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SPANISH RELIEF POLICY
AND THE EAST FLORIDA REFUGEES OF 1763

by DUVON C. CORBITT

"Jesus, Maria y Josef!"

So runs the pious ejection scrawled across the front page of the bundle of documents in the Archivo Nacional de Cuba concerned with pensions to wives, widows and daughters of the Floridians who chose to follow the re-treating Spanish flag in 1763 and 1764.¹ It is not surprising that the Havanese officials called for help from on high when they found themselves confronted with the feeding and housing of the whole population of East Florida after the cession of that province to Great Britain by the Peace of Paris. Fortunately the total of that population scarcely exceeded three thousand ; but, even so, the drain on a treasury always dependent on a subsidy from New Spain was considerable; moreover, that same treasury was also faced with the financing of the reconstruction and fortification of Cuba's capital after an eleven months siege and occupation by British forces.

Over in New Spain itself officials were called on to deal with a similar situation created by the migration to Vera Cruz and Campeche of the whole population of West Florida. There, however, the refugees entered a more populous colony, thus making the problem relatively smaller than that created in Cuba. There was, however, something of a parallel in the way the two groups of refugees were handled, in that attempts were made to settle them on small farms in agricultural colonies.² In each case, too, a pension plan was worked out, but here the parallel ends, for the pension system was developed in Cuba and simply extended to West Floridians residing in New Spain. This fact calls for special consideration.

There were in East Florida some 3,100 persons at the time of the cession of the province to Britain. About

1. The bundle is the Archivo Nacional de Cuba (hereinafter cited as A.N.C.), Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

2. A.N.C., Realengos, legajo 67, no. 3. See also A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

the time hostilities ceased half a hundred of the troops were sent to strengthen the garrison at St. Marks. After the peace ten militiamen, their families and their slaves were transported at their own request to Campeche. The rest of the East Floridians were taken to Havana. Bishop Pedro Agustin Morel de Santa Cruz, who had been expelled from Havana by the British and who was in St. Augustine at the time of the cession, took it upon himself to bear the expense of sending seventy-four women and children to Cuba. The rest of the population, including 551 soldiers,³ were transported to Havana at government expense.

To dispose of the members of the armed services was simply a matter of assigning them to other posts of duty, but the civilians presented a real problem. Temporary lodgings were found for them in and around Havana, a number being allocated in the Barrio de Guadalupe, just outside the city wall, while the others were distributed in the town of Regla across the bay or in Guanabacoa some six miles farther east. As a provisional relief measure each individual was given a daily allowance of one *real* for subsistence, but even this small amount for so many persons constituted a serious drain on the already overworked Cuban treasury.

Providential care took the earthly form of a certain Don Geronimo Contreras who seems to have been of Florida extraction. Part of his large holdings in the locality of Ceiba Mocha, in the jurisdiction of Mantanzas, was offered for distribution among the refugees. In this way⁴ nearly one hundred families were provided with homes. This tract contained 108 *caballerias*, or 3,600 acres. The plan of settlement as worked out by the Conde de Ricla,

3. A study of the migration is found in W. H. Siebert, "The Departure of the Spaniards and other Groups from East Florida, 1763-1764," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX, No. 2, (October, 1940), 145-154. The total number of emigrants, according to Professor Siebert, was 3,091. A transcript from the Archivo General de Indias, 86-7-11 (in the Webb Memorial Library in St. Augustine) places the total population at 3,046, but this seems to omit the troops sent to St. Marks just before evacuation, which Professor Siebert includes.

