

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS

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A 17TH CENTURY LETTER OF GABRIEL DIAZ VARA
CALDERÓN, BISHOP OF CUBA, DESCRIBING THE
INDIANS AND INDIAN MISSIONS OF FLORIDA

(WITH 12 PLATES)

TRANSCRIBED AND TRANSLATED BY

LUCY L. WENHOLD

Salem College, Winston-Salem, N. C.

INTRODUCTION BY JOHN R. SWANTON



(PUBLICATION 3398)

CITY OF WASHINGTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
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The original of the letter described herein is in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, Spain. Photocopies are owned by the Florida State Historical Society and the North Carolina State Historical Commission, but, in view of its special interest for Floridians, it is hardly less than miraculous that it should have been brought to the attention of scholars through the latter. For this outcome we are especially indebted to Dr. Lucy L. Wenhold, of Salem College, Winston-Salem, N. C., who chanced upon it while examining and transcribing some of the documents of the Commission. From time to time Dr. Wenhold had been kind enough to refer to me such translations as she thought might interest the Bureau of American Ethnology in its work, and this letter happened to be among them.

In the invaluable "List of Documents in Spanish Archives relating to the History of the United States, which have been Printed or of which Transcripts are Preserved in American Libraries", compiled by Dr. James A. Robertson, are cited copies of two other letters by Bishop Calderón, both dated June 8, 1675, and preserved in the Buckingham Smith Collection of the New York State Historical Society. They were written at Havana, one addressed to Juan de Mendoza Escalante, and the other to the Conde de Medellin, of the Council of the Indies. The original of the former is in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, and of the latter in the Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo. A third letter written at Havana August 14, 1674, in a hand different from the Bishop's own or that of the accompanying memoir, is of more interest to us because it refers to the visit to

Florida Calderón was about to undertake. Dr. Wenhold translates it as follows:

[The Bishop of Cuba to the Queen]

SEÑORA:

Your Majesty is pleased to command me, in the two royal cédulas of the 4th of March of the year 73, to visit at this time the provinces of Florida and apply the proper remedy in the matter presented to Your Majesty by the Bishop of the city, Rodrigo, my predecessor here. No bishop has gone there [to Florida] in more than 60 years, and the presence of one is needed, not only to celebrate confirmations and correct the faults and abuses that have come in during so long a time in the case of [a] people so recently converted, and to investigate the state in which the priests of San Francisco have the work of converting the Indians and the instruction of the converts under their care, but also to lend encouragement to the converting of the Indians of the province of Apalachocoli who have for years been asking that missionaries be sent to teach and baptize them; a request never yet granted for lack [of missionaries]. In this field the Bishop believes the Dominican priests of this city would accomplish much.

Señora, this my predecessor said to me in the city of San Lucar where I was by order, awaiting the first opportunity of passage to this incumbency. I replied to him that I wished first to come to the city of Cuba,^a seat of this bishopric, visiting it, and to go then to the mission. Accordingly, as soon as I entered this city, obeying your Majesty I began to plan for the carrying out of that purpose. Having now completed the visitation of this entire island, I have it in such good condition that within 8 days under the favor of God I shall set forth.

And because (although I recognize the great zeal of the Dominican priests, who have offered themselves to me willingly), to take them now would be to introduce great discord with the Franciscans and jeopardize the conversion of those miserable heathen, it has seemed to me wiser to make use of the latter, both because they are well versed in that language and because they are in control of the entire province of Apalache which borders upon that of Apalachocoli. [I go] to investigate first the condition of that land, and then to enter upon the work of conversion for which I am taking chalices and all the necessary vestments of the Divine Cult. May it please Our Lord that the holy zeal of Your Majesty attain its end for the greater glory of the Divine One and the salvation of those souls.

May Our Lord keep the Catholic Royal Person of Your Majesty in His holy grace with health and complete felicity to the greatest good of Your vassals.

Your Majesty's humble servant and chaplain,

GABRIEL, Bishop of Cuba.

Havana,

August 14, 1674.

In the present material, the main narrative, addressed to the Queen of Spain, is written, as will be seen, in a clear hand, probably that of some secretary. It was accompanied by a brief note in the far less legible script of the Bishop himself, directed to the secretary of the

^a Havana.

Council of the Indies. Dr. Wenhold has supplied the following translation of this epistle:

MY LORD:

In the despatch-ship which went out from here last month, I gave you felicitations on your elevation to the Secretaryship, then hoping to give them to you [also] as Secretary of State.

With this goes a packet to Her Majesty with my brief summary account of all that I have discovered in the territory of the provinces of Florida, conversions that I have made and characteristics of the Indians, [I] being by the Divine Mercy the first to tread those lands. And to the hands of the President went my map of the country. It is duplicated by this; and in the one [go] the original *autos* that have resulted from the visitation, and in the other an authenticated copy of them.

I remain at your service for all that you may be pleased to command me, to which I shall respond with good will. May God keep you many years.

Your humble servant kisses your hands,

GABRIEL, Bishop of Cuba.

Havana,

January 4, 1676,

To Señor Don Antonio de Rojas.

From the annotations accompanying this document it appears that it was "received with the galleons", taken up at the April session of the Council of the Indies, and referred to the attorney general, who stated that no report need be made in connection with it but that it should be kept in the office of the secretary. The Council took the action recommended on July 12, 1676, and it was furthermore commanded "that the Bishop be thanked for the work he has accomplished and urged to continue it."

From the same body of material Dr. Wenhold has obtained another letter from the Bishop, this one written in the same hand as the main document, presumably by that of the Bishop's secretary. It bears an earlier date than the above and was probably prepared immediately after Calderón returned to Cuba.

SEÑORA:

Your Majesty is pleased to command me, by the royal cédula of June 24, of this year, to apply some financial aid to the repairing of the convent of San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial.

The financial obligations, Señora, which I have, with the expenditures I made during the visit to the provinces of Florida, where I maintained eight months, at my own expense, a company of Spanish infantry of the Post [of St. Augustine], and two of Indians, arquebusiers and archers, because I had to traverse the frontier of the country of the Chiscas and Chichimecos, barbarous and warlike heathen, and with the construction of the main bastion of the wall of this city which I have done at my expense and that of the ecclesiastics, have made it impossible for me to do at this time what I shall do when my debts are paid.

