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MISSION SITES IN FLORIDA

An attempt to approximately identify the sites of Spanish mission settlements of the seventeenth century in northern Florida

By MARK F. BOYD

The story of the mission settlements established by the Franciscan fathers in northern Florida subsequent to 1633 still awaits telling. It cannot be adequately told until the Spanish archives are carefully searched.

Random documents recently available from these sources confirm the meager accounts left by hostile Carolinians, indicating that this region was occupied by numerous thriving settlements of Christianized Indians who practiced a successful agriculture. When the expanding radius of the border struggles between the English and Spanish colonies finally reached Apalache, this golden period was brought to an abrupt close in 1704. Information available to subsequent British and American colonists and settlers was largely derived from Indian tradition, and the missions had already assumed a legendary character among the ultimate Anglo-Saxon occupants of the region before the earliest available of the Spanish accounts were brought to attention. Shea¹ was perhaps the first American student to consider the subject. He touched on the Florida missions incidentally and derived most if not all of his information from a limited number of secondary sources.

The first penetration of Apalache by Franciscan missionaries occurred in 1633,² nearly one hundred years after De Soto over-wintered in this region.

NOTE:- This paper was read before the Tallahassee Historical Society on November 10, last.

- 1.) John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854*. (New York, 1855).
- 2) Gov. Horruytinez to the King, Nov. 15, 1633, A.G.I., 94-9-18 Lowery (MSS.) Apalache, 1621-57. Vol. VII.

The time appeared propitious for their proselyting efforts, as a list by Diaz de la Calle³ written in 1655 enumerates seven missions lying between St. Augustine and Apalache (Timucua), and nine in Apalache. This list is also found in the Lowery manuscripts. The distance between each mission and St. Augustine is given in leagues, although they are only partially listed in consecutive longitudinal order.

The next available list is found in a letter written by Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon, Bishop of Cuba, to Mariana, Queen of Spain, describing a pastoral visit made to the Florida missions in 1674-75. This was recently translated by Lucy L. Wenhold.⁴ It is important not only by reason of the fact that the account is the most circumstantial of those available, but the missions are enumerated in the order in which they were apparently visited, and their distance in leagues from St. Augustine is given. Eleven missions are listed between St. Augustine and Apalache, of which four do not appear in the 1655 list, and one on the former list is omitted. In Apalache thirteen missions are listed, four of which do not appear on the 1655 list. The paragraphs describing Timuqua (Timucua) and Apalache in Miss Wenhold's translation are quoted below :

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- 3) Diaz de la Calle. ***Nota de las Misiones de la provincia de la Florida, etc.*** In Serreno y Saenz, ***Documentos Historicas de La Florida y la Louisiana***, Siglos XVI al XVIII (Madrid 1912) p. 132.
 - 4) A 17th century letter of Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon, Bishop of Cuba, describing the Indians and Indian missions of Florida. Transcribed and translated by Lucy L. Wenhold, with an introduction by John R. Swanton. Smithsonian miscellaneous collections Vol. 95, No. 16, Pub. 3398 (Washington, 1936).

The Province of Timuqua

Ten leagues from the city of St. Augustine, on the bank of the river Corrientes [the St. Johns], is the village and mission of San Diego de Salamototo. It [the river] is very turbulent and almost a league and a half in width. From there to the village and mission of Santa Fe there are some 20 uninhabited leagues. Santa Fe is the principal mission of this province. Off to the side toward the southern border, at a distance of 3 leagues, is the deserted mission and village of San Francisco. Twelve leagues from Santa Fe is the mission of Santa Catalina, with Ajohica 3 leagues away and Santa Cruz de Tarihica 2. Seven leagues away, on the bank of the large river Guacara, is the mission of San Juan of the same-name. Ten [further on] is that of San Pedro de Potohiriba, 2, that of Santa Helena de Machaba, 4, that of San Matheo, 2, that of San Miguel de Asyle, last in this Timuquan, or Ustacanian province.

The Province of Apalache

Two leagues from the said village of Asyle is the mission of San Lorenzo de Hibitachuco, first village of this province. From this mission to that of La Concepcion de Ayubali it is one league, and another to that of San Francisco de Oconi, another to that of San Juan de Aspalaga, 2 to that of San Joseph de Ocuya, 4 to that of San Pedro de Patali, 2 to that of San Antonio de Bacqua, 2 to that of San Damian de Cupahica, called also Escambi, one to that of San Luis de Talimali which is the largest of all, another to that of La Purificacion de Tama, called Yamases, another to that of San Martin de Tomoli, 2 to that of Santa Cruz de Capoli, called also Chuntafu, and 4 from Tomoli to Assumpcion del

Puerto. Of these 13 missions, 2, La Purificacion de Tama and Assumpcion de Puerto, both of which were heathen [villages], I founded on the 27th of January and the 2d of February, of this present year, 1675, gathering in Assumpcion the three heathen nations, Chines, Pacaras and Amacanos, who are gradually being instructed and baptised. In the mission of San Luis, which is the principal one of the province, resides a military officer in a country house defended by pieces of ordnance and a garrison of infantry.

Another list of these missions prepared five years later in 1680, is also found in the Lowery manuscripts.⁵ This is a simple enumeration. It lists eleven missions between St. Augustine and Apalache, omitting one from and adding one to the previous list. Fourteen are given for Apalache three of which do not appear on the 1675 list, while one on the former is omitted.