4. A.N.C., Realengos, legajo 67, no. 3.

captain general of the island, and Alejandro O'Reilly, inspector general of troops, called for the allotment of one *caballeria* - thirty-two acres - to each family. In addition to this gift of land each head of a family received a loan of sixty pesos, to be repaid over a period of ten years, and a slave valued at one hundred and fifty pesos, to be paid for within the same period. Each family also received an assortment of farm implements the purchase price of which - nine pesos, two reales - was deducted from the loan of sixty pesos. In return for the land, loans and transportation to their new homes, the settlers renounced any further claims against the government.⁵ A number of the Floridians sought and obtained advances on the cash loans before leaving Havana, the amounts ranging from four to twenty pesos, the remainder being paid on arrival in the colony⁶ where the slaves and farm implements were also delivered.⁷

The first group of colonists, including seventy-three heads of families, arrived at the site of the proposed settlement about the first of April of 1764, and some time before June fifth of that year they were joined by twenty-one other families.⁸ A village on the European style, in which each family would have a house and lot and from which they would go out to their several farms, was part of the original plan. One *caballeria* of land was set aside and surveyed for this purpose, but as late as 1822 the village lots were still undistributed because the colonists seemed to prefer living on their farms.⁹ When finally a village did develop it was at some distance from the place assigned.

The name chosen for the colony was San Augustin de la Nueva Florida. Notwithstanding the fact that the estate of Don Geronimo Contreras was called "San Au-

5. A.N.C., Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 880, no. 29,668.

6. A.N.C., Realengos, legajo 67, no. 3.

7. A.N.C., Realengos, legajo 67, no. 13.

8. Two lists of original heads of families, numbering 73, are found in A.N.C., Realengos, legajo 67, no. 3. Another list with names of arrivals through July 5, 1764 is in A.N.C., Realengos, legajo 67, no. 13.

9. A.N.C., Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 880, no. 29,668.

gustin," and that the small stream near the site of the colony bore the same name, it seems that the exiles thought rather of perpetuating the name of their former home. For the next half-century San Augustin de la Nueva, Florida fought a losing battle with the traditional name of Ceiba Mocha by which the town nearby is still called. A broken ceiba tree, that is, a "ceiba Mocha," that stood out prominently by the King's Highway was responsible for that name.¹⁰ Events during the past century have given this village a peculiarly romantic history of the Robin Hood type, which could be more properly the topic of a separate study. Near it the almost legendary Manuel Garcia was killed, and in its cemetery his remains lay buried until they were spirited away to prevent their being removed to Havana. More important to the present problem is the fact that descendants of many of the East Floridians are to be found in the town and its vicinity today.

The settlement of the colony at San Augustin de la Nueva Florida was only one phase of the problem of re-establishing hundreds of civilians from East Florida. Under the provisions of a cedula of January 31, 1731, all widows and orphan daughters of soldiers who had served in Florida were entitled to a pension of two *reales* per day as long as they remained single. This military pension was called *limosna de Florida*, literally "alms of Florida." Since Florida had been little more than a military post a large portion of the female refugees of 1763 could qualify for the *limosna*.¹¹ By special grace of the king the pension was extended to include all Florida women who had lost one or both parents regardless of military service of fathers or husbands. The *limosna* list was also extended by other additions-but with varying

10. *Guia de Forasteros de la Isla de Cuba* (An annual volume listing persons connected with the administration. Published by the press of the Captaincy General), 1798, p. 30, and 1803, p. 122. See also A.N.C., Realeños, legajo 67, no. 3; A.N.C., Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 880, no. 29,689; and the *Diario del Gobierno Constitucional de la Habana*, September 23, 1813.

11. A.N.C., Reales Ordenes, libro XI, pp. 77-79.

amounts assigned as the pension-so that by 1766 all women and girls not settled in the colony at San Augustin de la Nueva Florida were on the pension roll. In the meantime, however, the government had decided that the males could take care of themselves regardless of age, and their ration of one real per day was cut off.

