PRELUDE TO REBELLION: DIEGO DE REBOLLEDO
VS. LÚCAS MENÉNDEZ IN MID-17TH CENTURY SPANISH FLORIDA

by

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My daughter, Elizabeth Brendlinger, has been a constant source of encouragement and love. I owe her a special debt of gratitude for never allowing me to feel comfortable with compromise.
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ABSTRACT

PRELUDE TO REBELLION: DIEGO DE REBOLLEDO
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Linda Suzanne Cecelia Borgen

Ethnohistoric interpretations of indigenous perspectives from the early colonial period remain a tenuous proposal for anthropologists. The limitedness of documents and their European authorship complicate the task considerably, and proposed arguments rely proportionately on researcher’s skills of critical analysis. Yet the project of giving voice to the unrepresented and disenfranchised must supersede any hesitancy. Historic patterns are not without modern parallels; lessons to be learned from the challenges faced by indigenous groups during the colonial period are too important to set aside for fear of scholarly criticisms.

Answers provided by residents of St. Augustine to question nine of Governor Rebolledo’s 1660 residencia [gubernatorial term investigation] provide a view of a dynamic event that changed the social landscape of Florida and contributed to the extinction of an indigenous culture group. The residencia reveals Governor Rebolledo’s treatment of one individual, rather than the totality of the Timucuan leadership, as the impetus for the Timucuan rebellion of 1656. Contrasting markedly to other residencias, the report on Rebolledo’s term evidences the passions, frustrations, and frailties that indelibly marked colonial interactions.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

My introduction to Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo was reading a copy of the testimonies relating to question nine of his 1660 residencia as an assignment in a graduate historical archaeology class. The work was a short exercise in teasing truth from diverse sources containing contradictory information and using multiple sources, as close to the original as possible, to triangulate information from historical source materials. The class moved on to another topic, while I remained fixated on the moments of people’s lives suspended in the words of the Rebolledo residencia. It was to my benefit that I had not yet read through the historical research pertaining to the first Spanish colonial endeavors in Florida. Without preconceived ideas regarding social assignment or power hierarchy, I was able to more clearly discern the voices of people – individuals caught up in a tumultuous moment in history. Soldiers and Indians alike had been awaiting an opportunity to share their grievances regarding the hated governor. Their ire has afforded posterity rare documentary evidence of an emotion-laden power struggle between a governor and a Timucuan cacique.

Testimony after testimony described Governor Rebolledo as a man with no scruples, who exploited the resources of his office without compunction. Between the two separate interview sessions conducted by a special envoy sent from Havana, there were 37 testimonies. In addition to the testimonies, I read through translations of letters
written by Franciscan friars who complained grievously to the Spanish Crown regarding the greed and self-service that motivated Rebolledo’s every decision. As I began to consult secondary historic analyses of Governor Rebolledo’s term, I read interpretations that portrayed him as inept. He was caricatured as an ineffective administrator whose lack of diplomatic finesse in dealing with indigenous leaders created havoc in the La Florida frontier provinces. But something was wrong.

As I read and reread the testimonies collected for Rebolledo’s residencia, it became clear that the governor had been a consummate opportunist who exploited every resource available to him, including rumors of his own shortcomings. Rebolledo appears to have been an adept strategist who purposefully used his position to take control of La Florida’s few exploitable resources. During this time he alternately stoked and retreated from open conflict with the Franciscan friars, thus ensuring that there were constant rumors and writings of his inability to govern. In the end, however, even these did not afford the smokescreen he hoped for; Rebolledo was removed from office, but died before charges of his abuses of position for personal gain were officially addressed. The lengthiness of the official inquiry is a testimony to Rebolledo’s skill as a master at avoiding culpability.

