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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)

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A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida

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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 Buckingam 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 Medellín, 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

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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,¹ 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

¹ 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, conversations that I have made and characteristics of the Indians, [1] 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 Escurial.

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 Chicas 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 “Chicas and Chichimecos” were probably two or more dif-
f erent bands of Yuchi. A matter of the very greatest interest to eth-
nologists and historians alike is the whereabouts of the maps men-
tioned 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 approxi-
mately 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,
Paçaras, 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,—Chicahúti, Tacúsa, and Cuchiguáli—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 Toássa", is very incomplete. We recognize the Tawasa, Muklasa, Pacana, Hothliwahali (Oslibati), Okfuskee, Atasi, Tukabahchee, Hatchicaba, and Hilibi. Atayáche 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 Atayáche 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 Escatána, Ilantalui, and Ichopósi.

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 Cofátache 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 Muskhoceans.

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. Ojęo may
also be a Timucua word though I have been unable to translate it.
Atthequi 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 attri-
butes 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 conse-
quence of hardships endured during his Florida visit.
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 Hbitachuco, 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 5 Yamases, another to that of San Martín de

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5 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, Pacáras and Amaçámos, 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 that 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: Chicahúti, Sabacola, Ocóni, Apalachocoli, Ilapi, Tacusa, Usachi, Ocmúilgui, Ahachito, Cazithto, Colónume, Cabita, Cuchiguáli.

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 Apalachicolá 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 Toássa, of barbarous heathen inhabitants, comprising 14 villages: Toássa, Imocolásá, Atayâche, Pacâni, Oslibáti, Afaschi, Escatâna, Atâssi, Tubâssi, Tiquipachi, Achichepa, Hilâpi, Ilantâli, Ichopósí.

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 Spíritu 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 Corientes, 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 Asópo, and from there one travels among shoals, bars and rivers \(^9\) 14 leagues into the province of Escamacú, today subject to the Mico of Coiátačhe, [where] near the village of Oristan is Saint Helena which was a village of Christians.

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\(^7\) 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 ríos.*
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 Joaquí, 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 Spiritu 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. 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 Tocopâcas, both on the islet which they call Cayos and on the mainland, live 13 tribes of savage heathen Carib Indians, in camps, having no fixed abodes, living only on fish and roots.

39 "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.

41 The word cayos is in parentheses; why is not apparent.
of trees. These are: The Surruquêses, the Alyses, the Santalúces, the Geigas, the Jobêses, the Vizcaynos, the Matcumbêses, the Bayajondos, the Cuchiagáros, the Pojóyes, the Pineros, the Tocopãcas, 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 macana. 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, 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.

Their ordinary diet consists of porridge which they make of corn with ashes, 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 bujio. It is a hut made in round form, of straw, without a window and with a door a vara high and half a vara wide.

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12 A Spanish word, like Santalúces, Bayajondos and Pineros.
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 *ojío*. 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 *bujo*, 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 *barbacous*, 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 *congas*, 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, eggs 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, 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 of the church; [a person] whom the priests have for this service; as they have also a person deputized to report to them concerning all parishioners who live in evil.

Your Majesty's most humble servant and chaplain,

Gab'ł Bishop of Cuba.

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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.
Lo que oy esta 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 same del norte a treinta leguas del casco de canaverel desembocada la canal de Bahama está en treinta grados de altura la ciudad de S. Agis que fue he por los años de mil quinientos y cincuenta y nueve el adelantado Pedro Melendez de Fuiles, gobernador de las provincias de la isla de que tiene mas de treinta vecinos españoles; soldados y casados, su puerto es muy seco por una barra de arenis muy desigual que tiene ala entrada del que se llama con los temporales, y en plena mar braseante y almería de agua. La ciudad tiene su asiento al año largo de Norte a Sur, esta casa ay ladera de un banco de mar que la circunda y malatra, desviándola llena angulada con los huracanes por estar en un plano igual con el agua, su templo es poco saludable y destapando en Alburno, grandes fríos, y calores, que tanto mas lo van y otro es sensible cuanto mayor es el banco que está en los mismos y defensa en las casas por ser de madera y las paredes de tablas, el terreno es de arenis y por lo tanto muy esfervor, de frutos donde no da el trigo y el maíz, muy ricos y copios de mucho sudor, necesita de ordinario de moler los vecinos para su sustento deba de la provincia de.