The foregoing is the latest of the seventeenth century lists known to us, although in the Library of Congress there is found a photostat⁶ of a Spanish map, evidently prepared about 1683, on which the missions are shown. The map is crudely drawn and the scale is unreliable. Probably its greatest utility is the probable representation of the relative position of any mission to the others. With one exception it represents all of the missions given on the 1680 list between St. Augustine and Apalache, and in Apalache omits one given on the last list and adds two.

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- 5) Florida, *Relacion de las Religios existentes en las conversiones de la Florida y pueblos donde estan las Doctrinas*. A.G. I., 54-5-11 Lowery Manuscripts, Apalache, Vol. IX, 1677-80.
- 6) Anon., *Mapa De la Isla de la Florida*. Madrid, Ministry of War. (Circa 1683). Map Division, Library of Congress.

For convenience of reference and comparison the various mission lists are brought together in the accompanying table, following the order given by Calderon. All available pertinent data are included. A portion of the Spanish map mentioned is reproduced as Figure 1.

Recognizing that in part at least the old Spanish routes from St. Augustine can be traced with considerable exactitude, it appears of interest to attempt to fit the Calderon data to the known routes. It will be recalled that the act of the first session of the 18th Congress, authorizing the construction of a road from Pensacola to St. Augustine, directed that from the site of Fort St. Lewis (San Luis) to St. Augustine, it should follow as nearly as practicable the old Spanish road, while it would appear that Captain Daniel Burch,⁷ who located the road, complied, at least in general, with these instructions, although it must be recognized that he may have relocated some stretches. It would seem likely that through central Jefferson county the Spanish route lay to the south of that chosen by Burch. He says he spent two days (in 1823) in the vicinity of San Luis endeavoring to trace out this road, but found it impossible. However, when furnished with a guide from the Miccosukee town who was perfectly acquainted with it, it was obvious. "The Indians, it appeared, had kept up a trail on this road until within a few years, otherwise it would have been impracticable to follow it, as but few traces of it remain, and then only in the vicinity of the old Spanish stations or posts, a number of which are yet plainly to be found."

7) Boyd, Mark F., *The First American Road in Florida : Pensacola- St. Augustine Highway, 1824.* (Reports of Captain Burch to General Jesup). The Quarterly of the Florida Historical Society, XIV (1935-36) p. 74, p. 75, p. 93.

Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 17 [1938], No. 4, Art. 4

Distance in leagues from St. Augustine or preceding site. (Calderon)	Diaz de la Calle, T. 1, F. 69, 1655 (From Serreno and Saenz, p. 132)	From Calderon letter 1675	From Lowery MSS. 1680	Map of 1683	Benavides 1732	NOTES
.....	Nombre de Dios.....	.....	Nombre de Dios de amacarisse.....	.....	.....	S1.N.W. Sn. Aug.
10	.....	San DiegodeSalamototo.....	Senor San Diego de Ecalamototo.	Salamatoto . . . .	.....	E. bank St. Johns near Picolata
11/2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	W. bank St. Johns
20	Santa Fe de Toloco.....	Santa Fe.....	Senor Santo Thomas de Santa Fe	P. de Santa Fe.....	Santa Fe .....	.....
.....	San Francisco de Patano.....	San Francisco.....	Senor San Francisco de Potano...	P. de S. Francisco.	San Francisco....	3 L. south of Santa Fe, deserted
12	.....	Santa Catalina.....	Senora Santa Catholina de ahoica	P.deSta.Cathalina	Sta. Catalina....	.....
3	.....	Ajohica.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2	Santa Cruz de Tarija	Santa Cruz de Tarihica.. ..	Senor Santa Cruz de Tharihica.....	P. de Taryica .....	.....	.....
7	.....	San Juan de Guacara.....	Senor San Juan de Guacara	P. de Guacara....	San Juan del Rio	On E. bank Suwannee
10	San Pedro y San Pablo de Poturiba.	San Pedro de Potohiriba.....	Senor San Pedro de Pothohiriva.	P. de S. Pedro....	San Pedro.....	.....
2	Santa Elena de Machaba.....	Santa Helena de Machaba.....	Senora Santa Helena de Machava	P. de Machava....	Machaba .....	.....
4	.....	San Matheo.....	Senor San Matheo de Tolapatafi.	P. de San Matheo	.....	.....
2	San Miguel de Asile.....	San Miguel de Asyle.....	Senor San Miguel de asile.	P. de Asile	Asile	Most westerly in Timuqua
2	San Lorenzo de Apalache.....	San Lorenzo de Híbitachuco.....	Senor San Lorenzo de Ybithachuco	P. de Ivitachuco..	Bitachuco	Most easterly in Apalache
1	La Concepcion de Apalache.....	La Concepcion de Ayubali.	Nuestra Senora de la Purissima Concepcion de Ajubali	P. de Ainbale	Ayubale	Ainbale = Aiubale

