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EARLY SPANISH MISSIONS
OF
FLORIDA



P R E F A C E

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SPANISH MISSIONS OF FLORIDA

1600-1769

The opening events in the history of the United States occurred within the borders of the Florida of today, but "the Floridas" which the Spanish claimed by discovery and were attempting to hold and control reached from Florida to Labrador about some 40 leagues inland. (Las Casas account of the New World in 1540. Connor-Colonial Records Vol. 1-p XXV). A vast territory which could not be governed by soldiery alone. The Spanish had found that the best method of subduing and controlling the aboriginal peoples was in the establishment and support of missions. They were religious enthusiasts and considered a conquest for Christ and King to be synonymous, so that the missions became most important in the conquest of the new world.

When the Spanish first came, the territory (within the present limits of the State) was inhabited by four major tribes, consisting of approximately 10,000 Indians; these were the Caloosa the Tegesta, the Timucuan and the Apalachee. The Caloosas and Tegestas lived in the lower half of Florida and were both hostile and treacherous to the white man. (Swanton p. 31). It is possible that both these tribes had some connection with the fierce Carib stock of the Islands.

The Caloosas, in the southwest were mariners and fishermen who sailed their canoes as far as Cuba and Hispanola. They fiercely resisted every attempt of the whites to land in their territory and it was from a wound inflicted by one of their arrows that Ponce de Leon died after returning to Cuba from the west coast of Florida. (Swanton p. 334). The hatred these Indians directed against the whites prevented the successful establishment of colonies or missions in their territory.

The Togeeta tribes of the southern coast were only a little less fierce than their western neighbors. They permitted after a time, the establishment of missions among them, and professed the faith, yet they continued their practise of murdering those unfortunate enough to be shipwrecked on their coast and were long a source of trouble to the colonists.

The Indians of northern and northwestern Florida belonged to a higher civilization than those of southern Florida. The Timucuan occupied the largest area in the State, taking in the northern half of it as far west as the Aucilla River and spilling over into Georgia. They cultivated fields and built substantial houses. Their language was partially understood in all parts of the peninsula and was used by the missionaries as the basic dialect to carry on their instructions among the different tribes.

The Apalachees in northwestern Florida also occupied territory beyond the Florida line and the area in which they lived was considered the richest in the country. They were more powerful than the Timucuan because their chiefs were united in a strong league.

All of these tribes were sun and moon worshipers. (Swanton p. 381). One particular ceremony was enacted early each spring, where in a stag's skin, stuffed with choice roots and garlanded with fruits and flowers, was

set up in a high tree facing the east. The Indians led by their sorcerer chanted their prayers in salutation to the sun, petitioning for good crops during the human sacrifices were also offered in propitiation or in honor of the Gods. On occasion human sacrifice was offered in honor of a living chief, and it was the common practise to sacrifice both humans and animals on the death of chiefs. (Swanbn p. 382). Devil worshipers were noted by Elvas among the fierce tribes of Tampa Bay. (Spanish explorers in the Southern U. S. p. 151)

To the Indians their ancient landmarks, their hereditary customs and religious beliefs were not to be discarded quickly. These things had been taught them from birth and although they might see the good in a new religion it is only natural that at first they accepted it only in part, practising their ancient customs and adding the new ones, vacillating from one to the other and in a good many cases refusing the new religion entirely, sahewing and killing those who tried to enlighten them. The strict but kindly teaching of the missionaries however finally overcame the greater of the heathen beliefs and many Indians became true Christians.

During the seventeenth century Indian villages of Florida presented a remarkable picture of civilized community life. Schools taught the Indian children to read and write, taught them cleanliness and kindness. The adults also absorbed some of this culture and all attended church dressed in European fashion. The Indian villages were kept separate from their white villages and trade in firearms and liquor was unlawful.

The Indians might have been permanently benefited by these things had not the nations been struggling for possession of the country. As it was they obtained both firearms and liquor and were urged to rebellion and

destruction. The greater part of them ended in poverty, disease and dirt.

The Florida missions, established by the Spaniards during the 16th and 17th centuries are not as well known as those of California and Texas, yet 150 years before the missions in the west were founded, Florida had 20,000 converts and more than 40 mission centers. (Kenney-p. 373).

Even before the missionaries succeeded in getting a foothold, priests came to Florida with the explorers, (Kenney - p.377) and sacrificed their lives in an effort to convert the savages, so that 50 years before the founding of St. Augustine the soil of Florida had been ploughed and sown by the heroic martyrs of the church.

One of the expeditions was attempted by two Dominican monks from Mexico. Fray Gregorio de Beteta and Fray Juan Garcia seeing that the journeys to Florida by sea had ended badly, tried to make the trip by land.

They started out on foot with no supplies, eating herbs of the field, and sleeping in the open. They found but few people, savage and crude living in a barren land. After months of hard traveling they found no trace or news of Florida, and did not know where they were journeying. In despair they turned back and eventually reached Mexico. (Cuba Material).

Because the account of Ponce de Leon's first voyage makes no mention of priests, it is generally assumed that none came with him. However, this was an official trip and there was a rule that no official expedition could leave without a representative of the church. It is known, however, that he brought priests on his second voyage in 1521. (Lowery's list says "Monks and priests - in all probability Dominican friars.") After searching the west coast for a suitable place to establish his colony, he landed

near Charlotte Harbor and built not only shelters but the first Catholic place of worship in what is now the United States. (Kenney- p. 17). Services did not continue here for long however, for the fierce Caloosa Indians of this area attacked the settlers and they returned to Cuba after their leader had been mortally wounded.

The first bishop-elect, appointed for the territory embracing the United States was Fray Juan Suarez, a Franciscan. (Kenney -p. 37. Lowery list gives Father Juan Suarez, Father Juan de Palos, Franciscans three clerigos, and one secular priest, "El Asturiano" were named.) He came to Florida as Commissary and head of the friars and priests of the ill fated Narvaez expedition which landed near Tampa Bay in 1528. His stay was short, for the expedition was not a success and when it seemed necessary to get away from Florida, the company built crude boats and started toward Mexico. Bishop-elect Suarez went down in one of these over crowded craft somewhere near the mouth of the Mississippi River. (Kenney p. 38)

Eleven years later the De Soto expedition came with priests and religious, (Kenney p. 44 of 8 secular priests-Dionisius of Paris, Rodrigo de Gallegos, Francisco de Pozo, Diego de Bannuelos are the only names given.

4 religious...Francisco de la Rocha (Trinitarian)
Juan Torres (Franciscan)
Juan de Gallegos (Dominican)
Louis de Soto (Dominican)

who ministered to the Indians while on their explorations. But the survivors also left the country with the remnants of the colony.

COMING OF THE DOMINICANS

Then came an expedition entirely different from any which had preceded it in Florida, five Dominican friars (Lowery's list p. 479..

Dominicans--Luis Cancer de Babastro, Gregorio de Beteta, Diego de Tolosa (or Penalosa), Juan Garcia and lay brother Fuentes.) with the unwise zeal which some monks have, (Cartas de Indias) attempted to conquer Florida for Christ with peaceful teaching and persuasion, without the support of Spanish soldiers.

This expedition was the result of the combined ideas of Fathers Gregorio de Beteta and Juan Garcia who had attempted to reach Florida by land, and Father Luis Cancer de Barbastro a monk who had great success in subduing very fierce tribes in South America. They were given the consent and aid of the King of Spain. (Cuba material).

The Santa Mariande la Encina, an unarmed boat, entered Tampa Bay on May 30, 1549. In addition to her crew, she carried only five Dominicans led by Father Cancer, and an Indian interpreter--a woman convert who had been taken to Havana some time before. (Konney p. 53-57).

The Friars were to have landed on a section of the Florida shore where no previous expedition had been, but the Captain of the ship took them (no one knows why) to Tampa Bay; that section then inhabited by the fiercest Indians and where hatred of the white men had lingered because of the cruelty practised by Narvaez and De Soto. But the friars, with their interpreter landed, offered prayers and exhorted the Indians. The latter seemed so friendly that two friars and the woman were left with them to go overland while the boat skirted the shores of the bay. However, one Munoz, a captive the Indians had taken from the De Soto expedition, escaped and went to the boat where he told of the killing of the two priests. Father Cancer was determined to convert the Indians however, and believing he could

do so, he went ashore. The Indians retreated sullenly but he advanced ringing his string of little bells of peace. (Dr. Corse.) Then the natives attacked him while those in the boat watched him helplessly, as he knelt in prayer, crucifix held high. The Indians, swarming about him, killed him...Florida's first martyr. (Kenney p. 60. The account given in Cuba material differs slightly from Father Kenney's).

The Luna expedition of 1559 was urged by the monks of Santa Domingo who wished to evangelize the peoples of Florida. (Cuba material p.11 says they landed in Florida, August 14, 1559). Philip II was also influenced by the need of validating Spanish claims to Florida and of erecting forts and lighthouses to protect shipping against the Indians and corsairs as well as enemy colonists. (Kenney p. 70.)

In spite of the most carefully laid plans to prevent this expedition from meeting the fate of those preceding it, it was a failure. Don Tristan de Luna who had been intrusted with its command, proved to have neither firmness nor resourcefulness and would not accept experienced advice. Thirteen ships carried some two thousand persons which included both women and children. Landing at Puerto de Santa Maria, exploration was made inland through the Coosan country (a portion of Alabama) but it did not seem possible to support a colony or mission in that country with its scattered tribes of Indians. The single alleviating circumstance of the expedition was the just and kindly treatment of the natives (Fenney p. 74) due mainly to the friars. The Dominicans (Lowery p. 400 Dominicans..Pedro de Feria, Domingo de Salazar, Domingo de la Annunciacion, Juan Mazuolas, Diego de Santo Domingo and lay brother Bartolome Mathcos.) found the Coosans kindly and trustful and they

planted there the seed of Christianity, but the Governor prohibited the friars from staying in the wilderness to continue their labors without the protection of soldiers.

The Luna expedition was faring so badly that Don Angel de Villafane, who had helped Viceroy Valasco assemble the expedition, was sent to supersede Luna in its command. After a conference with the friars and captains Villafane sailed almost at once for Santa Elena, (now Fort Royal, S. C.) on the eastern coast, arriving there May 27, 1561. (Kenney p. 88) "Father Gregorio de Beteta who had resigned the bishopric of Cartagena to attempt for the third time the evangelization of the Floridas" (Kenney p. 88) Father Juan de Contreras and Father Mateo de la Madre de Dios, lay monk (Cuba material) joined the company with Villafane. But this also failed, for Villafane after two months spent in exploring the coast from Santa Elena to the Chesapeake (Kenney p. 89) decided that the country was not suitable for colonization and having lost three vessels he returned to Spain.

