

A Land “Wholly Laid Waste”:
Religious Violence and the
Transformation of the Early American South

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In early 1704, South Carolina militia and Creek Indians launched a surprise raid against the Spanish missions of northern Florida. Besieging one village after another, the attackers broke through mud-walled fortifications, overpowered Apalachee Indian defenders, and torched homes and churches. Spanish and Indian captives were scalped, skinned, and pierced with burning wood. One priest was incinerated in a fire so hot it melted the crucifix around his neck. In one village the raiders tied Catholicized Indians to seventeen “stations of the cross” around the central plaza and set them on fire. They took thousands of men, women and children as prisoners and marched them north into slavery. Paralyzed and helpless, the Spanish crown and colonial government could not stop the attacks, which continued, in waves, for four more years. By the time the last raids ended in 1708, they had destroyed the mission system that had been the instrument of Spanish colonization in the Southeast since 1565, virtually sealing the extinction of Florida Indians who numbered a quarter of a million a century earlier. Outside of the fortified towns of St. Augustine to the east and Pensacola to the west, scarcely a person or a house remained in all of northern Florida. An English map from a few years later described the region as “Wholly laid waste being destroyed by the Carolinians, 1706.”ⁱ

Like the frontier region in which it happened, this episode occupies a curious space in early American religious history—namely, none at all. The destruction of the missions has long been recognized by historians of colonial Spanish Florida and of the early southeast as a pivotal event that altered the demographic and geopolitical complexion of the region. The event also figures in the burgeoning literature on the Indian slave trade driven by South Carolina’s hunger for slave

labor.ⁱⁱ But the episode is nowhere near as well known as iconic Indian-colonist confrontations such as the Pequot, King Philip's, or Yamassee wars. Though the annihilation of the missions constituted one of the worst massacres of native Americans by colonists and their allies during the colonial period, it is overshadowed by such better-known atrocities as the Gnadenhütten massacre of 1782.ⁱⁱⁱ American religious history—still so driven by an Anglophonic focus on the colonial northeast—has ignored this major theater of Protestant-Catholic conflict to the south, a neglect symptomatic of the still too-common exclusion of Spanish North America from the religious narrative. The annihilation of the missions has not been examined as an outburst of religious violence involving English, Spanish, and Indian combatants, though their destruction was, in part, a continuation of the wars of Reformation that had been waged on American soil for nearly 150 years. A focus on the destruction of the Florida missions, drawing on underused accounts from English and Spanish sources, can reposition this overlooked episode as a crucial event in early American religious history.

English and Creek attackers aimed to overthrow the “Republic of Indians,” the Spanish term for the loose confederacy of Indian chiefdoms bound together by the Franciscan mission system that anchored the Roman Catholic presence in southeastern North America. At its height in the mid-seventeenth century, the Republic numbered some 26,000 ostensible converts in dozens of mission towns stretching in a wide arc from the coast of present-day Georgia to western Florida. The towns lay along, or within a few miles of, two roads linking the mission provinces associated with the homelands of the Guale, Timucua and Apalachee Indians. From St. Augustine, one road followed the coast north to the coastal missions of Guale, while another, the *Camino Real*, or King's Highway, unfurled 250 miles to the west, connecting Timucua to the western province of Apalachee. To the south, the Calusa Indians repulsed Spanish colonization, so the Republic was

confined to what is now northern Florida and coastal Georgia.^{iv}

As the northeastern frontier of the Spanish empire in America, the amorphous but strategic province of Florida had once extended far up the Atlantic coast. Early in the sixteenth century, the Spanish had staked that ambitious claim to North America, but it was not until 1565 that the first permanent settlement, St. Augustine, anchored the Spanish territorial claim in Florida and a militant North American outpost for the Counter-Reformation. The Spanish speedily undertook that contest with their massacre of Protestant colonists in the new French Huguenot settlement of Fort Caroline just south of St. Augustine.^v St. Augustine undergirded an archipelago of Jesuit missions along the Atlantic coast that within a few years reached as far north as the Chesapeake Bay. In 1570, Jesuits founded a mission on a peninsula between two rivers the English would later name James and York, but Jesuit condescension toward native religious practice provoked an Indian uprising in 1571 in which all the friars were killed. The Spanish attempted no more settlements that far north. Further south, along the coast of present-day South Carolina, Indians angered at Spanish military and religious highhandedness similarly destroyed other outposts, leading Gov. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to urge the Crown that a “war of fire and blood” be waged against indigenous Floridians, whom he condemned as an “infamous people, Sodomites, sacrificers to the devil . . . wherefore it would greatly serve God Our Lord and your majesty if these [Indians] were dead, or given as slaves.”^{vi}

The Jesuits abandoned Florida in 1572, to be replaced the next year by Franciscans, who restored several missions in the Guale Indian territory north of St. Augustine. For this redoubtable order, the Florida frontier represented an extension of the vast mission enterprise that had taken them throughout the New World in pursuit of an apocalyptic vision of sacred time, space, and prophecy. The conversion of native Americans held the key to this vision, because in shedding the

idolatrous ways for which they had been so harshly punished by disease and conquest, the Franciscans believed, Indians would usher in a New Jerusalem in America. Their simple ways, free of guile and greed, when fused with the light of Christianity would restore primitive time and prepare the way for God's millennial kingdom. No less than Mexico, Peru, or Guatemala, therefore, Florida in the Franciscan mind was a sacred space, a "theatre in which the great drama of salvation" was to be played out.^{vii}

This utopian prophecy depended on Indians abiding by their providential role, abandoning their pagan beliefs and laboring in support of the missions. But though they attracted some adherents in their new province, the Franciscans failed to learn from the Jesuits' mistakes, demanded Indian tribute in labor and food, and punished those who clung to native customs. Guales revolted in 1576 and again in 1597, when, weakened by disease and unable to meet Spanish demands, they ousted missions throughout the province and killed several priests. The leader of the uprising, Juanillo, became disenchanted when missionaries sought to punish him for polygamy by barring his succession rights to the chiefdom. "Let us restore our [ancient] liberty of which these friars deprive us," he urged his people. "We who are called Christians experience only hindrances and vexations. They take away from us our women, allowing us but one, and that, in perpetuity, forbidding us to exchange them for others." The Franciscans prohibited "dances, banquets, feasts, celebrations, games and wars" to deprive the Guales of "our ancient valor and skill," and denounced spiritual leaders as wizards. "They always reprimand us, injure us, oppress us, preach to us, call us bad Christians, and deprive us of all happiness, which our ancestors enjoyed, with the hope that they will give us Heaven. . . . What have we to hope for except to become slaves?"^{viii}

The rebellion proved a turning point for the Florida missions. Severe Spanish military

retaliation brought destruction and subjugation to Guale, compelling its inhabitants to accept the inevitability of the Franciscan presence. At the same time, the Spanish realized that a lighter approach to colonization and evangelism would yield better results. Never willing to station more than a token military presence on their northeastern colonial border, they concluded that it would be easier and more effective to ally with Indian headmen, or *caciques*, than to subdue them. They would encourage Indians to join the mission system rather than impose it on them, though the threat of military conquest loomed behind the arrangement. Accordingly, the Spanish deployed this more diplomatic approach to gain Indian approval for two new mission provinces--Timucua, which extended about a hundred miles west of St. Augustine, and the populous region of Apalachee, 150 miles further west. By 1607, as English settlers struggled to gain a foothold at Jamestown, and just ten years after the Guale rebellion, the revamped mission system claimed some 6,000 adherents. Thus was born the Republic of Indians, distinct and separate from the Republic of Spaniards, essentially the colonizers' own jurisdiction in St. Augustine.^{ix}

Under the new arrangement, the Spanish now acknowledged Indians' right to land, self-government and freedom from enslavement if they accepted Christianity and joined the alliance. Indian *caciques* retained their authority to rule, royal governors now greeted them with pomp and ceremony in St. Augustine, and the Spanish recognized native customs of succession and matrilineal kinship. Trade goods and military support against non-Christian rivals enhanced the relationship, and in return, while they paid no tribute to the crown, Indians provided labor for the missions and food for St. Augustine, which they raised on mission-run farms. The agreement involved the exploitation of thousands of Indian commoners. But as historian Amy Bushnell has written, it achieved a "symbiotic" relationship between native chiefs and colonial governors that served the interests of both. Governors might provide soldiers to help a chief quell an uprising by

unruly vassals, and chiefs might provide armed fighters to help Spanish expeditions.^x