Facsimile of First Page of Calderón Letter of 1675
Apalache. La tierra no produce giehno de mor
tadura que incide la bodece de los comines y
se ha hecho el jardín que cada año esco
per del prors de México con que
La infantería y húsares.
Para lo Espiritual tiene una Iglesia Barro
Dedicada a S. Aug. que tiene 75
Cura Bañés y 40 vecinos, lera exconvento
La Religión de S. Patricio, Cueva de la Par
llamada S. Helena con tres Religiosas, una
de Benítez y un amigo, y facilita por
Real Tenencia de V. M. para tener tres veces
tres doctores de las tres lenguas más co
munes de las provincias, que son: Quich
Amayoc y Apalache, para la enseñanza de
La Doctrina Cristiana y administración
de los Santos a los indios que de orden
rango se hacen en aquel Parroquia. A la labor
de las heras de su parroquia. De quatro por
tas que había, sólo han vuelto de S.
S. Patricio y Ntra. S. de la Toledad y un ho
ginal confie a Sta. con seis camas. Luego
la defensa una fortaleza con veinte plantas
buena guarnición. Pn. Guarnición que aí
se entiende. Ciudad, Jueves mayor, dos capi
tenas, trescientas plantas y dos oficiales de
este.
Rendir de la ciudad a media legua se
cía el norte y una pequeña Aldea después de veinte veinte Indios llamada el
nombre de Dios cuya Donación se sirve de
de el convento. Igualando el camino. Ent
este a suceso en el Francés de zaun y
seis leguas areaa veinte y cuatro Doña
ciones y Doctores de Indios. Doctrina de
que de la Provincia de Amayoc y tres
esa de Apalache.
Provincia de Amazonia

A diez leguas de la ciudad de S. Aug. en la
Nueva del gran Río de Corrientes está el
lugar y doctrina de S. Chico de Salomonto,
lo muy tormentoso y casi de Segua y media
de arco, desde el, se va por desembocado de
la dicha Segua al lugar y doctrina de S.
Ibar, que es la principal de las de esta.
 province, y aun
lado a la lejana del Sur en distancia de
tres leguas la Doctrina y lugar de San
Juán que está des poblado, y desde el se
va a derecha lado de S. Esteban y a la de
Abián, y a la de S. Cris, de Arri
vía, y a la de la Nueva del gran
Río de Guacara la de San Juan de la
nombre, y a diez la de S. Pedro de Poto
llena, adel la de Santa Elena de
Macabana, a cuatro la de S. Matías, y a
la de S. Miguel de Ayala la villa de
esta Provincia de Amazonia, y a la
Provincia de Apalache

Desde el lugar de Ayala, se ve a la
diez leguas está la Doctrina de S. Tor. de
Llanoche primer lugar de esta
doctrina, la de el Corpo, de Ayubali
y macagua, y otra ala de S. Pree
de Dorus, y otra ala de S. Juan de Ap
palaga, por ala de S. Tor. de Cuyos
que ala de S. Pedro de Carali, que ala
de S. Antonio de Pucusia, que ala de
S. Domín de Cucutapa, con otros nombres
tomados, y a la de S. Luis de Pali
mali que es la mayor de todas, otra a
la de la Purificación de la misma llama
dos Tamare, otra ala de S. Martín de S.
Donólo, de la de St. Cruz de Capoli por otro nombre Churrupi y Teresa de Amone, la quinta de la Santa Asunción del Puerto destruyó Doctrinas las que son las de la Purificación de la Santa Asunción del Puerto que ambas oran de gentílicos se fundaron y nunca en Návate y once de septiembre y dos de setiembre del presente año de Setenta y cinco con arreglo en ella Prima della Assunción las tres naciones de Gentiulos, Chinos, Páltaros, y Amaceños, quienes son Católicos y a santo la Doctrina de S. Luis que es la principal de la Provincia y en tanto que el gobernador envío una Casa de Armas con la defensa de lugares de artillería y guerras de Infantería.

Por de Apalachocoli.

El día legajo del lugar de S. Luis Perido está por la parte del Norte el río del Nadyra que divide las Provincias de Apala Cec y Apalachocoli, y en distancia del dicho río cuatro de otros grandes y Caudales, que toma el nombre de aquella tierra y corre por ella de norte a sur en su lugar de Ikhiles llamado antes el Cruz del Sabancula el menor, y la Encarnación ala St. Cruz de Sabancula por haber dedicado la iglesia a este Santísimo nombre de aquellos pueblos.

En Nueve Vaney y cinco de setiembre del presente año donde se agregó el Cazique mayor de aquella Puebla con sus Pueblos de Sabancula el grande que fuese a tal fin y se va en una gran poblacion.

La conversión mayor, cuando han ofrecido
Vas a lo mismo los tres lugares Apalacheo-Lis que están a la vuelta del mismo Vío en distancia de treinta legues hacia el Norte. 2
Son Chaichaíto, Iscaíto, Ochan, Apalacheo
l. Llapi, Janúa, Yachi, Omúokú, Aliá,
Sito, Cazírito, Colónma, Cabíla, Cucú,
que.

Dos nuevas legues de é de la ornamación ala
Anda del norte otro nombrado S. Nicolas de
gopo mar de treinta legues y tres adelante.

Otro de S. Carlos de poco mas de ciento;
ambos de la nación de los Chataco que vi
vió catórica años pedían el bautismo y se lo
les cumplió nuestro Padre el día veinte
y uno de Junio del año pasado de ciento
ciento y setenta y cuatro. En aquel parec
en Mochínas y las poblaciones Ocas están
arribadas mas de quatro mil gentes que
mandan Chicas que se sufrirán de la Caza
ruego y vanos de artes.