"Five times in half a century, and thrice with greater forces that had subdued Peru and Mexico, had Spain failed utterly to effect conquest or settlement in the Floridas." (Kenney p. 94). Then a more elaborate plan for missions was launched with the Menendez expedition of 1565. It had been pretty well demonstrated by the experience of earlier explorers that the missionaries could do more toward subduing the Indians than the force of arms. Zealous missionaries were eager to go to the new wild land to spread the faith and save the souls of countless savages. There were some who saw that in giving this service to God they should also share the great adventure of penetrating and settling unknown lands. Great care was taken in selecting

these monks for it was "necessary that those who were to go were not only holy, but that they were such perfect monks that they did not lack a thing." (Cartas de Indies--letter from).

Twenty-two priests were to have accompanied Menendez on his first voyage of discovery. He had particularly asked for some Jesuit fathers to accompany him, and although the king granted permission to this order which had, up to this time, been withheld from the Indies, a controversy within their own ranks held them back and Menendez had to sail without Jesuits. One historian says seven priests accompanied him (Kenney 100) and a muster roll noted "four secular priests with facilities to receive confessions" (Connor's Pedro Menendez - p.74). However, Lopez de Mendosa Grajales was chaplain of the expedition and became the first pastor of St. Augustine. (Kenney 102). He wrote a short account of the discovery which is most interesting. A more complete record of events was kept by Dr. Solis de Meras, the official chronicler of the expedition and from the two accounts we get much of the history of this early settlement.

Menendez made a landing at St. Augustine in August but it was necessary that he hurry and rout the Huguenots from the St. Johns. Thus the ceremonial Landing was not made until September 8, 1565.

It was noon when the Adelante stepped ashore and the Te Deum was chanted after which the entire company followed the devout example of their leader and kissed the cross. Mass was offered and the spot christened Nombre de Dios (Name of God). This was the first in the series of services which have never lapsed in the Catholic church of our oldest city. (Kenney p. 102). Here, Menendez built a chapel and inaugurated his missionary work.

The site of the city was moved to a more advantageous position, but the shrine at Nombre de Dios, honoring Nuestra Señora de La Leche (Our Lady of the Milk) always remained an object of religious veneration. It was destroyed many times and as many times rebuilt. Today it is visited by hundreds of people.

Menendez set St. Augustine to rights then hurried overland to San Mateo which he captured from the French. Here also he ordered the building of a chapel, utilizing for the purpose some lumber the Huguenots had cut for a galley before the Adelantado had taken that place. (Kenney 107). Menendez wrote that, "my ultimate object and desire is to procure that Florida be settled in perpetuity so that the gospel be extended and planted in these provinces". (Kenney 129). He visited Cuba, then working toward this end, he went to Carlos, on the west coast of Florida. The Indians here were not any too friendly but Chief Carlos presented Menendez with his sister as a wife. This favor the Adelantado did not feel it was good policy to openly refuse at the time so he had the woman christened Dona Antonio and sent her with some Indian companions to Havana to be taught the Catholic religion. (Kenney 141) (Later he managed to return her to her people). He promised to send missionaries then went back to St. Augustine and north to Guale (Georgia) and Crista (S. C.) where he instructed the Indians in Christian doctrine and left soldiers thinly scattered among the friendly tribes to continue these instructions as best they could until the promised missionaries arrived. In Guale there was a most propitious occurrence, Menendez was asked to pray for rain, and his prayers were immediately answered. News of this providential occurrence spread and on his return trip through the inland waterway, which he explored, he was often met with Indian

who asked for the Christian cross and for teachers of this mighty religion which could so quickly bring rain.

South of St. Augustine he planted the cross among the Outina, the Carabay, the Micaya and the Timoua Indians of central Florida again leaving a few soldiers to give instructions. Young boys were taken to some of these villages to learn the language that they might speed the work of the Jesuits when they should arrive. (Kenney 189). Four Dominican fathers came from New Spain (Kenney 145^o about this time but none of the priests seem to have made much headway with the Indians for they remained near the fort at St. Augustine.

All this time Menendez continued to petition for the missionaries whom he had promised to the Indians. When ships came without priests the Indians thought they were being deceived and Menendez sent further pleas for their speedy arrival. On August 28th, 1566, just a year after Menendez had sighted and named St. Augustine, Fathers Martinez and Rogel, the first Jesuit missionaries, also sighted land. The Captain of their boat however was not familiar with the harbor of St. Augustine, so that, although they were in sight of the settlement, they could not find it and continued their trip buffeted by the winds and driven from land time after time by the bad weather of the hurricane season. (Kenney 177-179).

Finally Father Martinez, with two Spanish soldiers and six Flemish seamen took the last boat remaining on the battered ship, and went in search of water and also to try to discover where they were. They landed at Tacatacuru (Cumberland Island) on the rim of the Golden Isles of Georgia.

Those remaining in the ship waited two days, then a storm forced them off there and continued gales made them decide to return to Monte Cristi (Santo Domingo) for supplies and a competent pilot.

Meanwhile Father Martinez' party failed to locate the Indians or any sign of the fort. They found the storm had again driven the ship to sea and they waited twelve long days. When she did not return, hunger drove them to search again for the fort. Cross in hand, Father Martinez led and encouraged them. An instance of the knowledge and resourcefulness of this priest is shown in the way he made an astrolabe from the drawing of a watch dial in one of his books which he marked with blood drawn from the arm of the Spanish soldier Floras. (Kenney 153) With this, the oldest of scientific instruments, he was able to ascertain their position and direct their travel.

They went up a river (probably the St. Marys) but found no trace of man; returning to the coast they tried a second river (probably Nassau River) which they ascended until they went aground on a sand bar. They managed to free the boat but such was the exhaustion of their starved bodies that they anchored the boat and fell into troubled sleep. When they awoke Father Martinez fastened a cloth and crucifix to a lance and valiantly led the tattered band inland, and there they had the great good luck to find several wigwams, but the single Indian in charge of them fled at their approach. However, they found a harbeoued alligator and took half of it, carefully leaving a necklace and jacket in exchange. After singing the litany in Thanksgiving, they slept for the first time in many nights without the continual gnawing of hunger in their stomachs.

Morning brought the Indians; sign language gave the information that the whites wanted food and the Indians were friendly. Food was exchanged for gifts such as could be devised from the scanty outfits of the Spaniards. Then they were led to a large Indian encampment. After resting here more

food was given them and they continued on their way toward the fort, directed from tribe to tribe of friendly Indians.

On October 6, 1566, near San Juan of Alimaneani (Fort George Island) they saw some Indian boys fishing on the shore and stopped to see if they could obtain some fish. The actions of the boys made them fear trouble, and before they could get the men who had landed, back to the boat, the Indians had surrounded them. Father Martinez and three others were seized and dragged beneath the water to shore, three more were killed with arrows before the boat was freed, with Flories and three Flemings escaping. (Kenney 185). Half strangled, Father Martinez struggled to his knees and raised his hands to heaven, then he was struck with a heavy club and sank to earth clasping the crucifix on his breast; the first Jesuit to suffer martyrdom in Florida. (Kenney 186). The hostilities of these Indians had been incited by outrages of the mutineer Spanish captain, Recalled and urged on by Pierre de Bren, a Huguenot refugee from Fort Caroline. (Kenney 187).

Menendez left Florida in October 1566 to chase pirates from the waters about Cuba and Puerto Rico (Connor-Menendez-212) leaving directions for Captain Francisco de Reinoso to go to Carlos (Charlotte Harbor) with 30 men and there build a block house and "all of them to endeavor with great devoutness to worship the cross mornings and evenings, repeating the Christian doctrine so that the Indians should do the same". (Connor-Menendez p. 219).

On February 28, 1567, the Governor sailed from Havana bringing with him Father Rogel, Brother Francisco Villareal and some Indians who had been taken there for instruction. (Kenney, 190). Menendez sought to find a passage across Florida and also wished to "treat of peace and friendship between Carlos (Charlotte Harbor) and Tequesta (near Miami) (Connor-Menendez 219-222). He went

first to Carlos where a small chapel was built and Father Regal was left there with Captain Reinoso. Menendez did not find the passage there but was told that 150 leagues farther on/a ⁱⁿ pueblo they call Tocobaga, he would find a waterway (C-Men-228) Tocobaga was on Tampa Bay the southernmost village of the Timucua on the west coast. (K-121 states that they were of Caloesa stock). The Cacique here was at war with Carlos so Menendez took chief Carlos and some of his Indians along in hope of arranging a treaty between them. Needless to say he did not find the waterway, but he arranged a temporary peace, promised missions and left Capt. Garcia Martinez de Goe and 30 soldiers with the Tocobagas.

He returned the Indians to Carlos and continued to the east coast where Father Francisco Villareal was placed at Tequesta, (C-Men-229) near Miami. Thirty soldiers were also left to build a blockhouse while the missionary started teaching the natives at the foot of a huge cross. (K-122).

But these Indians were not awed by the white man and it was hard to do anything with them. For a long time they preyed upon shipwrecked crews, so that many chiefs had white servants and much gold. Carlos, the chief, despite Dona Antonio, plotted to kill the Spaniards and had finally to be executed. His successor, Don Felipe made fine promises and professed the faith but would not relinquish his several wives and retained his heathen idols. He also began devising ways of getting rid of the Spaniards. Then Governor Marquez ordered the fort at Tequesta (Miami) abandoned because the food supply was low and the Indians still hostile; so Brother Villareal joined Father Regal and both went to St. Augustine.

THE JESUIT FATHERS

In 1568 Father Arnoz was appointed superintendent of the West Indian Missions, and the Floridas were virtually placed under the religious control

of the Jesuits. It was agreed that the fathers were not to work too far apart and that for the time being they were to concentrate on Florida. Father Baptista Segura was appointed the first Vice-Provincial and was ordered "to go forth to give his own blood where so many have shed the blood of their neighbors; to offer the gold of brotherly love where so many have sought the gold of earth; to make a new entry on that New World strand and preach Christ crucifix for the conquest of souls." (K-201)

So the mission party set sail April 10, 1565, Fathers Baptista de Segura, Gonzalo del Alamo, and Antonio Ucedo with Brothers Juan de la Carrera, Pedro Linnes and Donalugo Agustin Baez. There were also five catechists and six Florida Indians, among whom was the brother of chief Tegesta. The mission company had besides the necessities and gifts, 550 sheets of church furnishings. It must have been a colorful company for an outfitting list records among other things, "for the Indians, jackets, breeches and long stockings, all of red cloth, red caps....tan goat skin shoes". (K-217)

The voyage too, was different from most. The missionaries began their work on the sailors, who were taught prayers and religious teachings in song. These they sang instead of the rollicking, the usually bawdy, sea chanties. Cursing and blasphemy was curtailed, "for when a man swore through thoughtlessness he promptly marked a cross on the deck and kissed it, and this he did whether captain or seaman". (K-219).