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1	San Francisco de Apalache.....	San Francisco de Oconi.....	Senor San Francisco de Oconi	P. de Oconi.....	O Cone.....	
1	San Juan de Apalache.....	San Juan de Aspalaga.....	Senor San Juan de Ospalaga	P. de Aspalaga.....	Espalaga.....	
2	San Josef de Apalache.....	San Joseph de Ocuya.....	Senor San Joseph de Octuia	P. de Ocuya.....	O Cuya.....	
4	San Pedro y San Pablo de Kpal*.....	San Pedro de Patali.....	Senores San Pedro y San Pablo de Patali	P. de Patale.....	Patale	*Kpal = Apal (Swanton)
2		San Antonio de Bacuqua.....	Senor San Antonio de Bacuqua...	Bacuco	Bagugua	
2	San Cosme y San Damian.....	San Damian de Cupahica (Escambi)	Senores San Cosme y San Damian de Yecambi	P. de Escambe		
	.....	.....	Senor San Carlos de chacatos.....	P. de San Carlos...	Chatos	
1	San Luis de Apalache.....	San Luis de Talimali.....	Senor San Luis de Talimali *	P. de San Luis.....	San Luis.....	*Largest of all (Calderon)
			Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria de la Tama	P. de Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria	La Tama .....	..... Conversion by Calderon
1		La Purificacion de Tama (Yamases).....	.....	.....	.....	.....
		.....	Senor San Pedro de los Chines.....	.....	Chines.....	.....
1	San Martin de Apalache.....	San Martin de Tomoli.....	Senor San Martin de Tomoli..	P. de Tomale	Tomale .....	.....
2	.....	Santa Cruz de Capoli (Chuntafu).....	Santa Cruz y San Pedro de Alcantara de Ychutafun	P. de Sta Cruz...	Capole.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	P. de Medellin...	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	Puerto y Villa de San Marcos	San Marcos	.....
4 (from Tomoli)	.....	Assumpcion delPuerto.....	.....	.....	.....	Founded by Calderon. In this gathered Chines, Pacaras and Amacanos.