There is one other personality captured in such detail that the testimonies of the residencia became a tale of two men. The cacique of San Martín, Lúcas Menéndez, stood as protagonist to Rebolledo’s role as antagonist. Members of their respective communities achromatized, becoming incidental to the actions of Rebolledo and Lúcas.¹

¹ First name, rather than surname, has been adopted here as a proper form of reference in order to avoid confusion between those several individuals with the surname Menéndez.
Soldiers and Indians alike were caught in the wave of action set in motion by their conflict. The tension between Rebolledo and Lúcas was pointed enough to pull both soldiers and Indians into the matter. Each group offers an astonishing amount of detail regarding the actions and words of both men. Perhaps most important for the purpose of analysis is that the exchange between these men is not temporally bound. Rebolledo’s derision of the _cacique_ who afforded him no economic benefits fairly drips from the testimonies, as does the degree of Lúcas Menéndez’s desperation to regain the status that had slipped from his grasp. The events that ensued changed the course of history for a people that would become extinct in just over a century following this conflict (Table 1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 18, 1654</td>
<td>Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo arrives at St. Augustine. Timucuan Cacique Lúcas Menéndez later complains to Spanish soldiers he was “rather disgusted with the little reception that he had found in the Governor…” upon his first visit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1656</td>
<td>Governor Rebolledo receives word that a British armada is planning to attack the presidio at St. Augustine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 19, 1656</td>
<td>Captain Agustín Pérez de Villa Real and interpreter Estaban Solana leave St. Augustine with orders from Rebolledo for Indian militia members to report to the presidio bearing a month’s rations of corn for themselves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring 1656</td>
<td>A series of murders are committed in Timucua on order of the Cacique of San Martín, Lúcas Menéndez, after Governor Rebolledo refuses to rescind his order.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 4, 1656</td>
<td>Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares y Osorio is dispatched with sixty Spanish soldiers to pacify the Timucua rebellion. Rebel caciques, except Lúcas and the cacique of San Francisco, are imprisoned at Ivitachuco after a brief standoff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 27, 1656</td>
<td>Governor Rebolledo left St. Augustine travels to Ivitachuco to oversee trials against the rebelling Timucuan caciques. Six caciques, including Lúcas and the cacique of San Francisco, and four murderers are eventually sentenced to death.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2 See this work, 49.

3 See this work, 55.


5 ibid., 205-209.

6 See this work, 67; Worth, *The Timucuan Missions of Spanish Florida and the Rebellion of 1656*, 211.

7 Worth, *The Timucuan Missions of Spanish Florida and the Rebellion of 1656*, 270.

8 ibid., 278.
Indigenous Voices of the Colonial Period

Many studies of the history of the first centuries following contact between the indigenous peoples of North America and European colonial explorers and entrepreneurs lack an acknowledgement of intentionality on the part of indigenous rulers. Researchers, even today, stand on the decks of colonial ships or within the walls of forts gazing out at the coastline and interior wilderness of La Florida through a lens of Spanish and French journal entries and narratives. There are few resources that allow for a comfortable level of scholarly confidence in engaging in speculative anthropological analysis of the inner workings of native groups during the first Spanish colonial occupation of La Florida. Five centuries have not significantly altered the ideological machinations that fostered designations of “us” and “other.”

The recent development of greater sensitivity to the silenced indigenous voice in historical anthropological inquiry has afforded new perspectives and an opportunity for expanded understanding of colonial history. Still, we are temporally limited in our opportunities. I argue that anthropologists cannot afford to ignore, or fail to develop, the few opportunities primary historical documents afford for hearing the voices of people traditionally unrepresented in colonial documents. Though time is a formidable gatekeeper, it should not prohibit anthropologists from attempting to afford the voiceless an opportunity to speak. As a discipline dedicated to the study and understanding of the totality of human experience, anthropology cannot afford to ignore an opportunity to hear the voice of an individual belonging to a culture group that quickly faded into extinction under colonial rule.
There is inherent risk in positing anthropological theory regarding the motivations of Florida’s now extinct native people, but there is risk in any sort of ethnography. Any manner of circumstances can influence or interfere with data collection and interpretation in a way that may affect the integrity of field work and subsequent findings. Interviewing through documents, the collecting and seeking of testimonies regarding an individual or event, is not unlike working to uncover the inner-workings of any culture or social group one is seeking to learn about. Deciding on the trustworthiness or appropriateness of testimony in reference to the research, using additional perspectives to inform interpretation, and trying to discern what factors are influencing whether certain individuals have a voice in the culture being studied are issues that transcend venues.