The arrived in Florida on June 9, 1565, and found its people despondent and dissatisfied. Father Rogel joined them and his report was such that the Vice-Provincial decided to go to Havana and establish a school where he could devise better plans for the missions. Brother Baez and two catechists were left in St. Augustine to complete the house and church and continue the religious education (K-220-223)

In November the priests were returned to Florida. Father Rogel had been rector of the Havana College. The south Florida missions were opened again; Father Alamo going to Carlos while Brothers Villareal and Pedro Ruiz were placed at Tocosta of the Tampa region. When Menendez Marquez went to Tocobaga in 1568 he found the Indians had killed the soldiers he had left there. (K-198). Then the Carlos Indians became so menacing that Don Pelly and eleven other chiefs had to be executed. In retaliation the Indians burned the huts and shrines before they fled to the safety of the forest. Father Alamo accompanied by Brothers Villareal and Ruiz returned to Cuba. (K-227).

About this time an assembly house and church was ordered constructed for the Guolons at Santa Cruz, a Timucuan district on the east coast south of San Juan del Puerto. (On Ft. George Island at the mouth of the St. Johns). K-221)

Then Father Segura relinquished the idea of the Havana college and came, with his associates, to Guale (Georgia) where he built a church and his quarters some distance from the fort at Santa Elena (St. Catherine's Island). This was done in an effort to prevent the Indians from learning the vices and objectionable practices of the soldiers. But conditions were hard and provisions so scarce that rations were reduced to one-third. (K-235-236).

A certain fever (possibly small pox) killed many natives who had little resistance to the white man's maladies, but Brother Domingo Agustin Baez, who with Father Sedeno had been sent to Guale some time before, was the only Spanish victim of the disease. His death greatly retarded the work of subsequent missionaries, for he had quickly learned the Indian dialects and Timucuan; being the first to reduce a North American Indian tongue to written and systematized form. (K-236-239) His papers were lost on the ill fated Chesapeake trip which is herewith described briefly.



In 1570 Menendez returned bringing Father Luis de Quiros and Brother Gabriel Gomez and Rancho Zaballoz and "Don Luis Valasco," an Indian who had been taken from Ajacan on the Chesapeake by the Villafane expedition. Don Luis, christened in Mexico, sponsored by high officials and treated like a lord, proved the greatest traitor in the experience of the missionaries.

(-245)

Father Segura saw in Ajacan a perfect setting for missionary work. It was far enough away not to be subject to the bad influence of soldier and settler, and here, providentially was their friend Don Luis, a Christian, guarantor of a welcome by his tribesman. Father Rogel, altho he approved a part of the plan, did not wish the Florida missions abandoned, nor did he like the idea of the fathers going to this unknown and distant field without the protection of soldiers. (K-250).

In the meantime Father Rogel at Oriza, five leagues from Santa Elena, began preaching against the devil. The Indians must have misunderstood or had some ancestral god which they identified with the devil for they resented this teaching and became troublesome. (K-251-255)

Then the shortage of provisions in Spanish posts became an acute problem. Some of the chiefs were ordered to bring canoe loads of corn to Santa Elena, (K-254) and it would soon be necessary to quarter soldiers with the Indians to feed them. Father Rogel knew that staying longer with the Indians would be useless for their rage at these orders would be directed on him, who had promised them protection from the soldiers, which now, he could not give. He held prayers and masses, and with a heavy heart destroyed his house and chapel at Oriza and retired to Santa Elena on July 15, 1570. (K-255). Practically

nothing was accomplished among these Indians of Guale. "There were seven baptisms of persons near death, and four of these were infants". (K-256)

Pirates were again taking heavy toll of shipping and killing every Jesuit they caught, having a particular animosity against this order.

(Connor's Colonial Records, p. 7-Juan Aquines, English pirates, K-263-264 Jacques Sorle, French pirate, Caderville, English pirate).

Then the news of the martyrdom of Father Segura and his seven companions on the Chesapeake, where they had been betrayed by Don Luis. So great were the losses and so little accomplished that Father Sanchez took the remaining members of the society to a new province in Mexico. (K-257)

The Jesuit Mission in the Floridas ended in 1572. Yet, "Failing nobly they triumphed in their failure. Though fruit came not to their hands, the seed they had sown were later to burgeon for other harvesters". (K-298).

THE FRANCISCAN FRIARS

"The Spanish settlements in spite of all Menendez exertions and outlay were on the brink of ruin." (Shea..Catholic Church in Colonial Days, p. 150...see Geiger p.39). The few friars moved about or were leaving for other fields so that for a time even St. Augustine was without a priest. (Shea, op. cit. 161..see Geiger p. 39)

Menendez had written asking for Franciscans about 1566-1567, thinking they might follow with new energy in the path made by the now discouraged Jesuits. Although orders were given to send a number of Franciscans, the red tape which bound both government and friars delayed them for over five years. In 1573 member of this order were sent to Florida and there began almost a century and a half of unbroken missionary activity. (Geiger p.38)

(The names of these priests are not given but from "time to time, notice is given of their work in definite places and under limited circumstances."

(Geiger p. 42)

The missionary work accomplished by these friars during their earliest occupancy amounted to very little. The unrest of the colony itself cast similar shadows on religious efforts. Florida was useless politically and since gold and silver had not been discovered and its agricultural possibilities left fallow, it had proven economically worthless. Its isolation and the hazards of piracy, particularly on supply ships caused great hardship and suffering. Menendez had been so busy chasing pirates and strengthening outposts of both Florida and the islands that he had had little time to assist the colonists in conducting and adjusting their lives in the settlements.

Diego de Velasco wrote the King in 1575 that the land about St. Augustine was not suitable for cultivation or cattle-raising. The soldiers were in want, their pay in arrears, yet should they have their pay there was little they could have bought. (Colonial Records Vol. 1. p.136).

The Indians however were on good terms at this time. Some were baptised and others would have been had they been able to receive the proper instruction. Catechists were needed "for when some friars of San Francisco, who were in these forts, learned of the death of the Adelantado who supported them, they left the land and departed, because of lacking that support". (Diego de Velasco to the King. Aug. 1575..see Colonial Records Vol. 1. p. 143) Friars were also being continually withdrawn and sent elsewhere. Velasco petitioned the King for priests from Seville since "they cannot be found in the Indies at any salary". (Col. Rec. p. 145) A number of priests were sent but the records in 1578 show only two friars in the territory. (Fray Alonso Cavezias and Fran

Francisco del Castillo. (Geiger p.43) Six years later the number had been increased to only four. (Geiger p. 45)

Father Reinoso is first mentioned as returning to Spain from Florida to recruit friars for the new territory in 1583. (Martyrs of Fla. Geiger p.57) Father Reinoso was an important figure among the religious of this period. "He may be looked upon as the promoter of the missions." (Geiger p.69) This first party of friars sailed from Spain with Father Reinoso on May 7, 1584, but of the eight who sailed only four reached their destination. (Geiger 49-50) Father Reinoso was said to be devout, gentle and tireless but he displayed an arrogant and dictatorial manner in his administration of the affairs and property of the friars. As a result some of the company asked to be transferred while one simply deserted. (Geiger p.49)

He was accused among other things, of misusing funds in his care, of keeping some of the father's outfits which he later sold as he did some of the church goods, of quarreling with the captain of the ship and officers of the crown in Havana, of mistreating the other friars, of being a greedy card player and of not keeping his promises...Yet he must have been able in many ways and have given plausible accounts of his actions, for he returned to Spain in 1586 to conduct another band of friars to Florida. (C.48-50)

The Franciscans, as an order, were supposed to subsist on alms, but this was impossible in Florida so they were paid by the king, three reales (about 37½¢ a day). This pay was the same as that given the soldiers who occupied similar places; in other words, the colony was allowed maintenance for a certain number of people regardless of whether they were friars or soldiers. The friars were in addition given their clothing and four pairs of sandals a year. (C.52)

On the second recruiting trip of Fray Reinoso, Governor Menendez Marquez asked that he return to Florida without stopping at other ports as was customary in order to prevent desertions en route. (G 52) After the slow moving financial problems had been adjusted Fray Reinoso for some unknown reason, sent Fray Escobedo ahead. (G 54) This friar was captured by English corsairs and cast on an island where he endured great hardships but he finally reached Havana where he waited for the other twelve friars. All of them sailed from Havana September 29, 1587 and on their arrival in Florida were sent to various Indian towns. (G 55..mentions the following mission, Nombre de Dios, San Sebastian, San Antonio, San Pedro and San Juan) Reports of the following year noted that Fray Lopez was very successful at San Pedro (on Cumberland Island) G.M. 57) and Father Escobedo had soon baptized a hundred Indians at Nombre de Dios. (near St. Augustine) (G55) Yet the harsh land and great difficulties to be surmounted required unusual characters. It was "an arduous and difficult life, having to traverse bad roads on foot with little or nothing to eat at times", (Unwritten History of St. Augustine) and of the many who came to Florida few remained for any length of time.

The religious seemed always to be having difficulty in getting sufficient church appointments, vestments, chalices, bells and so on to conduct their services properly, and so at the friars request the King ordered the Governor of Florida to put 2000 reales (about \$250.) at the disposal of Fray Reinoso for the purchase of such items. "This money had been recovered from the persons of soldiers drowned at the bar of San Mateo and lay idle in the Florida treasury" (G 57) The friars were asked in return to say special masses for the souls of these men.

Fray Reinoso had made a third trip to Spain in 1589 to gather more friars for work in Florida (G 56). Two years later he started on the return trip, his fourth to the Indies. A number of friars embarked, some of which remained in ports at which they landed on the way, but eight friars arrived in Havana with Fray Reinoso. There they found Governor Miranda who, probably with an eye on the personnel of his soldiers, thought six of these, with those friars already in Florida, would be quite enough. Accordingly only six continued to that territory. Fray Reinoso did not go with them; he was to take other work in Yucatan. Then the Commissary General again withdrew some friars to place in other fields, thus leaving in 1592, only four religious in Florida. ("The friars in Florida in 1592 were Fray Francisco Marron, the superior, Fray Baltasar Lopez, Fray Pedro de Corpa and the two lay brothers, Fray Juan de San Nicolas, and Fray Antonio de Badajoz". (G-58) The King ordered that the men withdrawn be replaced but nothing was done about it until new friars came from Spain three years later. (G-59).

Domingo Martinez de Avendano was appointed Governor of Florida in 1594 and new momentum was given to missionary activity. The Governor arrived in St. Augustine accompanied by Fray Marron who had been in Florida in 1592. Fray Marron in addition to serving as superior of the friars was to serve as parish priest of St. Augustine. Governor Avendano at once petitioned the king for more missionaries. (G 59-81).

A little over a year later, September 23, 1595 Fray Juan de Silva, commissary, (head of the group of friars) and ten friars arrived in St. Augustine. (G 62) They remained here for the celebration of the Feast of St.

Francis on October 4th. After this a number of the friars were accompanied to their stations by the Governor and some infantry. Avendano carried out a ritual which was meant to show the Indians the reverence and esteem in which the religious should be held. In this ceremony the friar was given a place of honor, probably before a cross, and the Governor and nobles knelt and kissed the hand of the priest after which he commended him to the Indians. These religious were placed between three and four leagues (about 9 to 12 miles) apart, at established posts and at some new missions which were founded at this time. (G-64-65) (The only missions named were Nombre de Dios, San Pedro, Agua Dulce, Tolomato, San Antonio.)

