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## Colonialism on the Spanish Florida Frontier: Mission San Luis, 1656-1704

by Bonnie G. McEwan

The status of indigenous chiefs in the Americas was acknowledged by Spaniards in 1492.<sup>1</sup> This resulted in a hierarchical social order of republics, including “a Republic of Spaniards, a Republic of Indians, and a “third order” of free blacks and mixed bloods...presumed to have an African taint.”<sup>2</sup> During the seventeenth century, this framework became an important element in structuring the Indies and other colonies such as La Florida.<sup>3</sup> In exchange for allegiance and tribute obligations, chiefs received special privileges, immunities, honorific titles, and material gifts that reinforced their status. However, the

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- 1 See Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1949).
- 2 Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 391.
- 3 See Amy Turner Bushnell, “Ruling ‘the Republic of Indians in Seventeenth-Century Florida,’” in *Powhatan’s Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov and M. Thomas Hatley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 134-150; Amy Turner Bushnell, “Republic of Spaniards, Republic of Indians,” in *The New History of Florida*, ed. Michael V. Gannon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 62-77; John H. Hann, *Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1988); John E. Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1: Assimilation* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998); John E. Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 2: Resistance and Destruction* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).

recognition of native nobility and indigenous political structures never precluded the fact that Spaniards always constituted the superior order or republic, and they alone controlled the rules by which their settlements were governed.<sup>4</sup>

This essay is concerned with the development of San Luis de Talimali, the provincial capital of Apalachee Province from 1656-1704 (Figure 1). Long-term archaeological research has revealed two distinct periods of occupation, both of which lasted approximately one-quarter century. Phase I (1656-ca. 1680) represents the initial settlement when San Luis was first established at its present location at the behest of Governor Diego de Rebolledo for Spanish military advantage. At the time, San Luis's native leaders maintained some degree of cooperation with Spaniards, even though other Apalachee chiefs and friars objected to an expanded military presence in the region. The archaeological evidence for this period is significant because it provides our first insights into the organization of a major mission-era Apalachee village. It is also compelling since, despite the fact that San Luis was built with some degree of Spanish oversight, no other native structures on this scale have been found at pre- or post-contact sites in Spanish Florida. It suggests that the Apalachee living at San Luis made a reasoned assessment of their situation and devised strategies for adapting to it.

The archaeological evidence for Phase II (ca. 1680-1704) is equally fascinating. It reveals marked changes in the San Luis landscape with the creation of a Spanish settlement and an expanded garrison. The remains of many of these Spanish structures lay atop those of native dwellings, and suggest the displacement of Apalachee residents as the European community expanded.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A unique historical relationship existed between San Luis and Spaniards that dated back to the first *entradas* to enter Apalachee Province. The ancestor village of the settlement that became the San Luis mission in the 1630s first appears in the historical record a century earlier. Chroniclers referred to it variously as Anhayca

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<sup>4</sup> McAlister, 391-396.



Figure 1. Location of Apalachee Province and San Luis relative to St. Augustine. Graphic by John LoCastro.

Apalache, Nixaxipa, Inaihica, Inihayca, Xinayca, and Anhaica. Anhaica, the name used by the Fidalgo de Elvas,<sup>5</sup> will be used here.

Anhaica was first visited by the Pánfilo de Narváez *entrada* in 1528, and their hostile encounter was described in the only account of this expedition published by Cabeza de Vaca.<sup>6</sup> A decade later, Hernando de Soto's expeditionary forces commandeered Anhaica for five months as their 1539-1540 winter encampment. This violent encounter is chronicled by the Fidalgo de Elvas,

5 The Fidalgo de Elvas, *True Relation of the Vicissitudes that Attended the Governor Don Hernando de Soto and Some Nobles of Portugal in the Discovery of the Province of Florida*, Volume 1, trans. Buckingham Smith, ed. Edward Gaylord Bourne, (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1904).

6 Álvaro Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *The Narrative of Alvar Núñez Cabeza da Vaca*, trans. by Fanny Bandelier, (Barre, MA: The Imprint Society, 1972).

Rodrigo Ranjel, Luys Hernández de Biedma, and Garcilaso de la Vega.<sup>7</sup> Taken together, these accounts make Anhaica among the most thoroughly documented protohistoric villages in what was to become Spanish Florida.<sup>8</sup> The other major Apalachee village named in these accounts was Ivitachuco. Located east of Anhaica, Ivitachuco was the first Apalachee settlement the *entradas* encountered. There is some evidence to suggest that the chiefs of San Luis and Ivitachuco, the most important leaders in the province, may have been brothers or part of the same ruling lineage.<sup>9</sup> During times of peace Ivitachuco's chief may have prevailed, but San Luis's chief apparently assumed preeminence when the province was at war. Sixteenth-century Spaniards consistently referred to Anhaica's chief as the "lord of Apalachee."

In 1987, B. Calvin Jones identified the site of Anhaica (8Le53B/8Le282) on a ridgetop in downtown Tallahassee, approximately one-half mile east of the modern capitol complex.<sup>10</sup> Jones initiated the investigation of the site (commonly referred to as the Martin site), and was later joined by Charles Ewen who conducted additional excavations and also undertook a broad-scale survey of the surrounding area.<sup>11</sup> They recovered a number of temporally diagnostic artifacts consistent with an early sixteenth-century *entrada*. These included specific types of Old

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- 7 The Fidalgo of Elvas, *True Relation*; Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *A Narrative of de Soto's Expedition Based on the Diary of Rodrigo Ranjel, His Private Secretary*, Volume 2, ed. and trans. Edward Gaylord Bourne, (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1904); Luis Hernández de Biedma, *Relation of the Conquest of Florida Presented by Luys Hernández de Biedma in the Year 1544 to the King in Council*, Volume 2, trans. Buckingham Smith, ed. Edward Gaylord Bourne, (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1904); Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Florida of the Inca*, trans. and ed. John G. Varner and Jeannette J. Varner, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980).
- 8 Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore, eds., *The DeSoto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America, 1539-1543* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993).
- 9 Hann, *Apalachee*, 98-99.
- 10 Louis D. Tesar and B. Calvin Jones, "In Search of the 1539-1540 de Soto Expedition Wintering Site in Apalachee," *The Florida Anthropologist* 42, no. 4 (December 1989), 352.
- 11 Charles R. Ewen, "The DeSoto-Apalachee Project: The Martin Site and Beyond," *The Florida Anthropologist* 42, no. 4 (December 1989), 340-360; Charles R. Ewen, "The Archaeology of the Governor Martin Site," in *Hernando de Soto among the Apalachee: The Archaeology of the First Winter Encampment*, comp. Charles R. Ewen and John H. Hann (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 51-113.

World Spanish ceramics and glass beads, five copper coins, an iron crossbow quarrel, chain mail, wrought iron hardware, and a pig maxilla with four intact teeth (a herd of pigs accompanied the de Soto expedition as “meat on the hoof”).<sup>12</sup> Archaeologists also identified the remains of three dwellings, smudge pits, a hearth, cooking pits, a borrow pit or clay mine, and a possible cistern. Two burials pits were also encountered; one contained the remains of an adult male whose bones were severely burned and the other held the remains of a child.<sup>13</sup>

More than sixty years after de Soto's violent encounter with the region's native inhabitants, Apalachee Indians began having contact with Franciscans working in western Timucua. In 1608, one of the most remarkable friars, Fray Martín Prieto, brokered a cessation of the long-standing warfare between the Timucua and Apalachee at Ivitachuco. This event represented the first time the Apalachee as a people made an attempt to establish peaceful relations with the Spaniards. The importance of Anhaica's chief was reflected once again as he was selected to go to St. Augustine to render the province's obedience to the Crown and request friars.<sup>14</sup> The Apalachee's initial request for missionaries was denied. A few years later, in 1612, Governor Juan Fernández de Olivera stated that he was still not prepared to provision or protect friars over such a long distance.<sup>15</sup> It would be another twenty years before conditions allowed the formal mission expansion into Apalachee Province to occur.

The *repartimiento* labor system and disease gradually took its toll on the early Guale, Mocama, and Timucua mission populations along the Atlantic coastal plain and sea islands.<sup>16</sup> This prompted Governor Luis de Horruytiner to finally authorize the Franciscan

12 Daniel Seinfeld of the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research recently tested the pig remains using accelerator mass spectrometry and found them to be more recent than the sixteenth century. He also re-evaluated the field data from Anhaica and found that the context within which they were recovered was disturbed.