Still, though the Republic preserved a far greater measure of Indian sovereignty than before, the Spanish never intended it as a partnership among equals. Underlying the gift-giving and the negotiation was the implied threat of Spanish military force against recalcitrant outliers. The thousands who accepted the sacraments and took baptism had a long and unhappy memory of Spanish cruelty. When the mission village of Santa Ana was founded in central Timucua in 1606, the *cacique* told the priest that he had been captured as a boy by de Soto's army nearly seventy years earlier and had vivid memories of the conquistador's brutality. The desire to prevent further Spanish vengeance was no doubt a major factor motivating many to seek shelter in the missions, perhaps perceiving the priests as more congenial alternatives. But though the headmen controlled the affairs of the mission towns, the friars, as middlemen in the system, still wielded enormous power with their ability to demand labor, enforce Christian behavior in parishioners, and punish the non-compliant. The barbarities of de Soto's day were long gone, but Christian villagers were reminded daily of the presence of Spanish power in their midst. A persistent source of tension was the use of Indian vassals to carry heavy burdens long distances overland, a practice nominally banned by the Crown but still employed by friars and governors who accused each other of abuses. As in the rest of New Spain, the Florida missions were built on a bedrock of coercion.^{xi}

The underlying asymmetry of the Indian-Spanish relationship was violently demonstrated during a Timucua uprising in the spring of 1656. Governor Don Diego de Rebelledo summoned Timucuan warriors to the defense of St. Augustine against possible English attack, instructing them all, including the chiefs, to bring seventy-five pounds of corn each. Offended by Rebelledo's previous refusal to give them gifts and by his demand that they provide manual labor, the chiefs rose in rebellion, claiming that the governor's actions signaled an attempt to enslave them. When

Spanish troops put down the rebellion and executed eleven Timucuan chiefs, the governor himself was arrested for inciting the revolt and responding with extreme cruelty. In the aftermath, Spanish authorities nonetheless assumed much greater control over the province.^{xii}

Under such conditions the religious culture of the missions, as for native people throughout the Spanish colonies, was forged by complex interaction between priests and Indians. As numerous scholars of Spanish missions in the Americas have shown, Indians did not simply jettison one belief system for another. Rather, Indian beliefs and Christianity collided, overlapped, and mixed in constant tension and exchange. Many Indians resisted Christianity altogether, pretending to go through the motions while honoring native deities in secret. But Indians also appropriated Christian symbols and rituals to reinvigorate native practice. In reciprocal accommodation, Indians and priests searched for compatible similarities between Christianity and native religions, and as Indians adapted aspects of Christian practice to their own world view they competed with priests over the meaning of those practices. Particularly in areas of New Spain without a dominant military presence, the missions were the principal venue in which Indians encountered and tried to make sense of colonialism, and the hybrid faiths that emerged as Indian Christianities throughout the New World bore the full weight of that task.^{xiii}

The *pas de deux* of spiritual negotiation is evident in the Florida record. Missionaries strove to suppress native practices, using a confessional written in 1613 by Father Francisco Pareja to prescribe proper belief and behavior and define as idolatry whatever departed from those standards. Priests laid emphasis on inculcating Christianity in children born in the missions. After a visitation to the Florida missions in 1676, the Bishop of Cuba, Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderón, reported that “children, both male and female, go to the church on work days, to a religious school where they are taught by a teacher.” Indians, he noted, “embrace with devotion the mysteries of our holy

faith.” They attended mass regularly on holy days, “subject[ing] themselves to extraordinary penances during Holy Week, and during the 24 hours of Holy Thursday and Friday 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.”^{xiv}

The bishop observed, however, that when dances and festivals were held in the large wooden council houses around which every village centered, priests attended “in order to prevent indecent and lewd conduct.” The remark suggests that after a century of mission work in Florida, missionaries and Indians still differed on what constituted Christian behavior. While many Indians might well have considered themselves sincere Catholics, native beliefs and practices survived, embedded within, or lurking behind, a Christian matrix. Indeed, in 1675 the priests began a campaign to end the ritual ball games that had long been part of Indian custom but which now the Franciscans condemned as “demonic.”^{xv} Physical discipline through the whip, they insisted, was essential in their drive to stamp out paganism. For many Indians, Christianity remained an irritant, a source of continuing resentment and a force to be resisted. “On their becoming Christian,” one chief complained in 1700, “the Spaniards treat them as slaves, . . . they no longer have liberty, nor are they masters of their possessions.”^{xvi}

For others, it was not Christianity so much as Spanish authority that proved onerous. In an extraordinary letter to the king of Spain in 1699, two Indian *caciques* of mission towns in the Apalachee province, Don Patricio Hinachuba of Ivitachuco and Don Andrés of San Luis, complained of abuses by the Spanish, including forced labor, cattle trampling Indian fields, and confiscation of Indian properties. Consequently, the chiefs wrote, “the natives of San Luis are found withdrawn a league into the woods, for their places have been seized for the Spaniards. For this reason, and because they flee from the continued labor of the deputy’s house, they do not even

go to Mass on feast days.” The tone of their appeal suggested that even Indians who wanted to remain true Christians found it impossible to do so. In response, the king ordered the governor to investigate and that the Apalachees should “live without annoyance . . . as I desire greatly that these poor caciques and natives should be well treated.”^{xvii}

Exacerbating these tensions was the severe decline of the native population. At the time of first Spanish contact in the early sixteenth century, the population of Florida—or at least of the region that would comprise the reduced size of the colony by the end of the seventeenth century, roughly corresponding to the present state of Florida—is estimated to have been about 350,000. That figure included some 150,000 Timucuas in the north and northeast, 50,000 Apalachees in the west, and 150,000 others in the central, southern, and western parts of the Spanish claim.^{xviii} After permanent Spanish settlement in 1565, the population succumbed catastrophically to documented epidemics of smallpox, measles, influenza, and other diseases, a ravaging compounded by the susceptibility of concentrated numbers of Indians in centralized mission villages. On many occasions, pandemics carried away several thousand parishioners at a time, leaving chiefs far fewer vassals to supply the Spaniards’ demand for labor. Franciscan priests reported the deaths of half their Timucuan parishioners in 1613; in 1659 ten thousand Indians died of measles. Epidemics hit especially hard among the eastern Guale and Timucua, who were geographically closest to colonial capital in St. Augustine; by the 1680s the Timucua are estimated to have numbered about 3,300—only two percent of their estimated pre-Columbian level. By 1675 Apalachee had lost 15,000 people as well. On his visitation in 1676, Bishop Calderón reported a combined mission population of “13,1523 Christianized Indians to whom I administered the holy sacrament of confirmation.” By 1700, the population of the entire colony of Florida had fallen to an estimated 10,000, about eighty-five percent of them Indian. As the

population declined, so did the once-gaudy Spanish territorial claim, leaving the Franciscan Guale Indian mission of Santa Catalina on St. Catherine's Island in present-day Georgia as the most northerly Spanish outpost by the end of the seventeenth century. Severely eroded by population loss and disaffection from within, the Republic of Indians became prey to attack from without.^{xix}

Spain's claim to the American southeast had always been tenuous at best, and the English colonization of Carolina in 1670 represented a bold new challenge to which the Spanish found themselves too weak to respond. Occupation legitimized territorial claim, the English colonists maintained, and later the same year the Madrid Treaty confirmed that right of possession. Belligerently, the Carolina charter claimed the 200-mile stretch of land between Charles Town and St. Augustine, setting off a struggle over this contested zone. Aggressive and expansive, the Carolina colony sought commercial supremacy through a series of Indian alliances to trade for deerskins and Indian slaves in Spanish territory to the south and as far west as the Mississippi.^{xx}