The haphazard manner in which the ladies had been pensioned, especially in regard to amounts, led to confusion and misunderstanding. To systematize the Florida pension program orders were sent out from Spain for Captain General Antonio Maria Bucarely to suggest a permanent plan.¹² This he did in July 1770 and in November of that year his suggestions received royal approval. At the same time the king's ministers ordered the Cuban intendant, Miguel de Altarriba, to make payments in Havana according to the pension list submitted by the captain general. Wives, widows and daughters of men living in Florida at the time of the cession to Britain were to receive one *real* per day while single. Daughters born after the migration were to be excluded, as well as all Floridians living outside their native land at the time of the treaty. Widows and orphans of Florida soldiers were to continue to receive the two *reales* assigned them by the *cedula* of 1731. If, however, the husband or father of a pensioner entered the royal service the *limosna* was to be discontinued since it was not "the will of His Majesty . . . that one individual receive two salaries."¹³ No provision was made for men who had not served in the armed forces.

At the end of the American Revolution, East Florida returned to Spanish control, but there was no mass return of the exiles. The census taken in St. Augustine in 1786 listed only fourteen of the hundreds of families who had migrated in 1763 and 1764, and although these fourteen families contained a total of 132 persons, scarcely a fifth of the number had resided in Florida before the

12. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 23.

13. The regulation and accompanying documents are in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 12, no. 2.

migration. The rest were wives, husbands, children or slaves acquired by Floridians while residing in Cuba.¹⁴ Official policy toward those who had returned was hardly calculated to encourage others to follow their example. Lacking specific instructions on the point, the Havana authorities suspended the *limosna* to women who went back to Florida. Loath to surrender the government subsidy, recipients of the pension were hesitant about risking another migration on the mere possibility of taking up where they and their fathers had left off a generation before.

By 1789 the effect of this policy began to be noted by the intendant of Cuba, Domingo de Hernani. To the minister of the Indies the intendant reported on April 3 of that year that he had paid out during the preceding fiscal year 22,996 pesos to 318 ex-Florida women, not one of whom had tried to return to Florida since the return of the flag. Government transportation and the continuation of the pension to returning Floridians were his suggestions for promoting the repopulation of the province.¹⁵ The minister's response was a set of instructions to the intendant to continue the pensions to women who went back to Florida, and also an announcement that the houses and land held during the first Spanish period could be recovered.¹⁶

Hernani's proposition seems to have been an outgrowth of a petition from Jose Ponce de Leon and his wife, Catalina de Porras. This came before the Junta de Real Hacienda in 1789. The couple asked for transportation to St. Augustine because they were "loaded with children and therefore labored under great difficulties" in Cuba. They hoped to get to their native land "where perhaps they could obtain with fewer fatigues the necessary subsistence for their family." It was agreed that passage for the family should be paid from the public funds. At the same time the Junta decided to do as much

14. Joseph B. Lockey, "The St. Augustine Census of 1786," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, No. 1 (July, 1939), 11-31.

15. Hernani to Valdés, April 3, 1789, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

16. Valdés to Hernani, July 3, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

for other Floridians who wished to be repatriated, eight *pesos* to be allowed for each person in addition to regular army rations en route. If the women happened to be daughters of officers they were to receive the "*gratificación* of the table" while on shipboard.¹⁷ For this program royal approval was given,¹⁸ and it is of interest to note that the lady who helped to start this policy died soon after reaching her native city of St. Augustine.¹⁹

A number of other requests were made that led to complete revision of the Florida pension plan, whether the recipients were in Cuba, New Spain, or in Florida itself. Lucia Escalona, who had been among the first of the refugees to return to St. Augustine, asked that her pension be made payable in Florida instead of Havana as heretofore. Lucia had already been the subject of considerable study, for it was with great difficulty that she had been able to obtain a pension at all. Her first petition on the subject was refused by the Junta de Hacienda on the ground that she had no legal proof that she was a widow, her husband, a sailor of St. Augustine having simply sailed away and failed to return. Perseverance, however, finally got Lucia the pension on the grounds that she was "an effective widow" (*viuda efectivo*) since her husband had been missing for fifty years. The Junta granted her request with a note of praise because she had set an example worthy of emulation by her compatriots in going back to develop her native land.

Along with the papers concerned with Lucia Escalona went other documents dealing with petitions from still other Florida women asking that their pensions be continued, and that they be given back the houses they possessed prior to 1763, about which there seems to have been considerable difficulty in spite of lengthy legisla-

17. Hernani to Valdes, May 29, 1789, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22. See also A.N.C., Reales Ordenes, libro IX, p. 198.