13 Ewen, *Archaeology of the Governor Martin Site*, 66-68, 71.

14 Maynard Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618)* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1937), 230; Luís Gerónimo de Oré, “The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616),” trans. Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Studies* 18 (July 1936), 115-117.

15 Geiger, “The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618),” 241.

16 See Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida*, Volumes 1 and 2, for detailed discussions.

move into Apalachee in 1633,<sup>17</sup> laying the foundation for the province to eventually serve as the primary source of labor and provisions for St. Augustine. The region was not only among the most fertile in Spanish Florida, but Apalachee was densely populated with natives who were sedentary agriculturalists, making them ideal subjects for missionization.

San Luis de Anhaica was among the first missions established in Apalachee Province and was probably named in honor of the Governor. During his broad-scale survey of the Anhaica site, Ewen identified a mission component he believed to be the original site of San Luis de Anhaica, which was occupied between 1633-1656.<sup>18</sup> His identification of the early San Luis mission site was supported by John Hann's comparison of three mission lists. The 1655 list has San Luis located one league (or 2.6 miles) east-southeast of two post-1656 lists, placing the original San Luis mission in downtown Tallahassee close to Anhaica (the Martin site) or the nearby capitol complex.<sup>19</sup>

Spanish activity in Apalachee increased in 1638 when the governor stationed the first soldiers in the province and, the following year, a frigate made the first run from Apalachee Bay (San Marcos) to St. Augustine in under thirteen days. The identification of a suitable port provided a critical alternative transportation route between St. Augustine and Apalachee, and greatly enhanced the region's economic importance to the colony. Claudio Luis de Florencia, who had earlier been stationed at San Marcos, was appointed Apalachee's first deputy governor in 1645 and established his headquarters at San Luis de Anhaica.<sup>20</sup> Florida Governor Benito Ruíz de Salazar y Vallecilla also had a personal stake in the region after establishing a farm at Asile on the border between Yustaga and Apalachee provinces in 1645. The Asile *hacienda* produced wheat and corn, and bred livestock such as hogs, horses, and mules to serve as pack animals.<sup>21</sup> It quickly became apparent that Apalachee Province could not only meet

17 Hann, *Apalachee*, 13.

18 Ewen, "The DeSoto-Apalachee Project: The Martin Site and Beyond," 366.

19 John H. Hann, "Summary Guide to Spanish Florida Missions and *Visitas*," *The Americas* XLVI, no. 4 (April 1990), 486.

20 With few exceptions, Apalachee lieutenant governors from this time forward resided at San Luis.

21 Amy Turner Bushnell, "Republic of Spaniards, Republic of Indians," 72.

the needs of the garrison, but also held significant potential for enterprising Spaniards.

By 1647, eight Apalachee villages had already become missions. As far as we know, each of these missions was established in an extant village where at least a church was presumably incorporated into the native landscape. There were, however, a number of natives, including non-Christian Apalachee and even some recent converts, who became increasingly uncomfortable with the growing Spanish presence and developed a plot against them. Their revolt began by inviting the deputy governor and his family to a fiesta at the Bacuqua mission away from their San Luis residence. Claudio Florencia and many of his family members, along with three friars, were brutally killed and seven of the eight mission churches were burned.<sup>22</sup> The six soldiers stationed in Apalachee were unharmed since they were at the Asile farm at the time of the attack.<sup>23</sup> The Apalachee revolt was met with a forceful response by Spanish soldiers from St. Augustine who were accompanied by hundreds of Timucuan warriors. The twelve Apalachee ringleaders were executed, and twenty-six others were pressed into hard labor. The *repartimiento*, or tribute obligation, from which they had previously been exempt, was finally imposed on the Apalachee in exchange for amnesty. Significantly, the native leaders of San Luis were not complicit in the Apalachee rebellion and, in fact, San Luis's chief facilitated the escape of the five remaining friars to Timucua.<sup>24</sup> He would later lead the Apalachee opposition to the Timucua revolt of 1656.<sup>25</sup>

The Apalachee rebellion and its aftermath set the stage for the next half century during which the Apalachee were increasingly drawn into the Spaniards' orbit. Many of the conflicts that would plague their relationship were previewed at the early Asile *hacienda*, ranging from the misappropriation of native land to uncompensated Apalachee labor.<sup>26</sup> It was also a cruel coincidence

22 Hann, *Apalachee*, 17-18.

23 This was not unexpected since an unofficial role of soldiers at the time was to serve as fiscal agents and protect the investments of governors and other leading Spaniards.

24 Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1*, 120-121.

25 John H. Hann, trans., "Governor Rebolledo's 1657 Visitation of Three Florida Provinces and Related Documents," *Florida Archaeology* 2 (1986): 115-119.

26 Governor Diego de Rebolledo, Residencia of Governor Benito Ruíz de Salazar Vallecilla, 1657, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, legajo 155 B. Microfilm roll 27-F, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.



that the Apalachee rebels had killed members of the powerful Florencia family during the 1647 revolt. Children, grandchildren, and extended family of the slain Florencias came to dominate the province, and were also related by blood or marriage to the other leading families of Spanish Florida.<sup>27</sup> But perhaps the most ominous indication of things to come was a remark made by the governor in 1647 that all the other Indians [except Apalachee] were “nearly used up.”<sup>28</sup>

### The Relocation of San Luis

In the wake of the 1656 Timucuan Rebellion, Governor Rebolledo embarked on an ambitious plan to reorganize Spanish Florida. He consolidated Timucuan villages along the *Camino Real* to populate the corridor between Apalachee and St. Augustine and facilitate the movement of laborers and goods to the capital.<sup>29</sup> Rebolledo also insisted on expanding the San Luis garrison to twelve and building a blockhouse at a new site of the Spaniards’ choosing. While some Apalachee leaders and friars objected to this move, the chief of San Luis complied and agreed to move his village to the new location. Rebolledo’s deputy in command, Sergeant-Major Adrian de Cañisares y Osorio, reported to the governor that there was some jealousy among other native leaders, “for it appears that even the chiefs of Apalachee have some envy toward him [San Luis’s chief] that he welcomes the Spaniards and esteems them, and they want to see him make a mistake in something so that your excellency might form a poor opinion of him.”<sup>30</sup>

Spanish officials selected a ridge over 200 feet above sea level for their military headquarters. “And to the chief and other leading men of this village [San Luis], which is closest to the sea, it appears

27 John H. Hann and Bonnie G. McEwan, *The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 54-61. The Florencias were related to the Menéndez Márquez, Badajoz, Horruytiner, Cañisares, Mejía, and Uriza families (witness testimony of Peñalosa in Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez, Letter to the King, 20 July 1709, AGI, Santo Domingo 843, SC).

28 Amy Bushnell, “Patricio de Hinachuba: Defender of the Word of God, the Crown of the King and the Little Children of Ivitachuco, *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 3 (July 1979), 5.

29 Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 2*, 88-105.

30 John H. Hann, trans., “Adrián de Cañisares y Osorio, Letter to Governor Rebolledo, May 21, 1657,” *Florida Archaeology* 2 (1986), 117.

that the most suitable for making the said fort and settlement in the district of this province [is] the spot that would appear most suitable to the said señor governor..."<sup>31</sup> John Hann believed that the chief essentially moved his village of San Luis de Anhaica from one end of the territory under his jurisdiction to the other.<sup>32</sup> The new community became the provincial capital of Apalachee that Spaniards would eventually call San Luis de Talimali.

Although this represented a significant achievement in reshaping the colony, Rebolledo actually envisioned much more. He wanted to build a formal fort with an even larger garrison to protect the province and the port at San Marcos. Rebolledo also hoped to create a Spanish settlement in Apalachee to further exploit its resources. The importance of Apalachee was reinforced by Rebolledo's successor Governor Don Alonso de Aranguiz y Cotes who, as Worth notes, believed that "if Apalachee is lost, the presidio of St. Augustine is doomed."<sup>33</sup>

A province on which all the rest depend, and in particular this presidio, because in as much as it [Apalachee] is [the province] which has the most people, they serve every year in cultivating the fields of the infantry, and without [the fields] and the corn that is brought from this province, [the infantry] cannot sustain themselves, on account of the ordinary ration being insufficient for as many families as there are here, with which it is an established matter that if [the Apalachee province] were ever lacking, it would be necessary to depopulate this presidio.<sup>34</sup>

The next detailed assessment of Apalachee Province was in 1675 at the time of Bishop Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón's visitation. San Luis had a native population of 1,400 and it was noted that non-Apalachee natives were also living in and near the province.<sup>35</sup> The Spanish presence began to increase again in the mid to late 1670s when Governor Pablo Hita Salazar made a number of land

31 John H. Hann, trans., "Governor Rebolledo's 1657 Visitation of Three Florida Provinces and Related Documents," *Florida Archaeology* 2 (1986): 94.