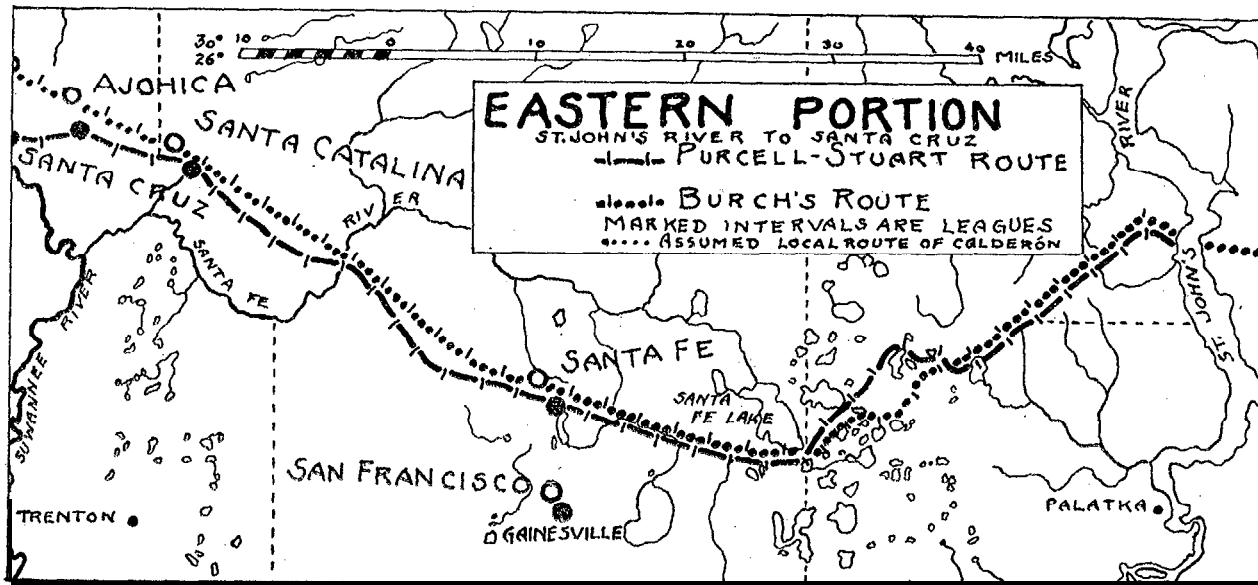


FIGURE 2-A

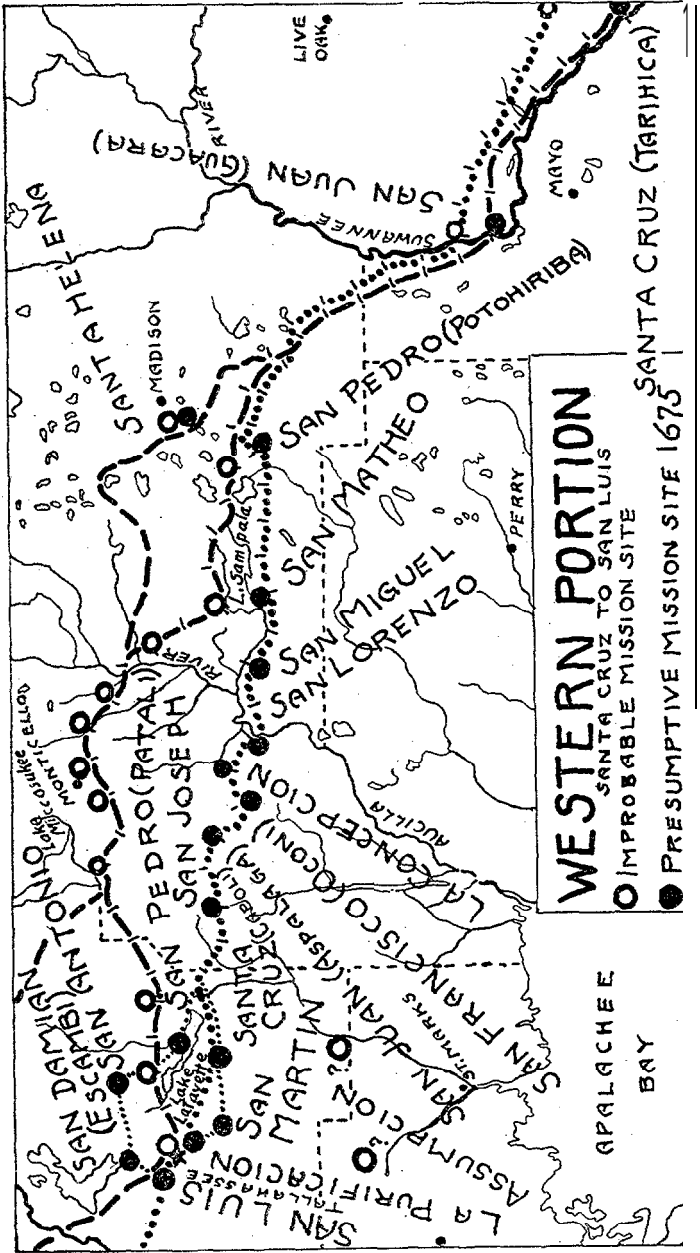


FIGURE 2-B

Furthermore, attention has been called to the acquirement by the Library of Congress of a photostat of the Purcell-Stuart map of the road from Pensacola to St. Augustine.⁸ This map gives every indication of being based on a careful reconnaissance and traverse. It is probable that in part at least, the trails shown thereon between St. Augustine and Apalache, represent old Spanish routes.

In Figure 2 (parts a and b) we have attempted to fit the route shown on the Purcell-Stuart map to the current topographical knowledge of the region, as shown on the 1933 edition of the 1:500,000 map of the state issued by the U. S. Geological Survey, and the route of the road surveyed by Burch as well. It will be noted that from the eastern portion of Madison county to the St. Johns river, the two routes apparently closely coincide. Westward they diverge, but may, nevertheless, represent paths regularly trod by the Spaniards. It will be noted that through Madison county, the traveller on the Purcell-Stuart trail had the choice of two routes westward. These came together before crossing the Aucilla river. Across Jefferson county there was but a single route. At Miccosukee the trail again divided, the southern branch passing southwest through Tallahassee Talofa (site of the present Tallahassee) thence proceeding northwestwardly. About 3 miles westwardly from Tallahassee lay San Luis.

We may next consider the available data identifying Spanish sites. Of these, that of San Luis (A, Fig. 3) appears best established, although nothing objective remains at present to positively iden-

8) *A Map of the Road from Pensacola in W. Florida to St. Augustine in East Florida from a survey made by order of the late Hon. Col. John Stuart * * in 1778 by Joseph Purcell.* Map Division, Library of Congress. (See Fla. Hist. Quarterly, XVII p. 15, July, 1938).

tify it. J. L. Williams in his journal of the joint mission with Dr. Simmons to select the site for the seat of government, relates that on October 31, 1823, he hired an Indian to guide him to the site of an old Spanish fort which had been mentioned to him as being in the neighborhood? He describes it as follows: "It is situated on a commanding eminence at the north point of a high narrow neck of highlands nearly surrounded by a deep ravine and swamp. The moat, parapet and bastions are strongly marked. The south part is 70 paces in length, the north 55 paces. Near a spring in the east ravine two old six pounders were discovered, etc." On the following day he wrote as follows to R. K. Call:¹⁰ "Among the curiosities of the country we discovered an old Spanish fort on a commanding hill about half way from Oclockney to Tallahassee. The south line of it measured 71 paces, the north 55, the east and west ends about 46. It had bastions near the angles and in a spring about 50 feet down the ravine east of the works we discovered the breach of a six-pound field piece." Four years later, in his "View of West Florida"¹¹ he says: "Fort St. Lewis was situate 2 miles west of Tallahassee. Its form was an irregular parallelogram; the eastern and longest side was 52 paces [sic]. Within the moat, 2 brick edifices had been erected, one 60 by 40 and the other 30 by 20 feet. There were bastions at each corner. The outward defences were extensive. A covered way led

9) *Journal of John Lee Williams*. Fla. Hist. Soc. Quarterly, I (1908) p. 22.

10) Caroline M. Brevard, *A History of Florida from the Treaty of 1763 to our own Times*. Vol. I., p. 263, (Fla. State Hist. Soc., DeLand, Florida, 1924).

11) Williams, John Lee. *A View of West Florida*, etc. (Philadelphia, 1827) p. 33.

to a spring, in a deep ravine, under the northeast wing of the fort." Slight and immaterial discrepancies are to be noted between his different accounts. An anonymous writer ¹² says: "At Fort St. Louis, about 2 miles west of Tallahassee, have been found remnants of iron cannon, spikes, hinges, locks, etc., which are evidently of Spanish manufacture, and which have not been much injured by the rust."

"Within the principal fort, for the outworks seem to have been numerous and extensive, are the ruins of two brick edifices, one was about 60 feet by 40, the other was about 30 by 20. These are in total ruins, and nothing but a mound appears where the walls stood, composed wholly of broken bricks, which have been composed of a coarse sandy clay and burned in the modern fashion. Yet on the very walls of these buildings are oaks 18 inches in diameter. On the same hill, and in fact within the outworks of this fort, are to be seen grape arbors in parallel lines, which still maintain their pristine regularity."

An interview attributed to Captain Burch ¹³ reports the following: "The first is Fort St. Louis, at least its ruins, situated about 6 miles east of the Ocklockney and N. by W. 25 miles from Ft. Marks. This place has more the appearance of having been a fortified town, than a mere fortification."

