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SPANISH-INDIAN RELATIONS IN FLORIDA 1602-1675: SOME ASPECTS OF SELECTED VISITAS

by FRED LAMAR PEARSON, JR.

THE *visita* or inspection was an institution which dated back at least to the Egyptians and Persians. Spain, in particular, employed the investigation most efficiently to increase royal authority by acquiring political, economic, social, religious, and other types of information. The Laws of the Indies spelled out the form visitations should take. *Visitadores*, for example, had to announce their purpose upon arrival. They had to begin their work in the principal city of the area under investigation, check on fiscal conditions, and determine in the course of their inquiry whether crown law had been observed. Moreover, the *leyes* required the chief political officer of the area to assist the *visitador* in his examination.¹

While the *visita* assumed a much greater importance in vice-royalties such as New Granada, Spanish officials also used the institution in borderland areas such as *La Florida*. Spain colonized Florida in 1565, but the colony grew slowly, for the Spaniards looked upon it primarily as part of a defensive bulwark which gave protection to more important areas such as New Spain. Florida's particular function was to protect the Bahama Channel through which the flota and other ships returned to Spain. The Crown also envisaged help coming from St. Augustine to aid ships disabled by storms and to rescue stranded mariners. Essentially, the Florida populace consisted of soldiers, priests, and Indians. The military quota for Florida did not exceed 355 soldiers until 1753, labeling the area as essentially defensive in character.²

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1. Herbert Ingram Priestly, *José de Gálvez: Visitor-General of New Spain (1765-1771)* (Berkeley, 1916), 83-134.
2. Charles W. Arnade, *The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702* (Gainesville, 1959), 11. The *Reglamento* or New Law of 1753 increased the military complement from 355 to 460. See John Jay TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida: 1700-1763* (Durham, 1964), 156.

Florida, for all practical purposes, consisted of three administrative provinces: Guale,³ the coastal area of Georgia; Timucua,⁴ which centered around Gainesville; and Apalachee,⁵ which had as its nucleus, Tallahassee. Both priests and soldiers served in these areas. The mission and the presidio existed sometimes side by side. Since there was a limited military commitment in Florida, the Crown relied heavily on the Franciscans to maintain order in the provinces.⁶

A significant visitation occurred in Florida in 1602. It was essentially political in nature, and as such it reflected on the administration of Governor Gonzalo Méndez Canzo. It came as no real surprise, for Floridians had been complaining about the St. Augustine settlement for several years. The poor soil,⁷ inadequate subsidy,⁸ and shallow bar of the harbor constituted the bulk of complaints. Some suggested the relocation of the capital in a more favorable area while others sought to maintain it.⁹ The Indian rebellion in Guale (1597-1600) which resulted in the death of several priests and the withdrawal of the Franciscans

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3. Guale extended essentially from St. Catherine's Island down to the St. Johns River. See document dated August 24, 1675, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, *estante* 58, *cajon* 1, *legajo* 26, no. 38, photostat in Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. (Archivo General photostats and transcripts will hereinafter be cited AGI; Stetson Collection photostats will be noted SC.) This document revises the southern limit of Guale as set forth in John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 73 (Washington, 1922), 80, and in David I. Bushnell, Jr., *Native Villages and Village Sites East of the Mississippi*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 69 (Washington, 1919), 15, 89.
 4. Timucua extended essentially west from the St. Johns River to the Aucilla and south as far as Tampa. Bushnell, *Native Villages*, 15, 89; Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 320-30.
 5. The Aucilla River to the east and the Ocklochnee to the west defined the boundaries of Apalachee. See Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 110.
 6. Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, XXIII (October 1917), 47; Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville, 1965), 49-67; John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 136-90.
 7. Charles W. Arnade, *Florida on Trial, 1593-1602* (Coral Gables, 1959), 18-19.
 8. Verne E. Chatelaine, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763*, Carnegie Institution, Publication 511 (Washington, 1941), 9; Arnade, *Florida On Trial*, 10.
 9. Arnade, *Florida on Trial*, 11-12.