32 John H. Hann, personal communication, 2005.

33 Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1*, 150.

34 Alonso de Aranguiz y Cotes, Letter to the King, November 9, 1659. AGI Santo Domingo 839. Translated by John E. Worth, *Ibid.*, 150.

35 Mark F. Boyd, "Enumeration of Florida Spanish Missions in 1675," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 27 (1948), 184-185.

grants to Spaniards in the vicinity of San Luis and inaugurated the creation of a Spanish community. In 1682, the garrison was expanded to 45, second only to St. Augustine.<sup>36</sup> This was accompanied by the increasing grip of Florida's most prominent families over economic enterprises throughout Spanish Florida, prompting Hita Salazar's successor, Governor Márquez Cabrera, to ask the King for outside accountants to check Florida's financial records.<sup>37</sup>

Labor demands, agricultural quotas, out-migration, and disease all took a toll on the Apalachee population, yet it remained robust relative to the other mission provinces. According to a 1681 census, San Luis had a population of 968, down nearly one-third from Calderón's 1675 estimate of 1,400. This was just slightly less than the total population of Timucua (998) and considerably more than Guale and Mocama provinces combined (742), including Christian Indians and immigrant Yamasee.<sup>38</sup>

In 1685, the Spanish settlement at San Luis was still growing when a new deputy governor was appointed. Antonio Matheos was unconditionally hostile toward San Luis' leaders and was known to insult, beat, and even shackle them in leg irons.<sup>39</sup> Natives lodged complaints against him with little result. Matheos's cruelty prompted a significant increase in the migration of Christianized Apalachee to Apalachicola territory in the late 1680s, and relations between the Apalachee and Spaniards never fully recovered.<sup>40</sup>

By the end of the century, it appears that there had been a systematic erosion of native authority as San Luis' chief lost control of his village. In 1699, Apalachee chiefs Don Patricio of Ivitachuco and Don Andrés of San Luis described their plight to the King:

36 Amy Bushnell, "That Demonic Game': The Campaign to Stop Indian *Pelota* Playing in Spanish Florida, 1675-1684," *The Americas* 35 (July 1978), 2.

37 Governor Juan Márquez Cabrera, Letter to the King, July 16, 1682. AGI, Santo Domingo 226, Folios 393-394. Microfilm 28-B, Reel 4, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Translated by John H. Hann.

38 Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 2*, 134-135, Table 7-3. John Worth has estimated that during the 1670s and 1680s, Apalachee accounted for more than 80% of the total population of Spanish Florida (*Timucuan Chiefdoms, Volume 1*, 145, Table 10-1).

39 Hann, *Apalachee*, 227-228.

40 Emperor Brims married a woman from a ruling family at Mission San Luis, referred to as Chieftainness Qua, and his son also married an Apalachee woman. Qua became part of a pro-English faction with a hatred of Spaniards. John H. Hann, *The Native American World Beyond Apalachee: West Florida and the Chattahoochee Valley* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 91-92.

...they [Apalachee] likewise built a house of singular architecture for the infantry, with notable detriment to us and to the natives, since in addition to the donation of their personal labor, they brought their own axes and food, and with the remainder of the timber they made houses for one of his brothers-in-law and other Spanish settlers. And as a consequence, 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.<sup>41</sup>

### The Demise of San Luis

In his attempt to wrest control of the Southeast, Carolina Governor James Moore led an assault on Spanish Florida in 1702. The Guale and northern Timucua missions were left in ruin and the town of St. Augustine in flames. Moore subsequently targeted the poorly protected western territories. During the first invasion in January 1704, Spaniards expected him to carry out his threat to attack San Luis. They issued orders to pull down the stockade around the convent and take the timbers to the fort for firewood. Orders were issued to burn down the council house, convent, and Spanish houses, and to dismantle the church to provide a clear field of fire around the fort.<sup>42</sup> Although Moore's forces retreated before reaching San Luis during the first assault wave, it was in their sights when they returned six months later. Rather than have the fort fall into British hands, the Spaniards and Apalachee set it ablaze prior to withdrawing from the province at the end of July 1704.

Some of the natives from Apalachee Province who were not killed outright, enslaved, or forcibly relocated into English

41 Don Patricio (Cacique of Ivitachuco) and Don Andrés (Cacique of San Luis), Letter to the King, February 12, 1699. Mark F. Boyd, trans., "Fort San Luis: Documents Describing the Tragic End of the Mission Era," in *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions*, ed. by Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951), 25.

42 Testimony of Nicolás Méndes, July 8, 1709, question 11. Unpublished translation by John H. Hann, 35. Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez to the King, St. Augustine, July 20, 1709. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, SD 843, Stetson Collection, bundle 4510, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. The archaeology revealed that the church was actually burned down.

territory chose to defect. Others relocated with the Spaniards to St. Augustine or Pensacola. In a strange twist of fate, it was the chief of Ivitachuco and his people who eventually settled near the Spaniards in St. Augustine. The Apalachee survivors from San Luis chose a different path. Their disaffection for the Spaniards was complete, and they accepted Le Moyne de Bienville's invitation to relocate to his newly established French colony on Mobile Bay.<sup>43</sup>

### THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMAGE

#### Pre-Mission Activity at San Luis de Talimali

One of the most remarkable findings at San Luis is that there is little evidence of prehistoric activity at this idyllic location. A single paleo projectile point (Suwannee) was recovered northwest of the friary, and small amounts of fiber-tempered pottery and a few Archaic points have been found near the fort and in the eastern portion of the site referred to as the Spanish village. A brief Woodland occupation is also indicated by concentrations of Swift Creek pottery under the blockhouse foundations, around a brick building in the north field, and in the meadow north of the central plaza. In fact, a Woodland-era pit filled with Swift Creek pottery, bisected by a mission-period trash pit near the deputy governor's house, is one of the few confirmed prehistoric features at the site. A small amount of late prehistoric Mississippian pottery (Lake Jackson Incised and Fort Walton Incised) has also been recovered near the friary and scattered in other areas, but there is noticeably less evidence of this type than Woodland ceramics. One isolated smudge pit filled with charred corn cobs (burned for insect control) in the vicinity of the southwestern moat may also be prehistoric based on its depth, but no artifacts were associated with it. In sum, there is little evidence of a significant or sustained pre-mission occupation at San Luis.

#### The Mission Period: Phase One 1656 to ca. 1680

##### Apalachee Presence at San Luis

In a report to Governor Rebolledo dated May 8, 1657, Cañisares y Osorio indicated that San Luis's chief had completed moving his

<sup>43</sup> Hann and McEwan, *The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis*, 172-176.

village a few months earlier. He [the chief] stated, "...they were presently short of food and because they have not been able to work as on other occasions because of the past winter and the moving of his village,"<sup>44</sup> indicating that the San Luis village was moved over the course of a few months. Since the original broad-scale survey of the site, the south end of the plaza has generally been referred to as the Apalachee village.<sup>45</sup> Long-term investigations have generally supported this interpretation and clarified our understanding of the Apalachee settlement through time. A sitewide pattern has been slow to emerge, but we now have enough data to confirm that the initial settlement around the plaza was predominantly Apalachee in design.

### The Plaza

The first step in establishing the new San Luis village was determining the location of the plaza. Since the Spaniards commandeered the crest of the hill (north end) for their new fort, the Apalachee laid out the greatest expanse of level ground on the south for their plaza, which doubled as their ballfield. All of the public buildings would subsequently be constructed near its perimeter facing the plaza (Figure 2). It is unknown if the size of native plazas was prescribed in any way, but during Apalachee ballgames the two opposing villages were usually represented by about 50 players each. This required a sizeable area, presumably cleared of everything except the goalpost. The earthen ridge surrounding San Luis's circular plaza is still visible today and measures 410 feet in diameter. During testing in the Apalachee village, the ridge was bisected at 196N 334E. Zone 2 had an exceptional five levels of midden with artifact concentrations consistent with accounts of the plaza being swept daily.<sup>46</sup> Other testing has revealed that the area within the ridge was relatively devoid of artifacts or features.

44 Adrián de Cañisares y Osorio, Letter to Governor Rebolledo, May 8, 1657. Translation of Governor Rebolledo's 1657 Visitation of Three Florida Provinces and Related Documents. John H. Hann, trans., *Florida Archaeology* 2 (1986), 116.