May Our Lord keep the Catholic Royal Person of Your Majesty to the greatest blessing and comfort of your vassals.

Your Majesty's humble servant and chaplain,

GABRIEL, Bishop of Cuba.

Havana,

November 20, 1675.

The "Chiscas and Chichimecos" were probably two or more different bands of Yuchi. A matter of the very greatest interest to ethnologists and historians alike is the whereabouts of the maps mentioned in the text. As there were two copies, one of them at least should have survived.

Dr. Wenhold has supplied textual notes in connection with her translation of the Calderón narrative presented here, but I wish to add to these some references to important ethnological facts that it contains.

We have so little material regarding the old Florida tribes that any addition, however small, is most welcome, but in the present instance light is cast upon a number of specific problems of considerable importance.

It is interesting to know that the languages of "Guale, Timuqua and Apalache" were the three principal ones of the province but that is not unexpected. Much more important are the locations here given of the various missions, which will enable us to place the tribes approximately in their former seats. We also have the fact established that the Guacara Indians were originally on the Suwanee River. Another document, kindly referred to me by Dr. Wenhold and dating from early in the eighteenth century, shows that the present Wakulla River, which flows by St. Marks, was then known as the Guacara. This means that part, at least, of the Guacara Indians moved into the Apalachee country after 1675, or, possibly, at a still earlier date and that Wakulla is a corruption of Guacara since there was no *r* sound in the languages of the Apalachee, the Creeks, or any of their relatives.

In connection with the Bishop's treatment of the Apalachee province, we have supplied to us the exact dates of foundation of two of the missions and proof that some Apalachee towns consisted of recent invaders. The connection is established between the "Tama" Indians and the Yamasee. We have definite information that the Chines, Pacâras, and Amacânos were formerly independent units, and the separate enumeration of the last seems to show that the Yamacraw of Georgia history were distinct from the Yamasee.

Thanks to Bishop Calderón's connection with the Sawokli missions much is added to our knowledge of them, and we have the earliest known lists of the Lower and Upper Creek towns. We learn that in

1675 there was already an Oconee town on the Chattahoochee. This may have been an earlier position of the town later found on Oconee River or a separate settlement of the same tribe. We learn that Kolomi, which appears later as an Upper Creek town, was then among the Lower Creeks, and that the Hilibi were divided between the two sections of the nation. The Hitchiti and Okmulgee had seemingly moved over from Ocmulgee River to be near the Spaniards. Three new towns appear among the Lower Creeks,—Chicahûti, Tacûsa, and Cuchiguâli—the first of which seems to contain the word huti, “home”, while the second resembles closely the name of the mole, “takusa”. A small Creek clan was so called.

Next we have information regarding the Chatot missions and a note on the Chiska or Yuchi. The list of Upper Creek towns, those given as constituents of the “Province of Toâssa”, is very incomplete. We recognize the Tawasa, Muklasa, Pacana, Hothliwahali (Oslibati), Okfuskee, Atasi, Tukabahchee, Hatichaba, and Hilibi. Atayâche so closely resembles Atahachi, the name of the Mobile town visited by De Soto in 1540, that I am inclined to identify the two, all the more as Atayâche is enumerated along with the Alabama towns whose speech resembled that of the Mobile, though the locations of the two do not agree. I do not recognize Escatâna, Ilantalui, and Ichopôsi.

The notice of the Choctaw nation that appears here is the oldest under the name by which they are commonly known, and we learn that they were already very numerous.

In Cofâtache we seem to have a very late reference to Cofitachequi but unfortunately no clue to the affinities of the people so called except the fact that they controlled the Indians of Escamacu, who were apparently Muskogean.

Important is the localization near Pine Island of the place where De Soto had a small vessel built, since this was where Narvaez had previously constructed his own ill-fated crafts.

Students of early Indian population will be interested in the statement that in 1675 there were 13,152 Christianized Indians, for this must represent an actual enumeration.

To the controversy over Spanish mission buildings in the Southeast and the material of which they were made, our Bishop contributes the information that his Indians were “great carpenters as is evidenced in the construction of their wooden churches which are large and painstakingly wrought.”

Most of the words attributed to the Indians are either Spanish or—as instanced by *bujio* and *barbacoa*—from the Arawak language of

the West Indies, but *hurimela* is probably Timucua, in which language the word meaning "outside", or "in the forest", is *huri*. *Ojêo* may also be a Timucua word though I have been unable to translate it. *Athequi* is the Timucua form of the word which appears in Creek as *yatika*.

The description of the town house is peculiarly interesting since it shows that the northern Timucuan town houses, at least, were built like the town houses in the settlements of the Guale expatriates north of St. Augustine, as described by Dickenson. Perhaps the "very large cabin with a large open court in the middle" which De Soto's men found at Uriutina in central Florida was of this character. In any case, it would seem necessary to modify somewhat the size Calderón attributes to these houses when he says that they "can accommodate two to three thousand persons" but to increase the dimensions of their doorways.

The list of European trade objects will attract the attention of Florida archeologists.