The frontier remained on alert throughout the 1670s as the Spanish and English, along with their Indian allies, forayed into the other's claims. Though the Spanish built an impressive four-bastioned fort, the Castillo de San Marcos, in St. Augustine in 1672 and sent a garrison to St. Catherine's Island the next year, their Guale missions to the north remained vulnerable to slaving raids incited by the English. In 1680 some three hundred English-allied Westos, Creeks and Cherokees attacked mission Santa Catalina on Santa Maria Island, fifty miles north of St. Augustine, and though the garrison repulsed the invaders, terrified survivors left the mission and fled south. As the Spanish proved unable to protect the remaining missions along the coast from repeated raids during the next few years, one by one they fell or were abandoned. Some of the refugees reformed their missions on Santa Maria Island, but many other disenchanting Guales defected from the Spanish orbit for better trade goods among the English. In retaliation,

the Spanish burned a Scottish settlement at Port Royal, Carolina, in 1686 and advanced on Charleston before a hurricane forced them to withdraw. Gradually, however, the English were asserting control in the undeclared border war, and the Guale missions—the religious and imperial outposts for Spanish authority in the region—were severely reduced and driven far south.^{xxi}

Into this struggle now came the French, whose colonization of Louisiana in 1699 made the English resentful of the intrusion in their western trading territory and fearful of a French-Spanish alliance that might threaten the very existence of the Carolina colony. Indeed, the French contemplated just such a union, proposing a joint assault on Charles Town by 600 Spanish troops from Florida and Cuba and 300 French from Louisiana and Canada, while 1,500 Florida Indians would create a diversion on the frontier. Nothing came of the idea, but all sides understood that control of the southeastern portion of the continent lay at stake.^{xxii}

As it had for more than a century in the long-running feud between England and Spain, militant religious intolerance fueled the struggle as well. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 produced an England rededicated to imperial expansion and to Protestant aggression against global Catholicism. To strengthen the nation for this struggle, the Toleration Act of 1689 provided limited toleration for Protestant dissenters while denying it to English Catholics, provisions that were widely adopted in the colonies as well. The struggle against Catholicism was most keenly expressed on both the northern and southern edges of British North America that abutted England's Catholic rivals. In Massachusetts, Puritans had long seen themselves as God's militant warriors against French and Indian agents of the Antichrist, as years of hostilities had continually reaffirmed. The settlement of Carolina in 1670 was itself an act of Protestant assertion in the cockpit of Spanish Catholicism, as reaffirmed in a 1697 resolution by the South Carolina assembly that "That Liberty of Conscience be Granted to all Except Roman Catholics." The colony

aggressively recruited Huguenot refugees expelled from France as stalwart Protestant settlers. At the end of the seventeenth century, frontier warfare meant many things for England's colonies—security, imperial hegemony, and economic expansion, which, in the south heavily turned on the trade in Indian slaves. Implicitly, it was also a contest over religion.^{xxiii}

Florida's Indians were caught in the middle of this imperial gamesmanship. In western Florida, Christian Indians in the Apalachee mission province were locked in tense and increasingly violent relations with the Apalachicola, or Lower Creek, Indians to their north, who were non-Christians allied with the English. From the 1680s onward, Apalachees and Apalachicolas launched a destructive cycle of raids and counter-raids into the other's territory, taking slaves, torturing and killing captives. The Spanish permitted Apalachee slaving raids, for the governor in St. Augustine, Don Joseph de Zuñiga, directed that "all the pagans whom our Indians capture may be retained by them as slaves, and they may sell them where it is convenient." English trader John Stewart was present in a Creek town during an invasion by a thousand Apalachee warriors in 1692 who destroyed the town and killed "100 women, old men and children, scalping the slaves, ripping up the bellies, having out their hearts and guts and bowels." Long lines of captives were marched back to Apalachee towns to be roasted alive while their tormenters made "mockeries with the prisoners and [would] dance and sing and beat their drums round the fires."^{xxiv}

Yet Governor Zuñiga was also concerned that violence committed by his allies was harming diplomatic efforts to forge peace with English-allied Indians. He rebuked Catholic Chacato Indians in 1700 for inflicting "injuries and fatalities upon the pagans with whom we are trying to re-establish friendship, [to] our great detriment and impediment," warning of severe punishments to those who did not "comport themselves in a friendly manner, with all civility and good will" toward the Apalachicolas.^{xxv} The following year, after reporting that "Timuquan

Indians have done some killings without the consent of their leader,” Zuñiga outlawed further killings and the taking of scalps, the “abuse being so abhorrent in the eyes of God and such a bad example of the barbarity with which they perpetrated it, and very foreign to those who profess the evangelical law, I must abolish at once a custom so devilish as taking scalps, and the massacres they carried out in order to acquire them, without other motive or cause than to kill those they meet of different and distant tribes.” The maintenance of Christian order was imperative, for scalping was “a diabolical custom, born of and developed in, their primitive paganism.”^{xxvi}

Violence continued nonetheless in both directions across the border. In retaliation for earlier killings, Apalachicolas “killed and sacrificed in a cruel and inhuman manner” three Christian Apalachees in 1701, and in May 1702 Apalachicolas raided the Timucuan mission village of San Tomas de Santa Fé in north central Florida, “making an attack on the convent with many firearms and arrows and burning the church, although not the images which with some risk were saved.” Spanish and Timucuan defenders finally repulsed the attack, but in pursuing the assailants they fell into an ambush and suffered many casualties.^{xxvii}

Governor Zuñiga understood that more was at stake than border skirmishes. Florida itself was in peril, as he warned in terms that indicate his perception of the conflict as an apocalyptic religious struggle. “If no attempt is made to restrain these pagans,” he wrote to the Spanish king, the Creeks and English would carry out “the destruction of the Christian provinces.” The Spanish were at a disadvantage in the struggle, he noted, because the “barbarian” Apalachicolas were attracted to an alliance with the English, “who do not impose upon them the law that we do; nor will they submit either to the parish church or clergy.” The governor organized a retaliatory expedition in the summer of 1701, but 800 Apalache, Timucua and Chacato Indians under Spanish command were ambushed and defeated that summer at Flint River in western

Florida by 500 Apalachicolas who had advance knowledge of the march along with their English guns. Some 600 defeated Indians were taken back to South Carolina and sold into slavery, and the battle announced England's intent to vie for control of the lower Mississippi River valley.^{xxviii}

These conflicts foreshadowed, and became folded into, the War of the Spanish Succession, known in England's American colonies as Queen Anne's War. Declared in May 1702 by England and other northern European Protestant states fearful of the union of France and Spain, the war was fought on European battlegrounds and on North America's northeastern and southeastern frontiers. The formal declaration of a war that had been underway in the south for years gave South Carolina an opportunity for a preemptive raid on Florida. Observing that "our Queen Ann hath beene pleased to proclaime warr against ye Crowns of France & Spain and their subjects," South Carolina governor James Moore in August 1702 urged the legislature to mount an offensive for the "takeing of St. Augustin before it be strengthened with french forses." Such an attack would "open to us an easie & plaine way to Remove ye French . . . from their settlement on the south side of the Bay of appalattia." Allocating two thousand pounds for the venture, the assembly recommended that "no Less Then 350 white menn are thought fitt to Go upon this Expedition." Assembled in the Fall of 1702, the force numbered between eight hundred and thousand, including some five hundred militia augmented by three to four hundred Yamasees, or "frindly Indjans Liveing to the South and Westward." The assembly made it clear that while this was to be an imperial war against Spain and France—and by implication a religious war against Catholicism--there was human booty to be had as well. Soldiers would be recruited with the "Encouragement to be free Plunder and share of all Slaves," an enticement to regard Florida as a hunting ground for Indian slaves that became a recurrent theme of Carolina's war on the south.^{xxix}

In early November 1702, the assault force boarded boats in South Carolina, sailed

south and disembarked on Santa Maria Island, a Spanish settlement fifty miles north of St. Augustine. Overpowering three lightly-defended Guale Indian mission villages, the invaders took hundreds of prisoners as slaves, virtually sealing the end of the Guales as a people. Moore then closed in on St. Augustine, moving part of his force overland while he himself sailed by ship to block the harbor. It was easy enough to occupy and burn the town, whose approximately 1,000 Spanish, Indian and African inhabitants had taken shelter within the Castillo. But the fort, though defended by only 250 soldiers, was well prepared for a long siege and Moore lacked the heavy guns needed to damage its thick walls. He sent to Jamaica for bigger artillery, but his resourceful opponent had also appealed urgently for aid from Havana, and after an eight-week siege two warships from Cuba arrived to blockade Moore's smaller vessels. Trapped, Moore had no choice but to set fire to his ships, abandon the siege and retreat back to Carolina. There, in early 1703, the governor was removed from his post by the assembly, which ridiculed him for his failure to conquer St. Augustine and charged that the "True Design of the Expedition" was "no other than catching and making Slaves of Indians for private Advantage."^{xxx}