Entre El Norrâste y bushel appo mas de
treinta legues de distancia a la vuelta
de Un Caudalero Vío, es la Púc. de Al
friara de barbosis gentiles que comprenien
de Catrón, legues, é Son Podra, Imoco-
laya, Apanico, Puári, Qohíhí, Añarco,
Cristano, Atan, Subarí, Piupiaqui, Achí
coyu, Añtapi, Llahurú, Cuyepí.

De treinta legues adelante la granade y de
fado 2. Víel. de la Chaca que comprension
de Canto y Sichíjanes y aun Vado a
la vuelta del Guajira en la isla cor
es del grande Puerto del Río 5. La del
la Nóbila también de Babaro Sentilh,
que es todo lo que se pudo descubrir sin
Vallar aparato que me dieron noticias por
Rear Dezdejición que hizo de los Víos.
del Prado y Paroyo que pone Masser La
travesía de Apalache en la
Porta de Apalache, y viene es que como no
estar en la Ciudad de S. Augustín, que tan distante
hay de las playas, y no escrito por noticias
sugerirse los nombres o fuentes las fami-
las de la Coruña e Nueva York, en las
tres y seis en su mapa y Cabeza de
las Poblaciones de Apalache
que vienen por la plana que de los
tres y seis en esta.

Costa de la Venda del Norte

Vendeda de la Ciudad de S. Augustín, en el
sur de la Venda del norte, y en ella los Poblaciones
siguientes:

Hacia el Lugar y Des
tina de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora del
Cristo. Se ve el Lugar y doctrina del
San Juan del Puerto por cuya barra se
vene el Gran Río de Corrientes y Frigido.
A ver la doctrina y lugar de S. María
a tra la de S. Ifigenia, y nueve la de
S. Bona Ventura de Gualalingas, a ver
la de S. Domingo de Ávila, a ver la
de S. Jorge de Zapala, y acer la de S.
Cristo que rodea los Poblaciones de Nueva
y en el último tiene el Cato en el bar
para la infantería.

De allí viene el Lugar al barrio de Asis
y de ella por dentro de barcas y jutil
de barcas y ver en cierto lugar de difi-
cía en la Porta de Comaúi Yugara y al
Norte de Comaúi, viena del Lugar de
Oriente está el de S. Helena que es de
Christián, y vienen y cuatro ligares al
Puerto de S. Jorge, y población dintueng.
Corriendo la costa ala Yorda del Sur por el canal de Bahama, pasando por los puertos de Matanzas y Marqués, atravesando las aguas de la Ciudad de la Santa Fe del Cuyo de Canuelas, que son baxas y saladas, seis leguas más, se llega al mar y de él en distancia de ocho leguas se llega a la barra de Asia. De allí, vino la Guaza o Toga, tendidas adosado sobre la Isla, y alrededor veinte leguas de ella se ve la costa de América. La costa arriando de allí en el gran aguas del Atlántico, donde es tradición que en un tercio de hora se hacen veinte leguas de ella. Veinte leguas más se llega a la costa de Venezuela, donde se ve la costa de la navegación llamada de Cartagena, y se ve al ala derecha del Espíritu Santo, la costa de Noruega a su frente, y de allí se llega a la costa de Noruega, donde se ve la costa de los Franceses, veinte leguas más.
FACSIMILE OF EIGHTH PAGE OF CALDERON LETTER OF 1675
Andan en Caracas con sola una piel de la cintura abajo, y el que mas una cabeza de aguila, sin aforro y una frazada. La mayoria con sola una corona bergua que le coge desde el cuello se queja que son de la orilla de los arboles de color de plata que llaman suano, y no la quinta mar de seguro. El cuarto medio y ochenta y una que salen en los Pueblos de la isla de Apalache de muchas de la cintura arriba y de la no
dilla abajo. Siguen todas de esta isla como las demas.
Su sustento ordinario es mas gachas y frutas de maiz con zema, Calabazas, Judias que llaman Trujillos y la Caza, y pesca de pescadillas que quedan ahora para los mas bien adornados. La bebida que es el agua sin
quitando el Pino su aguardiente, y el mayor
bebedor es lo que hacen de una Jicara que hay
bajo costa del mar que queman y bien
caliente, y llaman Agua, es amarga mu
cho y es por que la Corbeta aunque no del
embrago, y tizopucoche. Ciertamente esto
puede y en sus cavas solo sobre un armazón
de baulicas de Cane, que llaman Corbeta de
una piel de 80 trunca. Sin otro abri
y se llenan de mantilla lumbre que
llenan en medio de la Chica, que llaman
una y por una Chica despues en forma de
checas. Sin ventanas y la puerta de una
ra de alto y media de ancho, y aun lado
una travesaera de angustia que
llaman jarcia donde vacitan el trigo ma
iz y los pilones de sus cruzadas.
Por encontron la Derba y media de los
campos para labrar los Ocean de los que hien
go de frigio, como la Venados, Cavan.
Facsimile of Tenth Page of Calderón Letter of 1675
Facsimile of Eleventh Page of Calderón Letter of 1675
Mi seño de ellos y llaman Ataúni de Padre Iglesia, que tienen los Religiosos para el ministerio, y mi fiscal para que me diga de quien es de todo los religiosos y su menudo.

[Signature]