18. Valdes to Hernani, August 5, 1789, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

19. Records of the Cathedral of St. Augustine, May 22, 1803. Josef Ponce de Leon (son of Francisco Ponce de Leon and Dona Jacoba del Pueyo), having lost his wife Catalina de Porras, married Antonia Tremal, widow of Luis Suchy. Data furnished by the late Mrs. E. W. Lawson.

tion on the subject. Among the petitions was one from Maria de los Angeles Florencia asking that the two *reales* per day formerly paid to her as the daughter of a Florida officer be restored. This pension had been discontinued when the lady married. Now she was a widow and wanted it back. The petition was forwarded to Spain along with other requests and a proposal from the new intendant, Pablo Valiente, for a new regulation that would link Florida pensions with a broader program designed to promote the development of the province. The projected regulation was approved by the king on March 18, 1791. The substance of its twelve articles were as follows: (1) the treasury was to furnish transportation to all Floridians who desired to repatriate themselves ; (2) those migrating to Florida, or who were already there would continue to receive their pensions; (3) Floridians living in Cuba and drawing one *real* per day would be allowed one and a half if they went back to Florida ; (4) girls born in Cuba of Florida parents would receive two *reales* per day until they married or reached the age of thirty, provided they moved to Florida ; (5) Florida women married to non-Floridians would receive one real per day if they returned to their native land ; (6) women too old to return and take possession of their property would, however, receive their pensions in Cuba; (7) female members of Florida families settled in Ceiba Mocha²⁰ or Campeche²¹ could be returned to the pension roll provided they moved back to Florida, their pensions to be equal to what they received before accepting the farms ; (8) property owned in Florida in 1763 could be recovered on presenting evidence of such ownership ; (9) loans would be made from the treasury to those desiring to build homes, repayment to be made within ten years; (10) returning exiles would be granted farm lands in such amounts as they could cultivate ; (11) the treasury would provide each family with a negro slave and also

20. The site of the colony of East Floridians.

21. The residents of Pensacola and vicinity were sent to Vera Cruz and Campeche.

with farm implements on the condition that the recipient would agree to pay for them within the ten year period ; (12) Floridians would henceforth have preference in the selection of government employees.²²

It will be noted that "articles 9, 10, and 11 were simply adaptations from the plan used in settling the refugees at San Augustin de la Nueva Florida. The rest were peculiar to the Florida situation, although no. 12 deserves special mention. It represents a radical departure from the fixed policy of Spain of preferring Peninsular born Spaniards to colonials in official appointments whether in Spain or over seas.

On giving approval to this new plan the king added the condition that where property formerly owned by Floridians had been subsequently granted to some one else, the government could compensate them by grants from the lands belonging to the crown. At the same time the king instructed the viceroy of New Spain to supply the money necessary to carry out the new Florida policy; that is, the viceroy was to increase the subsidy (*situado*) already being sent to Florida to cover the deficit in the administration's budget.²³

Finally, in the particular case of Maria de los Angeles Florencia, whose petition had provoked the general regulation, the intendant recommended payment of one *real* per day, since the lady was living in Havana which the government was not interested in populating. It would be increased, however, if she returned to Florida²⁴. This suggestion by the intendant was finally approved by the king.²⁵

In the meantime the royal order of 1791 began to produce some few results in the way of inducing Floridians to return to their native land. On January 16, 1794, bulletins were posted on public buildings in Havana in-

22. This regulation and accompanying documents are in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22. A duplicate set is *ibid.* legajo 14, no. 93.