Though disgraced, the ex-governor had well noted the vulnerability of the missions along the Camino Real. Very few soldiers protected this northeastern defense line of the Spanish empire, the 200-mile stretch between St. Augustine and the Apalachee province. In 1702, the entire Florida colony had a garrison of only 323, most of whom were stationed in and around St. Augustine. Thirty-one Spanish soldiers were posted in Apalachee, and only three in the huge province of Timucua. After the attacks that year, Gov. Zuñiga sent desperate calls for reinforcements, and had augmented the garrison at the Timucuan mission of San Francisco de Potano. Wary of rebellion, however, the Spanish had never provided guns to mission villagers, who were easy targets for English raiders and their musket-wielding Indian allies. New raids in

this territory would cripple Florida, argued Moore, urging legislators in early 1703 to make a second assault on St. Augustine, the “Small Spanish Town Called Pancicola” and French Mobile. Conquest of these ports would “make her Majestie Absolute and Sovereigne lady of all ye Maine as farr as the River Mischisepi,” securing “a vast Trade of furs and Skinns” and making Carolina second only to Virginia in value among England’s mainland colonies. Though he did not mention other spoils, Moore had his eyes on a rich bounty of slaves.^{xxxix}

Despite criticism over his previous failure, legislators backed the ex-governor’s plan. They stationed a garrison at Port Royal “for the Security of those Parts from ye Incursions and Ravages of ye Spanyards, which wee have Great Reason to be dayly apprehensive” while endorsing the need for more invasions of their own. In September 1703 they commissioned Moore to “raise a Party of men to go to ye Assistance of . . . our frindly Indjans, And to Attacque ye Appalaches” or “to endeavour to gain by all peaceful means possible ye appalaches to our interest (as we are inform’d they are therunto inclinable).”^{xxxix} Moore apparently spent little time exhausting such “peaceful means.” Sometime in late 1703 his forces assaulted three points along the frontier--San Joseph de Ocuia mission in Apalachee, San Francisco de Potano in Timucua, and Pilitiriva, a fort north of St. Augustine--taking more than 500 Indians captive.^{xxxix}

These attacks signaled the onslaught that Moore unleashed on the missions in early 1704. On January 25, 1,500 Indians and fifty English attacked Ayubale, an Apalachee mission described by Moore as “a strong and almost regular Fort” of mud walls. Eyewitness accounts from both Spanish and English sources have survived from the assault, with striking differences between them. Whereas the English reports, written by Moore, provide few details about the violence of the battle, the Spanish descriptions by surviving soldiers give a far more visceral account of the predatory and brutal nature of frontier warfare while depicting the Catholic victims

as martyrs. As his forces advanced on the enclosure, Moore later reported to the Carolina proprietors, Indian defenders assisted by a lone priest, Father Angel de Miranda, “shot Arrows at us briskly,” repulsing several assaults, until their ammunition ran out. The invaders then “thought fit to attempt burning the church, which we did, three or four Indians assisting us in it we burnt it.” As flames roared into the church and the raiders battered through its doors, the defenders surrendered. “After we were within their Fort a Fryar, the only [Spaniard] within it, came forth and begged mercy: In this we took 26 men alive and 58 women and children, the Indians took about as many more of each sort. The Fryar told us we killed in the two storms 24 men.”^{xxxiv}

The next day, thirty Spanish militia and 400 Apalachee from mission San Luis came to the relief of Ayubale, accompanied by Father Juan de la Parga of the nearby Patale mission. Details from the ensuing battle were later recounted to a board of inquiry in St. Augustine by a Spanish survivor, soldier Juan Baptista de la Cruz. Before they took the field that morning, de la Cruz recounted, Father Parga “preached a sermon in the Apalachian tongue which lasted more than an hour, saying many things to the natives; that they should go to fight against [illeg.] and pagans that came to disturb the law of God and destroy the Christian provinces; that all those who may die in that conflict will go to enjoy God, having engaged in defense of his holy law, and thus they could go content.”^{xxxv} The outnumbered Apalachee-Spanish force surrounded what was left of the village and attacked, but after besieging the barricaded Anglo-Indian allies their ammunition ran out, and they fled, leaving behind many casualties and captives. “We have a particular account of 168 Indian men killed and taken in this fight and flight,” as well as a handful of Spaniards killed, including Father Parga, Moore reported.^{xxxvi}

Moore’s “particular account” omitted details of the friar’s death and of the aftermath of the struggle, details that emerged later in the Spanish testimony of Juan de la Cruz.

According to de la Cruz, Apalachicolas beheaded Father Parga, brought his head to the council house, and tossed his body in a canebrake, where it was later found “with one leg gone and a leather boot on the other, his body naked, swollen, and half decomposed.” Some forty Apalachee captives were tied to stakes and “roasted with much barbarity and cruelty by the abhorrent pagans.” The Spanish soldier “heard say that to an Indian of San Luis, called Antonio Enixa, they applied fire slowly from morning until his death nearly at sunset, and that the said Indian exhorted the pagans, telling them that they should kill him, [for] he would die consoled, in that as a Christian he would go to enjoy God, while they would go to hell, and that the Most Holy Virgin was helping him and appeared near.” Feliciano, the Indian cacique of mission San Luis, “also preached much, and with great bravery himself taunted the pagans so that they would torture him, saying to them that the body would die but that his soul would go to enjoy God eternally.” Luis Domingo, another parishioner from San Luis, “was slashed with knives, and they stuck burning splinters into the wounds they had made, but nothing of this could prevent him from preaching until he died.”^{xxxvii}

Watching as his parishioners were cremated alive, the surviving priest, Angel de Miranda, demanded of Moore “how he could permit it, as it was not the usage of war to maltreat prisoners, because the torture was regarded as inhuman, and that the governor had said to him that the English were eighty and the Indians were one thousand five hundred, and he could not prevent it.” Miranda then untied several Apalachees, saying “to the pagans they should not do that with Christians, nor before them, for which reason they were taken farther away, according to what the captives said.”^{xxxviii} A Spanish detachment later found “many burned bodies and those of some women pierced by sticks and half roasted, many children impaled on poles, and others killed with arrows, their arms and legs cut off.”^{xxxix} Apalachees who escaped captivity even accused the Apalachicolas of cannibalism, alleging that “Indians of the Chichemeca and Chisca nations cut off

pieces” of women’s breasts, “which they half roasted and ate, in the battle at Ayubale.”^{xli} Leaving the mission in cinders, the invaders moved on to several other nearby villages, which capitulated without a struggle, their inhabitants becoming enslaved or voluntarily agreeing to join the English in return for a promise of freedom. Moore reported that the cacique of one town, Ivitachuco, sued for peace “with his church plate and led horse laden with provisions,” while at two other towns, “which have all strong Forts and defenses against small armies, they all submitted and surrendered their Forts to me without conditions.”^{xli}

Though some Apalachee missions survived Moore’s predations, he had crippled the western link of the mission chain. In letters to the governor and Lords Proprietor of Carolina, Moore triumphantly sketched a stark new geopolitical map in April 1704. “I have now in my company all the whole people of three towns, and the greatest part of four more; we have totally destroyed all the people of two towns,” so that only a few villages remained, and Christian Indians, terrified of destruction, abandoned the Spanish daily to join him.^{xlii} The ever-longer train of captives and of willing migrants made its way back to Carolina. “In this expedition I brought away 300 men, and 1000 women and children, have killed, and taken as slaves 325 men, and have taken slaves 4000 women and children; tho I did not make slave, or put to death one man, women or child but what were taken in the fight, or in the Fort I took by storm. All of which I have done with the loss of 4 whites and 15 Indians, and without one penny charge to the Publick.” Some of these Apalachee migrants received freedom and were settled in a buffer zone along the Savannah River. Others were sold as slaves for work on Carolina plantations, while many were deported for forced servitude in New England or the Caribbean. Little is known of the fate of these slaves.^{xliii}