from the missions brought matters to a head.¹⁰ Although Governor Canzo put down the uprising, the Crown decided that an investigation of Florida was in order.¹¹

On November 5, 1600, King Philip III directed Governor Pedro Valdés of Cuba to conduct the inspection of Florida. Noting the unfavorable reports which he had received, the King ordered Valdés to report on these and other matters.¹² Essentially three possible courses of action existed: to reduce the importance of St. Augustine as the primary base and concentrate on Santa Elena or a deepwater site in Guale; to abandon St. Augustine completely; or to remove the defensive and missions system from Florida and concentrate protection for the Bahama Channel in Cuba. Valdés chose not to go to Florida, and in the fall of 1602 sent his son Fernando in his stead. Fernando Valdés conducted the inquiry at St. Augustine, where he heard first the testimony of eighteen Floridians— some of whom had served in the area for forty years. Seventeen of these witnesses stressed the importance of maintaining St. Augustine, arguing that a foreign power might occupy the place if Spain abandoned it. They agreed that Florida was no “otro Mexico,” and their testimony revealed that the inability to produce food was probably the colony’s most urgent problem. Several witnesses pointed out that while better harbors existed north of St. Augustine, it was necessary, in view of potential enemy designs, to maintain the capital presidio.¹³

Valdés next questioned local royal officials: the accountant Bartolomé Argüelles, the treasurer Juan Menéndez Marqués, and the factor Alonso Las Alas. Governor Canzo received no subpoena. Argüelles favored moving the capital to a deepwater site further north, although he noted the obvious risks should St. Augustine be abandoned— the priests would have no protection from the Indians, and there would be little or no help for ship wrecked sailors. Treasurer Menéndez Marqués dwelt on St.

10. J. G. Johnson, “The Yamasee Revolt of 1597 and the Destruction of the Georgia Missions,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VII (March 1923), 44-53; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 82-100.

11. Mary Ross, “The Restoration of the Spanish Missions in Georgia, 1598-1606,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, X (September 1926), 171-99; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 100-10.

12. Arnade, *Florida on Trial*, 19-20; Ross, “Restoration of the Spanish Missions,” 176; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 120-21.

13. Arnade, *Florida on Trial*, 20-43; Ross, “Restoration of the Spanish Missions,” 176; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 121-25.

Augustine's economic difficulties. He too spoke in favorable terms of deeper bays to the north, but did not give a definite answer with respect to dismantling the presidio. On the other hand, Las Alas, the factor, pointed out in detail the agricultural perplexities which plagued Florida. He straddled the fence, however, on the withdrawal question and refused to commit himself to the abandonment of St. Augustine.¹⁴

Fernando Valdés obtained the remainder of his information on Florida from the Franciscan fathers. Four friars presented written depositions in which they noted that Indian problems had arisen because of inadequate support which the governors, including Canzo, had given to the missionary effort. There was a need for additional priests, and they favored relocation near a more suitable harbor.¹⁵ This testimony concluded the investigation, and Valdés departed Florida shortly afterwards with the fate of St. Augustine hanging in the balance.

Although Governor Canzo had not testified, he wrote to the Crown immediately prior to Valdés's departure for Cuba. He was determined to save St. Augustine, and told of his personal efforts to stimulate agriculture. He cited Tama, a vague region west of Guale in interior Georgia, as a possible solution to the food problem. Canzo emphasized the need to maintain St. Augustine for defensive reasons and to provide a haven for stranded mariners. Early in 1603, he set out to inspect Guale, unaware of developments in Spain. He returned to St. Augustine pleased with the peaceful conditions which prevailed in the villages, and he made plans to return the Franciscans to the missions, vacant since 1597. The Crown had reached its decision in the interim. St. Augustine was saved, but Canzo lost his governorship; the task of restoring the mission system fell to Pedro de Ybarra, his replacement.¹⁶

The new governor, determined to re-establish a complete mission effort in Guale, sent detachments of priests into that area as they arrived at St. Augustine.¹⁷ In 1606 Juan de la Cabezas de Altamirano, Bishop of Cuba, conducted an episcopal inspection of Florida. Arriving March 15 aboard a pirate vessel cap-

14. Arnade, *Florida on Trial*, 44-59.

15. *Ibid.*, 60-70; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 121-22.