45 See Gary Shapiro, "Archaeology at San Luis: Broad-Scale Testing, 1984-1985," *Florida Archaeology* 3 (1987): 1-271.

46 Bonnie G. McEwan, "Archaeology of the Apalachee Village at San Luis de Talimali," *Florida Archaeological Reports* 28 (November 1992), 17.

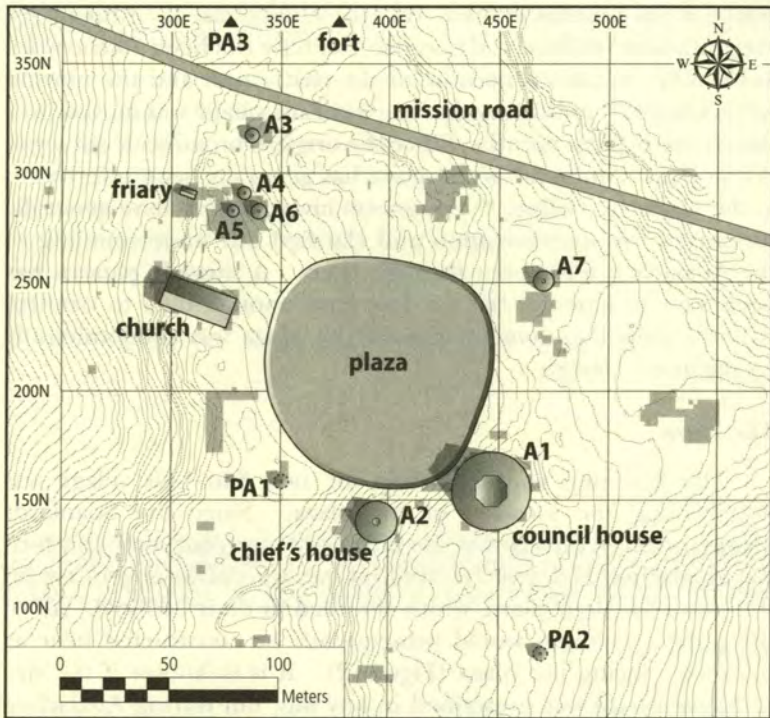


Figure 2. Distribution of Apalachee structures (A1-7) and possible Apalachee structures (PA 1-3) near the central plaza. Shaded areas indicate the boundaries of excavation units. Graphic by John LoCastro.

### The Council House and Chief's House

All of the archaeological evidence suggests that both the council house and chief's house were constructed early in the life of the mission, and that their location remained constant throughout the mission period. Both buildings reflect ingenious construction, sophisticated design, and an advanced knowledge of geometry in order to determine the depth of columns and size of rafters required to make these buildings structurally sound.<sup>47</sup> The

47 Herschel E. Shepard, "Geometry in Apalachee Buildings at Mission San Luis," *Southeastern Archaeology* 22, no. 2 (Winter 2003):165-175.

council house measured over 36 meters (120 feet) in diameter.<sup>48</sup> Nearby depressions are believed to be the clay borrow pits for building up and leveling the eastern end of its platform base. The council house contained two concentric rows of benches, and a small entrance where the building intersected the plaza. Eight major columns supported beams forming a rigid octagonal cone on top of which rafters were notched and lashed into place. The butt end of the rafters rested on the ground creating a 50 degree roof slope and a large opening or skylight at the top of the building. Smudge pits filled with charred corn cobs were found in a random pattern under the benches, and a large hearth (4.2 m or 13.9 feet in diameter) was identified in the center of the building.

Preliminary investigations at the council house suggested that the entire structure may have been rebuilt at least once, and perhaps twice. Subsequent excavation of all eight major columns has clarified that two or three columns were replaced at a time, but they were never all replaced at once.<sup>49</sup> In other words, over time the council house required significant periodic repairs, but it was never completely dismantled and rebuilt.

The adjacent chief's house was equally remarkable in size at 19 m (65 feet) in diameter, and was essentially a smaller version of the council house.<sup>50</sup> It contained a single row of benches and many of the same features as the council house, including smudge pits and a central hearth. Material remains and stratigraphy suggest that the chief's house was constructed a short time after the council house.

### Apalachee Houses

Other Apalachee structures identified to date (AP3-7) fall within the 5 to 7 meter range (16 to 23 feet) typical for Apalachee dwellings,<sup>51</sup> with the exception of Structure 6, which was slightly

48 Gary Shapiro and Bonnie G. McEwan, "Archaeology at San Luis Part One: The Apalachee Council House," *Florida Archaeology* 6 (1992): 1-174.

49 Jerry W. Lee, *Summary of 1997-1998 Excavations in the Council House*, 2003 manuscript on file, Mission San Luis, Tallahassee, 7.

50 Bonnie G. McEwan, "Archaeology of the Apalachee Village at San Luis de Talimali," 51.

51 John F. Scarry and Bonnie G. McEwan, "Domestic Architecture in Apalachee Province: Apalachee and Spanish Residential Styles in the Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Period Southeast," *American Antiquity* 60, no. 3 (September 1995), 482-495.



larger at 9.3 m (31 feet) in diameter. Similar to the chief's house, the post patterns indicate that these houses were circular and probably shaped like truncated cones. There is no evidence that wattle-and-daub construction methods were used on any Apalachee buildings at San Luis; all of the Apalachee structures appear to have had thatch-covered walls.

**Structure 3.** This structure was identified north of the religious complex very close to the projected *camino* running through town. The remains consisted of a prepared clay floor and two concentric rows of postmolds (burned or decayed posts), the outermost row of which measured approximately 6.5 m or 21 feet in diameter.<sup>52</sup> Nine smudge pits were also found in association with this building, one of which contained a mission period-complicated stamped vessel fragment. Structure 3 was disturbed by European-style wall trenches which were, in turn, intruded into by a later Spanish building. The architectural remains of Structure 3 were also disturbed by a clay mine/trash pit.

**Structures 4, 5, and 6.** The remains of three native buildings were identified during the *convento* (friary) excavations. Structures 4 and 5 were approximately the same size at 5.5-6 m (18-20 feet) in diameter, and Structure 6 measured 9.5 m (31 feet) in diameter. At the time of excavation, these native buildings were believed to be pre-mission based on a scattering of late prehistoric Lake Jackson pottery nearby. Since that time, however, the analysis has been completed. Wrought iron hardware and green glass were identified from closed contexts inside these dwellings indicating that they actually date to the early mission period.

**Structure 7.** This native dwelling was identified on the eastern edge of the plaza during excavations in the Spanish village. A postmold and smudge pit were sectioned and confirmed, and numerous other areas believed to be associated with this building were mapped. This also appears to be a mission-period building based on the recovery of Mission Red-Filmed pottery in the postmold. Preliminary projections suggest a building just over 7 m (about 23 feet) in diameter.

52 Jerry W. Lee, "The Religious Complex of Mission San Luis, Block 2 Excavation, 1998-1999, 2005," manuscript on file, Mission San Luis, Tallahassee, 31.

### **Other Possible Apalachee Buildings**

Three additional native buildings may have been located, but they will require further investigation. These are shown on Figure 2 as possible Apalachee structures (PA1-3).

- 1) Burned clay fragments identified on the west side of the plaza near 158N 350E were suggestive of a clay floor similar to that found at the chief's house.
- 2) An auger test at 70N 470E penetrated a feature with concentrations of charcoal and aboriginal artifacts. Given its proximity to the chief's house and council house, it may be part of, or associated with, an Apalachee structure.
- 3) In 2001, two possible postmolds were identified and photographed in a trench by staff while monitoring the installation of a new water line. These postmolds were located at 500N 280E, northeast of the fort complex, and were suggestive of native construction.

### **Other Aboriginal Features**

Only two concentrations of aboriginal midden have been identified to date at San Luis. One area was clearly associated with the council house and the other was near the chief's house – the two native structures that remained standing throughout the mission period. Middens associated with other Apalachee structures were likely destroyed during the Spanish occupation or have yet to be identified.

Other Apalachee features found at San Luis were related to cooking, trash disposal, and storage. A hearth or cooking pit was identified just north of the council house under a mission-era midden. Another large hearth was found near the chief's house, along with a large refuse pit containing a number of reconstructable vessels. Other Apalachee features identified included a cooking pit, which intruded into a storage pit that contained both Indian and Spanish materials.<sup>53</sup>

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53 Bonnie G. McEwan, "Archaeology of the Apalachee Village at San Luis de Talimali," 8-10.