Moore boasted of the security his destruction of Apalachee heralded for Carolina. “Before this expedition we were more afraid of the Spaniards of Apalachee and their Indians in

conjunction with the French of Mississippi, and their Indians doing us harm by land, than of any forces of the enemy by sea.”^{xliv} Now, he contended, Apalachee was “reduced to that feeble and low condition, that it neither can supply St. Augustine with provisions, or disturb, damage or frighten our Indians living between us and Apalatchee, and the French. In short, we have made Carolina as safe as the conquest of Apalatchee can make it.”^{xlv}

Yet, even so thorough a victory did not stop the carnage. The lure of more victims and more slaves proved too great for Apalachicola raiders, who returned to Apalachee in June 1704 to attack the few remaining missions. At Patale on June 23, according to Don Francisco de Fuentes, another Spanish survivor, a Christian Apalachee “who had rebelliously joined the enemy” called out a greeting to the friar, Manuel de Mendoza, who opened his door and was shot to death. A Spanish search party later found him in the charred rubble of his convent. “A crucifix which he always carried with him was almost entirely melted, and the body of the Father had been so burned that when they went to carry it off it fell to powder.”^{xlvi} Some Apalachee and Spanish captives were scalped and skinned alive; seventeen others were tied to “Crosses of Calvary of the *Via Crucis* which was around the plaza of Patale.”^{xlvii} A small Spanish force sent from Pensacola was overwhelmed by Apalachicola fighters, and Spanish soldiers were tortured and immolated alongside Apalachee villagers. One soldier, Balthazar Francisco, a native of the Canary Islands, suffered an especially gruesome fate: “they cut out his tongue and eyes, cut off his ears, scalped him, and put a crown on him, which in Indian style is placed on the Indian warriors when they dance, and which they call *tascayas*. And they tied him to another cross, and slashed him all over and placed burning splinters in the wounds; and as soon as they set him afire, they mocked and insulted him,” laughing “while he called on the Most Holy Virgin to help him, for she would carry him to God.” Similar scenes unfolded at Aspalaga and Escambé missions.^{xlviii}

As a result, any surviving Indians “are hastily fleeing into the woods,” wrote the Spanish commander, Manuel Solana, to Governor Zuñiga in early July. He urged the refugees to drive their cattle east and resettle near St. Augustine for protection, but they rejected his appeal. “They replied to me that they were weary of waiting for aid from the Spaniards; that they did not wish merely to die; that for a long time we had misled them with words, that reinforcements were to come, but they were never seen to arrive; that they know with certainty that what the pagans say, will happen as they say, because all that they have said up to now has been done, and because they have believed us, they have finished with us.”^{xlix} In the face of wholesale slaughter and desertion, the Spanish decided to abandon and destroy the principal Apalachee mission, San Luis, which had not yet been attacked. Some remaining villagers and a small garrison were relocated to San Francisco de Potano to the east in Timucua. A larger contingent of some 800 Apalachee refugees headed west to Pensacola, from where most continued on to Louisiana to resettle near Mobile.¹

The Florida province of Apalachee—seventy miles wide and thirty miles long--was now virtually devoid of inhabitants. A Spanish war council in St. Augustine on July 13 convened to consider this shocking demographic cleansing. “In the province of Apalachee there are no people remaining, in comparison to the number when there were fourteen villages, in which were a total of eight thousand persons, of whom not two hundred remain; and these are prone to leave, some to the woods and others to the enemy.” The blame for the calamity, the council admitted, lay with themselves, since the Indians “have been justified in saying they have been expecting one confusion after another, as a consequence of the promises made to them that help would be sent them shortly.” Those promises had gone unkept. “In the repeated invasions made in this region during three years, there have been more than three thousand killed, and a great number of captives have been carried off,” the council lamented. “Another large group, fearful of what might happen,

have voluntarily gone over to the enemy, so that now, as was seen in the last incursion of the enemy, many of the rebellious Apalachians have increased the size and strength of the enemy forces with their presence, whereas ours have diminished.”^{li}

After almost two hundred years in Florida, the Spanish had paid a colossal price for their myopic policies. Though thousands of Indians had assimilated into the missions, their discontent with forced tributary labor and their history of rebellion had exposed the system as openly exploitative and inherently insecure. Unwilling to send the forces necessary to protect the frontier from marauders, the Spanish could neither prevent the death or captivity of loyal allies, nor stop disaffected Christian Indians from deserting to the English. Had so many not felt such resentment toward the Spanish, they might have fought more zealously to protect Florida. The missions were defenseless because the crown, and so many of its subjects, chose not to defend them.

Florida’s vulnerability was compounded by its position on the far edge of the Spanish empire and by the slow pace of mail. Gloomily recounting the disasters of the previous month, officials in St. Augustine wrote to the viceroy of New Spain on July 16, describing Apalachee as “deserted and abandoned,” the victim of “misfortune (may God not permit it) from a lack of troops, provisions, and munitions that obliges us to have recourse to the mercy of Your Excellency.” Mission Indians “are quietly passing to the enemy unopposed, as they have no desire to see themselves killed or captured.” The officials added the urgent hope that “we may expect of you the help that necessity requires in this exigency to protect the defenseless lives of this presidio and free them from the barbarous cruelties of the Indians, and especially of the rebellious Christians, so that His Majesty will not lose the territory which is now the Province of Apalachee, of Guale, and part of Timuqua.”^{lii} A month later, on August 22, the Spanish king, Philip V, issued

a proclamation promising more troops for Florida— in response to letters from February and March describing the destruction of Ayubale in January. The king’s letter, which would not have arrived until nearly the end of 1704, thus promised aid *seven months* after the first wave of attacks on Apalachee, oblivious of the subsequent raids in June and July, and far too late to do any good. In desperation, Governor Zuñiga wrote to the king on September 15 that despite promises of assistance, “not even the least relief has arrived at this presidio, from New Spain or elsewhere.” Florida, he wrote, “finds itself in a miserable condition.”^{liii}

By then, the marauders had already moved east along the Camino Real to assault the Timucua province. On the way they “defeated, laid waste, and burned alive the *caciques* of San Pedro and San Matheo and their vassals.”^{liv} Seventy miles further east, only two Timucuan missions remained in the interior, the fortified towns of Abosaya and San Francisco, which held perhaps six hundred people, including refugees from Apalachee and from the abandoned Santa Fe mission nearby. These towns, along with mission Salamatoto to the east, withstood repeated attacks between 1704 and early 1706 until the Timucuas finally retreated to St. Augustine by May 1706. Apalachee refugees in Abosaya sought refuge south of St. Augustine but were hunted down and killed or captured. “We have these two past years been intirely kniving all the Indian Towns in Florida which were subject to the Spaniards and have even accomplished it,” boasted the English trader Thomas Nairne in 1705, though he insisted that the Apalachees had stayed true to the missions and that “nothing but downright force brought them over to our side.”^{lv}

An astute, though partisan, observer, Nairne left several valuable descriptions of the carnage. “The garrison of St. Augustine is by this warr reduced to the bare walls,” he wrote in 1708, and “their cattle and Indian towns all consumed Either by us In our invasion of that place or by our Indian subjects since who in quest of booty are now obliged to goe down as farr on the point

of Florida as the firm land will permit[.]” In the slave hunt, Carolina’s Indian allies “have drove the Floridians to the Islands of the Cape, have brought in and sold many hundreds of them and dayly now continue that trade so that in some few years thay’le reduce these Barbarians to a farr less number.”^{lvi} The raids had left remarkable desolation in their wake. An accurate estimate of the number of mission Indians displaced by the attacks is difficult to make, since figures by Spanish authorities and Moore himself varied widely. It appears, though, that Moore and his allies enslaved between two thousand and four thousand and killed several hundred, while several thousand more left voluntarily with the English or fled in advance of them. Whatever the number, English and Spanish sources agree that virtually no mission Indians remained. The united Anglo-Creek force, Nairne wrote in 1710 in a promotional tract advertising the prospects of South Carolina to potential settlers, “entirely broke and ruin’d the Strength of the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, destroy’d the whole Country, burnt the Towns, brought all the *Indians*, who were not kill’d or made Slaves, into our own Territories, so that there remains not now, so much as one village with ten Houses in it, in all Florida, that is subject to the *Spaniards*.” The only houses and livestock that remained in Spanish hands were those “they can protect by the Guns of their Castle of St. Augustine, that alone being now in their Hands, and which is continually infested by the perpetual Incursions of the Indians, subject to this province.” The effect was to reduce the Spanish in Florida “so low, that they are altogether uncapable of ever hurting us . . .and by drawing over to our Side, or destroying, all the *Indians*, within 700 miles of *Charlestown*.” The entire Spanish population of only about 1,500 was split between St. Augustine and Pensacola, while the 300-mile region between them, which had held a pre-contact population of perhaps several hundred thousand, was now virtually empty.^{lvii}