Supplementary notes supplied by Robert R. Otis, of Atlanta, Ga.—The Queen to whom the Bishop addresses his letter was Queen Mariana, who was at the head of a Regency which governed Spain from 1665 to 1675, during the minority of Charles II. She was of the House of Austria, exceedingly religious, and much interested in the spread of Christianity in the New World, her policy being largely influenced by the Jesuit Father Nithard, who was also active in developing foreign mission fields. Calderón was appointed Bishop of Cuba in 1671, with headquarters at Santiago de Cuba, his jurisdiction embracing also the adjacent mainland sections of North America, known to the Spaniards as Florida. In 1673 the Queen Regent, acting in the name of the King, ordered a synod held in Florida by Bishop Calderón, and the following year he paid his visit to the mainland, not returning to Cuba until 1675. Writers having access to source materials show that he arrived in Florida August 23, 1674, while his last recorded act there was on June 21, 1675, which indicates that he spent 10 months in Florida lacking 2 days. The day after his arrival at St. Augustine he ordained seven young priests belonging to the best families, the first known instance in the territory of the present United States. On August 29 a formal reception was given him at the Franciscan Monastery at St. Augustine by Vicar General Perete. Father Englehardt, the California Mission historian (using source MSS.), says that during this year five missions were restored by him—Asao on St. Simons, one on Santa Catalina, one on Jekyl Island, San Jose on Sapello, and one at San Felipe, South Carolina. October 7, 1674, he issued orders forcing plantation owners to permit Indian workmen to attend divine service. For 8 months he traveled over this part of North America, enduring great hardships, and Englehardt says he spent \$11,000 to ameliorate the condition of both Indians and whites. He adds that it was probably in consequence of Bishop Calderón's demands upon the King that Father Moral was sent to Florida in 1676 with 24 Friars. Englehardt also says that Calderón died March 16, 1676, in consequence of hardships endured during his Florida visit.

FLORIDA AND THE FLORIDA MISSIONS

SEÑORA:

What has been discovered, up to today, concerning the entire district of Florida, both along the seacoast and inland, is as follows:

On the coast of the northern border, 30 leagues from Cape Canaveral, [where] the canal of Bahama disembogues, is located, on the 30th parallel of latitude, the city of Saint Augustine which was founded about 1559¹ by the Adelantado Pedro Menendes Aviles. It is the capital of the provinces of Florida and has more than 300 Spanish inhabitants, soldiers and married people. Its harbor is very secure by reason of a very dangerous sand bar which it has at its entrance, which shifts its position in storms and at high tide has 20 spans² of water. The city is built lengthwise from north to south. It is almost cut off by an arm of the sea which surrounds it and buffets it, leaving it half submerged from hurricanes as it lies at sea level. Its climate is somewhat unhealthful, being very cold in winter, with freezes, and excessively hot in summer, both of which extremes are felt the more as there is no protection nor defence in the houses, they being of wood with board walls. The soil is sand and therefore unproductive; no wheat grows, and corn only sparsely and at the cost of much labor. Thus the inhabitants are compelled regularly to depend for their sustenance upon the products of the province of Apalache. The section does not produce any sort of raw material which could attract trade, and has no resources other than the government allowance which it awaits each year from the city of Mexico, and by which the infantry is fed and clothed.

As regards its spiritual welfare, it has a parish church dedicated to Saint Augustine, served by a priest, a sacristan and acolytes, and a Franciscan convent, headquarters for the province, called Saint Helena, with three monks, a superior, a preacher, a lay brother, and with authority by a royal decree of Your Majesty to have three curates for the three principal languages of these provinces, Guale, Timuqua and Apalache, for the teaching of Christian doctrine and the administering of the sacraments to the Indians who usually attend

¹ The city of Saint Augustine was actually founded in 1565.

² About 15 feet. One hundred years later the estimated depth of the water on the bar at low tide was 9 feet.

to the cultivating of the lands of the residents of the Post [Saint Augustine]. Of the four hermitages which formerly existed, only two remain: San Patricio and Our Lady of Solitude, and a hospital contiguous to the latter with six beds. For defense there is a fortress with 20 guns and a good garrison, a governor resident in the city, a sergeant-major, 2 captains, 300 enlisted men, and 2 royal officials.

Going out of the city, at half a league to the north there is a small village of scarcely more than 30 Indian inhabitants, called Nombre de Dios, the mission of which is served from the convent. Following the road from east to west, within an extent of 98 leagues there are 24 settlements and missions of Christian Indians, 11 belonging to the province of Timuqua and 13 to that of Apalache.

THE PROVINCE OF TIMUQUA

Ten leagues from the city of Saint 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 Híbitachuco, first village of this province. From this mission to that of La Concepción de Ayubali it is 1 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 Bacuqua, 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 Purificación de Tama, called ³ Yamases, another to that of San Martín de

³ This participle is plural, though why it is so is not clear.

Tomoli, 2 to that of Santa Cruz de Capoli, called also Chuntafu, and 4 from Tomoli to Assumpción del Puerto. Of these 13 missions 2, La Purificación de Tama and Assumpción del 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 Assumpción the three heathen nations, Chines, Pacâras and Amacânos, who are gradually being instructed and baptized. 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.

THE PROVINCE OF APALACHOCOLI

At 2 leagues from the afore-mentioned village of San Luís, on the northern frontier, is the river Agna which divides the provinces of Apalache and Apalachocoli, and at a distance of 12, on the bank of another large and copious river which takes its name from that⁴ province and runs through it from north to south, is a heathen village called formerly Santa Cruz de Sabacola el Menor, now La Encarnación a la Santa Cruz de Sabacola, the church having been dedicated to this sovereign mystery on Thursday, February 28th of this year, wherein have gathered the Great Cacique of that province, with his vassals from Sabacola el Grande which I have converted to our holy faith, and which will be a large town and converted [area], especially as the 13 Apalachocolan villages which are on the bank of the river of that name, 30 leagues to the north, have offered to do likewise. These [villages] are: Chichahûti, Sabacôla, Ocôni, Apalachocôli, Ilapi, Tacûsa, Usachi, Ocmûlgui, Ahachito, Cazithto,⁵ Colômme, Cabita, Cuchiguâli.⁶

Nine leagues from Encarnación, on the northern frontier, is another [village] named San Nicolás, of about 30 inhabitants, and 3 leagues further on is another, San Carlos, of something like 100 inhabitants. Both these are of the Chacatos nation, which 14 years ago requested baptism and had not their desire fulfilled until the 21st of June of last year, 1674. In that section, living in encampments without any permanent dwellings, are more than 4,000 heathen called Chiscas, who sustain themselves with game, nuts and roots of trees.

⁴ *Aquella*, "the former", which should refer to the Apalache, but plainly the Apalachicola is meant.

⁵ So spelled; usually known as Kasihita or Cusseta.

⁶ Why the writer uses the circumflex on some Indian names and omits it from others is not at all evident.