16. Arnade, *Florida on Trial*, 71-80; Ross, "Restoration of the Spanish Missions," 176.

17. Ross, "Restoration of the Spanish Missions," 183-86.

tured from the English, the bishop spent his first few days in St. Augustine administering rites of ordination to twenty men and confirmation to some 350 individuals.¹⁸

Altamirano began his inspection of Indian towns in Nombre de Dios on April 2. The Indians in Guale received him graciously. He noted the impoverished condition of some villages, and furnished supplies so that the neophytes-chiefs and subjects— could be confirmed. Encouraging the Indians to cultivate the attributes of Christianity, Altamirano returned to St. Augustine to prepare for his inspection of the Timucuan missions.¹⁹

Inclement weather delayed his departure for a while, but by the end of May the prelate set out on his mission. Here, as in Guale, the bishop supplied what was needed for the religious rites. The visitation ended July 19. Altamirano counted more than 2,000 Indians and Spaniards that had been confirmed.²⁰

As the Franciscan Order sought to widen its contact with the Indians, the linguistic talent of Father Francisco Pareja proved especially useful, for he had mastered the Timucuan language, devised a grammar and dictionary, and had written religious tracts in the Indian dialect. Likewise, Father Martin Prieto also played a useful role in extending the Franciscan effort into western Timucua. He visited the province in 1607, and the Apalachee towns the following year. The Franciscans did not, however, begin a mission program in Apalachee until 1633.²¹

Meanwhile, the pastoral efforts enjoyed success. Father Luis Gerónimo de Oré was favorably impressed with his visit to Guale and Timucua in 1614. His impressions of the area, which included the testimony of Fathers Pareja and Prieto, provides a glimpse of Indian customs in the early seventeenth century. Accordingly, Father Pareja gave this account of an Indian brew:

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18. Relación de la visita de las Provincias de la Florida fecha por el obispo de Cuba al Rey N^{ro} S^o en su real consejo de Indias, June 27, 1606, AGI 54-5-20, SC; Ross, "Restoration of the Spanish Missions," 190; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 152; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 46.
 19. Relación de la visita fecha por el obispo de Cuba, June 27, 1606, AGI 54-5-20, SC; Ross, "Restoration of the Spanish Missions," 190-98; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 153-59; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 46.
 20. Relación de la visita fecha por el obispo de Cuba, June 27, 1606, AGI 54-5-20, SC; Ross, "Restoration of the Spanish Missions," 198-99; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 159-60; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 47.
 21. Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 9, 166; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 51-53.

There is no need of treating of drunkenness, for their drink does not cause it; even many of the religious are not without it. It is made of some leaves of the oak tree. This is toasted dry in a pot or jar placed in water. Immediately they pour water upon it to a point where it is neither hot nor cold. Nor do they mix any other thing with it. It is good for preventing stones and small accretions in the kidneys, as well as a preventative against pain in the side. For this reason it has been taken to Spain and New Spain.²²

Father Prieto described Apalachee, which he visited in 1608, as "a land most productive in food: maize, beans and pumpkins."²³ Of Indian dress habits, he observed, "The Indians are as naked as when their mothers brought them forth."²⁴ Certainly he exaggerated when he reported more than 30,000²⁵ Indians at Juitachuco.²⁶

Father Oré returned to Florida in November 1616, to inspect again the state of religious affairs at St. Augustine and in the provinces. Most of his journey was by foot, having declined Governor Juan de Treviño Guillamas's offer of a horse. In Guale and Timucua, the Indians impressed the prelate with their knowledge of dogma and the catechism. Many of the children knew the ritual so well that they participated in the offering of the Mass, and some of the Indians knew how to read and write.²⁷ In St. Augustine he

published an edict against the public vices which the presidio soldiers engaged in, naming in particular the Fiscal and the Notary of that group who did these things with the permission and blessing of the Governor, and he corrected those abuses that he could without offending anyone, and he did it with the prudence and restraint which it is necessary to have among soldiers.²⁸

22. Luis Gerónimo de Oré, "The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616)," Maynard Geiger, transl. and ed., *Franciscan Studies*, XVIII (July 1936), 106.