About four hundred terrified survivors now huddled in the shadow of the Spanish

fort in St. Augustine, a polyglot mix from the three mission provinces reconstituted in new mission enclaves in and around the capital city. Numbering 5,542 adherents in a 1681 census, the Apalachee contingent had shrunk to 48 by 1711. From more than 1,000 in 1681, the interior Timucuan were reduced to 101. When the Yamassee War convulsed South Carolina in 1715, hundreds of Yamassee refugees, who as erstwhile allies of the English had taken part in the slaving raids of 1702-04, now fled south to seek asylum from the missions they had once hunted. Accepted into these communities, the Yamassees—many of them now Catholicized—began intermarrying with other Indians, and the total mission population rebounded to 1,000 in the 1726 census. With continuing epidemics and constant in- and out-migrations, mission numbers fluctuated for decades, until by the 1750s only four missions and just a few hundred people remained in the St. Augustine environs. The “Republic of Indians” had collapsed because there was no territory left to govern and almost nobody to govern it.^{lviii}

The destruction of the Florida missions represents the intersection of imperial ambition, the Indian slave trade, and religion in the colonial Southeast. Native populations became absorbed—and absorbed themselves in—the wars of the Reformation that leaped the Atlantic and transformed the region. In the Protestant campaign to root out Catholicism’s 150-year long hold in greater Florida, the missions—the symbol and the demographic base of the Catholic presence—became the target of South Carolina’s slaving wars. James Moore and Thomas Nairne emphasized the security and economic benefits of Indian slavery for South Carolina the raids produced, but the campaign was part of England’s international war against Spain and Catholicism. In Florida the principal victims of the onslaught were “barbarian” Indians whom the English did not acknowledge as Christian, making their extermination and enslavement possible.

Spanish sources place religion more explicitly at the heart of the war. Testimony

from priests, officials, and soldiers attests to the loss of the missions as a calamitous defeat in the battle between Christendom and idolatry. The graphic descriptions of torture and execution equating to pagan barbarism, the elaborate details of anguish inflicted and endured, the lengthy quotation of triumphant Indian and Spanish speeches on the edge of death—all are of a piece with Spanish martyr literature from the New World missions. In this case, Indians not priests are the main sacrifices in the battle between light and darkness; fighting the “pagans that came to disturb the law of God and destroy the Christian provinces,” in the words of the unfortunate Father Parga, they would “go to enjoy God, having engaged in defense of his holy law.” This assurance was the only cosmic comfort to be drawn from the slaughter, but it could not mask the confounding reality that the vast scale of Indian martyrdom meant a terrible defeat in the struggle for sacred space in the New World. Virtually everything the Spanish had invested in the missions was gone and, by their own admission, they themselves were largely to blame.^{lix}

Florida Indians perceived the war largely as a religious struggle as well, to judge from Spanish sources, though it was no simple contest of Catholic godliness against pagan idolatry. To be sure, if the sources quoted Apalachee victims accurately, then undoubtedly many believed themselves to be fighting and dying on the Christian frontier against paganism, as even the stalwart Englishman Thomas Nairne confirmed. But the collapse of the mission system brought severe religious dislocation to many others. Of the thousands who were captured and enslaved, or who fled the destruction or voluntarily left with the English, Catholicism remained entrenched among many, even among those disgusted with the Spanish authorities. The approximately 800 Apalachee refugees in Louisiana, for example, both impressed and annoyed the religious authorities in their new district near Mobile. “You cannot believe the trouble the Apalachee are causing us,” one priest complained. They are constantly asking for sacraments, and we cannot

understand them any more than we can make ourselves understood.” A Capuchin Superior recommended that “for the welfare of the colony” a missionary should be stationed among the Apalachee “because these people, very zealous for religion, would abandon the post, if they were left without a priest, and . . . they are of all the Indians the only ones on whose fidelity we can count with certainty.” On the other hand, the sources indicate that many who willingly abandoned the missions turned their backs on both Spanish control and Catholicism: the Anglo-Creek raids offered liberation from the hated priests. For Florida Indians, caught in the middle of the larger imperial conflict, the crisis of the missions forced some survivors to make difficult choices about their religious commitments as it opened up new options to others.^{lx}

As well as preserving their own security and solidifying their alliance with the English, the destruction of the missions likely involved a spiritual element for the Apalachicolas too. Since they and their rivals the Apalachees had raided each other often in the preceding decades, the Apalachicolas appear to have been eager to participate in the English assault to avenge their own losses. Indeed, the ritual torture and execution of Apalachee prisoners—as it had been in reverse—was entirely consonant with southeastern Indians’ practice of vengeance killings to restore spiritual balance and purity to a world disordered by warfare and death. Retaliation in the form of blood revenge, as Robbie Ethridge has written, was the “chief motive of war between the Creeks and their neighbors” and had an inherently religious motivation. Less clear is whether the Apalachicolas considered themselves specifically at war with the Catholicism of their victims, as might be inferred from their killing and mutilation of priests and their mocking conversion of seventeen “stations of the cross” into fiery execution stakes. Whatever the intent, the sacred plazas and churches of the mission yards were reduced to wastelands of desecration and death.^{lxi}

Between the late sixteenth and the early eighteenth centuries, Spain predicated the

defense of its imperial frontiers in the Southeast on a strong mission system. The destruction of the missions decimated nearly all of what was left of Florida's native population that had been declining steadily since the time of de Soto. Though this demise was brought to a particularly violent culmination in Florida, it was entirely consonant with a larger population realignment underway through the early South. "If one examines the broad region from South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida across to East Texas," according to Peter H. Wood, "it seems clear that the early eighteenth century marked a huge and unique turning point for the history of the Deep South as a whole." In 1680 the population of that vast region numbered some 200,000, about 98 percent of whom were Indian, but by the time of the American Revolution Indians comprised only one-sixth of the population of the Deep South.^{lxii}

The political and religious consequences of this demographic realignment for Florida were profound. The colony's borders became utterly porous and undefended against encroachment. The English followed up their victory in the Yamassee War by reaching aggressively into the disputed zone between St. Augustine and Charles Town they had long coveted. The construction of a fort on the Altamaha River, in the former province of Guale, just a hundred miles from St. Augustine in 1721, marked the first English occupation of the region that would, by 1732, become the new colony of Georgia—a claim made all the easier because there were no more Guale Indians in the territory. Along the northern Florida frontier, English and Apalachicolas slavers passed unimpeded through now-vacant Apalachee and Timucua territory in their quest for captives deep into Calusa land in southwest Florida. With no people inhabiting them, vast sections of Florida became desacralized until Creek migrants moved south to reoccupy them, becoming known to the Spanish as Seminoles.^{lxiii}

Religious violence transformed the early eighteenth-century southern frontier, yet

in stealth, it left no imprint on American religious history. The missions were destroyed, their parishioners killed or dispersed. The raiders did their work too well. Nothing visible remains of the wood and mud-and-thatch villages that once held thousands of people—not a building, not a stone, not a grave marker--though archaeology is turning up earthenware and the marks of charred posts from an inferno three centuries ago. The Anglo territorial push that swallowed the Southeast and swarmed west overwhelmed the Spanish and native legacies in American religious history.^{lxiv} Since the seventeenth century, the south Atlantic seaboard of North America had been slowly shifting from a geopolitical zone controlled by native peoples and Spaniards to one dominated by the English, and from a spiritual zone characterized by Indian religions and Catholicism to one dominated by Protestantism and the religions of enslaved Africans. The neutering of the Spanish threat and the evisceration of the region's Catholic population were essential preconditions for the Protestant ascendancy. The obliteration of the missions, therefore, was a turning point in the many-sided struggle in the Southeast between native people, Spaniards, Englishmen and Africans for spiritual self-determination and authority that must feature prominently in the narrative of early American religious history. In the early South no less than in the northern colonies, that history is entangled in Atlantic politics and global imperial rivalries.^{lxv}