"Fort St. Louis was built on an elevated spot of ground around a hollow, from the bottom of which issue two springs that furnish an abundant supply of water, but which after running but a few yards, again sink into the ground. One of these on being

12) Anonymous. Quoted from the *Florida Intelligencer, Pensacola Gazette*, April 2, 1825.

13) Quoted from the *National Intelligencer, Pensacola Gazette*, October 9, 1824.

opened by Capt. Burch, displayed the wooden box or trunk in which it had been enclosed ; they were over shadowed by a beautiful live oak tree." On the Purcell-Stuart map the location of the ruins of San Luis fort and town are shown at approximately this location. An explanation for, the disappearance of the ruins described by Williams and by Burch is afforded by the following account: ¹⁴ "About two miles west of the city of Tallahassee, lie the ruins of what tradition says was once the Spanish fort of St. Louis. Out attention has been recently directed to these ruins, from the circumstances that a very intelligent gentleman, formerly of Georgia, now of Alabama, has at this time many laborers engaged in excavating the site of this old fort, on a search after hidden treasures. Whether or no he may succeed in bringing to light any considerable deposit of precious metals, it is not for us to say. But he has already thrown up from beneath the soil, where they had long been entombed, many articles which will possess great interest with the antiquarian." This explains the deterioration and disappearance of this and many other of our antiquities.

The location of this site, according to local tradition, which is confirmed by the correspondence of the topography with the description quoted, is on the west half of the s.e. 1/4 of sect. 27, T.1.N., R.1.W., about one mile west of the present limits of Tallahassee.

Williams also states that "About half a mile south of Tallahassee, (B. Fig. 3), and near the dwelling of his excellency Governor Duval, are the ruins of several small fortifications, which appear to have been hastily thrown up; near one of these a large

14) Anonymous. *Commercial Advertiser*. Apalachicola, June 7, 1843.

wooden building appears to have been destroyed by fire; some large timbers of the frame, completely charred, have been preserved ; very large spikes, locks, keys and hinges, have been discovered here; among other things, a porcelain lion, in a good state of preservation; it appears to have been an ornament for a chimney piece. At some distance under the surface, a floor was discovered, formed of a composition of lime, and other materials, very hard and smooth. On a part of the floor, was piled a quantity of charred corn and filberts, perfect in form, but very tender." The same anonymous contributor to the *Florida Intelligencer* relates about this same site: "Bricks seem to have been in general use for they have been discovered in several places by digging a little below the surface of the earth. Within the town of Tallahassee some were dug up, having a substance adhering to them resembling lime mortar. But on the hill about a half mile southeast of the capital are to be seen the greatest proof of a denser population. On this hill are to be seen streets or roads, running nearly at right angles, at such distances as to demonstrate the former existence of a pretty large town. The shade trees of the former inhabitants still remain, and are generally of live oak, and near which may be discovered grape arbors of more or less regularity." These observations, at least that part referring to the vicinity of Governor Duval's residence, relate to what is now the n.w. 1/4 of sect. 6, T.1.S., R.1.E., included within the present limits of the city of Tallahassee, probably in Myer's Park and the Country Club grounds.

Williams (*ibid.*) further describes that "Three miles east of Tallahassee, on a hill (C), at the base of which is a small but deep pond, is a fort, about a hundred and fifty paces long, and sixty broad, with

regular bastions, ditches, etc., both without and within. In this fort are to be seen the ruins of brick buildings ; within the fortifications, twenty or more gun-barrels were found, but little injured by the rust; on one of them, was discovered the tower stamp. * * Mr. John M'Iver has erected a dwelling house within the walls of this fort; and it is expected, when he removes the rubbish of the old brick edifices, that valuable discoveries will be made. He has lately discovered a large well, which has not yet been cleared out. On a higher hill, about half a mile north-east of this, are the outlines of a larger, and apparently more regular fortress; but the Indians have, for a number of years, cultivated the spot, and obliterated the most distinguished features of the work." Search of the land purchase records in the State Land Office, reveals that John McIvor purchased in 1825 the W. 1/2 of S.W. 1/4 of Sect. 8, T.1.S., R.1.E. A visit to the site confirms the general topographical description as given by Williams. Fragments of aboriginal pottery are yet found on the hill top.

Burch is further quoted (*ibid.*) as stating in 1824 that "north of this (i.e., San Luis), about 12 miles on Lake Hiamony, there was another fort ; northeast of this, about the same distance, there was a fort in the direction of the Mikosuky towns; besides, there were between St. Louis and the Suwaney (this fort included) five other fortifications, the most considerable of which were at Auscilla (probably Aspalaga) and Sanbala (probably Ayavala), about 26 miles west of the Suwaney. The Indians informed Capt. Burch that there was another a few miles from Mikosucky, where some brick walls were still visible." Another anonymous contributor¹⁵ says

15) Anonymous. From the *National Intelligencer. Pensacola Gazette*, April 24, 1824.