Between the northeast and [north]west, about 30 leagues distant, on the bank of a large river, is the province of Toâssa, of barbarous heathen inhabitants, comprising 14 villages: Toâssa, Imocolâsa, Atayâche, Pacâni, Oslibâti, Afaschi, Escatâna, Atâssi, Tubâssi, Tiquipachi, Achichepa, Hilâpi, Ilantâlui, Ichopôsi.

Seventy leagues further on is the great and extensive province of the Chacta which includes 107 villages, and to one side, on the western frontier, on an island near the harbor of Spîritu Santo, is [the province] of Mobile, both these of barbarous heathen; this being all I have been able to discover, as in spite of having made diligent inquiries I have been unable to find anyone who could give me information concerning the territories of Penacho and Tanoyo which Marcos Lucio puts on his map supposing them to be in the neighborhood of the province of Apalachocoli. However, as he did not go further than the city of Saint Augustine, so distant from these provinces, and wrote only from vague hearsay, he may have erred in the names, and they may have been those of the afore-mentioned provinces of the Chacta and Mobile, for neither does he put on his map the villages of the provinces of Timuqua and Apalache, as Your Majesty will see from the chart I have made and send herewith.⁷

COAST OF THE NORTHERN FRONTIER

Out from Saint Augustine, along the seacoast toward the northern frontier, is the province of Guale, and in it are the following settlements:

At 2 leagues from the city is the village and mission of La Natividad de Nuestra Señora de Tolmato; at 10,⁸ the village and mission of San Juan del Puerto at the bar of which disembogues the great river Corrientes, already mentioned; at 6, the mission and village of Santa María; at 3, San Phelipe; at 9, Santa Buanaventura de Guadalquini; at 6, Santo Domingo de Asahó; at 6, San Joseph de Zapala; at 2, Santa Catalina. All are settlements of Christian [Indians], and in the last named Your Majesty has an officer with a good garrison of infantry.

From there it is about 2 leagues to the bar of Asôpo, and from there one travels among shoals, bars and rivers⁹ 14 leagues into the province of Escamacû, today subject to the Mico of Cofâtache, [where] near the village of Oristan is Saint Helena which was a village of Christians.

⁷ Unfortunately not included with the photostatic copy of the document.

⁸ All distances are measured from the last place mentioned unless otherwise specified, it seems.

⁹ *dentro de bancos y fuera de barras y rios.*

and at 24 leagues [away] is Port Saint George, now an English settlement, distant 84 leagues from Saint Augustine. Fifteen leagues to the west, inland, is the province of Joâqui, where is the great lake in which, according to tradition, Fernando de Soto and his men saw many pearl oysters. From this province to that of Apalache, along the northern frontier, there dwells, in encampments, without fixed dwellings, the numerous nation of the Chichimecos, heathen, so savage and cruel that their only concern is to assault villages, Christian and heathen, taking lives and sparing neither age, sex nor estate, roasting and eating the victims.

COAST OF THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

Traversing the coast along the southern frontier through the Bahama canal, passing the harbors of Matanzas and Mosquitos, 30 leagues from the city of Saint Augustine is Cape Cañaveral, whose shoals extend 6 leagues into the sea; and 8 leagues from it is the bar of Ais. At 5 is Guaxa, or Ropa Tendida; at 2, Jobe; at 7, Agea; at 4, Arroyo Seco from where one goes to Las Bocas and Cabeza de los Martyres, at which latter point disembogues a large river that flows into the large lagoon of Maymi where, according to tradition, there is, on a little islet in it, the treasure of a galleon which was lost on that coast. From this inlet one goes by sand banks and keys [inhabited by] savage Indians to the inlet called Carlos. From there to the bay of Spíritu Santo the direction coastwise is from northwest to southeast. Four leagues [beyond Carlos] is the bay of Tampa. At 6 from the Beach of Pusâle is the Pojoy river; at 12 is Tocopâcas.³⁰ It is 20 leagues to Majuro and 20 more to Guaza, 3 to the harbor of San Martín and 20 to that of San Marcos in the province of Apalache. From there one goes by an inlet of 18 leagues to Matacojo where, they say, Fernando de Soto built ships to navigate it. At 3 leagues from there the river Agna disembogues, and rounding the point of the cape which some call Apalache and others Hibineza, one comes to the inlet of Taxaquachile where the great river Apalachocoli empties.

On all this coast, from the afore-mentioned bar of Mosquitos, called Surruquê, to the river Tocopacâs, both on the islet which they call Cayos³¹ and on the mainland, live 13 tribes of savage heathen Carib Indians, in camps, having no fixed abodes, living only on fish and roots

³⁰ "Is that of Tocopâcas", is what the writer actually says. "That", in Spanish, is here masculine, but so are "village" and "river", and the reference is therefore not very clear.

³¹ The word *cayos* is in parentheses; why is not apparent.

of trees. These are: The Surruquêses, the Aÿses, the Santalûces, the Geigas, the Jobêses, the Vizcaynos,¹² the Matcumbêses, the Bayajondos, the Cuchiagâros, the Pojôyes, the Píneros, the Tocopâcas, and those of Carlos, who are great fishermen and divers.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHRISTIANIZED INDIANS

In the four provinces of Guale, Timuqua, Apalache and Apalachocoli there are 13,152 Christianized Indians to whom I administered the holy sacrament of confirmation. They are fleshy, and rarely is there a small one, but they are weak and phlegmatic as regards work, though clever and quick to learn any art they see done, and great carpenters as is evidenced in the construction of their wooden churches which are large and painstakingly wrought. The arms they employ are bow and arrows and a hatchet they call *macâna*. They go naked, with only the skin [of some animal] from the waist down, and, if anything more, a coat of serge without a lining, or a blanket. 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,¹³ 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 grass¹⁴ like the others.

