son, native of Havana, 5 years of age.
- Leonarda Josefa*. Her daughter, native of Havana, 2 years of age. Whites, male 3, female 2; Total 5
- Family No. 12
- Lucia Escalona*. Widow, native of this province, 60 years of age. White, female 1; Negro slaves, male 1, female 1, both Christians ; Total 3
- Family No. 13
- Nicolasa Gomes*. Widow, native of this province, 57 years of age. White, female 1; Negro slaves, male 2, female 2, all Christians ; Total 5

Family No. 14

Francisco Sanchez. Planter, unmarried, native of this province, 40 years of age.
 White, male 1; Free mulattos, male 3, female 6, all Catholics; Negro slaves, male 27, one baptized, female 12, none baptized; Slave children, 14, not baptized; Total 63

Married couples among the group of Floridans 6

Whites, male	29	
Whites, female		21
Total number of whites		50
Negroes, male, free and slave	42	
Negroes, female, free and slave	40	
Total number of Negroes		82
Total		132

SPANIARDS

Family No. 1

Pedro de Cala. Native of Spain, sailor, unmarried, 36 years of age.
 White, male 1; Negro slaves, male 1, baptized, female 1; *Agregada* 1; Total 4

Family No. 2

Antonio Rospain. Native of Catalonia, keeper of a wine shop, unmarried, 32 years of age.
 White, male 1; Negro slave, male 1, Christian: Total 2

Family No. 3

*Manuel de Ben.*²² Native of Spain, keeper of a wine shop, unmarried, 40 years of age.
 White, male 1; Total [1]

Family No. 4

Juan Juares. Native of the Canary Islands, farmer, 40 years of age.
Juana Martin. His wife, native of the Canary Islands. 40 years of age.
Bartolomeo. Their son, native of the Canary Islands, unmarried, 14 years of age.
Gregorio Juares. Their son, native of the Canary Islands, unmarried, 13 years of age.
Joseph Juares. Their son, native of the Canary Islands, 8 years of age.
 Whites, male [4], female 1; Total 5

Family No. 5

Joseph Antonio Coruna. Native of the Canary Islands, farmer, 35 years of age.
Manuela Sanchez. His wife, native of the Canary Islands, 36 years of age.
 Antonio. Their son, unmarried, farmer, native of the same, 16 years of age.

22. Deven in a list of 1784.

Lucia Antonia. Their daughter, native of the same, 9 years of age.
Maria Regla. Their daughter, native of the same, 6 years of age.
 Whites, male 2, female 3; Total 5

Family No. 6

Miguel Rodrigues. Native of Spain, farmer, 30 years of age.
Catarina Juares. His wife, native of the Canary Islands, 32 years of age.
Antonia Vega. Daughter of Catarina Juares and her first husband, native of the Canary Islands, 10 years of age.
Juaquin. Son of Catarina Juares and her first husband, native of the Canary Islands, 6 years of age.
 Whites, male 2, female 2; Total 4

Family No. 7

Pedro de Acosta. Native of the Canary Islands, farmer, 35 years of age.
Cicilia de Artilles. His wife, native of the Canary Islands, 35 years of age.
Josepha Maria. Their daughter, native of the same, 5 years of age.
Maria del Carmen. Their daughter, native of the Canary Islands, 4 years of age.
Lucia. Their daughter, native of the same, 2 years of age.
 Whites, male 1, female 4; Total 5

Family No. 8

Don Miguel Ysnardi. Native of Spain, married (his wife absent), merchant, 32 years of age.
*Edward Wantos.*²³ Native of this province, Protestant, unmarried, dependent of Don Miguel, 19 years of age.
 Whites, male 2; Negro slaves, male [2], not baptized, female [3], including two catechumens; Total [7]

Family No. 9

Juan Luay. Native of Catalonia, keeper of a wine shop, unmarried, 21 years of age.
 White, male 1; Total [1]

Family No. 10

*Antonio Riveras.*²⁴ Native of Catalonia, sailor and keeper of a wine shop, unmarried, 32 years of age.
 White, male 1; Total 1

Family No. 11

Pedro Garcia. Native of Spain, keeper of a wine shop, unmarried, 29 years of age.
 White, male 1; Total [1]

23. Walton, in a list of 1784.

24. May have been the same as Antonio Oliveras referred to in a list of 1784.

Family No. 12

Francisco Blas. Native of Spain, carpenter, 29 years of age.
Margarita Redondo. His wife, native of Havana, 21 years of age.

Juan Miguel. Their son, native of this province, 6 months of age.

Whites, male 2, female 1; Total 3

Family No. 13

Francisco Roch. Native of Spain, tailor, 28 years of age.
Ana Barnet. His wife, native of the Island of Providence, 20 years of age.

Francisca. Their daughter, native of the Island of Providence, 2 years of age.

Whites, male 1, female 2; Indian, male 1, Christian, *Agregado* ; Total 4

Family No. 14

Antonio de Palma. Native of Spain, Merchant, 27 years of age.

Margarita MacFail. His wife, native of this province, 19 years of age.

Juana. Their daughter, native of this province, 1 year of age.

Ygnacio Ortegas. Native of Minorca, widower, shopclerk, 50 years of age. *Agregado*.

Whites, male 2, female 2; Total 4

Family No. 15

Juan Aguilar. Native of the Canary Islands, farmer, 50 years of age.

Melchora Ramos. His wife, native of the same, 50 years of age.

Juan. Their son, unmarried, farmer, native of the same, 20 years of age.

Tomas. Their son, native of the same, 13 years of age.

Catalina. Their daughter, native of the same, 16 years of age.

Manuel Juares. Native of Catalonia, farmer, unmarried, 21 years of age. *Agregado*.

Whites, male 4, female [2] ; Total [6]

Family No. 16

Pablo Cortina. Native of Ceuta, merchant, 28 years of age.
Juana Escalona. His wife, native of Havana, 19 years of age.

Francisco. Their son, native of Havana, [] years of age.

Maria Dolores. Their daughter, native of this province, 10 months of age.

Whites, male [2], female [2] ; Negro slaves, male [1], female [1], neither baptized; Total [6]

Married couples in this group of Spaniards 10

Whites, male 27

Whites, female 19

Total number of whites 46

Negro slaves, male 8

Negro slaves, female	4	
Total number of negroes		12
Indian, male		1
Total		59

SUMMARY ²⁵

Foreigners		
Whites, male	48	
Whites, female	38	
Negroes, male	72	
Negroes, female	55	
Total		213
Minorcans		
Italians		
Greeks		
Whites, male	241	
Whites, female	228	
Negroes, male 33		
Negroes, female	37	
Total		539
Floridanos		
Whites, male	29	
Whites, female	21	
Negroes, male	42	
Negroes, female	40	
Total		132
Spaniards		
Whites, male	27	
Whites, female	19	
Negroes, male	8	
Negroes, female	4	
Total		59
Suburban Population		
Whites (estimated)	130	
Negroes (estimated)	170	
Total		300
Garrison		
Officers and men (estimated)	450	
Grand Total		1693

25. By the translator.