### The Early Fort

The chief of San Luis promised Governor Rebolledo that "in his new village they would build a very capacious and strong house for him."<sup>54</sup> There is little doubt that one of the first structures built at San Luis was some type of fortification. There were at least two forts built at San Luis and, in all likelihood, they were both located at the crest of the hill which provided a clear view of the surrounding countryside and had the closest access to the springs below. The first fort probably housed the garrison as well as the deputy governor, and was likely the same building mentioned by Bishop Calderón in 1675: "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."<sup>55</sup>

Beyond these meager descriptions, nothing is known of this structure. The construction of the formal blockhouse in the 1690s, presumably at the same location (discussed in Phase Two), along with its intentional destruction in 1704, precluded our ability to tease the remains of the initial fortification from the massive debris of the later one.

### The Church

Archaeologists have devoted considerable attention to mission church architecture.<sup>56</sup> While variation has been attributed to local building materials, village size, and the degree of oversight by friars, some early Apalachee churches were constructed prior to the arrival of Franciscans in 1633 and may have had a distinctly native appearance. Fray Lorenzo Martínez made the following observation in September 1612:

...the missionaries who have visited Apalache have been received with great charity and appeals that they remain.

54 Adrián de Cañisares y Osorio, Letter to Governor Rebolledo, May 8, 1657. Translated by John H. Hann, *Florida Archaeology* 2 (1986), 116.

55 Calderón, 9.

56 See Rochelle A. Marrinan, "Archaeological Investigations at Mission Patale, 1984-1992," in *The Spanish Missions of La Florida*, ed. Bonnie G. McEwan (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 244-294; Rebecca Saunders, "Ideal and Innovation: Spanish Mission Architecture in the Southeast," in *Columbian Consequences Volume 2: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 527-542. See also McEwan, this volume.

On being told that there were no missionaries free to take up this work, the Indians insisted that they indicate a site for setting up a cross and that they had built churches after their own fashion to be ready when the missionaries should become available.<sup>57</sup>

This was not the case when San Luis moved in the mid-1650s. San Luis had two resident friars when it was relocated in 1656, Frays Martín de Villa Nueva and Bartolomé de Vergara. One of Apalachee's first two permanent friars, Pedro Muñoz, was also still living in the province at the time. Since Spanish authorities had selected the new site for their western capital, there is little doubt that the construction of this particular church was guided by these Franciscans.

We have a thorough understanding of the mission church at San Luis since most of the perimeter posts and many of the major support columns had to be completely excavated prior to its reconstruction. The architectural data were analyzed by preservation architect Herschel Shepard, along with other project architects and structural engineers.<sup>58</sup> The church measured 15 x 34 m (50 x 110 feet) and was oriented 75 degrees west of north. Shepard determined the San Luis church was designed with a series of bays (based on Spanish varas) using a European proportional system.<sup>59</sup> The entrance was located on the east end facing the plaza, and the sanctuary was identified on the opposite end. Nails were recovered in a non-random pattern along the exterior walls indicating that the church was faced with wooden planks. Concentrations of whitewashed wattle and daub found in the sanctuary suggest that the interior walls in the west end of the church were plastered. The distinctive wall treatment not only visually separated the sanctuary from the rest of the church, but the reflective qualities of the whitewash undoubtedly illuminated the altar. As with most mission churches excavated to date, the cemetery was located beneath the floor of the nave and contained

57 Unpublished translation and summary prepared in 1976 by John H. Hann from: Fray Lorenzo Martínez, Letter to the King, September 14, 1612. AGI 54-5-17/60, Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

58 Hann and McEwan, *The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis*, 86-87. See also McEwan, this volume.

59 Herschel E. Shepard, Jr., "San Luis Archaeological and Historic Site, 1995 Excavations of the Church: Architectural Comments," 1996 manuscript on file, Mission San Luis, Tallahassee.

an estimated 700-900 individuals. Of the 210 burials studied, all of those whose ethnicity could be determined were identified as native with one possible exception.<sup>60</sup> They were all positioned in a Christian fashion with their bodies fully extended and their hands folded on their chest. Seven were interred in coffins, and many were buried with European materials including beads, crosses, and protective amulets.<sup>61</sup>

The remains of a modest 4.5 x 7.3 m (15 x 24 feet) timberframe building were found 35 m (115 feet) northwest of the church. This two-room wooden structure (which was actually larger than some Spanish houses at San Luis) may well have been the original friary. The paucity of European materials associated with the building supports this interpretation. There was no burned clay recovered from the foundation trenches indicating it was dismantled rather than burned, probably at the same time the Apalachee dwellings in this area were removed to build the formal religious complex.

#### **The Mission Period: Phase Two—ca. 1680 to 1704**

One of the most important features immediately north of the plaza was the road into San Luis. The original trail between Apalachee and St. Augustine was extended and improved by the governor to facilitate transportation across north Florida.

In the 1680s, military engineer Enrique Primo de Rivera obtained a contract from Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada to haul the royal provision for friars from St. Augustine to western Timucua and Apalachee. To fulfill his contract he had to make the camino real passable by oxcart all the way from St. Augustine to San Luis de Apalachee. Starting at the western end, the engineer managed to extend the cartroad as far as San Francisco de Potano near present-day Gainesville before the governor suspended his hauling contract.<sup>62</sup>

60 Clark Spencer Larsen and Tiffany A. Tung, "Mission San Luis de Apalachee: Final Report on the Human Remains," 2002 manuscript on file, Mission San Luis, Tallahassee.

61 Bonnie G. McEwan, "The Spiritual Conquest of La Florida," *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 3 (September 2001), 633-644.

62 Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1994), 127.

Today the *Camino Real* is a visible depression on San Luis's western slope, approximately 12 meters (40 feet) wide. The visible portion is oriented 70 degrees west of north, nearly identical to the orientation of the religious complex. Its trajectory suggests that it was a major thoroughfare running through the center of the hilltop community just north of the plaza. This suggests that facilities for travelers, such as taverns, stables, etc., may have been located nearby. It is also likely that there were sentries and military patrols posted along the route in the vicinity of San Luis to protect the provincial capital and its supply chain.

### The Spanish Village

Although there are no censuses detailing the number of Spanish residents at San Luis, during the 1702 seige of St. Augustine almost ninety Spaniards from San Luis (along with ten or eleven from Pensacola) went to their aid.<sup>63</sup> This does not include the contingent they would have left behind to protect their own settlement. It is therefore believed that during the height of military and civilian expansion, there were several hundred Spanish residents and dozens of Spanish homes at San Luis. To date we have identified seven of these Spanish dwellings which are designated S1-S7 on Figure 3.

### Spanish Dwellings

**Structure 1.** This structure was identified in the field east of the plaza where the most extensive Spanish village excavations have taken place. It was a plank building measuring 3.75 x 6 m (12 x 20 feet) and oriented 120 degrees west of north. Albert Manucy identified it as a common plan house identical to those found in St. Augustine.<sup>64</sup> Wall trenches (mud sleepers) indicated that the house was divided into two rooms, and likely had an overhead storage loft. Structure 1 also had a detached outbuilding, often used as a hen house or kitchen, although there was no evidence of cooking. No temporally-sensitive artifacts were recovered from Structure 1, but it pre-dated Structure 2 so it must have been occupied before 1680.

63 Testimony of Juan Francisco, July 8, 1709, question 10. Translated by John H. Hann, 26. Govenor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez to the King, St. Augustine, July 20, 1709. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, SD 843, Stetson Collection, bundle 4510, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

64 Albert Manucy, personal communication, September 30, 1989.



design would have maximized air flow, enhanced the interior lighting, and facilitated overall ease of movement in the small dwelling. There were a number of fences and animal enclosures or corrals associated with this home.

**Structure 3.** This planked building was located near the eastern edge of the plaza. It was oriented 66 degrees west of north and had a compacted clay floor and a high concentration of hardware. A post-1680 date was established by the presence of Castillo Polychrome majolica at the base of one of the postmolds. With the exception of its building materials, this house is virtually identical in size and design to Structure 2 at 6 x 9 m (20 x 30 feet). It had a detached outbuilding, fence lines, and a clay mine/trash pit associated with it. Midden containing high proportions of Spanish materials was found along the north side of the house and along the southern fence line.