Their ordinary diet consists of porridge which they make of corn with ashes,¹⁵ pumpkins, beans which they call *frijoles*, with game and fish from the rivers and lakes which the well-to-do ones can afford. Their only drink is water, and they do not touch wine or rum. 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 *casina*. It becomes very bitter and is worse than beer, although it does not intoxicate them and is beneficial. They sleep on the ground, and in their houses only on a frame made of reed bars, which they call *barbacoa*, with a bear skin laid upon it and without any cover, the fire they build in the center of the house serving in place of a blanket. They call the house *bujío*. It is a hut made in round form, of straw, without a window and with a door a *vara*¹⁶ high and half a *vara* wide.

¹² A Spanish word, like Santalûces, Bayajondos and Píneros.

¹³ *Guano* is a general term for any sort of palm tree or leaf. He evidently refers to clothing of Spanish moss.

¹⁴ *Yerba*: the use of this word indicates that the writer did not recognize the material.

¹⁵ Corn with ashes" = lye hominy.

¹⁶ The *vara* is 2.8 feet.

On one side is a granary supported by 12 beams, which they call a *garita*, where they store the wheat, corn and other things they harvest.

During January they burn the grass and weeds from the fields preparatory to cultivation, surrounding them all at one time with fire so that the deer, wild ducks and rabbits, fleeing from it fall into their hands. This sort of hunting they call *hurimelas*. Then they enter the forests in pursuit of bears, bison and lions which they kill with bows and arrows, and this they call *ojêco*. Whatever they secure in either way they bring to the principal cacique, in order that he shall divide it, he keeping the skins which fall to his share. Offering is made to the church of the best parts, and this serves for the support of the missionary priest, to whom they are in such subjection that they obey his orders without question.

In April they commence to sow, and as the man goes along opening the trench, the woman follows sowing. All in common cultivate and sow the lands of the caciques. As alms for the missionaries and the needy widows, they sow wheat in October and harvest it in June. This is a crop of excellent quality in the province of Apalache, and so abundant that it produces seventy *fanegas*¹⁷ from one *fanega* sown.

Each village has a council house called the great *bujio*, constructed of wood and covered with straw, round, and with a very large opening in the top. Most of them can accommodate from 2,000 to 3,000 persons. They are furnished all around the interior with niches called *barbacôas*, which serve as beds and as seats for the caciques and chiefs, and as lodgings for soldiers and transients. Dances and festivals are held in them around a great fire in the center. The missionary priest attends these festivities in order to prevent indecent and lewd conduct, and they last until the bell strikes the hour of *las ánimas*.

These Indians do not covet riches, nor do they esteem silver or gold, coins of which do not circulate among them, and their only barter is the exchange of one commodity for another, which exchange they call *rescate*.¹⁸ The most common articles of trade are knives, scissors, axes, hoes, hatchets, large bronze rattles,¹⁹ glass beads, blankets which they call *congás*, pieces of rough cloth,²⁰ garments and other trifles.

¹⁷ A *fanega* is about a bushel and a half.

¹⁸ *Rescate* is a good Spanish word of Latin origin, meaning "ransom" but with "barter" as a secondary meaning.

¹⁹ *Cascabeles grandes de bronce*. *Cascabeles* are properly small bells of the type used on harness.

²⁰ *Jerguetas*.

As to their religion, they are not idolaters, and they embrace with devotion the mysteries of our holy faith. They attend mass with regularity at 11 o'clock on the holy days they observe, namely, Sunday, and the festivals of Christmas, the Circumcision, Epiphany, the Purification of Our Lady, and the days of Saint Peter, Saint Paul and All Saints Day, and before entering the church each one brings to the house of the priest as a contribution a log of wood. They do not talk in the church, and the women are separated from the men; the former on the side of the Epistle, the latter on the side of the Evangel. They are very devoted to the Virgin, and on Saturdays they attend when her mass is sung. On Sundays they attend the *Rosario* and the *Salve* in the afternoon. They celebrate with rejoicing and devotion the Birth of Our Lord, all attending the midnight mass with offerings of loaves, eggs²¹ and other food. They subject themselves to extraordinary penances during Holy Week, and during the 24 hours of Holy Thursday and Friday, while our Lord is in the Urn of the Monument,²² they attend standing, praying the rosary in complete silence, 24 men and 24 women and the same number of children of both sexes, with hourly changes. The children, both male and female, go to the church on work days, to a religious school where they are taught by a teacher whom they call the *Athequi*²³ of the church; [a person] whom the priests have for this service; as they have also a person deputized²⁴ to report to them concerning all parishioners who live in evil.

Your Majesty's most humble servant and chaplain,

GAB'L²⁵ Bishop of Cuba.

²¹ Spelled *guebos*.

²² *En la Urna del Monumento*.

²³ *Athequi*; Indian word meaning "interpreter".

²⁴ The word here translated "person deputized" is *fiscal*, which means "attorney" or "prosecutor", but neither of those terms seems to the translator to fit the case.

²⁵ *Gabriel*; abbreviated thus.

—+—
 Señora

Lo que oy está descubierto en todo el
 distrito de la Florida así por la costa
 de la mar como por la parte de tierra
 es lo siguiente
 En la Costa de la vanda del norte a treinta
 leguas del caño de cañaveral desembocata
 La canal de Bahama esta en treinta gra
 dos de altura la Ciudad de S. Agust que fundi
 do por los años de mil quinientos y cinquien
 ta y nueve el Adelantado Pedro Meléndez
 Aviles, Cauza de las Prouincias de la Florida
 que tiene mas de tresientos vecinos espa
 ñoles soldados y casados; su Puerto es muy se
 guro por una barra de arena muy peligosa
 que tiene ala entrada de el que se muda con
 las temporales y en plena mar haze veinte
 y palmas de agua. La Ciudad tiene su asien
 to por lo largo de norte a sur, esta casi
 ayutada de un brazo de mar que la circun
 da y maltrata, dexandola medio anegada
 con los huracanes por estar en un llano igual
 con el agua. su temyle es poco saludable
 padeciendo en Hiberno grandes frios y ela
 dos; y en verano excecivos calores, que tanto
 mas lo uno y otro es sensible quanto mas
 se gano alguno ni defensa en las casas por
 ser de madera y las paredes de tablas. El
 terreno es de arena y por esto muy estéril
 de frutos donde no da el trigo, y el maiz
 muy escaso y acosta de mucho sudor, necesi
 tando de ordinario de valerse los vecinos
 para su sustento de los de la Prouincia de