This trip however proved too much for the frail governor, and he died immediately after his return to St. Augustine on November 24, 1596. In him the friars lost a loyal friend and helper. (G-65).

The officials of the colony were pleased to have the new religious there, but petitioned the king for separate support for them. This petition was asked again and again. The colony was allowed support for only 300 persons and as the friars increased, the soldiers must decrease, a thing which the civic officials extremely disliked. (G-67)

Each friar was serving one or more sub-stations attached to the principal mission town and proper supplies for church services were again low. (G-69) Missionaries were moving about and there was difficulty in retaining the few friars in actual service. Only three friars (Father Lopez and Corpa and a lay-brother) had seen eight years continuous service in Florida. (G-59) Yet this unsettled period gained converts and a bishop was requested to administer confirmation. Governor Gonzalo Mendez de Canzo and a new chaplain, Father Ricardo Artur reached Florida June 2, 1597. Father Artur a secular priest

(one not bound by monastic vows) was named parish priest of St. Augustine and head of the church in Florida. This released Bray Marron to go about his duties as a Franciscan missionary. (G-73-74) It must be understood that each order of the Catholic Church was formed for a particular work and each observed some rules not imposed on the others. But when circumstances demanded, some of these rules could be temporarily waived. Thus we see an order vowed to subsist on alms - accepting a subsistence from the King, and a missionary order taking care of an established parish.

The Indians of outlying sections began visiting the presidio. In August a mandador (lieutenant of the chief) came with ten Indians from the Mosquitoes. They remained four days and were taken care of by the Governor. The mandador was given a spade for himself and two hatchets to take back to his chief. Gifts played a large part in attracting the Indians to missionaries and King. (G-78)

THE REVOLT OF 1597

There were two noteworthy Indians who were great helps to both soldiers and friars at this time; a cacica, Dona Maria, who had married Clemente Vernal, a Spanish soldier, and lived on the edge of St. Augustine, and Don Juan of San Pedro (Cumberland Island) who had been a great help to the missionaries. Dona Maria had written the King of Spain in 1592 and spoke of aiding the Spaniards through the danger of starvation the year before. Their help was greatly appreciated by the Spaniards, who in recognition secured special maintenance for them from the King. (G-79-80).

It was again impressed on the Governor that the colony must develop some agricultural help. And, as always believing that the best lay but a little farther on, they sent an expedition to report on lands in Tampa (central



Georgia). The friars, Pedro de Chozas and Francisco de Verascola were accompanied by several soldiers on this expedition. (G-84). They were received peaceably, and Fray Chozas entered the community house in a number of towns, set up a cross and preached to the natives. But an attempt was made to take Fray Chozas' scalp so the party returned in haste to St. Augustine. Another priest explained that the scalping was not attempted because of enmity but simply to supply a suitable trophy. "It was an ancient custom of the district to give a scalp to the swiftest runner in the race. (between caciques) who there after was privileged to wear it around his leg like a garter." (G-85).

"The Indian revolt of Guale (Georgia) in 1597, was a desperate attempt to wipe out the Christian culture that had just taken root. Christian morality faced a hand to hand conflict with inveterate custom". (G-88)

Don Juanillo was the arrogant heir to the caciquedom of Tolomato (on the mainland of Georgia opposite Sapello Island) whom Fray Copra reprimanded in public for having several wives. This made Juanillo furious and he left the village with two friends and quickly gathered a band of pagan Indians.

Painted for the war path they stole upon Tolomato the morning of September 13, 1597. Opening the door of Fray Copra's dwelling they found him in prayer and killed him with a macana (stone hatchet). Cutting off his head, they placed it on a lance and set it up at the landing, but his body they buried in the woods. (G-89)

The death of Fray Copra rekindled the banked fires of brutality in these Indians, and Juanillo had little trouble in continuing the revolt. He argued that should they be caught the punishment for having killed one friar and would be just as severe as for killing all of them. The revolt continued,

their second victim being Fray Blas de Rodriguez, at Tupique (on Georgia mainland near southern terminus of St. Catherine's Island) (GM 57) Juanillo then sent word to the cacique of the Island of Gualo (St. Catherine's Island) to kill Fray Miguel de Aunon and Brother Antonio de Badajoz. The cacique refused and warned brother Antonio. Three days later the pagan Indians came and finding the friars still there killed them at their prayers. (G 91-94)

At Ospe, (on Jerkyl Island) (GM 85) Fray Francisco de Avila was aware of his danger and when the Indians came in the night, he tried to escape but was wounded and captured. He was taken to Tulfina (on the mainland of Georgia) (GM 96) the scene of his first missionary labors. These Indians were peculiarly vicious. They had begun their mockery and tortures when the cacique remembered a hostage of the tribe who was held in St. Augustine. For this reason he spared Avila, but made a slave of him. (G 94-98)

At the beginning of the outbreak Fray Francisco de Verascolla was in St. Augustine. When he returned to Asao (St. Simon's Island) (GM 97) however, the Indians met and killed him as he landed. "Five friars had now shed their blood and one was suffering in captivity". (G 99)

Then these Indians, intoxicated with their success in Gualo determined to attack other tribes that were enemies and kill the religious among them. They thought this would be easy, for the friars taught brotherly love and their charges would not be prepared for war. The predatory Indians with forty canoes chose the feast of St. Francis on which to attack the island of San Pedro. (Cumberland Island) Defeated and driven off by the gallant cacique, Don Juan and his warriors, they started back to Gualo passing Bojese and Futuriba (on the northern part of the Cumberland Island). The Christian Indians at these places were frightened but the boasting enemy passed by. Fray Chozas said mass before he hurried to San Pedro and sent a messenger to

St. Augustine. Governor Canzo answered by sending Juan de Santiago and six soldiers at once. The Governor mustered 150 soldiers and followed eight days later despite his illness. He was accompanied by Fray Blas de Montes who was to take charge of any effects of the murdered friars or the ruined missions. This party proceeded to Gualo, burning Indian villages in retaliation. The few Christian Indians of Puturiba (northern part of Cumberland Island) (G 98) and Tocohaya (close to San Pedro) agreed to move to San Juan del Puerto (mouth of the St. Johns) closer to St. Augustine. San Pedro (Cumberland Island) and the towns further north were unsafe and Fathers Paraja and Chozas were ordered back to St. Augustine. (G 99-104)

Three months later these two friars returned to their missions without consulting the Governor. Then without waiting for permission the friars recalled Fray Chozas and sent him to Spain to report on the Gualo revolt. Governor Canzo resented these things as flouting his authority and he accused the friars of meddling in civic affairs. (G-105)

It was learned that a friar thought to be Brother Antonio had been taken captive, and negotiations for his release were started. After some time Peija, the interpreter, located the friar who proved to be Fray Avila and finally effected his release after ten terrible months of suffering, hunger and humiliation. His release was accomplished through the exchange of some Indian hostages and the threat of destroying Indian villages. (G 109)

Seven Indians had been captured by the Spanish but Fray Avila would not testify against any of them, for although he had suffered much at their hands he felt he must show them mercy rather than justice. Six of these Indians were minors and were kept as slaves in the fort at St. Augustine, the seventh

"Lucas" was hung, for it was found he had been present at the death of Fray Rodriguez. The Indians of Guala with their houses and food supplies destroyed were left to roam in search of sustenance. "Socially, economically, spiritually, Guala was in ruins." (G 115)

It seems queer that human beings, having lived for generations as nomads and as warriors, should so quickly feel the loss of outside assistance and the futility of continued hostilities. Yet in a very short time the Indians of Guala sent messengers to St. Augustine asking to return to the friendship and protection of the Spanish. In January 1600 orders came to liberate all Guallean Indians held in St. Augustine. Accordingly these captives were released. (Ross 174) Then governor Canzo sent a number of soldiers to Guala and they returned with good reports. Soon after this a delegation of Guala Indians came to the presidio in the name of all the important caciques of Guala, save Don Francisco and Don Juanillo his heir. Pardon was granted them and a new pact made. (G 116-118)

But the matter of Don Francisco and Don Juanillo, now known to have been the leaders of the revolt, had to be settled. The Indians gathered their warriors to join Captain Gardenas and the Spaniards, and marched to the remote and strongly fortified fort held by the rebel Indians. These Indians were first given a chance to return to Spanish fealty but when they defiantly refused, the battle began. Arrows rained on both sides, and although those in the fort had the better advantage, Don Francisco and Don Juanillo and many of the renegade Indians were killed and the fort taken. The leaders of the revolt were thus punished, and Guala returned to peace and friendship with Spain (G120-121)

THE GOLDEN ERA OF FLORIDA MISSIONS

A great many of the houses in St. Augustine at this time were built entirely or partially of palm leaves, which formed a fire screen. The

Franciscan friary was among these and was quickly consumed when it caught fire on March 14, 1599. The Friars were given temporary shelter in the chapel of Our Lady of Solitude connected with the hospital of Santa Barbara. This was the first hospital in what is now United States territory and was run by the friars. (G 122) Six years later another friary was built.

That same year high tides caused damage, the housing was bad, famine threatened and the soldiers pay was two years behind. (G-122) The colony was anything but flourishing yet Governor Canzo was planning expeditions to hold wider territory for Spain. When Philip II died late in 1598, Philip III could hardly be blamed for ordering an inquiry into the state of the Florida missions and thinking that these settlements were so worthless and troublesome to Spain that the subsidy should be reduced or the colony given up entirely. (G-129) Governor Canzo had to fight to retain his soldiers and the missionaries pleaded for the preservation of the missions so that no attempt would be made to transfer the Christian Indians to the Caribbean Islands.

The obsequies of King Phillip II were celebrated in St. Augustine early in March 1599 and the missionaries gathered in the presidio for this event. At the same time many affairs of both Church and state were discussed with the result that the friars reported on both to the King. Their first letters accused governor Canzo of extravagance, injustice and bad influence. That the conditions within and without St. Augustine were bad was undeniably true. The priests advised that the location of the presidio should be changed, for it was all sand plots or marshland and the bay was none too good. Why not move north to Galia where there were more Indians and good harbors, they queried? (G129-132)

They thought Governor Canzo had made war on the Surruque Indians (The Surruque Indians inhabited a section of the East coast of Florida from the "Baradero de Suroc" Turtle Mound just south of New Smyrna to the Ays Indian territory at Cape Canaveral--from "Interesting Story of Turtle Mound" by

Jeanette Thurber Connor in New Smyrna Daily News for March 13, 1926.)