**Structure 4.** This two-story residence on the northeast edge of the plaza is the largest dwelling excavated to date at San Luis. The entire footprint of the 7 x 7.5 m (23 x 25 feet) wattle and daub building was investigated, including 18 associated mission period postmolds. Excavations also exposed a 10 m (33 feet) square enclosed patio or loggia facing the plaza, as well as fence lines, three clay mines/trash pits, and a 3 x 6 m enclosure or outbuilding at the north end of the house. The northernmost fence line for this property may well have fronted the *Camino Real*. This entire complex is oriented at 30 degrees east of north, perpendicular to the religious complex. It contained the same domestic refuse and temporal markers (e.g., Castillo Polychrome) as the other Spanish dwellings dating it to sometime after 1680.

This structure and its associated features have been subjected to extensive architectural review by Herschel Shepard.<sup>66</sup> The exceptional size and location of this complex on the plaza suggests it was home to a Spaniard of some social standing. Based on its similarity to the Governor's House in St. Augustine, Shepard has suggested that it may have been home to a deputy governor at San Luis. In addition to having a walled-in patio on the plaza, the fence lines to the north likely enclosed a number of outbuildings and activity areas including gardens, cooking areas, and stables.

66 Herschel E. Shepard, Jr., "Architectural Research: The Provincial Governor's House, Mission San Luis, Tallahassee, Florida," 2009 manuscript on file, Mission San Luis, Tallahassee.



**Structure 5.** This wattle and daub building was located approximately 90 m south of the plaza and was oriented 67 degrees west of north, the same alignment as Structure 3. It was identified during mitigation for the new Visitor Center. Only the western end of this building was exposed since the eastern end was disturbed by two trees and a gravel (later asphalt) driveway. It was 5.5 m (18 feet) wide and between 5.5 to 7.5 m (18 to 25 feet) long. Given the well-established pattern of rectangular residences, the longer dimension seems probable.

There was no evidence that this wattle and daub building was whitewashed, indicating it was not yet finished (and suggesting a late date for its construction). While domestic refuse was recovered—including fragments of Apalachee pottery and an olive jar, a quartz crystal bead, and a brass finger ring—there were considerably fewer materials than from other residences, indicating a brief occupation. Our limited investigations did not reveal a clay mine/trash pit for this residence, but a deep pit bisected near 50N 400E (while trenching for a new electrical line in 1994) may well have been the clay mine associated with Structure 5.

**Structure 6.** There was undoubtedly a wattle and daub dwelling under Mission Road at about 88N 338E west of Structure 5. A linear pattern of whitewashed daub rubble and wrought nails was identified running northwest to southeast at 60 degrees west of north. A nearby clay mine/trash pit filled with domestic refuse and wall trenches from an outbuilding were partially exposed. Although we have no measurements on this structure, all of the elements of a Spanish dwelling are present. Puebla Polychrome (1650-1720) was the only majolica recovered, a ceramic type available during the entire occupation of San Luis.

**Structure 7.** Finally, there were several Spanish building episodes identified north of the friary at about 316N 336E. A series of wall trenches, postmolds, and a clay mine/trash pit were associated with this dwelling. While there was some daub found with Structure 7, the limited amount is indicative of one or more plastered walls within an otherwise planked building. Although our excavations did not extend to the four corners of the structure, the post spacing is suggestive of the 6 x 9 m (20 x 30 feet) floor plan found elsewhere on the site. The clay mine/trash pit contained San Agustín Blue on White and Castillo Polychrome majolica indicating that this dwelling dates to sometime after 1680. This structure was oriented 77 degrees west of north and, like Structure 4, may have fronted the *camino*.

### Other Possible Spanish Houses

There is no doubt that the Spanish village extended beyond San Luis's present eastern property line. A significant portion of it was destroyed during the construction of Ocala Road and the shopping center to the east of the state-owned property. L. Ross Morrell conducted a brief salvage of the Ocala Road cut during its construction and noted a number of postmolds, pits, and Spanish materials in this area.<sup>67</sup> The locations of five additional houses are indicated on Figure 3 as PS1-PS5.

- 1) There was likely a wattle and daub dwelling located near 201N 616E close to the eastern property fence line. It was identified on the basis of a large clay mine/trash pit filled with domestic refuse and whitewashed daub fragments,<sup>68</sup> indicating that a residence was nearby.
- 2) A Spanish house is projected at 160N 620E, also near the eastern fence line. High concentrations of Spanish domestic materials and whitewashed daub were recovered here during the 1984 auger survey.
- 3) A concentration of wrought iron hardware from a 2 x 4 m unit at 128N 380E suggested the presence of a Spanish building nearby.
- 4) Structure 7 intruded into a trench, probably from an earlier Spanish dwelling. Both Structure 7 and the earlier trench were oriented at 77 degrees west of north near the *camino*.
- 5) Finally, as noted below, there was a whitewashed wattle and daub building located west of the fort at about 470N 280E. This may be the remains of the temporary barracks built in the 1690s.

### Other Spanish Features

Two concentrations of Spanish midden were identified. One midden was located west of Structures 1 and 2 and may have been

67 L. Ross Morrell, "field notes from Ocala Road salvage project, March 28, 1967," Manuscript on file, Mission San Luis, Tallahassee.

68 Richard Vernon and Jean S. Wilson, "Excavations in the Spanish Village at San Luis, 1988-1991," 1991, manuscript on file, Mission San Luis, Tallahassee.

associated with Structure 1 since the trash pits are associated with Structure 2 (a sherd from Structure 2 cross-mended with one from a trash pit.). The other Spanish midden was associated with Structure 3. As noted above, trash was found along the north wall of the house and also against its southern fence line.

Outbuildings were identified in association with Spanish structures 1, 3, 4, and 6. There was no evidence of Spanish stoves or ovens in any of these detached structures, suggesting that most cooking was done outdoors over open hearths or indoors over portable earthenware braziers (*anafes*). Fence lines and/or enclosures were found near Spanish structures 1, 2, 3, and 4, and in all likelihood, would be found with every Spanish dwelling if field investigations were expanded.

## THE RELIGIOUS COMPLEX

### Friary and Kitchen

A formal religious complex appears to have been a rather late development at San Luis. Replacing the original two-room wooden friary was a large, wattle and daub building measuring 9.3 x 21.4 m (30 x 70 feet) that was partitioned into a number of rooms. Based on precedents from contemporaneous missions, it probably contained a chapel/classroom, parish office, sleeping cells, and possibly an infirmary. The remains of posts and a bell fragment indicated the location of a belltower on the southeast corner of the building near the plaza.

This friary dates to the same period as most of the Spanish dwellings. Castillo Polychrome majolica was recovered from an interior posthole at the west end of the building indicating that it was constructed sometime after 1680.<sup>69</sup> The first known mention of a friary on the plaza at San Luis comes from a 1693 account by Adjutant Bernardo Nieto de Carvajal.

...last night, Friday, at about seven, I arrived at the King's house (la Casa del Rey) where the lieutenant and soldiers of this garrison serve, and I delivered the letter-orders that were given to me by the aforementioned señor governor

69 Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800, volume 1*, 82.

(Quiroga), and I passed to the plaza of this village, and in the convent that is in it (the plaza) I found the señor governor Don Laureano de Thorres<sup>70</sup>

A detached wattle and daub structure measuring 8 x 5.3 m (17 x 26 feet) was found twelve meters northwest of the friary and the two buildings were connected by a covered walkway indicating they all were part of the same construction episode. A large clay mine/trash pit located just four meters south of the detached building also contained Castillo Polychrome majolica dating it to the same period as the friary. An area consisting of tabular burned clay fragments measuring 4.5 to 5.5 cm (2-2.5 inches) thick in a black matrix was found inside the building. It was the remains of a stove (the only one identified to date at San Luis) and was critical to the interpretation of this wattle and daub outbuilding as a kitchen or *cocina*.

### The Fort

In 1688, Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada proposed the construction of a formal blockhouse at San Luis and the Apalachee chiefs promised to build the fort if the Crown supplied tools and provisions for laborers.<sup>71</sup> The lumber was cut shortly thereafter, but it rotted when the region's carpenters were sent to build a fort in the Lower Creek (Apalachicola) country. In 1693, the Crown renewed its orders to build a fort at San Luis. The work on the blockhouse began in earnest in 1695 and was finally completed in mid-1697 at a cost of 304 pesos and 2 reales (Figure 4).<sup>72</sup> The blockhouse was described by one soldier as having walls made of mud and sheathed all around with boards about three fingers thick.<sup>73</sup> It was later described by another soldier named Juan Francisco as follows:

70 Adjutant Bernardo Nieto de Carvajal, diligencia performed on May 30, 1693. I thank John E. Worth for translating this document and providing it to me.

71 Royal cédula from the King to Don Laureano de Torres y Ayala, November 4, 1693. Mark F. Boyd, trans., "Fort San Luis: Documents Describing the Tragic End of the Mission Era," 20.