For many years colonial studies concentrated primarily on colonial powers and European men who risked wealth and life to conquer the wilderness of the new world. Today, when researchers seek to hear the voice of those most affected by colonization, concerns regarding authenticity and unintentional, or intentional, ethnocentric interpretations sometimes stay a researcher’s hand. When the question is asked of historical ethnographers, “How can you know your interpretation of these people’s experiences is the truth?” the only true answer is, “I cannot.” Written testimonies may represent one person or one group’s agenda, but this can be potentially true in any field work. The job of the researcher is to seek out as many sources and perspectives as are available, and inform the reader of those areas where the record is wanting or contradictory.
The legacy of La Florida’s position as a frontier colonial outpost has continued into the twenty-first century with regard to ethnohistoric research of indigenous cultures. There are more than a handful of books that report on various facets of the indigenous groups that resided in Florida at the time of contact. Letters and journals of first Jesuit missionaries, and then Franciscan friars, tell of the habits and practices of Florida’s native people. Correspondence from St. Augustine, including military orders and reports from the interior that detail the “mood” of Indians in response to directives or demands issued by presidio administrators, number in the hundreds, if not thousands. Researchers can legitimately report on benign aspects of culture and social practice without stepping beyond their authority as documentary and archaeological observer.

There is not, however, any unchanged remnant of the indigenous groups that inhabited Florida at the time of contact with which to negotiate permission or legitimacy. Because the Timucuan Indians became extinct, there are no oral traditions that have been carefully guarded and handed down as an heirloom to a next generation. There is also no surviving trust for seeking right or permission to probe the past of these indigenous peoples, no first-nation authority to legitimize a study or interpretation. Spain’s Florida holdings stand as an anomaly within broader studies of Southeastern Indians.⁹ The documentary evidence of the region’s long-extinct indigenous groups that has survived was written, and therefore selectively recorded, by Europeans. Many of the documents tracing the era of Spain’s holding of the peninsula now held in public archives in Florida’s university libraries were largely assembled by private individuals

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with an interest in the region’s history, such as the Jeannette Thurber Connor Collection at the University of Florida, Gainesville. The selection of documents that were transcribed and translated in these collections are often without an accompanying explanation as to why these, rather than other documents, were selected for inclusion.

Much of what is known of Florida’s Spanish heritage is information collected through archaeological research, both terrestrial and maritime. The greatest proportion of this process of exploration has been accomplished through examining the mission system. The mission system served as the conduit of Spain’s bureaucratic infrastructure. Of the questions researchers seek to address through these collections of data, those having to do with individual agency are the most provocative and the most difficult to address. The question must first be asked whether one can legitimately attempt to identify selected aspects of agency in regard to individuals and collectives unrepresented, for the most part, by first hand narratives. This is not a question to be once negotiated within the field of historical anthropology, but one that must be constantly engaged with as researchers move within the spaces that both separate us from the past, and keep us continually connected to heritage as a facet of the human condition.