Without just cause and that in doing so he had kept other Indians from becoming Christian. A later letter from Fray Pareja (Fray Francisco Pareja was one of the most noted of Florida's missionaries. He came to Florida in 1595. He was made custodio at St. Augustine then provincial of Florida in 1616. Leaving the province some time after this to go to Mexico where he published a number of books in Timucuan) (From The Catholic Encyclopedia.) to the King admitted however, that this attack might have been the Governor's way of handling these Indians for having killed his emissaries. (G-139-134)

The surruque matter was justified by Canzo. Coming from Cuba to Florida he had stopped in that district and had given presents to the Indian who had received him well and had given him fish, wood and water before he continued his voyage. It was necessary that amicable relations be established with the Ais (Indian River Inlet) and Surruque (north of Cape Canaveral) Indians on whose shores wrecked and stranded ships so often came and where many shipwrecked men had been killed. (G0137)

The cacique asked for a visit from the Governor and was promised instead an interpreter. Accordingly Canzo sent Juan Ramirez de Contreras and two Indians interpreters with gifts. The next news he had from that section was that the Ais had killed all three. The Governor later attacked and killed many of the Indians in retaliation. His action was one of justice, looking toward the safety of the colony. It had the desired effect and later the cacique of that territory went to St. Augustine to make peace. (G-139-140)

The letters of the priests also gave illuminating accounts of the work accomplished by the friars. Fray Pedro Bermeja who had been in Florida

eight years was Vicar of Nombre de Dios (near St. Augustine) and took care of three neighboring towns with 200 Christian Indians. Fray Francisco Pareja with seven years in Florida was Vicar of San Juan del Fuerte at San Mateo. (St. Johns River) His church was very ornate and had bells to announce its services. Fray Pareja had nine additional towns (Vera Cruz, Arratoba, Niojo, Potaya, San Mateo, San Pablo, Niocharico, Chinisoa, and Corabay. G-144) to care for with 500 Christian Indians whom he had easily converted. Fray Baltazar Lopez had charge of the missions of San Pedro (Cumberland Island). One of the earlier Franciscan missions established about 1535 (G-55) The date 1584 is listed on the map in Kenny's Romance of the Florida's). He had seventeen years experience, was proficient in the Timucuan language and had explored the interior. San Pedro was head of the coastal towns (San Domingo, Santa Maria de Sena, San Antonio, Chicafayo, Jotisyini, Ica Potano and Potano (G-147) between San Pedro and St. Augustine with 792 Christians in the districts. He had worked systematically, with much patience and caution as shown in the results he obtained. The Indians of his section were eager to assist at Mass and other devotions. Some of them had learned to read and write and to exchange written messages among themselves. Caciques from the interior requested visits which Fray Lopez made to Yli, (14 leagues inland from Cumberland Island) (G-149) Timucua (north and central Florida) and Potano (Alachua Plains) (Swanton-321) but which he had to relinquish at the time of the Guale outbreak. (30143-143) (Potano was the old name of the whole middle Florida region, named for a chief who killed a Spanish Capt. Andrade and 19 of his men in 1584. The mission of San Francisco de Potano stood at Washoota 7 1/2 miles south of Gainesville. (From Dr. Corse's Madison speech on the Spanish Trail).

A number of districts asked for priests and some of the Indians of these districts set up crosses in imitation of those placed by the friars. Yet with all these advances the lack of priests prevented the progress which might have been made. (G-144-145) Governor Canzo and Fray Montes, the Franciscan superior at St. Augustine held council and decided as a first move toward restoring the status of Guale to rebuild the decaying church at San Pedro among the Timucuan. Fray Lopez who had returned to his duties there was notified to prepare material for the new church. (G-150)

In January 1603 the Governor went to San Pedro but found there was not sufficient material to complete the rising structure. He sent back to St. Augustine for nails and other materials needed and decided to use this period of delay in visiting the towns of Guale. Sailing along the inland waters he visited Telaxe (on the Altamaha River) and Tupiqui (on the Georgia mainland near St. Catherine Island) where he was welcomed by the Indians. Fray Ruiz who had accompanied him said Mass. They returned to San Pedro on February 19th, and while awaiting the completion of the church the governor entertained and held parleys with the Indians and visiting chieftains. (G-161-162)

The new church when read was complete from altar to choir and this primitive structure must have impressed the Indians with its overwhelming grandeur. It was dedicated on March 10th, with a most colorful ceremony. The Governor gave an address and the occasion was one of much rejoicing. After this the Governor visited Fray Viniegra at San Antonio (on Lake George) and Fray Paraja at San Juan mouth of the St. Johns where he settled

a dispute between the aged cacica Maria and some of her sub-chieftains. Then he returned to St. Augustine. (G-163)

Governor Canzo after the success of these visits probably felt that he could accomplish a great deal but there had been so many complaints against him that even then the end of his service in Florida had been set. (G-164)

Pedro de Ybarra arrived in St. Augustine October 19, 1603 to succeed Canzo as Governor. The Indians, among whom were some 40 caciques came to welcome the new governor and impressed him as having been greatly influenced by the teachings of Christianity. It was well that he followed the custom of most of his predecessors and had brought a Chaplain with him, for it had been a year and a half since the soldiers of the fort had heard Mass. (G- 165-167)

Ybarra left St. Augustine November 8th to make his official visit to the provinces of Timucua and Guale and was joined by Fray Ruiz as Governor Canzo had been before him. Ybarra put on a better show than Canzo had, his boat was larger, he gave more gifts and arranged more dramatic audiences. (Ross-14) In the Governor's address to the Indians he suggested they erect crosses along their roads and in front of their bahios (huts of palm) as a sign that they were Christians. At Asoa (St. Simon's Island) a new church was dedicated and Mass said, and the Governor at the end of the address asked that they keep their church clean and cling to but one wife. He also asked help in protecting Florida for Spain. At Espogache (Pease Creek, McIntosh County, Ga.) (Ross) he selected a site for a church to be built as soon as the new friars arrived. He held council on the Island of Guale and after distributing gifts started to return from

his mission of peace, stopping at several towns on his way however, to set right some wrongs of the Indians. Having completed his successful visitation Governor Ybarra could only wait until the friars should arrive to continue the mission work. (G-177-177)

Some missionary work had been done among the Ais and Sarraquo Indians. Ybarra followed this up by sending presents and other friendly visits of the lesser chieftains, the Indians asked for a friar and two soldiers. The governor was able to send the soldiers, and promised a friar as soon as the next group should arrive from Spain. Alvaro Mejia was the Spaniard placed in charge there and following out Ybarra's orders, made an excellent map of the territory. After a time Captain Grande (Big Captain), the leading chieftain of Ais (Indian River Inlet) was induced to go to St. Augustine accompanied by lesser chieftains and Indians of high station. They were feasted in Ybarra's quarters and given many presents. A special meeting was arranged for the visitors in the Franciscan friary. The Governor, his officials and soldiers, accompanied the Indians and were met in the church by Fathers Bernejo and Celaya. Ybarra and the Spaniards knelt and kissed the hands of the friars, after which the Indians followed their example. The Governor explained through interpreters that he committed their spiritual welfare to the friars while the friars explained the tenets of the Christian religion. The Indians seemed worried about the friars haircut and asked if they would have to cut their hair to become Christians. They seemed quite relieved when told that they would not. The Indians took great pride in their long hair, which was worn in a knot on top of their heads and in which they fastened ornaments and which was a convenient place to carry their arrows. (G-177-182)

(Swanton).

Then Captain Chico (Little Captain) with the mandador (lieutenant of a Cacique) with the mandador of Cicale (a town north of Chaveral) and other Indians of the district made an unexpected appearance. They also were entertained after which the entire delegation, with the exception of Captain Chico, who stayed for instructions in the Christian religion, returned south. (G-183) (Common-story of Turtle Sound)

It was over two years later that the friars Ybarra had asked for arrived. One however was delayed by sickness in Havana and two deserted, so that only nine of the original twelve came. Ybarra remarked it was better that they did not come if they were no better than a certain friar who was causing much trouble at the time. (G-185) (This friar was Fray Geronimo Celis, spoken of later).

The friars had a rather unfortunate journey which however tended to show the Indians' appreciation for spiritual values. The frigate on which the friars had shipped ran into bad weather and grounded on the coast of Matanzas Bay in south Florida. The Indians there proved friendly and not only helped float the ship, but supplied water, wood and fish. The Indians also helped replace the belongings the Spaniards had taken ashore without a single theft. This was most remarkable from the fact that these Indians had grown wealthy on shipwrecks of treasure fleets. The frigate returned to Havana and on her second attempt the pilot mistook the bar of Mosquito for that of St. Augustine and the ship was stuck worse than before. The Indians of this vicinity also came to their assistance and offered to take them overland to St. Augustine. (G-185)

Pedro de Arroyo and seven friars accepted this offer and were guided to Matanzas, whence they sent word to Ybarra who dispatched a party to escort them to St. Augustine. They rested there until after Christmas when they were assigned to their mission districts. (G-185)

In May 1605 the new church in St. Augustine had been finished and the friary was well under way. Ybarra had been a great help in advancing lumber which was charged to the royal account and loaning artisans for the work. Fray Bermejo had worked assiduously. To finish the friary he not only begged help, but in company with four other fathers, gave up a part of his daily food allowance to help pay for lumber. (G-187)

The allotment for each friar at this time was 1,535 reales (about \$192) a year. The food supply for all the friars was delivered to the friary in St. Augustine quarterly and distributed from there. (G-187)

The new friars failed to bring with them the necessary articles for divine services. These Fray Bermejo asked for and Governor Ybarra considered the matter so important that he called a meeting of the royal officials and it was decided to order them from New Spain and to send the bill to the King. Even then it was the next year before the friars received this large quantity of goods. All financial matters of Florida were handled through the Council of the Indies which in turn was directed from Madrid, so that local officials were badly handicapped. In this case the Council of the Indies thought Governor Ybarra was a little high handed in the matter, but the Governor saw it as an urgent need, one which could not wait, and when the bill was presented the King ordered it paid. (G-188)

Ybarra declared that all Spaniards were sent to Florida to spread the Christian religion and he considered it an honor and an obligation to protect

and assist the friars in every way but...his authority was absolute in all civil matters and the friars must not try to interfere.