When Spain ceded Florida to Britain after the Seven Years' War in 1763, the last indigenous people remaining from the early Spanish period scattered. A remnant of just eighty-eight Timucuan survivors evacuated St. Augustine for Cuba in the summer of 1763, as did the remaining Calusas, while about one hundred Apalachees evacuated from Pensacola to Veracruz, Mexico. Traces of Spanish influence lingered on, surviving in pockets and in the seams of British Florida. A legend on a 1768 map hinted of a settlement of Timucuan refugees on a remote island in the Okefenokee Swamp, "where they remained without any communication, and

it is only known that they preserve the Catholic religion, because they conserve at their necks the rosaries of large beads that they wore, and they have been heard to pray in their language.”^{lxvi}

Touring Florida in 1773, naturalist William Bartram noted that the “manners and customs” of Indians in Florida were “tinctured with Spanish civilization”: “There are several Christians among them, many of whom wear little silver crucifixes, affixed to a wampum collar round their necks or suspended by a small chain up their breast. These are said to be baptized.” That “tincture” symbolized the divided legacy that more than two centuries of Spanish presence had left on Florida. “Notwithstanding most of them speak and understand Spanish, yet they have been the most bitter and formidable Indian enemies the Spaniards ever had.”^{lxvii}

Notes

ⁱ Colonial Office Maps, N.A.C. General, 7, quoted in Verner W. Crane, The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1929), 81.

ⁱⁱ Herbert E. Bolton, The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921); Alan Galloway, The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin, eds., Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1951); John H. Hann, Apalachee: The Land Beyond the Rivers (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1988), John E. Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida. Vol. 2: Resistance and Destruction (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998); Jerald T. Milanich, Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995); idem., Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999); Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994).

ⁱⁱⁱ See, for example, Richard Slotkin, Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860 (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973); Richard Drinnon, Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980); Jill Lepore, The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity (New York: Knopf, 1998); Peter Silver, Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America (New York: Norton, 2008); Ann M. Little, Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); William L. Ramsey, The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Southeast (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

^{iv} Amy Turner Bushnell, "Ruling 'the Republic of Indians' in Seventeenth-Century Florida," in Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, eds., Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 134-50.

^v David J. Weber, The Spanish Frontier in North America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); 30-59; Paul E. Hoffman, A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast during the Sixteenth Century (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).

^{vi} Weber, Spanish Frontier, 60-75, quotations on 74, 75. On the Ajacán mission, see also Clifford M. Lewis and Albert J. Loomie, The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953). A leader of the rebellion was Don Luis de Velasco, a former Jesuit acolyte whom the Spanish had captured on the Chesapeake years earlier, taken to Spain, Mexico, and back to his home territory, where he abandoned the order. He was probably the Algonquian leader later known as Opechancanough, a brother or cousin of Powhatan who organized a revolt against the Virginia colony in 1622.

^{vii} J.H. Elliott, Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 184-97, quote at 185; John Leddy Phelan, The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World (2nd ed., Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970); Viviana Díaz Balsera, The Pyramid Under the Cross: Franciscan Discourses of Evangelization and the Nahua Christian Subject in Sixteenth-Century Mexico (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005); Ralph Bauer, "Millennium's Darker Side: The Missionary Utopias of Franciscan New Spain and Puritan New England," in Carla Mulford

and David S. Shields, eds., Finding Colonial Americas: Essays Honoring J.A. Leo Lemay (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 2001), 33-49.

^{viii} Carolyn Stefano-Schill, "The Gualean Revolt of 1597," Southern Exposure XII (Nov./Dec. 1984), 7.

^{ix} Bushnell, "Ruling 'the Republic of Indians'."

^x *Ibid.*, 142-44.

^{xi} *Ibid.*, 143; Jerald T. Milanich, "Franciscan Missions and Native Peoples in Spanish Florida," in Hudson and Tesser, eds., Forgotten Centuries, 276-303, esp. 302 n.74. On Spanish labor demands, see Milanich, Laboring in the Fields of the Lord, 149-56.

^{xii} Worth, Timucuan Chiefdoms, vol. II, 38-87.

^{xiii} Nicholas Griffiths, "Introduction," in Nicholas Griffiths and Fernando Cervantes, eds., Spiritual Encounters: Interactions Between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 1-42, contains a useful review of these themes. Also representative of the large literature on Indians and Spanish missions is Kenneth Mills, Idolatry and its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Serge Gruzinski, Man-Gods in the Mexican Highlands: Indian Power and Colonial Society, 1520-1800 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989); Sabine MacCormack, Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Inga Clendinnen, Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Nancy M. Farris, Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Louise M. Burkhart, The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989); and James Lockhart, The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries (Stanford: Stanford University Press).

^{xiv} Jerald T. Milanich and William C. Sturtevant, eds., Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario: A Documentary Source for Timucuan Ethnography (Tallahassee: Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Florida Department of State, 1972); Lucy Wenhold, ed., "A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderón, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida," Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 95, no. 16 (1936), 13-14. On life in the missions, see Milanich, Laboring in the Fields of the Lord; Worth, Timucuan Chiefdoms, vols. I and II; Bonnie G. McEwan, ed., Spanish Missions of La Florida (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993); Hann, Apalachee, *idem.*, History of the Timucua Indians and Missions (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); *idem.*, "Summary Guide to Spanish Florida Missions and Visitas with Churches in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," The Americas 46 (1990), 417-513; and Amy Turner Bushnell, Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida. American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers 74 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994).

^{xv} Wenhold, ed., "A 17th Century Letter," 13-14; Amy Turner Bushnell, "'That Demonic Game': The Campaign to Stop Indian *Pelota* Playing in Spanish Florida, 1675-1684," The Americas 35 (1978), 1-19. On the larger context of such campaigns, see Fernando Cervantes, The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

^{xvi} John H. Hann, ed. and trans., "Translation of Alonso de Leturiondo's Memorial to the King of Spain," Florida Archaeology 2 (1986), 178.

^{xvii} Don Patricio and Don Andrés to the King, Feb. 12, 1699, in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once

Stood, 25; Royal *Cédula*, Madrid, May 7, 1700, in Boyd et al., eds., Here They Once Stood, 30.
^{xviii} Milanich, Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe, 1-2.

^{xix} Wenhold, ed., “A 17th Century Letter,” 13-14. The decline of the Indian populations in Florida and the Southeast is discussed in Milanich, Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe, 212-22; John H. Hann, “Demographic Patterns and Changes in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Timucua and Apalachee,” Florida Historical Quarterly 64 (1986), 371-92; Wright, The Only Land They Knew, 217-18; Henry F. Dobyns, Their Numbers Become Thinned: Native Population Dynamics in Eastern North America (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Peter H. Wood, “The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790,” in Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, eds., Powhatan’s Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 35-103, esp. 51-55; Paul Kelton, Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

^{xx} Classic accounts of this emerging frontier rivalry are Crane, Southern Frontier, and Bolton, Spanish Borderlands. More recent studies include Weber, Spanish Frontier in North America; Kathryn E. Holland Braund, Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993); Steven J. Oatis, A Carolina Complex: South Carolina’s Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680-1730 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); and particularly on the role of the Indian slave trade in shaping English imperial policy on Carolina’s frontiers, Galloway, Indian Slave Trade.

^{xxi} Crane, Southern Frontier, 22-33.

^{xxii} *Ibid.*, 71-72.

^{xxiii} Alexander S. Salley, ed., Journals of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina, Feb. 25, 1697, p. 7. On anti-Catholicism as a feature of nascent British imperial identity, see Owen Stanwood, “The Protestant Moment: Antipopery, the Revolution of 1688-89, and the Making of an Anglo-American Empire,” Journal of British Studies 46 (2007), 481-08; Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1737 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 11-54.

^{xxiv} Undated order from Zuñiga in Boyd et al., eds., Here They Once Stood, 45; John Stewart to Queen Anne, October 1711, quoted in Galloway, Indian Slave Trade, 186, 189.

^{xxv} Order from Zuñiga, Nov. 5, 1700, in Boyd et al., eds., Here They Once Stood, 31.