Apalache. La tierra no produce generos de man-
 caderia que incite a la codicia de los comercios
 y solo tiene por alivio el situado que cada
 año espora de la Ciudad de Mexico con que
 se sustentay vive la Infanteria.
 Para lo Espiritual tiene una Iglesia Parro-
 quial dedicada a S. Agust. que sirve de
 Cura Sacristan y monacillos. E un convento
 de la Religion de S. fran. Causa de la Ciudad
 llamada S. Helena con tres Religiosos, Guar-
 dian, Predicador y un lego, y facultad por
 Real Cedula de N.M. para tener tres ministros
 tres doctores de las tres lenguas mas co-
 munes destas Provincias, que son Guale
 Jimuqua y Apalache, para la ensenanz a
 esta Doctrina Christiana y administracion
 de los Sacramentos a los Indios que de ordi-
 nario asisten en aquel Parido a la labor
 de las tierras de los vecinos. De quatro fior-
 mitas que havia, solo han quedado dos
 S. Patricio y Nra S. de la Toledad y un hos-
 pital contiguo a esta con seis camas. Egara
 la defensa una fortaleza con veinte plazas
 e buena guarnicion. un Governador que asi-
 te en la Ciudad, Sargento mayor, dos capi-
 tanes, trezentas plazas y dos officiales
 Reales.
 El situado de la Ciudad a media legua ha-
 cia el norte ay una pequena Aldea de po-
 mas de treinta vecinos Indios llamada el
 nombre de Dios cuya Doctrina se sirve de
 de el convento. E siguiendo el camino de
 Leste a buesste en distancia de noventa y
 ocho leguas estan veinte y quatro Paro-
 ciones y Doctrinas de Indios Christianos
 que de la Provincia de Jimuqua y tres
 de la de Apalache.

Provincia de Finuqua

A diez leguas de la Ciudad de S. Aug. en la
 Vuera del gran Rio de Comientes esta el
 Lugar y doctrina de S. Diego de Salamototo,
 es muy tormentoso y casi de legua y media
 de ancho. desde el, se va por despoblado de
 Vuente Aguas al Lugar y doctrina de S.
 fee que es la principal desta Provi. y aun
 fado ala Parida del sur en distancia de
 tres leguas la Doctrina y lugar de San
 Juan. que esta despoblado. y desde S. fee
 a doze leguas la de S. Cat. y a tres la de
 Abobica. y a dos la de S. Cruz de Sari
 bica. y a siete ala Vuera del gran
 Rio de Guacara la de San Juan de este
 nombre. y a diez la de S. Pedro de Poto
 biriba. ados la de Santa Helena de
 Machaba. a quatro la de S. Mathio. y a
 dos la de S. Miguel de Ayte ultima de
 esta Provincia Finuquana o Tacanas.

Provincia de Apalache

Desde el Lugar de Ayte referido a dos
 leguas esta la Doctrina de S. Lot. de Hi
 bitachucos primer lugar desta Provi. de esta
 Doctrina ala de la Concep. de Ayubali
 y una legua y otra ala de S. Fran.
 de Ocoru. y otra ala de S. Juan de As
 palaga. dos ala de S. Joseph de Ocuya
 quatro ala de S. Pedro de Patali. dos ala
 de S. Antonio de Bacuqua. dos ala del
 S. Damian de Cupabica por otro nombre
 Cocambi. una ala de S. Luis de Tali
 mali que es la mayor de todas. otra a
 la de la Purificacion de la Sama llama
 dos Yamases. otra ala de S. Martin de S

Somoli. dos ala de S.^a Cruz de Capoli por
 otro nombre Chuntafu. y desde la de Soma
 li quatro ala de la Assump.^{on} del Puerto.
 Deltas tres Doctrinas las dos que son la
 de la Purificacion de la Inma y Assumpcion
 del Puerto que ambas cruz de gentiles se
 fundado aora nuevamente en veinte y siete
 de febrero y dos de febrero deste presente a
 no de setenta y cinco congregado en esta
 ultima de la Assumpcion las tres naciones de
 Gentiles, Chines, Pácaras, y Amacinos, que se
 van Cathequizando y baptizando. en la Doctri
 na de S. Luis que es la principal de la Pro
 vincia reside en tit.^o de Governador en una
 Casa de Congo con la defenza de puzas
 de artilleria y guarnicion de Infanteria.

Pro^o. de Apalachocoli.

Estos lugares del Lugar de S. Luis referido
 esta por la rancia del Norte el Rio del
 Agua que divide las Provincias de Apala
 colie y Apalachocoli. y en distancia de do
 ze ala altura de otro grande y caudaloso
 que toma el nombre de aquella Provin
 cia y corre por ella de norte a sur, en lu
 gar de Gentiles llamado antes S.^a Cruz del
 Sabacola el menor, y la Encarnacion ala
 S.^a Cruz de Sabacola por haver dedicado
 la Iglesia a este tan soberano misterio
 el jueves veinte y ocho de febrero deste
 presente año donde se agrega el Cacique
 mayor de aquella Pro^o. con sus Varatos
 de Sabacola el grande que he reducido
 a una S.^a fe y son una gran Poblacion
 & Conversion mayor^{te} quando han ofrecido

Hazer lo mismo los trece lugares Apalachoco-
 lis que estan a la Nueva del mismo Rio en
 distancia de treinta leguas hacia el Norte, y
 son Chichahiti. Sabacola. Ocóni. Apalachoco-
 li. Elapi. Sacura. Yachi. Ocmulqui. Alca-
 chito. Cazúto. Colomme. Cabita. Cucpi-
 guáli.