The friars however thought their power over the Indians in the missions covered both spiritual and civil affairs. The custom used in the California missions...where two soldiers accompanied a friar to his mission and acted as protector and assistant teacher...was not generally used in Florida. Garrisons were kept at a few towns, (Lanning-74-75) otherwise the friar must look out for himself. It seems as though the friar should, of necessity have had full charge, yet this matter of jurisdiction was a subject of continual bickering between the friars and governors. (G-191)

In June 1605, additional trouble arose between Church and State. Fray Jeronimo Gelaya came to Florida after having been dismissed in disgrace by the Viceroy of New Spain. He continued his trouble making in Florida by criticizing the Governor and the government. Ybarra reprimanded Gelaya but this only made the priest more harsh in his accusations. He also obstructed the fulfilment of the Governor's orders to the Indians, which could not help having a bad effect on them, making them unsettled and harder to handle. Ybarra called an assembly to consider the matter and it decided to send Gelaya to his provincial in New Spain before the year was over. (This friar was ejected from the order three years later) (G-191)

Forty years of missionary activity in Florida had passed before a decree was issued in 1602, by Philip III authorizing the first visitation of a Bishop. It was 1605, however, before Captain Alonzo Dias Mejia was sent to Cuba to bring bishop Juan de las Cabazas de Altagirano back with him. The latter suspended a synod (council of ecclesiastics) which he had been conducting and set about to prepare for the trip. Mejia's ship however, became stranded, so the bishop took matters in his own hands and travelled overland to Puerto del



Principe where he bought a frigate. This was found to be too small for the company of 40 persons, including seamen, servants and clerical candidates who were to accompany Altamirano. Determined however, to go to Florida, he purchased a second vessel, larger and well armed, at Santiago de Cuba. They left Cuba December 12, 1605 but bad weather caused delays and they did not arrive in St. Augustine until March 15, 1606. It had taken four years, from the time permission for this visitation had been granted, to unravel the red tape of the Spanish governmental system and to overcome the physical barriers, to fulfill the order. (C-174-195)

The bishop's arrival must have been a great occasion in this isolated colony. The monotonous life of the presidio, whose social activity centered about church affairs, received the bishop with great pomp and ceremony. His arrival just before Holy Week lifted the services of that season to one of unusual splendor. The consecration of the oils was held on Holy Thursday. On Holy Saturday some 20 young men were ordained, some of these were sons of Florida's families and other had come with Bishop Altamirano. On Easter Sunday three hundred and fifty persons were confirmed. After this the bishop rested a few days but utilized this time in investigating various church matters. (S-195-196)

At Nombre de Dios, on April 2nd, the cacica, Dona Maria and two of her children were among the 216 persons to whom confirmation was administered. On the 11th the bishop began his journey to the northern towns of San Pedro, (Cumberland Island), Talaxe (on the Altamaha), Espagache (Pease Creek, Ga.) and the Island of Guale (St. Catherine's Island). Governor Ibarra had provided a boat, interpreters and an escort of soldiers. At each of the missions of Guale (Ga.) he administered confirmation and gave an address to the Indians, reminding them to be grateful to the King of Spain who had sent the friars

and was thus giving them the chance of salvation. (G-197)

The bishop's party visited San Juan (St. George Island) on May 6th. Bishop Altamirano was distressed by the poverty of the Timucua. The Indians of the missions stations of San Pablo (1½ leagues from San Juan) San Mateo (south of the St. John's) Vera Cruz (1/2 league from San Juan) and Chinica (1½ leagues from San Juan) joined those at San Juan for confirmation. Then the bishop returned to St. Augustine. (G-198) (Ross 197)

Heavy rain caused a month's delay before the party could start for the Potano district to the south west. Tocoy (5 leagues from St. Augustine) On the St. Johns River was reached the first night. Confirmation was administered the next day. Beyond Tocoy the swampy lands became large lagoons and the men were floundering through water most of the time. Fortunately the Indians picked up the bishop's party in canoes, in which they completed their journey to Antonioo. (20 leagues from Tocoy) Here the confirmation tour came to an end. (G-199) (Ross 198)

The bishop returned to St. Augustine where he and Governor Ybarra talked things over. Both thought the visitation had been well worth while. 2074 Indians had been confirmed. (G-199) Great poverty was found in some districts but the general condition of the Indians seemed much improved by the teaching of the friars. These people expressed their joys and sorrows through the medium of ceremonial and festival. They quickly followed and interpreted the Catholic ritual, which probably explains a part of the strong appeal of the Catholic Church and the understanding with which the Indians accepted Christianity. The friars had also tried to get the Indians to remain in a fixed locality, near the missions. To do this they had not only taught the Indians to plant and tend their fields but planted oranges and other fruit trees and berry bushes to tempt them. The missions seemed to be on a firm basis and great hope was held for their future

expansion.

Bishop Altamirano drew up a report for the King in which he praised both the governor and his methods in Florida. He recommended some petitions which had been asked for the good of the soldiers. He reported on the parish church and hospital and a school in St. Augustine. He recommended that the rector and chaplain of St. Augustine be not friars, but secular priests, for the Franciscans were sent for the sole purpose of instructing the natives. There was very little cooperation between the (secular) parish priests and the (religious) franciscans, and it were better to keep each in his own field. (Notes on Early Spanish Gov. Robertson..150) "The Franciscans imagined that the Pope had invested them with the missions and provinces of Florida with regard to both spiritual and temporal matters, that they were the real governors, and that no one could interfere in their jurisdiction." (Robertson.. 158-159) The bishop asked that the King define the limits of power vested in friars and governor so that the dispute over jurisdiction might be settled; moreover, he asked that in the future older more tried priests be sent from Spain and not from New Spain, for their association with the Mexican Indians seemed to make them dissatisfied in Florida and they tended to spread unrest among the missionaries already there. (G-193-204)

Bishop Altamirano spent six months in Florida, part of the time in awaiting the arrival of Fray Francisco Carranco. This friar came as the representative of the Comissary-General at the governor's request, to act as intermediary between himself and the friars. The commissary, the friars, the governor and his officials met in council and went over matters thoroughly. As a result two friars were sent out of Florida, the others were forbidden to go to the house of Alonso Sanchez de Merendo, the royal accountant and syndic of the

of the friars, because he was thought to be using his close connection with the friars to further political ends. Carrasco installed a guardian of the friary at St. Augustine and he gave the same title to the superiors of the Indian missions. This investigation and the measures which were taken to correct the differences between Ybarra and the friars left matters in the colony on a more peaceful basis. (G-200-208)

When Bishop Altamirano left Florida he and the governor were on the best of terms. Fray Vincente Ferrer de Andrade and Manuel Godino who had come in the bishop's party, were left, at the governor's wish, to take charge of church and fort, and to teach the boys of the parish. (G-204)

King Philip III advised that St. Augustine should not be entirely abandoned, but that the soldiers should be reduced by half and they should keep order as best they could without the expense of keeping up either fort or artillery. He thought St. Augustine unimportant. Spain's enemies would not want to seize this poor colony when the worthwhile ports of Puerto Rico and Cuba were near. His expense of maintaining St. Augustine was far too much in proportion to the good derived from it. He wished to leave only sufficient soldiers to protect the Christian Indians; but he wished if possible to remove those Indians to Spanish so he would give up St. Augustine entirely. (G-209)

Ybarra was decidedly upset. He answered the king, begging to keep his soldiers, because they were badly needed, and being sure that Philip would reconsider, he kept the soldiers. The governor was upheld by Juan Gonzalez Marquez, the treasurer, and the friars, who said that as soon as protection was taken from the mission Indians, the pagan Indians would kill them. As for moving them, they just would not go. The matter ended by King Philip letting things rest as

they were. (Q-210-211)

In spite of the efforts of Bishop Altamirano and commissary Carrasco, relations between the governor and the friars quieted for a time, remained strained.

Frays Castillo visited a ship which came into St. Augustine, possibly to see that they were not bringing any forbidden books, though the reason is not positive. At any rate the governor took exception and said the friars were not to visit ships without his knowledge. Then a report was circulated that the governor was once a Franciscan and had been dismissed from the order. The story was credited to Fray Benaranda and the squabble assumed such proportions that in February 1605, Father Alonso de los Meyes was sent from Cuba to investigate the matter. Father Benaranda neither denied nor affirmed the accusations. Ybarra decided it would be best to have the friar out of Florida and arranged to send him to Spain. Ybarra also had trouble with Merando, the accountant, and wished to send him from St. Augustine but the friars protested he was of great assistance to them and they wished him to stay. He objected to the increased cost of taking novices into St. Augustine; in this he was upheld by the King who gave orders to that effect. He was also against increasing the number of friars because he said that those already there stayed in the town where they were not needed instead of going to their missions stations. Ybarra corrected this abuse by withholding provisions from any friar who left his station without a proper cause. The particular grievance of the friars was that the governor prevented them from going into the interior. These differences were smoothed over just before Tierra's recall on October 12, 1602. He was succeeded by Juan Fernandez de Olivera. (Q-211-222)

The missionary system had been set back by the Guale revolt but was again gathering momentum by 1502. Guale, however, was held back by the question of polygamy. Until this could be overcome christianization was impossible. (G-255)

Fray Prieto and another religious went to the Potano and Apalache districts on April 10th (before Bishop Altamirano had left Florida). There was only one baptized Indian and no missions in this field which lay west and southwest of St. Augustine..(toward the southern border of the Timucuan Province) they built a small church where Fray Prieto's companion remained while Prieto stayed at San Miguel a league and a quarter away. It was well that Fray Prieto was not far for when the second friar began to expound the Christian doctrine the Indians rose up against him and he fled to San Miguel. Fray Prieto did not wish him to endanger his life needlessly and advised the friar to return to St. Augustine.

This left Fray Prieto alone with a heavy task which he handled with great credit. Making his headquarters at San Miguel (2 leagues east of San Mateo and about 25 leagues from St. Augustine). He visited the nearby towns, returning to San Miguel at night. He showed the courage and faith of a great missionary when he planted the cross at Santa Ana (no location given except of course it was near San Miguel). The aged chief of this town had been a captive of Caloto. His hatred of the Christians was intense and he had forbidden any of his subjects to become Christian. He must, however, have feared the Spaniards for when Fray Prieto went to Santa Ana, they did not attempt to harm him but simply held him down. Every time he started to speak the Indians made such noise that he could not be heard. (G-257) Fray Prieto decided he must soothe

chief himself. When he forced his way into the hut the old man turned his face to the wall and ordered the friar to be thrown out and beaten, but before this could be done a great thunderclap shook the huts and the Indians fell to the ground in fear. Strong winds swept the land and when they had subsided the only structure left standing in that district was a church with its cross. The Indians saw in this a sign that the new God must indeed be the true God, and the aged chief hurriedly asked to be instructed in the Christian religion. A few days later he was baptized, and soon four hundred of his subjects accepted the faith also. Now that Fray Prieto had succeeded in opening up the district Fray Serrano was sent to assist him. (G-233)

Tlaxcala, the district next to Potanc, was composed of some 80 towns and was ruled over by a very powerful chief. Fray Prieto visited there frequently but the chief would not embrace Christianity. One reason he gave was that his people were at war with the Apalache. It was understood among the pagan Indians that the Christian Indians were no fighters and he may have felt that he could not embrace Christianity; that is, peace and brotherly love, until his feud with the Apalachees was settled. After two years Fray Prieto finally persuaded him to go to St. Augustine where he was received by the Governor, and became a Christian. Many of the Indians had accepted Christianity, yet kept their old idols at least in part. This chief held no reservations, he asked for friars to go to his territory and to visit the villages and destroy all Indian idols. Fray Prieto went back with him to Tlaxcala, here, taking the friar's hand he told his people he wanted them to put aside their pagan worship and superstition and to live as Christians. (G-239)

That must have been an epoch making trip. The gray robed friar with his escort of Indians exultantly tramping from town to town, destroying ancient Indian idols and replacing these with the cross of Christianity, while he expounded the doctrine of that religion.