that "at Fort San Pedro is a large bell belonging to the monastery formerly established there, in a good state of preservation, and several brass 9-pounders, with their trunnions broken off. Williams (*ibid.*) says that on the west side of Suwannee river, and near San Pedro lake, there are ruins, nearly as extensive as those described in the vicinity of Tallahassee ; but the country is yet unsettled, and the objects of antiquity have not been much examined. A ruined monastery is particularly spoken of, the broken bell of which has long been an object of wonder to the Indians." He elsewhere¹⁶ states : "Sampala Lake, the San Pedro of the Spaniards, is situate in Madison county, on the north side of the eastern military road. * * It has an outlet into Foenahalloway, or Chattahatchee River." He was in error in stating the lake discharges into the Fenholloway. The outlet actually discharges into the Econfena river. The name Sampala is more likely a corruption of San Pablo rather than of San Pedro. On the Purcell-Stuart map the southern trail is shown to pass to the northward of a small lake with an outlet into the Aucilla via the bridge (Econfena) river. The latter was formerly thought to be a tributary of the Aucilla. About one-half mile to the northwest of the lake, the "ruins of San Pedro fort" are noted. It does not appear likely that the San Pedro pond of this map is identical with the lake at present called Sampala. The site of the first county courthouse (1828-38), of Madison county, known as San Pedro, is located about two miles east of Sampala lake, and is likely a significant site. This was in the n.w. 1/4 of Sect. 30 of T.1.S., R.9.E. (D. Fig. 3).

Since it is not unreasonable to assume that mission pueblos may have been located on or in the vi-

16) John Lee Williams. *The Territory of Florida*. (New York 1837) p. 59.

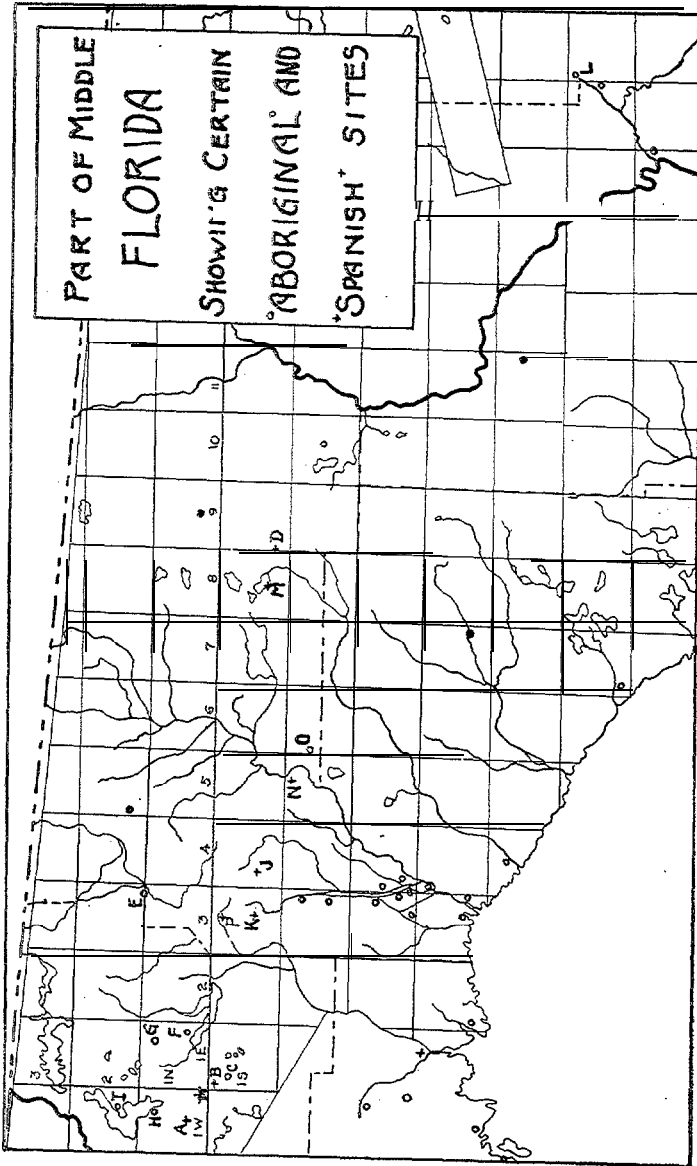


FIGURE 3

cinity of sites occupied by Indians in pre-Columbian time or later, it is desirable to note village sites preserved by the existence of mounds. Mounds of a size to be significant are known in the following positions in Leon county:

1) Miccosukee mound: About 1/2 mile west of the west shore of the lake, and the same distance south of U. S. Highway No. 90. It is somewhere near the intersection of the boundaries of Sects. 1 and 2 of T.1.N., R.3.E., with the complementary lines of Sect. 35 and 36 of T.2.N., R.3.E. It is about 30 feet in height and appears to have been originally pyramidal in form. (E. Fig. 3) This may actually lie in Jefferson county.

2) A large, low, flat-topped mound, lying north of Lake Lafayette in Sect. 26, T.1.N., R.1.E. (F. Fig. 3).

3) A large mound is found in the n.e. 1/4 of sect. 10 of the same township. (G.)

4) A group of large mounds is found on the west shore of the south arm of Lake Jackson in the east 1/2 of Sect. 10, T.1.N., R.1.W. (H.)

5) A large mound on the edge of the bluff overlooking the north shore of Lake Jackson, probably in the S.W. 1/4 of Sect. 23, T.2.N., R.1.W. (I.)

6) A large mound in the southwestern portion of Madison county, probably in Section 18, T.2.S., R.6.E. (O.)

It is further desirable to note sites where significant relics have been encountered in recent years. The most important was the discovery, while plowing, of several jars of characteristic Spanish style in a field in Sect. 20, T.1 S., R.4 W. (J). All except one of the specimens encountered were broken by the plow. The perfect specimen is now in the possession of Mr. Clarence Simpson of High Springs.