^{xxvi} Order from Zuñiga, March 14, 1701, in Boyd et al., eds., Here They Once Stood, 35.

^{xxvii} Zuñiga to the King, Sept. 30, 1702, in Boyd et al., eds., Here They Once Stood, 36-37.

^{xxviii} Zuñiga to the King, Sept. 30, 1702, in Boyd, ed., Here They Once Stood, 38, Crane, Southern Frontier, 73-74.

^{xxix} Salley, ed., Journals of the Commons House, Aug. 20, 28, 1702, pp. 64, 84.

^{xxx} John Oldmixon, “The History of Carolina,” from The History of the British Empire in America (1708), in Alexander S. Salley, ed., Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1911), 341. The destruction of the Guale missions and Moore’s attack on St. Augustine are described in Charles W. Arnade, The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702 (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1959), 1-22, including estimates of the assault force on 5; and Jerald T. Milanich, “Gone, but Never Forgotten: Mission Catalina on Amelia Island and the 1702 Raid,” El Escribano 39 (2002), 1-15. Santa Maria Island north of St. Augustine is known today as Amelia Island.

^{xxxi} Arnade, Siege of St. Augustine, 10-11; Salley, ed., Journals of the Commons House, Jan. 28,

1703, pp. 27-28.

^{xxxii} Salley, ed., Journals of the Commons House, Sept. 6 and 8, 1703, pp. 103, 121.

^{xxxiii} Zuñiga to the King, March 30, 1704, in Boyd, ed., Here They Once Stood, 48-49.

^{xxxiv} James Moore to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, April 16, 1704, in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 91-92. For a description of the Anglo-Indian war against Apalachee, see also Hann, Apalachee, chap. 13; and Gallyay, Indian Slave Trade, 144-49.

^{xxxv} Extracts from the auto of an inquiry into the deaths of the Fathers in Apalachee, June 1705, in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 74-75.

^{xxxvi} Moore to Johnson, April 16, 1704, in Boyd, et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 92.

^{xxxvii} Extracts from the auto of an inquiry into the deaths of the Fathers in Apalachee, June 1705, in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 75. Feliciano's death is described further in the same account on 80.

^{xxxviii} Extracts from the auto of an inquiry into the deaths of the Fathers in Apalachee, June 1705 in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 75-76.

^{xxxix} Extracts from the auto of an inquiry into the deaths of the Fathers in Apalachee, June 1705 in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 79.

^{xl} Ibid., 81.

^{xli} Moore to Johnson, April 16, 1704, in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 92.

^{xlii} Ibid.

^{xliii} Moore to Lords Proprietors, April 16, 1704, in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 94-95; Hann, Apalachee, 294-305.

^{xliv} Moore to Lords Proprietors, April 16, 1704, in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 94-95.

^{xlv} Moore to Johnson, April 16, 1704, in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 93.

^{xlvi} Extracts from the auto of an inquiry into the deaths of the Fathers in Apalachee, June 1705 in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 78.

^{xlvii} Ibid., 82.

^{xlviii} Ibid., 76. Another eyewitness described the crown put on Francisco's head as made of the "beaks of parroquets, deer hair, and wild animal hair, such as are much used in the dances which the pagans have for *tascayas* or *norocos*, names which are given to the courageous Indians." Extracts from the auto of an inquiry into the deaths of the Fathers in Apalachee, June 1705 in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 82.

^{xlix} Manuel Solana to Gov. Zuñiga, July 8, 1704, in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 54.

^l Extracts from the auto of an inquiry...; Solana to Zuñiga, July 8, 1704, in Boyd, ed., Here They Once Stood, 50-55, 74-82; Hann, Apalachee, 306-07.

^{li} Council of War, July 13, 1704, in Boyd, ed., Here They Once Stood, 56-59.

^{lii} Royal officials to Viceroy, July 16, 1704, in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 60-61.

^{liii} Royal Cédula, August 22, 1704; Zuñiga to the King, Sept. 15, 1704, both in Boyd, ed., Here They Once Stood, 64-65, 68-69.

^{liv} Zuñiga to the King, Sept. 15, 1704, in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 68.

^{lv} Worth, Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, vol. 2, 144-46; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel MSS A, II, no .156, quoted in Crane, Southern Frontier, 81.

^{lvi} Thomas Nairne, Letter to an Unidentified Lord, July 19, 1708, quoted in Hann, Apalachee, 304.

^{lvii} Thomas Nairne, A Letter from South Carolina (London, 1710), in Jack Greene, ed., Selling a New World: Two Colonial South Carolina Promotional Pamphlets (Columbia: University of

South Carolina Press, 1989), 53. On imprecision about the number of Indians affected, see Gally, Indian Slave Trade, 146-49.

^{lviii} Worth, Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, 147-56; Bushnell, "Ruling 'the Republic of Indians'," 145; Hann, Apalachee, 305-17.

^{lix} Extracts from the auto of an inquiry into the deaths of the Fathers in Apalachee, June 1705, in Boyd et al, eds., Here They Once Stood, 74-75.

^{lx} Jay Higginbotham, Old Mobile, Fort Louis de la Louisiane, 1702-1711 (Mobile, 1977), quoted in Hann, Apalachee, 306.

^{lxi} Robbie Ethridge, Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their world (Chapel Hill, 2003), 231; Charles Hudson, The Southeastern Indians (Knoxville, 1976), 239-57; Nathaniel Knowles, "The Torture of Captives by the Indians of Eastern North America," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 82 (1940), 151-225; Gally, Indian Slave Trade, 187-91. See also Daniel K. Richter, The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization (Chapel Hill, 1992), 35-36, 65-70; Armstrong Starkey, European and Native Warfare, 1675-1815 (Norman, Okla., 1998), 28-31.

^{lxii} Peter H. Wood, "Circles in the Sand: Perspectives on the Southern Frontier at the Arrival of James Oglethorpe," in Phinzy Spalding and Harvey H. Jackson, eds., Oglethorpe in Perspective: Georgia's Founder after Two Hundred Years (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989), 5-21, quote on 14; Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: an Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790," in Wood, Waselkov, and Hatley, eds., Powhatan's Mantle, 35-103.

^{lxiii} Crane, Southern Frontier, 235-53; Gally, Indian Slave Trade; Louis de Vorse, Jr., "Oglethorpe and the Earliest Maps of Georgia," in Spalding and Jackson, eds., Oglethorpe in Perspective, 22-43; Kenneth Coleman, "The Southern Frontier: Georgia's Founding and the Expansion of South Carolina," Georgia Historical Quarterly 56 (1972), 163-74; J. Leitch Wright, Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971); Claudio Saunt, A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 34-37.

^{lxiv} The Anglo- and Protestant-centered perspective that has so dominated early American religious historiography can be seen in two influential examples. "The fact that the American colonies were English colonies," according to Winthrop Hudson, "meant, first of all, that the colonists in background if not always in active affiliation, would be predominantly Protestant." And as George Marsden writes: "The story of American religion, if it is to hang together as a narrative, must focus on the role played by certain groups of mainstream Protestants who were for a long time the insiders with disproportionate influence in shaping American culture." Winthrop S. Hudson and John Corrigan, Religion in America, 5th ed. (New York; Macmillan, 1965, 1992), 12; George Marsden, Religion and American Culture (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990), 12, quoted in Thomas Tweed, "Introduction: Narrating U.S. Religious History," in Tweed, ed., Retelling U.S. Religious History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 1-23. For a recent critique of early Americanists' slowness to incorporate the Spanish borderlands, see Juliana Barr, "How Do You Get from Jamestown to Santa Fe? A Colonial Sun Belt," Journal of Southern History 73 (2007), 553-66.

^{lxv} Standard narratives of early American religious history that do not mention the destruction of the missions and underplay the Protestant-Catholic confrontation on the southeastern frontier include Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People (New Have: Yale University Press, 1972); Mark Noll, A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada

(Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992); Martin Marty, Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 years of Religion in America (New York: Penguin, 1984); Patricia Bonomi, Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Jon Butler, Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).

^{lxvi} Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente, "Plan of the Provinces of Florida, 1768," quoted in Worth, Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, 157.

^{lxvii} William Bartram, Travels of William Bartram, ed. Mark van Doren (New York: Dover, 1928), 164.