23. A certified copy of the order is in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 14, no. 93.

24. Two copies of this recommendation, dated July 2, 1792, are in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

25. Royal order of November 8, 1792, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

forming Florida refugees of their new rights and privileges.²⁶ There was an immediate, if not general, response. Antonio Pueyo informed Captain General Luis de las Casas that he would like to go to Florida with his daughter Maria Manuela "in order that she might be able to enjoy the privileges that His Majesty had granted to families that returned to that Plaza."²⁷ A similar petition came from Maria Ventura Rodriguez, who wanted to get to Florida with her husband, Francisco Santa Ana, to enjoy the "grace of His Majesty."²⁸ After the corresponding number of investigations, consultations, explanations, and examinations had greatly enriched Spanish archival wealth, the two petitions were granted.²⁹

It should be noted that in connection with these two petitions there came into general use the term Junta de Floridas. The Junta had existed in fact if not in name since a royal order of May 26, 1775 instructed Captain General Diego Navarro to convoke a meeting of the intendant, the accountant, the *asesor de gobierno*, and the *asesor de la intendencia* when necessary to decide questions relating to the *limosna de Florida*. But, since this was the identical group that advised the captain general and the intendant on matters concerning the treasury, it continued to be referred to as the Junta de Real Hacienda even when discussing Florida problems. By 1791, however, another name was coming into use. In a letter to the intendant the captain general asked him to discuss the new royal order of March 18 in the "Junta de Floridas."³⁰ This would suggest that the term was well understood in official circles at that time, and it is certain that in the future its use became customary.³¹

26. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

27. Las Casas to Valiente, January 29, 1793, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

28. Las Casas to Viliente, February 15, 1793, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

29. The multitude of certificates, *acuerdos*, etc., concerned with these petitions, are in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

30. Las Casas to Hernani, June 20, 1791, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

31. See for instance the *acuerdo* of the Junta de Floridas on March 20, 1791, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

As to the petitioners themselves, although their requests were approved in 1793, it was well into 1795 before Maria Ventura Rodriguez and her husband were provided with transportation, when the captain general issued orders for their passage to be paid to St. Augustine on the sloop *Maria*, Captain Pedro Dalton, and the intendant gave instructions for Dalton to be provided with food for the use of these passengers.³² Some time thereafter they sailed for St. Augustine where Maria was granted the lot on which the Anglican church had been located during the British occupation.³³

The intendant's posters in Havana led two "useful natives of the Canary Islands," who were heads of families, to apply for transportation to Florida with the corresponding pension to their womenfolk. They had interpreted the royal order as a plan to secure settlers instead of a relief program for displaced Floridians of 1763. The intendant had to inform them that only native Florida women were included in the provisions of the order, but he was struck with the idea of the Canary Islanders and recommended to the home government an amplification of its relief program so as to make it into a plan for settlement and development of Florida. The Spanish authorities considered the cost and turned down the proposition, although a specific decree gave the two Canary Islands families the rights and privileges of pre-1763 Floridians. It was expressly stated in the decree, however, that nobody else was included in the provisions.

In the absence of any power to make a serious effort to populate the Florida peninsula, authorities in Cuba plodded along as best they could repatriating the few ex-Floridians and their descendants who applied under the existing laws. Nor was the task easy, for it was often difficult to decide on the merits and demerits of pension claims. At a meeting of the Junta de Floridanas on April

32. Las Casas commanded that she be given passage on the first available vessel. All orders concerned with this case are in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

33. This data was very graciously supplied by Mrs. E. W. Lawson. See also *Spanish Land Grants in Florida, Confirmed Claim*, vol. III (Tallahassee, 1941), p. 58.

29, 1793 a number of requests for repatriation were considered, but there was so much confusion in the available data that the Junta called upon the intendant to "purify" the claims by checking the lists of Florida pensioners.³⁴ What results, if any, were obtained is not indicated in existing documents. In the meantime, however, other petitions came in Jose Suarez and his wife, Maria de la Lus Alcantara were informed that the lady would receive two *reales* per day if she moved back to Florida. They came back at the Junta with the assertion that they would gladly go "provided their four daughters were declared eligible to receive the *limosna* of two *reales*. The Junta, "after meditated reflections," declared that the mother should receive the pension indicated, but that the daughters were ineligible because their father was not a native of Florida.³⁵