A veinte leguas de el de la Encarnación ala
 Yanda del norte otro nombrado S. Nicolas de
 poco mas de treinta Vecinos, y tres adelante
 otro de S. Carlos de poco mas de ciento;
 ambos de la nacion de los Chacatos que ha
 via catorce años pedian el baptismo y nose
 les cumplio su deseo hasta el dia veinte
 y vno de Junio del año pasado de seis
 cientos y setenta y quatro. En aquel parage
 en Yancherías sin poblaciones fixas, estan
 avicindados mas de quatro mil gentiles lla-
 mados Chiscas que se sustentan de la caza
 nueces y bayces de arboles.

Entre el Norueste y bueste appoco mas de
 treinta leguas de distancia a la Nueva
 de un Caudaloso Rio, esta la Prov. de las
 Joárra de barbaros gentiles que comprehen-
 de catorce lugares. e son Joárra. Imoco-
 lara. Atayáche. Pacári. Oslibati. Afacbi.
 Escatana. Atari. Subani. Iquipachi. Achi-
 chepa. Hilipi. Maritáui. Etáipóni.

A sesenta leguas adelante la Grande y dila-
 tada Prov. de la Chacta que comprehen-
 de ciento y siete lugares y aun vado a
 la Yanda del Oriente en una isla cor-
 ca del grande Puerto del Spitu S. La de
 la Nobila ambas de Barbaros gentiles
 que es todo lo que se podido descubrir sin
 hallar persona que me diese noticia (por
 Craxas diligencias que hice) de los Reynos

del Orabó y Farayo que pone Marco La
 En su Mapa suponiendo están vecinos a la
 P. de Apatachocoli; sino es que como no
 passo de la Ciudad de S. Aug. tan distante
 de aquellas P. de S. y solo escriuió por noticia
 yagañ ferrese los nombres q. fueren las P.
 unicias de la Obsta y Mobila referidas, y
 es tan poco pone en su Mapa los Pueblos de
 las P. de Simuqua y Apalache
 que vera V. M. por la planta que he he
 cho y venito con esta.

Costa de la Vanda del Norte.

Saliedo de la Ciudad de S. Aug. ala costa
 de la mar de la Vanda del Norte es la Pro
 uincia de Guale y en ella las Poblaciones
 siguientes.

Ados leguas de la Ciudad el Lugar y Doctrina
 de la Natividad de Nra Señora de
 Solomato. y a diez el Lugar y doctrina del
 San Juan del Puerto por cuya barra desem
 boca el gran Rio de Corrientes referido.
 a seis la doctrina y Lugar de S. Maria
 a tres la de S. Felipe. a nueve la de
 S. Buena ventura de Guadalupe. a seis
 la de S. Domingo de Ababó. a seis la
 de S. Joseph de Zapala. y ados la de S.
 Cast. que todas son Poblaciones de Españoles
 y en esta última tiene V. M. un Cabo con
 buena guarnición de Infanteria.

De allí se va dos leguas ala barra de Abo
 po y de ella por dentro de bancos y Sueras
 de barras y rios en catorce leguas de distan
 cia en la P. de Escamati Sujeta oy al
 Mico de Cofitache, cerca del Lugar de
 Oristán esta el de S. Helena que fue de
 Christianos. y a veinte y quatro leguas el
 Puerto de S. Jorge, oy población de Ingleses.

distante ochentay quatro de S. Aug. y la tierra
adentro hacia el poniente a quince leguas
la Prou. de Soaquí, donde esta la gran la-
guna en que es tradicion viron fernando
de soto y su gente muchas otras de per les.
Desde esta Prou. hasta la de Apalache por
la vanda del norte habitan en tanochial
sin poblaciones la racion de los Chichimecos
muy numerosa, Gentiles tan barbaros y crue-
les que todo su fin es saltar los lugares
assi de Christianos como de Gentiles qui-
tandoles las vidas, sin perdonar edad se-
xo, ni estado asandolos y comiendolos.

Costa de la Vanda del Sur.

Corriendo la costa ala Vanda del Sur
por la canal de Bahama passando por los
Puertos de Matanzas y Morquitos a vein-
ta leguas de la Ciudad de San Aug. esta
el Cauo de Canaveral, cuyos baxos salen
seis leguas ala mar, y de el en distancia
de ocho leguas esta la barra de Anis. y
a cinco esta Guaxa o Topa tendida. a dos
Sobe. Siete Agea. quatro arroyo seco del
cande ser a las bocas y Cauza de los Mar-
tyres, y por la vltima desemboca en Rio
grande que entra en la gran laguna del
Maymí, donde es tradicion ay en mal
fleta de ella un tesoro de un Pateon que
se pedio en aquella costa. desde esta boca
se va por glaxus y Cayos de Indios barba-
ros hasta la ensenada llamada de Car-
los: y de ella ala Vaya del Spirita san-
to es costa de Norueste a Sueste. y a
quatro leguas esta el Puerto de Tampa. y
a seis de la playa de Puale el Rio de Po-
toy, a doze el de los Socopacas. veinte a

Masjuro y otras veinte a Guaza, y tres al Puerto de S. Martin y a veinte el de S. Marco. Puen de Apalache y desde el sera por una ensenada de diez y ocho leguas a Matasco donde dicen fabrica fernando de soto veinte y tres para navegarla, y otras leguas de ella desemboca el Rio del Agua, y doblando la punta del Cauo que llaman de Apalache y otros de Hibineza sera ala ensenada del Saraguachile donde desemboca el gran Rio de Apalachocoli.

En toda esta costa desde la barra de Morquitos referida que llaman de Saruquẽ habita el Rio de Los Cocopacas asi en isletas que llaman (cayos) como en tierra firme habitan diez naciones de Indios de gentes Caribey en rancherías sin tener lugar fijo, sustentandose solo de pescado y Cayes de arboles que son Saruquẽs. Ayres. Santalúes. De las. Jobies. Vizcaynos. Matacumbies. Baya. Seridos. Cuchigágaros. Cosyos. Pinicos. Focogácas. y los de Carlos que son grandes cazadores y buzos.

Proquidad de los Indios Apthianos.