23. *Ibid.*, 118.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, 116.

26. Juitachuco was undoubtedly San Lorenzo de Hibitachuco.

27. Luis Gerónimo de Oré, *Relación histórica de la Florida, escrita en el siglo XVII*, P. Atanasio López, ed. (Madrid, 1931), 119-22.

28. *Ibid.*, 121.

Nevertheless, when Oré completed his investigation, he was essentially pleased with the church's activities in Florida.

The Franciscan missionary program prospered between 1616 and 1675, but there were never enough friars, and disease, inadequate supplies, rebellions, and opposition of the civil authorities hindered the work of the priests.²⁹ In Apalachee the fertility of the soil sustained a sizable Indian population, and the fathers enjoyed some success there. Within a decade Governor Damián de Vega Castro y Pardo reported over 1,000 converts.³⁰ The Apalachees revolted in 1647, but the uprising does not seem to have retarded seriously the mission program. In 1655 there were some seventy Franciscans serving approximately 26,000 Indians in thirty-eight missions.³¹

In 1656 a rebellion began in Timucua which spread to neighboring Apalachee. Governor Diego de Rebolledo dispatched Sargento-Mayor Adrián de Cañicares and sixty infantrymen to quell the disorder. The Timucuan were subdued and several were executed to serve as an example to would-be trouble makers. The Apalachees, who had not participated actively in the revolt were not punished, although Rebolledo increased the Apalachee garrison to twelve to prevent future trouble.³² The authorities at St. Augustine argued over the causes of the rebellion. Rebolledo blamed the Franciscans, and they, in turn, charged that the soldiers' mistreatment of the Indians had precipitated the uprising.

In November 1656, Rebolledo conducted a visita in Timucua and Apalachee. He visited eleven towns in Apalachee where the natives testified that they had not been mistreated; they asserted that the soldiers had set such excellent examples of conduct that

29. Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 166.

30. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos Históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, Siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1912), 198.

31. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 57.

32. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 338. Apparently the commander and two soldiers had been stationed in Apalachee for observation purposes since the administration of Governor Damián de Vega Castro y Pardo (1638-1645). See Testimonio de la visita clue se hizo en la provincia de apalachee y timucua fha por el Señor Don Diego de Rebolledo caballero del horden de Santiago governador y capitán general de las provincias de la Florida por su Magestad, Notificación y Repuesta, August 5, 1657, AGI; Escribania de Camara (hereinafter referred to as EC), legajo 155, SC.

the Indians looked forward to their arrival. They were also pleased with the decision to station a garrison in their midst.³³

The Apalachees felt differently about the Franciscans, however. They complained that the friars had forced them to carry cargoes, sometimes as far as St. Augustine, for which they received no pay. The fathers had prevented them from assisting the soldiers, and had even prohibited the ballgame and other ceremonial dances—practices which had been tolerated earlier. Some friars had flogged Indians— even caciques— without justification, and the Indians in one village claimed a Franciscan had broken food containers because the Indians had cooked too slowly.³⁴

Concluding the Apalachee investigation, Governor Rebolledo began his inspection of Timucua. Because of the distance between towns, he instructed the caciques to assemble at San Pedro de Potohiriba. Rebolledo made short shrift of the investigation. He conferred a cacicazgo to an applicant, supported a cacique's plan to relocate his village, and ordered a minor chief to render obedience to one of greater stature.³⁵