72 Thomas Menéndez Marqués and Joachin de Florencia, Letter to the King, July 3, 1697. *Ibid.*, 22-23.

73 Manuel Jacomé Fuentes, Testimony for the *Residencia* of Governor Laureano de Torres y Ayala, December 21, 1700. Translated by John H. Hann. AGI Escribanía de Cámara, legajo 157 A. Microfilm roll 27p, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

...And he saw him build the blockhouse out of timbers and within, a guardroom, high and low quarters for the soldiers, a room for the powder, and warehouses for the provisions, its curtains and four bastions with artillery and wall-guns, in the building of which he labored physically just like the Indians themselves, with the aforementioned [Captain Jacinto Roque Pérez] being the one who drew up the plans for it.<sup>74</sup>

In addition to the original 1656 fortification and the blockhouse built in the 1690s, Nicolás Méndes stated that Captain Roque Pérez paid for a temporary building, or interim “middling lodging,” for the soldiers during the construction of the new blockhouse.<sup>75</sup>

Building on the work of John W. Griffin,<sup>76</sup> Charles H. Fairbanks,<sup>77</sup> and Hale G. Smith,<sup>78</sup> more recent investigations of the fort (1990-2002) have revealed a two-story wattle and daub blockhouse measuring approximately 13 x 22 meters (or 40 x 70 feet).<sup>79</sup> Shepard’s structural analysis of the building determined that the closely spaced posts along the north and south exterior walls were needed to support the heavy floor and roof loads from the upper floors. Vertical planks covered the exterior of the building, and the interior walls were infilled with wattle and daub. There was evidence of benches along the north and south interior walls that provided access to the gunports and would also have been used for seating, sleeping, and storage.

The palisade and moat, constructed in 1702, were also defined through extensive excavations. Unlike the configuration documented by Landeche in Figure 4, the outerworks were

74 Testimony of Juan Francisco, July 8, 1709, question 9. Translated by John H. Hann, 26. Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez to the King, St. Augustine, July 20, 1709. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, SD 843, Stetson Collection, bundle 4510, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

75 Testimony of Nicolás Méndes, July 8, 1709, question 9. Translated by John H. Hann, 34. Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez to the King, St. Augustine, July 20, 1709. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, SD 843, Stetson Collection, bundle 4510, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

76 John W. Griffin, “Excavations at the Site of San Luis,” in *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Indians*, ed., Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951), 139-160.

77 Charles H. Fairbanks, “1948 fieldnotes on file,” Mission San Luis, Tallahassee.

78 Hale G. Smith, “1950 fieldnotes on file,” Mission San Luis, Tallahassee.

79 Bonnie G. McEwan and Charles B. Poe, “Excavations at Fort San Luis,” *The Florida Anthropologist* 47, no. 2 (June 1994): 90-106.

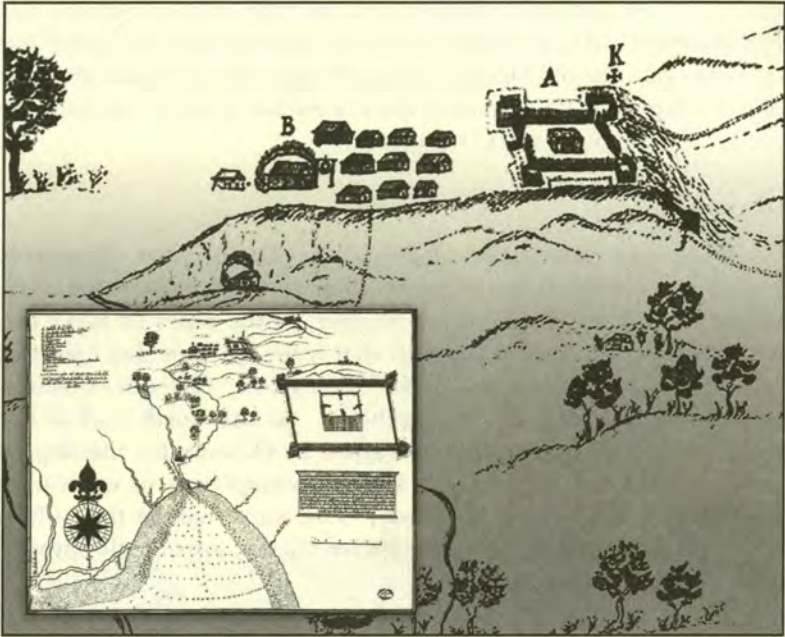


Figure 4. Description of the Bay and River of Apalachee. Map accompanying letter from Admiral Landeche to the Viceroy, Havana, August 11, 1705. AGE, SD 857. Legend for letters on detail: A, Castillo de S<sup>o</sup> Luis; B, Convento de los Padres de S<sup>o</sup> Fran<sup>co</sup>; and K, Sitio donde Estan Las Campanas enterradas (site where the bells were buried). Although this was drawn the year after Apalachee was abandoned, several soldiers who had been stationed at San Luis accompanied Landeche on his reconnaissance of the region.

somewhat irregular in shape and size. Most notable, there was no bastion in the northeast corner. It became readily apparent that the soil removed to create the moat was used to form the banquette terreplain inside the palisade walls. When the fort was burned, this fill was redeposited back into the moat.<sup>80</sup>

As noted above, there is archaeological evidence of another whitewashed wattle and daub structure near the military complex. It is located approximately 80 meters (260 feet) west of the blockhouse's western wall. Although it has never been excavated, the distribution of daub suggests a building measuring about 10 x 10 meters (33 x 33 feet). Materials recovered in the vicinity of this structure included wrought iron nails and both Spanish and Apalachee pottery. By

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 99.

virtue of its proximity to the fort and the type of construction, this may have been the temporary barracks that was built to house the soldiers while the old blockhouse was being torn down and the new one constructed. This building was not enclosed within the palisade walls when the outer works were built.

### Discussion

While documentation leaves little doubt that Spaniards had long intended to expand their presence in Apalachee Province, this was apparently unknown to the chief of San Luis. Archaeological evidence suggests that from the time San Luis was relocated in the winter of 1656-1657 until the 1680s, it consisted of two relatively discrete communities. At the north end of the ridge, the Apalachee built an adequate blockhouse for the deputy governor and his garrison (at least no complaints to contradict this interpretation have surfaced). The south half of the hilltop was used to establish their new native village, apparently without objection from Spaniards.

The greatest expanse of level ground was reserved for their large circular plaza since it was well-suited to the native ballgame. With the plaza anchoring the settlement, the public buildings were constructed around it. The Apalachee council house was undoubtedly one of the first structures built, and its importance cannot be overstated. Council houses were considered the property of the chief and a symbol of his power. Village leaders met there every morning to discuss village affairs and redress grievances. It was also the village community center for evening meals and dances. There was probably a defensive component to the council house building as well. At a projected five stories high, it most certainly served as a watchtower for native sentinels.

It is unknown if the size of the plaza at San Luis was exceptional, but the council house was extremely large based on earlier precedents. The two other Apalachee council houses that have been investigated archaeologically (both prehistoric) are decidedly smaller. The council house from the Borrow Pit site was 11 m (35 feet) in diameter,<sup>81</sup> and one at the Patale site measured

81 B. Calvin Jones, "A Late Mississippian Collector," *The Soto States Anthropologist* 90, no. 2 (June 1990), 83-86; Gary Shapiro and Bonnie G. McEwan, "Archaeology at San Luis, Part One: The Apalachee Council House," *Florida Archaeology* 6 (1992), 66.

12 m (39 feet) in diameter.<sup>82</sup> The council house at San Luis was not only three times the size of others in the province, it is one of the largest historic-era native buildings identified in the Southeast. It raises the possibility that this building served as a symbolic counterbalance to the Spanish presence. David J. Weber remarked on its extraordinary size:

At the largest of the Apalachee mission towns, San Luis de Talimali, on a hilltop within the limits of present-day Tallahassee, the bishop [Calderón] entered a community of some fourteen hundred residents. At one end of the town a massive circular council house served as a place for public meetings and dances. As a public space, it dwarfed the nearby church—and every other church Spaniards built in Florida.<sup>83</sup>

San Luis's chief also gave the church a prominent position in his new village. Investigations indicate that the church was constructed early in the occupation of San Luis and was never rebuilt or modified over time. It was fully incorporated into the native landscape and there is both archaeological and historical evidence that the Apalachee were physically and spiritually vested in the church.<sup>84</sup> The hundreds of native burials reveal an abrupt change in Apalachee mortuary practices from Anhaica, where individuals were buried in pits near their houses, to the Christian-style interments at San Luis. The exclusively native burial population also suggests that resident Spaniards preferred burial in St. Augustine rather than in the mission church. Based on its orientation, the church was initially aligned with the early east-west route into San Luis; the same one that would later be improved and incorporated into the *Camino Real*. An early wooden building north of the church (and following the same orientation) was probably the original friary.