A second significant situation exists in Sec. 22, T.1 S., R.3.E., where irregular clumps of fire-hardened clay are encountered over an area of about an acre which bear the imprint of split sticks. The imprints suggest they were the mud daubed on the wall of stick and mud houses, (wattle and daub) rather than the daubing of an old stick and mud chimney. (K) A great deal of charred wood is present as well as numerous fragments of Spanish and aboriginal pottery, fused glass and some pieces of glazed modern earthenware. A third significant location is in Sect. 4, T.1 S., R.3 E, on the south side of Burnt Mill creek. In this situation there have been found fragments of Spanish pottery, and pieces of iron work. (P) The last two are traditionally regarded as Spanish sites in the neighborhood, the former known as the "fort," the latter as the "mission." Furthermore, mention should be made of a cache of about 40 spherical bronze bells varying from 1 1/4 to 3 inches in diameter, unearthed a few years ago about 2 miles south of Lamont (N). All of these locations are in Jefferson county. Numerous fragments of Spanish pottery, including the rounded necks of jars, have been found in the Itchetucknee river about one mile below the Spring (Columbia county). (L).

The localities mentioned are shown in Fig. 3, indicated by capital letters referring to the place in the text where they are discussed.

With this statement of meager fact and vague tradition, let us proceed to analyze the Calderon data in relation to the two routes discussed. We may attempt to ascertain the mile equivalent for the leagues Calderon employs, first considering the distance between two well-identified points, namely San Luis and the west bank of the St. Johns river.

According to Burch this distance is 179 miles, according to the itinerary on the Purcell-Stuart map (southern route) it is 196 miles. Calderon gives the distance between the same points as 78 leagues. Thus over the entire Purcell-Stuart route the league would have a value of 2.5 miles, over Burch's route 2.3 miles, a considerable discrepancy. If we consider the distance from the St. Johns to the Suwannee, which Calderon gives as 44 leagues, we find it to be 114 miles by Purcell-Stuart and 113 miles by Burch, or league values of 2.6 and 2.56 miles respectively, a very satisfactory agreement. Since the latter values coincide with the general conception of a league, it would appear that Calderon's statements of distance are to be taken seriously. Obviously then the discrepancies noted lie in the territory to the west of the Suwannee. Thus the distance from San Luis to the Suwannee crossing would, according to Purcell-Stuart, be 82 miles, according to Burch 66 miles. Calderon gives this distance as 34 leagues, which would give this unit values of 2.4 and 1.94 respectively. In view of their close previous correspondence it is obvious that some point has escaped attention. Turning to the map reproduced in Fig. 1, it is to be noted that from the text one gets the impression that the bishop travelled directly from San Pedro de Potohiriba to Santa Helena de Machaba and thence to San Matheo, but on the map the second is to the north and the third to the west of the first. It is therefore likely that the bishop meant the four leagues distance to San Matheo to be counted from San Pedro rather than Santa Helena. Assuming this to be the case, we shall deduct 2 leagues from the 34, leaving 32. Dividing the 82 miles of the Purcell-Stuart route by 32 gives 2.6 miles to the league, which closely corresponds with

its value east of the Suwannee, which, we believe, confirms the assumption. Examining the Burch mileage of 66 in this manner, we get a league value of a trifle over two miles. Apparently then, the Burch route over this distance was shorter than the route followed by Calderon.

Assuming then that Calderon's leagues are the equivalent of 2.6 miles, let us start out from the west bank of the St. Johns and mark off his leagues with dividers on the Purcell-Stuart route (Fig. 2a and b). The twenty lonesome leagues to Santa Fe would place this mission about 8 miles north of Gainesville, while the then abandoned San Francisco would have been approximately on the site of Gainesville. Twelve leagues from Santa Fe to Santa Catalina, would place this mission at about the head of Itchetucknee river, where the broken pots were found (L). Ajohica, 3 leagues distant was likely a village of unconverted Indians. Passing by Santa Cruz at 2 leagues, and going seven leagues further, we strike the east shore of the Suwannee river at the mission of San Juan. This point, where the road crossed, appears to have been from 2-3 miles below Charles Ferry where Burch's road crossed. Fitting these sites to Burch's route it not as satisfactory, despite the proximity of the two routes, since it throws Santa Catalina 2 miles west of Itchetucknee Spring. It thus would appear that the former route, for the distance between the St. Johns' and the Suwannee rivers, is probably identical with that travelled by Calderon.

Proceeding to lay off the leagues on the southern Purcell-Stuart route (Fig. 2) it will be seen that 10 leagues further takes us to the vicinity of Sampala Lake (San Pedro) (D) and that, putting Santa Helena off to the north, 6 leagues further places San

Miguel close to the Aucilla river, the boundary between Timuqua and Apalache since time immemorial. Continuing to mark off the distances, we note that San Joseph would fall east of the Miccosuckee mound (E), San Antonio north of the Lake Lafayette mound (F) and San Damian (Escambi) on the site of Tallahassee. However on Fig. 1, it will be noted that Escambi is shown to be north of San Luis instead of east. A passage¹⁷ in Delgado's papers suggests that the vicinity of Escambi may have been adapted to cattle raising. If we accept the northern rather than an eastern bearing from San Luis as marking the direction of Escambi, a league's distance will bring us to the vicinity of the group of mounds on Lake Jackson. At low water stages, the grassy meadows of the lake are still greatly prized for pasturage, as they may have been by Marcos Delgado.