For present-day consideration, however, a strange aura hovers over the visita proceedings. The rebellion occurred mainly in Timucua, yet the governor began his investigation in Apalachee, visiting some eleven Apalachee towns, which required almost a month. On the other hand, in Timucua, the focus of rebellion, Rebolledo apparently did not probe into the causes of the trouble since the testimony fails to mention it. Rather, the caciques dwelt on domestic problems. Perhaps Rebolledo chose not to press the matter, or the Indians, fearful of reprisal, elected not to discuss it. The pattern of praising the soldiers and condemning the

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33. Vicita de San Damián de Cupaica, January 17, 1657; Vicita del lugar (Santa María de Bacuqua), January 19, 1657; Vicita del lugar de San Luis (de Xinaica), January 22, 1657; Vicita del lugar de San Juan de Azpalaga, January 22, 1657; Vicita del lugar San Martin de Tomoli, January 23, 1657; Vicita de San Joseph de Ocuya, February 5, 1657; Vicita del lugar San Lorenzo de Ibitachuco, February 7, 1657, AGE:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.
34. Vicita de San Damián de Cupaica, January 17, 1657; Vicita del lugar de San Juan de Azpalaga, January 22, 1657; Vicita de San Joseph de Ocuya, February 5, 1657; Vicita del lugar San Lorenzo de Ibitachuco, February 7, 1657; Vicita del lugar (Santa María) de Bacuqua, January 19, 1657; Vicita del lugar de San Luis (de Xinaica), January 22, 1657, AGE:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.
35. Vicita del lugar de San Pedro (de Potohiriba) y demás caciques de Ustaca (Timucua), February 13, 1657; Otra Vicita (San Pedro de Potohiriba), February 13, 1657, AGE:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

friars— so typical in Apalachee— did not materialize in Timucua.

Governor Rebolledo returned to St. Augustine apparently convinced that he had sufficient evidence to prove the Indians had rebelled because the Franciscans were mistreating them. Without fail, the natives testified that the soldiers had treated them well and that the Franciscans had abused them. On the surface at least, Governor Rebolledo believed he had ample evidence to absolve his administration of any blame for the rebellion; the blame rested with the friars, not the soldiers.

Rebolledo continued to collect evidence after his return to St. Augustine. Sargento-Mayor Cañicares reported from Apalachee that the Franciscan Provincial, Father Francisco de San Antonio, had come to the province shortly after the governor's departure, apparently to carry out a secret investigation. Cañicares insinuated that the Provincial and the Franciscans were encouraging the Indians to complain about the soldiers to get the Apalachee garrison withdrawn. He submitted as evidence Cacique Martin's request for a reduction in the garrison size from twelve to six soldiers because of supposed food shortages. According to Cañicares the conduct of Father Alonso del Moral of Apalachee and Father Bamba of Timucua had been most disquieting and suggested their recall.³⁶

The Franciscans reacted vigorously to the attempt to blame them for the rebellion. They opposed increasing the Apalachee garrison from three to twelve, arguing that it was the soldiers who had mistreated the Indians, and that more soldiers could lead to more abuses. The trouble, they argued, stemmed from the work the military had forced the Indians to do. The Indians had praised the soldiers, the fathers claimed, because they thought they might be punished if they did not. They cited the fact that the execution of eleven Timucuan caciques had served as a grim reminder to the Indians. Father Provincial San Antonio had informed the Crown about the unfortunate conditions which prevailed in the provinces. While they predated Rebolledo's administration, the prelate insisted that they had reached a nadir during his tenure of office. Admitting the validity of three men for

36. Sargento-Mayor Adrián de Cañicares to Governor Rebolledo, May 8, 1657; May 21, 1657; Adjutant Pedro de la Puerta to Governor Rebolledo, July 12, 1657; Sargento-Mayor Adrián de Cañicares to Governor Rebolledo, July 18, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

observation purposes, San Antonio protested the Crown's decision to increase the Apalachee garrison to twelve.³⁷