En las quatro Puen. de Guale Aringua Apalache y Apalachocoli ay trece mil ciento y cinquenta y dos Indios Apthianos, a quienes administra el Sr. Sacram. de la Confirmación son Corolientos. y Varo se halla pequeña, mas debiles y flmaticos para el trauiso, aunque ingeniosos y presto de aprender qualquier arte que ven obrar, y grandes Carpinteros como se ve como en las fabricas de las Iglesias de madera, grandes euidultriam. Labradas. Las armas de que usan son arco, flechas, y una machete y llaman Macáera.

Andan en Carnes con sola vna piel dela cintura
 abaxo, y el que mas vna Casaca de Desguilla
 sin aforo, y vna frazada. Y las mugeres con
 sola vna corrio basquina que les coge desde
 el cuello hasta los pies que hazen de Ver
 ba de los arboles de color de perla que
 llaman Guano, y no les queda mas de coger
 lo. Y a quatro mil y ochenta y vna que son
 he en los Pueblos de la Prou. de Apalache
 desnudas de la cintura arriba, y de la ro
 dilla abaxo hiz vestir desta Verba co
 mo las demas.

Su sustento ordinario es vnas gachas q hazen
 de maiz con zeniza, Calabazas, Judias que
 llaman Fríjoles y la Caza, y pesca de Rio
 y lagunas que pueden alcanzar las mas bien
 acomodadas. La bebida solo es el agua sin
 gustar el Vino ni aguardiente, y el mayor
 regalo es la que hazen de vna Verba que ay
 en la costa del mar que cuigen y beben
 caliente, y llaman Casiva, q. amarga mu
 cho, y es peor que la Cerbeja aunq, no es
 Embraga, y haz eprouecho. Quieren en el
 suelo, y en sus casas solo sobre vn armador
 de barillas de Caña, que llaman bar baira
 con vna piel de oso encima sin otro abri
 go, siéndoles de mucha la Lumbre que
 hazen en medio de la Casa, que llaman
 buho, y es vna Chiza de paxa en forma de
 donaa sin ventana y la querta de ma ba
 ra de alto, y media de ancho, y a un lado
 vna trox sustentada de az Nizas que
 llaman garita donde recoger el trigo, ma
 iz, y lo demas de sus cosechas.

Por bien quemar la Verba y maliza de los
 campos para labrar los cercan de los aun tiem
 po de fuego, con que los Venados, Caros y

Mestres, y comeros, buyendo de el, dan en sus
manos, y a esta casa llaman las burimelaf.
Acuada entran por la espesura de los mone-
tes alla de los Bos, Caballos y Leones que
mudan a flechizos, y la llaman ofio, y to-
do lo que en ma y obra cogen traen al Caxo
que Principal para que no se parta, el qual
se queda con las pieles que se tocan y de lo
mas ofrenda alla Iglesia que sirve para
el Religioso doctrinero aqui en viuen con tanta
sugacion que sin replicar obedecen sus
Ordenes.

Por abril comienzan a sembrar y como va ca-
rando el Varon le sigue la muger sembrando,
y todos en comun labran y siembran las
tierras a los Caziques y de Limosna a los Re-
ligiosos Doctrineros y Viudas necessitadas. El
Trigo siembran por octubre y siegan por
Junio. Este se coge y de buena calidad
en la Prou. de Apalache y con tanta abundancia
que da de si mucha fanega por vna de
sembradura.

Todos los lugares tienen casa conegil que
llaman el busio grande, que es de madera
cubierto de gaxa en forma Redonda, con
vna claraboya muy grande en lo alto, y leg-
mas, caxas de dos y tres mil personas, adre-
nados en contorno por la parte interior del
nichos que llaman barbacotas y sirven de
camas y asientos a los Caziques y Principa-
les y de alojamiento a los soldados y
guasgeros. tienen en ellos los buyes y fe-
tesos en contorno de vna gran boquera
q. hazen en medio de el, a los quales assiste
el Religioso doctrinero por predicar lo inde-
cente y deshonesto q. duran hasta q. se tu-
ca alas animas.

No codician riquezas ni estiman las labras

Ni oro, cuya moneda no corre entre ellos, y lo
lo cambian vn genero por otro que llaman *tepe-
cate*, y lo que mas corre es, cuchillos, tijeras,
fachas, azadas, hachuelas, cascabels gran-
des de bronce, quantas de abalorio, mantas
que llaman *colugas*, *cecequetis*, paños y otras
menudencias.

Quanto a la Religion no son Idolatras, y abra-
can con deuocion los misterios de *na. s. j. c.*
acuden con puntualidad a Misra alas once
los dias festiuos que guardan que son los
Domingos del año, y los dias de Natiuidad
Circuncision, Epiphania, Purificacion de
Nra. S. S. Pedro y S. Pablo, y el de todos
S. y antes de entrar en la Iglia trae cada vno
de offrenda ala Casa de Religioso vn haz
de Leña, no hablan en la Iglia y estan di-
uididos las mugeres al lado de la Capilla
y los hombres al lado del Oratorio son muy
deuotos de Nra. S. y assi asisten los abal-
dros a su Misra cantada y los Domingos
por la tarde al Rosario y saluen celebran
con toda festiuidad y deuocion el Naci-
miento de Nro Señor acudiendo todos a
la Misra del Gallo, con offrenda de bo-
llos guebos, y otras cosas comestibles. Ha-
zen penitencias extraordinarias en la sema-
na Santa, y en las veinte y quatro horas
del Jueves y Viernes S. que esta Nro S.
en la Vrina del Monumento asisten en
que rezando con todo silencio el Rosario
veinte y quatro hombres y veinte y quatro
mugeres y otros tantos paxuvulos de ambos
sexos mudandose por horas. Los niños
assi varones como hembras acuden los
dias de trabajo por la mañana alas Iglas
ala Doctrina Christiana que su Cnecia Nra.

Maestro de ellos, y llaman Abtegui de Na
Iglesia, que tienen los Religiosos para es Fe
ministerio, y m fiscal para que les de que
ta de todos los feligreses q. viven mal.

Senad

Los Sumos de inado y Caga de

Ennon de la que ha de aburar en
Roma y expeccion de
borte y m. c. m. g. m. c. m. g. m. c. m. g.

J. de Caba

de la
de la