Of the possible sites occupying intermediate positions along this route, that of the Miccosuckee mound (E) and that north of Lake Lafayette (F) are the only others tending to fall in approximately significant locations, while the identification of Escambi with the Tallahassee site appears for reasons given to be unsatisfactory. Let us then turn to the route of Burch. Proceeding westward from the Suwannee at the Purcell-Stuart crossing instead of Charles Ferry, and then passing to Burch's route, a ten leagues journey places San Pedro at about the site of the old county seat of Madison county (D) known by that name. Leaving Santa Helena off to the north as before, and marking off four and two leagues from San Pedro, then San Miguel falls to the eastward of the Aucilla. This might be in the

17) Boyd, Mark F., *Expedition of Marcos Delgado, 1686*. Fla. Hist. Quarterly XVI (1937-38) 12.

vicinity of Mound (0) in Madison county. Continuing westward through Jefferson county along the general line of Burch's route, it will be noted that the cache of bronze bells have come from San Lorenzo de Hibitachuco (N), San Francisco (Oconi) would fall near the site where the Spanish jars (J) were found, San Juan de Aspalaga near site (K) and San Joseph near site. (P). From San Joseph westward the bishop's described route is longer than it would have been had he travelled on Burch's road, obliging us to seek another solution for this area. Assuming that mission pueblos may have been in the vicinity of mound sites 2 (F), 3 (G) and 4 (H) we find that four leagues along a hypothetical route from the last assumed position of San Joseph, which passes along the north shore of Lake Lafayette, and crosses the swampy north arm, takes us to a point in the general vicinity of mound site 2 (F) (Fig. 2b). Hence this neighborhood may be the site of San Pedro de Patale rather than San Antonio. From this point to mound 3 (G) is roughly 2 leagues, the requisite distance to San Antonio; from site 3 to site 4 (H) is again two leagues, the distance from San Antonio to San Damian (Escambi) on Lake Jackson, bringing us to a position north of San Luis, one league distant. This assumption gives the best fit of the two considered.

One league distant from San Luis, according to Calderon, lies La Purificacion de Tama, which may have occupied the site within the city of Tallahassee (B). One league further would carry us to San Martin de Tomali, perhaps the site Williams describes on the McIvor place (C). Assumpcion del Puerto, lying four leagues from San Martin, was likely in the vicinity of the rises of either the Wakulla or St. Marks rivers.

Thus it is shown that of the seventeen missions described by Calderon as lying west of the Suwannee it is possible, by making certain reasonable assumptions relating to the position of Santa Helena and San Damian from the mission map, to assign a location along a modified Burch route west of the Suwannee river to all which Calderon enumerates as lying in Apalache, in positions consistent with the distances he gives, of which hypothetical sites, thirteen have some definite objective reason for being considered in this connection.

It has been noted that the 1680 list and the map of 1683 give two places not on Calderon's list. It should be noted that La Purificacion de Tama appears only on Calderon's list, although on the 1680 list there is introduced Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria de la Tama, which we suspect may be the same. Medellin on the 1683 map does not appear to have a counterpart on the previous lists.

It should further be noted that the interpretation here favored as most consistent, does not attempt to name sites in the vicinity of Lakes Iamonia or Miccosukee, although American authorities herein quoted refer to the existence at one time of ruins in those vicinities. This is however consistent for the period studied, and may perhaps hold good up to the period of Moore's raid. The impression has been general, that following this assault, the missions were extinguished. There is no positive reason to believe this, and from the Spanish side there are encountered fragmentary data which lead to the suspicion that the effect of Moore's raid may not have been as permanently devastating as he boasted. It would appear that in the course of time the frailes gathered together considerable numbers of their scattered charges, and reorganized the doctrinas or

mission villages, perhaps on different sites. This view is confirmed by a letter ¹⁸ from Governor Don Antonio de Benavides to the King, written from San Marcos de Apalache on the 8th of February, 1732, in which are listed eight settlements of Timuquan Indians bearing the XVIIth century names, and thirteen villages of Apalachee Indians which perpetuate the names of the villages of the previous century. This letter discusses plans for colonization in Apalache, with the establishment of a *villa* or *ciudad* at La Tama, and the construction of fortifications at La Tama and San Marcos. Certainly the bell ¹⁹ recovered from a lake in Madison county (said to be Sampala) which bears the date of 1758 (M), cannot be assigned to the XVIIth century period here considered.

In view of the deductions we have made from the relative positions of San Pedro and Machaba, and San Luis and Escambi on the map (Ref. 6), Fig. 1, attention should be called to the fact that on this same map Bacuca and Pueblo Patale are shown to lie to the northwest of San Luis, beyond Escambi, in positions that are absolutely irreconcilable with the distances and intervals given by Calderon. Of course both might be correct if the location of these villages had been changed in the interval elapsing between Calderon's visit and the drafting of the map.

No claim is made to have positively located, with the exception of San Luis, the site of any of the missions which Calderon describes. It is believed

18) Benavides, Don Antonio de. to the King, San Marcos de Apalache, Feb. 8, 1732. Buckingham Smith (MSS.) Library New York State Historical Society. Robertson, No. 1945.

19) Williams, Emma Rochelle, *The Bell of a Florida Spanish Mission*. Fla. Hist. Soc. Quart. V (1926-27) 159.

however, that the goodness of fit of his distances to the routes considered is more than a coincidence, and that the missions existed in the neighborhood of, or within a reasonable radius of, the localities mentioned. Further study may assign a provisional location to La Concepcion. In any event, however, all from San Lorenzo to San Joseph very evidently lay in the present Jefferson county.