Rebolledo vigorously defended the decision to increase the garrison. Troops had been stationed first in Apalachee during the administration of Governor Damián de Vega Castro y Pardo (1638-1645), and the garrison had remained until Governor Pedro Benedit Horruytiner recalled it in 1648 as a result of a Franciscan request. According to Rebolledo, when Havana authorities had urged him to station an observation force near St. Marks to prevent enemy intrusions in Apalachee, he had dispatched Captain Antonio de Sartucha and two infantrymen to the area in 1651. Factors other than the rebellion, the governor claimed, had influenced his decision to increase the garrison. According to Rebolledo, the Franciscans had requested the increase, and the Indians wanted protection from heathen Indians living outside the province. Rebolledo emphasized his desire for harmonious relations in the provinces, and he delegated Sargento-Mayor Cañicares, purportedly a good friend of the Franciscans, to achieve that goal. The Indians, the governor noted again, had not criticized the soldiers, but were unhappy with the priests. He felt that it was the church's efforts to dominate the provinces which had caused the problems. Upon Captain Sartucha's arrival in Apalachee, six Franciscans had departed and had drowned on the way to Havana. Rebolledo claimed there was no reason for their departure in the first place. He urged the Father Provincial to withdraw priests such as Father Alonso del Moral who caused trouble. The governor urged church cooperation, but he insisted that he would brook no interference with the defensive needs of Florida.³⁸

Shortly afterwards, Rebolledo scolded the Provincial again for sending priests such as Father Moral to Apalachee.³⁹ The Provincial asked Juan Moreno y Segovia, the public and governmental notary, to give him a copy of the governor's note for his files. This request was refused.⁴⁰ When the notary informed the

37. (Franciscan) *Petición* (to Governor Rebolledo), August 4, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

38. (Governor Rebolledo's) *Notificación y Repuesta* (to the Franciscans), August 5, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

39. *Exortación y Requerimiento*, August 11, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

40. *Petición* (of the Father Provincial and the Franciscans to Governor Rebolledo), August 11, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

governor of the Provincial's request, Rebolledo announced that he had reached the end of his patience with the Franciscans.⁴¹ The Father Provincial, in an undated petition, stated that Rebolledo had not substantiated his charges and that there was no reason to remove the priests until there was evidence of their wrongdoing.⁴² Rebolledo countered with the charge that the Provincial had consistently skirted the issue; resolving the Florida controversy seemed futile, and he intended to refer his case to the Consejo de Indias.⁴³

The council received the Rebolledo documents, the Franciscan correspondence, and additional letters which tended to bolster the Franciscan case. Friar Juan Gómez claimed that Rebolledo's predecessor had forced 200 Indians to carry cargo to St. Augustine, and that few of them had ever returned. It was this kind of harsh treatment, he felt, which had caused the Indian revolt. Rebolledo, according to Father Gómez, had reacted too stringently to put down the rebellion.⁴⁴ An unsigned letter protested treatment of the garrison at St. Augustine. In July 1657, the council recommended the governor's removal, but fate stepped in and Rebolledo died before he could be punished.⁴⁵

The council's action encouraged the Franciscans, and they planned to reestablish their mission program. Inadequate supplies, disease, and climate, however, were continuing problems. The friars also resented the presence of an increased garrison, but the Crown refused to order either its reduction or withdrawal. In fact, the government increased the number, so that by 1662 there were forty soldiers on duty.⁴⁶

41. Repuesta (of Governor Robellido to the Franciscan Petición), August 17, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

42. Petición (of the Father Provincial San Antonio), n.d., AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

43. Repuesta (of Governor Rebolledo to the Franciscans), August 19, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

44. Letter from Friar Juan Gómez, March 13, 1657; Friar Juan Gómez to Father Francisco Martínez, Comisario de la Provincia de Florida, April 4, 1657, Document 74, AGI 54-5-10, SC.

45. Council of the Indies to the Crown, June 15, 1657, Document 68, AGI 53-1-6, SC; July 1, 1657, Document 75, AGI 54-5-10, SC; July 7, 1657, Document 70, AGI 53-1-6, SC.