The first phase of the mission was also characterized by numerous Apalachee residences around the central plaza, including three next to the friary and a substantial house for the

82 Rochelle A. Marrinan, "Archaeological Investigations at Mission Patale, 1984-1992," 244-294, in *The Spanish Missions of La Florida*, ed. Bonnie G. McEwan (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 259.

83 David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 104.

84 McEwan, *The Spiritual Conquest of La Florida*, 633-644.



chief. There is little doubt that this image is artificially restricted by the limits of our investigations and that additional native structures were situated nearby. The original layout of the Apalachee village was apparently maintained for several decades without significant disruption by Spanish authorities. When attempts were made to change traditions that might have upset the balance of the native community (for example, when Bishop Calderón and San Luis' resident friar, Juan de Paiva, attempted to abolish the ballgame), authorities initially intervened on the natives' behalf. While Spanish support of Apalachee activities was probably motivated more by their concern with crop production and labor quotas than an inherent interest in maintaining native traditions, such actions reinforced chiefly authority and political stability.

By the 1680s, the dwindling native populations elsewhere in Spanish Florida, along with the unreliable *situado* or subsidy, made Apalachee increasingly vital to supporting the garrison at St. Augustine. Governor Hita Salazar's creation of a Spanish community and expanded garrison at San Luis effectively accomplished what Governor Rebolledo had envisioned decades earlier, but it would have unforeseen consequences. It was at this juncture that the physical and cultural landscape of the mission began to change dramatically. Although it is unknown exactly how quickly this transformation took place, a 1687 encounter between deputy governor Antonio Matheos and San Luis leader Matheo Chuba describes the area around the plaza as being populated by Spaniards. "After being upbraided by Matheos, Matheo Chuba was described as having gone 'to his lodge and plaza crying, and that the Spaniards who lived on that plaza, had consoled him."<sup>85</sup>

Archaeological investigations revealed that other than the chief's house and council house, all of the native dwellings were replaced with those of Spaniards, and all but one of the Spanish houses were probably built after 1680. Furthermore, they were all aligned parallel or perpendicular to the church and *camino* which probably gave the former Apalachee village the appearance of a gridded town as depicted in the Landeche map detail (Figure 4). The transformation of San Luis de Talimali was apparently complete by the mid-1690s when it was described by a visitor as

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85 Hann, *Apalachee*, 206.

having the appearance of a Spanish city.<sup>86</sup> Figure 5 is a conjectural rendering of San Luis circa 1703 based on the work of Shepard.<sup>87</sup> It incorporates verified Spanish houses and features, as well as conjectural ones intended to reflect the size of this community based on the documented population. The rendering relies on the same residential allotments as those used in St. Augustine: commoner *peonías* (50 by 100 Spanish feet or 44 x 88 US feet) and upper class *caballería* lots (100 x 200 Spanish feet or 88 x 176 US feet). The lots are shown forming blocks radiating off the central plaza, separated by streets measuring 20 *pies* (about 18 feet) wide.

The construction of a formal religious complex appears to have corresponded chronologically with the development of the Hispanic settlement, likely reflecting the expanded role of friars to meet the needs of the growing Spanish community. One of the friars at San Luis during this later period, Fray Claudio Florencia, was the brother-in-law of three-time deputy governor Jacinto Roque Pérez.

The formal military complex, including a two-story blockhouse, palisade, and moat were the last additions to San Luis. The area within the palisade was sufficiently large to house the residents of San Luis and surrounding villages, but was destroyed by the Spaniards themselves before ever being put to the test against invading forces.

### Summary

The long-term research at San Luis has chronicled the development of an Apalachee mission village and a Spanish frontier town in Apalachee Province. The initial phases began in the winter of 1656-1657 when the chief moved his village at the request of Spanish military authorities. During the first quarter century, military personnel resided at one end of the ridge and the native community at the other. The Apalachees' advanced understanding of architecture and structural systems was expressed most clearly in their council house, and its prominence suggests that Apalachee political hierarchy, social organization, and belief systems remained largely intact during this period. As with other *doctrinas* throughout

86 Testimony of Captain Joaquín de Florencia, July 9, 1709, question 7. Translated by John H. Hann, 39. Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez to the King, St. Augustine, July 20, 1709. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, SD 843, Stetson Collection, bundle 4510, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

87 Shepard, 2.

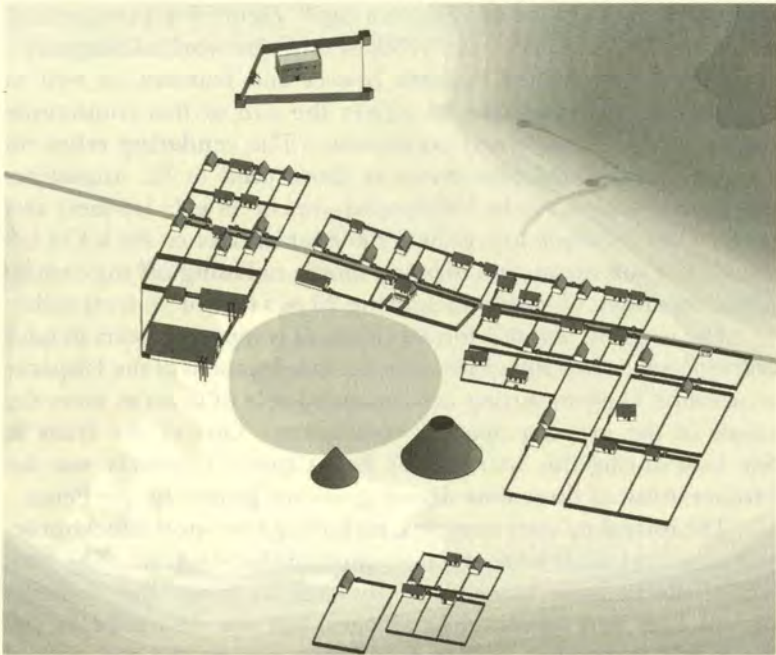


Figure 5. Conjectural isometric rendering of San Luis projecting its overall appearance after 1680. This image incorporates site topography, archaeologically confirmed Spanish structures, and the *camino*. It also depicts hypothetical fencelines and streets using standard lot and road measurements, as well as additional residences based on the projected size of the Spanish population. Graphic by Lynn Rogers.

Spanish Florida, the mission church was integrated into the village and represents a realm of demonstrable adaptation by the Apalachee. This approach appears to have functioned well not only at San Luis, but for the Apalachee missions in general. Despite significant population losses and well-documented conflicts during this period, Apalachee chiefs continued providing support to Spanish enterprises in the province and beyond.

The development of a sizeable Spanish community in Apalachee irrevocably altered the social dynamics of the entire province. Over the course of a decade or more, the Apalachee village at San Luis began to approximate the physical arrangement of St. Augustine where most mission Indians lived outside the town proper. The Apalachee plaza/ballfield became the center of the Spanish community, and native houses were replaced with Spanish

counterparts. The council house and chief's house remained, but were eventually surrounded by Spanish homes. The religious complex appears to have been expanded in response to San Luis' new European parishioners rather than to serve Christianized natives for which it was originally intended.

The loss of the Apalachee village at San Luis, coupled with the erosion of chiefly authority, severely undermined native allegiance to the Spaniards during the final decades of San Luis' occupation. When James Moore's forces attacked Apalachee in 1704, they encountered a province already on the verge of collapse. Between January and August of that year, the native and Spanish populations of Apalachee were lost. When the Apalachee émigrés from San Luis arrived in Mobile in August 1704, "[Bienville] was apparently surprised that the refugees from the principal *doctrina* of San Luis de Apalache, so long and so closely connected to the Spanish, had accepted his offer to settle near the French rather than under the wing of Pensacola."<sup>88</sup> In Mobile, they established a new parish where the first Apalachee baptism took place on September 6, 1704. Their descendants, now living in Louisiana, have maintained their tribal identity and a strong connection to the Catholic Church for more than three centuries.

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88 Jay Higginbotham, *Old Mobile: Fort Louis de la Louisiane, 1702-1711* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1977), 189-190.