(In the early days some Franciscans wore brown, some gray and some black. The Spanish Franciscans wore gray. Since 1800 all of them wear brown for uniformity's sake. Note by F. Delger.)

But the undercurrent of war with the Apalache remained to spread unrest among the Timucua. Fray Frieto decided to settle the situation by going to Apalache himself. The chief of Timucua was fearful but would not let the friar go alone, so he gathered an escort of one hundred and fifty warriors from Potano and Timucua. The chief wasn't going to be caught entirely unprepared! The party started on June 1603. A six days march northwestward brought them to the large settlement of Ocofundi. (No location.) From here two captives of Apalache were sent into their country to tell the chiefs Fray Frieto and the Timucua were coming on a mission of peace. (C-235-236)

This news was received with joy by the Apalache who gathered in great numbers. A trail was opened up for three leagues into the principal town where some 70 chiefs greeted the friar. (This was the first opening of the Trail to Apalache) The priest thought there must be more than 50,000 Indians there but this estimate must be discounted somewhat for he was peering through the joyous eyes of unacquaintance. They were treated courteously and peace was made between them. A chief was selected to go to St. Augustine to render obedience to Spain in the name of all the chiefs of Apalache. This representative accompanied by Fray Frieto, but word of the success of the mission went ahead and the governor, wishing to receive credit for the subjugation of these tribes, sent his soldiers to bring the chief into St. Augustine. The friar, knowing his work to be well done, made no objection to the arrangement. (C-236-237)

In 1609 Fray Ruiz was in Spain recruiting more friars for Florida, because the Indians were calling for them. That year there were 20 friars in the colony. There were seven convents, 14 principal doctrines and a number of subsidiary ones. (G-234)

On November 16th, 1609 Cuba and Florida were combined into a custody (a group of friars with a definite field of work. A province in the process of formation) (G-235) Fray Ruiz was named custodio or head of this group. The friars could be transferred back and forth between Cuba and Florida, its own territory without special permission from Mexico or Spain (G-235-237)

FLORIDA AND CUBA BECOME A PROVINCE WITH A BISHOP

A year later the custody was raised to the status of a province with headquarters remaining in Cuba. (Florida and Cuba "were ruled by the bishop of Santiago de Cuba, who later moved his see to Havana") (G-14) This did not mean much in the way of additional privileges, but simply that the custody had grown in personnel and activities and had become more permanent. (G-25 237)

Juan Gerónimo Olivares succeeded Ybarra as Governor. He was greatly interested in the mission work and at once requested more friars. The new familiar copy was answered on July 24, 1612 by the arrival in Florida of Fray Lorenzo Martínez and 20 religious. This Governor also found some obstacles which had to be overcome, the new friars had not brought sufficient vestments and in order to have enough to say Mass, two friars were placed in each mission center. They could not be sent out to some of the provinces for lack of soldiers to protect them and it was better that they did not go, because of the danger of stirring up the newly subjected Apalachee. Expenses mounted daily,

yet Olivera requested 18 or 20 more friars stipulating no lay brothers or choristas (Friars preparing for the priesthood). For these would have been the same expense, yet could not perform the duties necessary.

Olivera won the Indians and worked with the utmost harmony with the friars. He "realized that Florida was primarily a mission field protected by the single presidio and that after all, the problems of the missionaries should receive chief consideration". (G0246) It is a pity his term had to be cut short by his death late in 1612. (G-242-246)

Juan de Trevino Quillamas followed him as Governor in May 1613 and it was he who placed the eight friars under Fray Juan Bautista de Capilla who had been sent at Governor Olivera's request. Twenty-nine friars had sailed for Florida in 1612 and 1613 (G-247)

The interlude of tranquility and understanding was past. Governor Trevino began the old plaint for more soldiers, fewer friars. He claimed eight or ten friars could take care of the entire province and that the many friars there were costing precious reales. Besides there was the additional expense of having to supply them with clothes and church goods. (G-248)

Fray Ore, who had gathered the band of Friars sent to Florida with Fray Martinez in 1612 was sent as Visitor-General to Florida and Cuba in 1614. His report gave particular praise to Fray Parejz for his work among the Timucuan. He examined the Indians in Christian doctrine and found a great number of them more devout than the Spanish. Fray Paraja told him how many of the Indians when they became sick had themselves brought to the mission and asked their companions that in case of death they be taken to the mission for burial. Missions had not been establishing in Apalache but visits were made there by the friars. (G-253-256)

On November 6th, 1616 Fray Ore made his second visit to Florida. He made the rounds of the missions preaching at each, seeing the needs and problems

of the friars and the progress they were making. Then he held a chapter at San Buenaventura de Guadalquini (Jekyl Island) in Gualco, instead of at St. Augustine, for the provisions of both friars and Indians were stored there and it was an easier place for the fathers to reach. The meeting was held for the purpose of shooting positions for the friars and settling their various affairs. At this time Fray Paraja was elected provincial while Fray Martinez became vicar-provincial (second in command to Fray Paraja) and five definitors (advisors) were also chosen. The friars left this meeting eager to be back at their work yet somewhat reluctant to leave each other's pleasant companionship. (G-257- 261)

Captain Juan de Salinas came as Governor of Florida on August 2, 1618. He found 38 friars busily engaged among the Indians...and asked for more. Tama (interior of Ga.) and Apalache needed missions and missionaries. (G-263)

The earlier missions were nearly all located along the waterway : the coast and the St. Johns River, where traveling was easier and the danger of ambush from the Indians was not as likely. The missions were extended inland as the natives became more friendly to the Spanish. The route connecting them became known to the English through William Bartram as the Spanish road, which might well have been called the Mission Trail. Starting at St. Augustine it crossed the St. Johns River at Picolata, six miles south of Green Cove Springs and followed the south shore of Santa Fe Lake at Melrose. From here it angled northwestward to Monticello and Tallahassee, northwest to Bainbridge, Ga., and west to the Chattahoochee River, from there the trail branched, one arm going southwest to the gulf and the other making a longer circuit west before it too led to the Gulf at Pensacola, and from thence westward.

The mission system expanded rapidly after 1632 when the conversion of the Apalache was begun. It is probable that San Marcos, on the gulf was a trading station and mission established late in 1633, as was the mission of San Luis at Tallahassee. A garrison was stationed at San Luis soon after its founding and a fort was gradually built, being finished in 1639, to protect the trail and its trade. The crossing of the St. Johns River was also protected by Fort Picolata and San Francisco de Pupa, log forts on either side of the stream. These forts were seized by Oglouthorpe in 1740 but were rebuilt into 40 ft. stone towers soon after that. They remained until early American pioneers used the stone for foundations for their homes. Vestiges of the ruins were noted as late as 1848.

The Spanish colony at St. Augustine could hardly have existed had it not been for the missions. So well had the friars taught their charges to plant and harvest that the Indians supplied a great part of the provisions for the Spanish. The Apalache region provided sugarcane, grain, honey and beeswax, turkey and venison which was carried by the Indians along the Spanish Trail or sent by packet boat to St. Augustine and Havana. In 1640 a royal plantation was established at San Miguel de Asyle which was the most western mission of the Timucua province and was probably on the banks of the Aucilla River.

By 1634, there were in Florida, 35 Franciscans, 44 missions and about 25,000 Christian Indians. In 1656 there was an uprising among the Timucuas who were aided by the Apalachees. The bravery of the Franciscans is shown once again when one of the friars went into the hostile town of Santa Helena de Machaba and reproved the Indians. He received the astonishing reply that they had neither given up the Christian religion or their allegiance to Spain

but wished to improve their condition and relieve abuses. Perhaps the first strike on record in the U. S. The area was disturbed for about eight months before the rebellion was put down. Governor Robellede and the friars each accused the other of being the cause of the uprising. The friars said the governor had tried to make the Indians carry corn on their backs into St. Augustine and that for 96 days labor on the presidio of San Luis de Apalache the mission Indians were paid for only 25 days. The governor was just as sure the exacting discipline of the friars had caused the trouble.

The friars never liked soldiers in the mission and they said the dozen soldiers stationed at San Luis would be of no use in case of war and were a source of worry in time of peace, for they had to be fed by the Indians and they took the Indian women which created bad feeling into the natives.

In 1674 Bishop Calderon of Cuba made a tour of confirmation and inspection of the Florida missions. His trip was so hard and dangerous that it was necessary to employ an escort of Spanish soldiers and Indians to guide and protect his party. This year seems to have marked the height of missionary activities although the Bishop speaks of passing through uninhabited sections and of deserted villages, this can be understood when it is known that epidemics thinned the native ranks in some cases while in other the priests had seen fit to combine villages for better supervision. Calderon speaks of Santa Fe, near Gainesville, as being the principal mission of the Timucuan province, that area which included most of central and northeast Florida bounded by the Aucilla River. There were 13,152 Christian Indians in Florida at the time of his visit. It took 10 months for him to complete his journeys and eleven thousand dollars were expended/him for relief of Indians and whites. The hardships of this visit resulted in the death of the venerable Bishop in Cuba, March 16, 1676.

The Indians although they accepted Christianity and many of the white man's customs did not entirely discard their own, rather they added the new ceremonies to their own. Little by little however, the friars succeeded in eliminating the worst of native practices. In 1676 Fray Juan de Pains of the San Luis mission wrote a long description of the Indian's ball game. This game was not merely a pastime but constituted a ceremonial of cruel and sadistic elements. The game, resembling lacross, was played between towns not related by blood. The night before the game was spent in celebrations and ceremonials and in the morning the players, painted white from head to toe, appeared on the field for a snake dance which opened the game. All day under the blazing sun the game continued, played with such frenzy that many dropped of exhaustion. The priests had failed to stop these games and in 1676 Juan de Florenca the governor of Apalache tried to abolish them but they seem to have continued until Governor Cabrera ordered them stopped in 1618.

ENGLISH DEPRADATIONS

The few years of comparative peace following the visit of Bishop Calderon were soon to be interrupted by the encroaching English colonies. Charleston had become a powerful Indian trading post, the English let the Indians have both rum and firearms, and as a result the Indians accepted their word as law. The Spanish continued their policy of withholding rum and arms and demanding a stern discipline which made the heathen Indians look with scorn on the docile mission Indians of Florida.

Fearing for the mission settlements the Governor tried to persuade the Indians of the coast towns of San Felip, San Simon, Santa Catalina, Sapala Tupichi, Acao, Obaldaquni and other missions to concentrate on the islands of Santa Maria, San Juan and Santa Cruz. The Indians refused to take this advice, instead they revolted and abandoning their missions some sought the forests while others joined the Indians in English territory.