In the meantime returning Floridians were creating problems for the governor at St. Augustine. First there was the question of property held before 1763, which was sometimes difficult to locate, or if located was occupied by other persons. There was also considerable uncertainty as to the exact meaning of some of the new legislation. Then, too, the pensions given to returning refugees caused earlier migrants to demand corresponding increases in their own allowances, and there was always the question of persons claiming pensions because of their own military services or that of husbands or fathers. In 1790 Juana Margarita Rivero, widow of the chief pilot of St. Augustine, asked for two *reales* per day on the basis of her husband's service. In support of the claim she cited her extreme need and that of her five minor children, explaining that her two adult sons were married and no longer able to support her. The petition became involved in official red tape and it was still unanswered when two years later Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada sent to Havana an inquiry concerning

34. A copy of the report is in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

35. Note the minutes for the April 18, 1795 and July 28, 1796 sessions of the Junta de Floridanas, copies in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

it. Six months more passed before it got before the Junta de Floridanas where it received favorable action. It still had to go to the *contaduria* for examination, so that 1794 had arrived before the captain general forwarded the petition to Spain with a recommendation that it be approved.³⁶ It seems that the petition was finally granted, but one cannot but wonder about the needy lady and her children during these years.

The East Florida governor wanted advice on other questions concerning ex-refugees, informing Captain General Luis de las Casas that he had received no information whatever about the royal order of March 18, 1791 beyond a casual reference to it. He felt the need of information on the following points: (1) if the said order included all female Floridians who were orphans of father or both parents, or if it referred only to widows; (2) if it applied to widows after they contracted a second marriage, and to orphan girls after marriage; (3) if the widows and orphans residing in Florida, "of whom there were several who did not enjoy it," should receive the pension. The governor asserted that he thought it would be preferable to pay pensioners residing in Florida through the offices in St. Augustine rather than in Havana. He pointed out that as then administered, all but one pensioner (Lucia Escalona, who had received a special grace) were forced to collect through an agent in Havana, paying him two per cent commission. There were also the further risks and delays contingent on getting the money to St. Augustine after it was collected by the agent. Quesada's final problem raised the question of inequalities in pensions: some women received two *reales* and others only one.³⁷

In reply to this questionnaire Las Casas sent a copy of the order in question, together with an explanation of its application as modified by the later order of November 8, 1792. All native Florida women, he said, whether wives, widows, or orphans, who had gone to Florida

36. The papers connected with this case are in A.N.C., Floridas legajo 9, no. 22. What action was taken by the king is not recorded.

37. Quesada's letter is in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

since the date of the last mentioned order, were included in its provisions; a second marriage by such women did not affect their pension status; women residing in Florida at the time of the promulgation of the order were "by no means" included in its provisions; pensioners living in East Florida were henceforth to be paid in St. Augustine; and, finally, widows and orphans of soldiers were to receive two *reales* daily while those of mere residents or militiamen would get only one.³⁸

At least one Florida woman recovered her property in St. Augustine without leaving Cuba. Juana Navarro, daughter of Lieutenant Francisco Navarro of the garrison of the first Spanish period and widow of Corporal Salvador Francisco de Porrás of the same corps, took steps in 1793 to regain possession of two houses and farms owned in the earlier period. She was living in Havana, and was "very advanced in age," and "full of miseries and evils, without other possibilities for support than the two farms, and with three Maiden daughters, one of whom was also well advanced in years and almost blind." Juana claimed that her pension was seven years in arrears. After the usual amount of delay for investigations and multiplication of documents, orders came out from Spain for the payment of the pension and the return of the property. Finally, late in 1795, Governor Quesada was able to report from St. Augustine that the property had been handed over to Juana's agent.³⁹ It is interesting to note that one of the houses is still standing.⁴⁰ In spite of her advanced age Juana's name was still on the pension roll as late as 1805.⁴¹

The pension roll of 1805, which has been so useful in preparing this study, has many items of interest not mentioned thus far. In the first place it contains 296 names. By checking these against the 318 on the list for

38. The communication, dated *April* 26, 1794, is in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

39. The papers concerned with *this petition* form two bundles in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 14, numbers 40 and 50.