46. Governor Aranjúiz y Cotes to the Crown, August 8, 1662, Document 8, AGI 58-2-2, SC; Lucy L. Wenhold, "The First Fort of San Marcos de Apalachee," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIV (April 1956), 301-14; Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr., "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Georgia Country: 1670-1691," in Eugene R. Huck and Edward H. Moseley, eds., *Militarists*,

For some twenty years after 1657 the missions flourished. The visitation of Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón in 1675 documents an active church program. Bishop Calderón confirmed some 13,152 Indians in the course of his visita.⁴⁷ He observed that "The women wear only a sort of tunic that wraps them from the neck to the feet, and which they make of the pearl-colored foliage of trees, which they call guano and which costs them nothing except to gather it. Four thousand and eighty-one women, whom I found in the villages naked from the waist up and from the knees down, I caused to be clothed in this grass like the others."⁴⁸

His description of cazina differed from the one Oré had described: "Their greatest luxury is a drink which they make from a weed that grows on the seacoast, which they cook and drink hot and which they call *cazina*. It becomes very bitter and is worse than beer, although it does not intoxicate them and is beneficial."⁴⁹ The devotion of the Indians to their caciques and to the church impressed the bishop. The large number of confirmations was reason enough for the bishop to conclude that the mission program was succeeding.

In retrospect, the Spanish visita in colonial Florida concerned itself with virtually all aspects of the society. The importance of

Merchants, and Missionaries: United States Expansion in Middle America (University, Alabama, 1970), 5-22; José Miguel Gallardo, transl., "The Spaniards and the English Settlement in Charles Town," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XVIII (January 1917), 54-56; Katherine Reding, transl. and ed., "Notes and Documents: Plans for the Colonization and Defense of Apalachee, 1675," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, IX (June 1925), 169-70.

47. Lucy L. Wenhold, transl. and ed., *A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and the Indian Missions of Florida*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 95, No. 16 (Washington, 1936), 12.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.* Oré's description of cazina was of a beverage made from the leaves of the oak tree. The Indians also brewed the leaves of the holly (ilex vomitoria) tree to make the Black Drink or cazina. This particular drink produced nausea when the Indians consumed it, and they used it on ceremonial occasions. At the Ockmulgee State Park at Macon, Georgia, one can see special holes constructed in the earth lodge which served as receptacles. How an Indian could have gone into battle or played the ball game after consuming such a vile drink is difficult to imagine. See John R. Swanton, *Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Forty-Second Annual Report (Washington, 1928), 192-95; Benjamin Hawkins, "A Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, III (Savannah, 1848), 69.

a particular inspection ranged from an overview of the area, to an in-depth study of a particular province or a special problem. Perhaps from a total view of the period under consideration, the Valdés visita in 1602 ranks as the most important. In this instance, the future of the St. Augustine settlement hung in the balance. A full-scale investigation of Florida resulted, and on the basis of the evidence, the Crown decided to maintain the capital but to remove the governor. Religious matters were the especial concern of visitadores who came to Florida in 1606, 1616, and 1675. These investigations reflected the success which the Franciscans had achieved.

The inspection which Governor Rebolledo conducted in 1657 developed into a classic civil-religious confrontation. Ostensibly, he visited Timucua and Apalachee to determine the causes of the insurrection of 1656. However, his effort to use the visita to exonerate his administration failed, and the Council of the Indies removed him from office. The Calderón inspection of 1675 examined the Franciscan missions at the apex of their development, for steadily increasing pressure by the English caused the mission program to decline progressively thereafter. This investigation demonstrated the effectiveness of a mission system based to a very large degree on hard work.

All of the visitas dealt to a significant degree with the Indian. Collectively, they provide insight into his customs and habits and the acculturations which resulted from Spanish contact. The religious inspections, in particular, commented on his costume or the relative lack of it, his response to religious instruction, his agricultural practices, and the beverages which he consumed such as cazina. Population data which the visitas reveal, however, must be used guardedly, for the friars tended to exaggerate the Indian count. The visita, whether religious or civil, furnishes significant data to the historian, anthropologist, and ethnologist who engage in research in Hispanic Florida.