In 1684 a chief near St. Augustine was punished for disobedience; he joined the Carolinians and later led an expedition of revenge on Santa Catalina de Afrueca near Hildreth and the neighboring San Francisco de Chuaquin. Church and convent were despoiled of vestments, plate and other articles and the town burned. The mission Indians were completely surprised and had no way of defending themselves so that 50 of them were killed while 22 were taken prisoner and sold as slaves at the Scotch settlement of Stuartstown, near the present Beaufort, S. C. It was learned later that the Scots had armed the Indians for this raid so that the Spanish destroyed Stuartstown in retaliation. This however was the beginning of the decline of the Timucua missions of East Florida.

Santa Catalina must have been rebuilt for in the early 1690's the usual arguments were being carried on before governor and friars about handling the Indians. An Indian testified that Fray Pedro, the missionary at Santa Catalina had left marks on many a back among his parishoners. It was also brought out that the friars sent the Indians out on long errands and gave them no sustenance for the trip.

The northern sections of Florida were so harassed by the English that some of the missions in that section had to be abandoned and the friars' activities were directed southward. Three new missions built of coquina were started

between 1695 and 1696. They were situated near the coast, the first nine leagues south of St. Augustine in the presidio of San Josef, the other two at nine league intervals in the pueblos of Tissimí and Atocuimí.

These three doctrines were connected with the parent mission of San Salvador de Mayaca, 16 leagues inland from San Josef and probably on the St. Johns River near Lake George. Mayaca was built about 1600 and was one of the oldest in Florida. (The ruins of Tissimí and Atocuimí still stand). The three new doctrines were founded for the benefit of a small Indian tribe known as the Jororos who inhabited the district bounded by Matanzas Inlet on the north, New Smyrna on the south, the St. Johns River on the west and the coast. It has not yet been ascertained with which of the larger tribes they may have been affiliated.

In 1693 there were 400 converts at San Salvadore de Mayaca, San Antonio de Anacaqui, a little farther north on the St. Johns, La Concepcion and San Josef de Jororo.

The Indians wandered about living on fish and fruits and the missionaries wished as always to induce them to settle in one place. The friars spent much of their meager salaries buying tools to teach their charges how to cultivate the soil, and raise enough so that they need not wander about in search of food. Finally the Minister Provential and the fathers at the convent of San Francisco in St. Augustine petitioned the king for supplies, they did not say just what to send except that hoes were essential. In 1695 the tools arrived, "200 large hoes, 6 large saws and 6 small ones, 50 machetes, 4 large augers, 4 medium sized and 4 small gimlets." That year there were 70 religious in the Florida missions.

In 1696, twenty two more Franciscans left Spain for Florida with Fray Feliziano Lopez as their head. Six of these were destined for the Jororo

missions. (located)

That year, in Atoculmi, (the New Smyrna mission), Fray Luis Sanchez had forbidden the Indians to continue certain objectionable customs and had compelled them to do penance. Some of them refused and in anger at their humiliation murdered the brown robed friar and two young Indians who assisted him in saying mass. One of these was the cacique of the neighboring village of Aipaja. After this the Indians stripped the church of ornaments and with their women and children took to the woods. As usual malecontents of other villages were spurred to action and the rebellion spread. A Spanish soldier, Jacinto de Tejada, was killed as well as a number of Yamasee and Guale Indians, emigrants from Georgia. The whole region was in an uproar for a time. Five years later three natives were caught who were implicated in the murder of the priest, one died, one was banished for six years and the third was released. The chief culprits however were never caught.

A good description of the mission towns and the Indians at this time is given in the journal of Jonathan Dickinson, a Quaker who had been shipwrecked in the gulf in 1690, he was rescued by the Spanish and taken to St. Augustine and since there was a temporary truce between the English and Spanish at that time he was sent northward to his own people, traveling from mission to mission. At Santa Cruz a few leagues north of St. Augustine he tells of the "large house of worship with three bells" and of the Indians at their devotions. He described the big warehouse of the Indians where he spent the night, the supper of boiled corn and peas and the drink brewed from oasakna. He noted the cleanliness and courtesy of the natives, and speaks of the Indian boys at school. This picture of tranquility and well being which was not to last long.

Another attempt was made to subdue the fierce Indians of Carlos on the west coast. In September, 1697 Fray Felician Lopez with five companions sailed

from Havana on a ship loaded with all kinds of supplies for the projected missions. They landed at the town of Cayucoa and found the old cacique very ill. He asked for baptism but the other Indians paid no attention to the instructions the friars so patiently expounded. A huge idolatrous ceremonial was held in a hut crowded and overflowing with Indians. They called on the fathers to offer food and clothing to their gods and the Franciscans not only refused but urged the Indians to abandon their wicked practices. This angered the young Cacique who declared they had offended his gods and must leave the district at once. The missionaries tried to remain but their possessions were taken from them and they were put in boats and carried from key to key until they were finally left on Matcumbe without food and their clothes stripped from them. Fortunately they were rescued by the same vessel which had brought them.

Early in January 1701, the two friars of San Salvador de Mayaca came to St. Augustine to report that the natives of their station had fled to the jungles. An Indian released from the fort in St. Augustine had enjoyed telling wild tales of the brutality of the Spanish which had terrified the Mayacans, but the governor sent presents to the neighboring towns and eventually the Mayacans returned.

The slaves taken in the raid on Santa Catalina proved so profitable to the English, that other raids were made. The Indian towns were fortified and the friars in these years often led their parishioners in battle. Governor Moore of Carolina became interested, he thought the slave trade should prove a profitable way of destroying settlements in Florida. At his instigation some English traders led the heathen Indians against the town and mission of Santa Fe near Gainesville. The attack was made at dawn of May 20th, 1702, and though

they destroyed the town the Catholic Indians saved the church vestments and pictures. A Spanish force pursued the marauders but were defeated and their commander slain.

Then Governor Moore induced the Carolinians to fit out an expedition which he led against St. Augustine. This was a failure from a military standpoint but after he withdrew from the siege he raided a number of missions, among which was San Francisco de Potano and took nearly 500 prisoners. The failure of this expedition brought him in disrepute with the people of Charleston and the following year (1703) he lost his position as Governor. But Moore continued to raid the Florida missions, whether it was to retrieve his reputation or for material gain and personal revenge is not known, though he seemed to regard his terrible exploits as heroic.

The first of the Apalache towns Moore attacked in 1704 was Conception de Apalache or Aybule, south of Monticello. This mission was fortified, the church forming a part of the strong square fort and Fray Angel de Miranda directed the defense. The Indians put up a brave fight but were finally overcome. Twenty-five of them had been killed, a few escaped, and about a hundred were taken prisoner. The next day some thirty Spanish and four hundred Indians from Fort San Luis appeared, led by Lieut. John Ruiz Mexia and encouraged by the friar John de Parja, who urged the Indians to fight bravely for God's holy law, for no death could be more glorious than one suffered for the faith and truth. Then giving all absolution he advanced with them, refusing to desert his flock in danger. The Spanish twice repulsed their assailants and fought until their ammunition was exhausted. Mexia with Fathers Farga and Miranda and six whites were taken along with some 150 Indians. Many of these prisoners were burned at the stake as was Fray Farga, several of the Indians showing the

heroism of martyrs while being tortured. One account says the white men were exchanged by Moore for a ransom of "four hundred dollars, five cows and five horses," while another says he offered this exchange but since the money was not available, all the party were burned at the stake. However, this may be, the atrocities enacted at the "martyrdom of Aybule" can only be equaled by those of the Huron country. Moore excused himself by saying his Indian allies became unmanageable.

Two days later Moore sent to the cacique at San Lorenzo de Ivitachuco, an Indian town which had been visited by De Soto, to come and make his peace. The town had a strong and well made fort with a garrison of 150 men, yet they paid for immunity with the church's plate and ten horse loads of provisions. Moore failed to attack San Luis but marched through other towns which the fortified, surrendered. He said, " I have now in my company all the people of three towns and the greater part of four more. We have totally destroyed all the people of four towns, so that we have left the people of Apalachia but that one town which compounded, part of St. Lewis and the people of one town which ran away altogether." Their town, church, and fort we burnt--Apalachia is now reduced to so feeble and low a condition that it can neither support St. Augustine with provisions, nor frighten us."

But Moore had not done with the missions yet. He came back to Apalache and destroyed San Luis and San Marcos along with other settlements, he circled southeastward and attacked the missions of Santa Fe, Santa Catalina de Afuica, San Francisco de Potano, Santa Helena de Machaba and the more southerly missions near the coast south of St. Augustine. "The quantities of slaves and plunder Moore's army had brought from Apalache tempted other leaders, "& by the end of 1706 "there remained not so much as a village with ten houses of cattle left,

but such as they can protect by the Guns of their castle of St. Augustine that alone now in their heads." It is no wonder that governor Jose Zuniga wrote his government that the affliction of the missionaries was great and that they "desired to be moved away from the danger" that threatened them.

However, these disasters did not make the missionaries relax their discipline nor did the Spanish governor arm the Indians, with the result that the natives of Apalache scattered. Some went to the French at Mobile, some to the new Spanish fort at San Marco and joined the Yamasee and settled in Carolinas allies of the English. But the Yamassees and Apalaches who sided with the English soon regretted their choice, for some of the English forgot them while the others cheated and mistreated them. In 1715 these natives sent to St. Augustine asking if they might come to Florida and the governor replied that he would be glad to have them, so very quietly they sent their women and children south and in 1715 fell upon the Charleston settlements with terrible vengeance, 400 whites were killed before the Indians were repulsed. The Yamassees then went to Florida to occupy towns they had despoiled while the Apalaches were returning home once more. This revolt of the Yamassees and the building of San Marco on the gulf temporarily helped the Spanish, who however were never to recover the glory of their past achievements.

The missions disappeared until there were only a few small ones remaining near St. Augustine where groups of Catholic Indians having escaped death or slavery, found refuge; but most of these were no longer the devout, strong Indians of old, fear, drunkenness and poverty had completely demoralized them. In 1743, governor Montiano wrote that "of the eight small Indian settlements he had found near St. Augustine when he arrived in Florida in 1737, only four remained." The country had been ravaged on all sides and the missions decimated



again and again until in 1753 there were only four, Tolomato, Pocatalapa, Palicoa and La Punta, the whole containing only 136 souls. Three missions were shown on the Mitchol map of 1755, San Pedro, San Mateo and San Francisco. Then another series of English attacks drove the remnants of the Spanish Indians under the protection of the walls of San Marco on the Gulf and San Marco at St. Augustine. When England took over Florida in 1763, many of these Indians went with the Spanish to Cuba. The Franciscan organization in Florida gradually disappeared, while in California, the undaunted disciples of St. Francis were building up another. The last year that Franciscans sailed for or from (2) Florida, 1769, was the year that Fray Junipero Serra founded the California missions. The great chain of Florida missions soon became little more than a memory and some of the Indians soon became little more than a memory and some of the Indians remained faithful to the Christian teachings, most of them reverted to the savagery of their ancestors.

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