40. The late Mrs. E. W. Lawson very kindly checked the maps of the period in the Webb Memorial Library to secure this information.

41. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 6, no. 27.

1789, it seems certain that twenty-two Florida women had repatriated themselves as a result of the 1791-92 legislation. This interpretation is based on the fact that treasury officials followed the practice of simply copying *in toto* former lists with certain symbols or notes to indicate deaths or marriages. The list for 1805 shows that sixty pensioners had died before January 1 of that year, and that sixty-seven others had lost their pensions before that by remarrying. There had been two other marriages and as many deaths in the quarter ending April 1. But in spite of both types of casualties the *limosna de Florida* continued to be no mean item in the treasury accounts. For the quarter in question, payments amount to the respectable sum of 3,907 *pesos*.⁴²

The following items may also be gathered from the 1805 roll: one hundred seventy-three women drew two *reales* or more per day; four received one and one half; and one hundred eighteen only one. It is not clear where the pension of one and one half *reales* came into being. Josepha Herrera drew four *reales* and Micaela Sanchez Casahonda received six,⁴³ probably because their husbands had been officers instead of mere residents or soldiers in the ranks.

Documentary material on the history of the *limosna* after 1805 is fragmentary, but that available points pretty conclusively to the fact that there was no subsequent legislation of importance on the subject. There is every reason to believe that such a history, if available, would consist principally of records of pension claims and payments, with the customary notes added to the rolls as deaths or marriages occurred. Catalina de Jesus Hijuelos, widowed mother of Francisco Entralgo Aventurero, who was killed in action in Florida, was added to the list in 1813 with a pension of three *reales* daily under a decree of the Cortes of October 28, 1811,⁴⁴ but this was apart from the refugee problem, although the mother's

42. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 6, no. 27.

43. For such grants in Cuba see Duvon C. Corbitt, "Mercedes and Realingos: A Survey of the Public Land System in Cuba," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIX, no. 3 (August, 1939), 262-285.

44. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 18, no. 156.

name was placed on the same pension roll as the refugees of 1763 and their descendants.

The only complete list of the *limosneras de Florida* made after 1805 that is still available was prepared in 1842, and contains eleven names, only three of which appeared on the 1805 list. When the list was revised in 1852 only three pensioners were still living; Sebastiana Contreras, Concepcion Miranda, and Luisa Casistos.⁴⁵

Limosneras de Florida, a Unique Experiment

What about Spanish reaction to the relief measures adopted for the refugees of 1763? In the first place, it is the only experiment of its kind tried by Spain in her American colonies. To have continued such a program would have meant bankruptcy. Thousands of Spanish subjects fled from Santa Domingo after Spain was forced to cede to France her half of that island in 1795, and other thousands were forced from their homes by the revolutions that swept the continental colonies after 1810. Spain went doggedly through with the program adopted for the Floridians who followed her flag in 1763 and 1764, but she did not choose to give a repeat performance. When in 1821 other Floridians took part in another wholesale exodus because their land had been ceded to the United States, transportation for them was paid as far as Havana,⁴⁶ but the most they got from the king beyond that was an order of June 11, 1822 instructing the captain general of Cuba to "attend and protect them as they deserve because of their adhesion to the Government of His Majesty."⁴⁷

In other words, Floridians who followed the flag in 1821, except those entitled to a military pension of some kind, had to look out for themselves in the best way they could.

45. The list prepared in 1842 was used until 1852. It is in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 12, no. 2. At the end of each account for those mentioned is a note referring to the new list.

46. A.N.C., Reales Ordenes, libro XXXVIII, p. 197.

47. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 4, no. 21. See Duvon C. Corbitt, "Immigration in Cuba," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXII, no. 2 (May, 1942), 280-308.