In 1660 Royal Inquisitor Don Diego Ranjel and Royal Notary Francisco de Rueda collected testimony from St. Augustine residents to complete a report detailing events that occurred during the term of Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo. These reports on gubernatorial terms, titled residencias, were conducted following all gubernatorial terms as a matter of policy. They were not, however, usually carried out by a high ranking royal inquisitor and a royal notary sent from Havana for the occasion.
John E. Worth, at the time a doctoral student at the University of Florida, Gainesville, traveled to Seville, Spain in 1991 to examine records in the *Archivo General de Indias* pertaining to the first Spanish colonial period in Florida. During his research, Worth recovered the Rebolledo *residencia*, misfiled among La Florida’s accounting records.¹⁰

A fire in the *Archivo General de Indias* in 1924 further complicated the retrieval of documents. Much of the collection was damaged in the fire and some documents destroyed.¹¹ Several *legajos*, the Spanish term for a file or collection of related documents, sustained both fire and water damage. Pages were effectively “glued together” after having been burnt and then soaked with water during the process of extinguishing the fire. These conditions also produced mold which further exacerbated transcription challenges. These pages had to be separated with painstaking care in order to preserve as much legible text as possible. Where some pages could not be separated, others could not be examined without charred edges falling away from the pages, sometimes leaving miniscule gaps in text that created significant limitations in what could be discovered.¹²

Dr. Worth transcribed the Rebolledo *residencia* testimonies and then translated them from Spanish into modern American English. Supporting evidence for my interpretation of events during the term of Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo is

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¹² John E. Worth, conversation with author at the University of West Florida, 5 October 2010.
developed from Dr. Worth’s work, which represents the only extant translation of these seventeenth-century interviews. The Rebolledo residencia is a collection of testimonies relative to the direct questioning of St. Augustine residents which affords insights into the Timucuan rebellion unavailable to researchers before the recovery of this document. These pages, dated from April 26 through May 20, 1660, expose the effects of the power struggle between St. Augustine’s corrupt governor, Don Diego de Rebolledo, and the provincial chief of the Timucua Indians, Lúcas Menéndez.

The Spanish frontier produced a plethora of documents related not only to the ordinary machinations of Spanish bureaucracy, but also to the jurisdictional disputes between the secular administration in St. Augustine and the Franciscan friars. The near constant exchange of accusations and insults between the governors of the province and the ecclesiastical community has contributed to varied interpretations of the events of the period. Objectivity is limited in the recollection of disturbances and grievances, making it difficult to ascertain the details of these events. The perspectives of colonial life during the first Spanish colonial period as depicted within these varied writings at times seem to be describing a wholly separate frontier. The experiences of the soldier in the presidio and the friar living in the mission field were markedly different. Because of these varied experiences, the study of the first Spanish colonial era in Florida history has evolved with each new documentary discovery.

On Alliance and Allegiance

The cultural and political systems of Indian communities in La Florida at the time of European contact were in large part reflections of the exploitable resources
specific to various regions of the peninsula. Subsistence strategies were dependent
upon the unique coastal and interior environments, and the changing topography of the
land from southern to northern areas influenced the manner in which groups organized
themselves. Indians living in southern Florida relied on fishing, hunting, and gathering,
to a much greater degree than their counterparts in northern regions of the peninsula. 13
Traveling north through the peninsula, sandy soils of southern Florida gradually
transitioned to soil that supported agriculture. 14 The groups of Florida that practiced
agriculture at the time of contact are recorded as the Apalachee in northwest Florida 15,
Timucua in central regions north of the Withlacoochee River, the Mocama living on
Cumberland Island 16, and the Guale in the coastal regions north of the Altamaha
River. 17

The soil types that supported agriculture began and continued north of the area
Hernando de Soto referred to as the Indian village of Ocale. 18 Observations about the
practice of agriculture by this early group of Spanish adventurers in 1539 evidences that

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14 ibid., 4-5.


regional boundaries delineating subsistence strategies were already in place when the Spanish arrived. The exact location of Ocale (Cale) has not yet been discovered but is speculated to have been within five leagues of the place where de Soto crossed the Withlacoochee River in July 1539. 19 De Soto is said to have encountered “very beautiful valleys having large maize fields, so productive that each stalk had three or four ears” during his northward journey. 20 Groups who practiced agriculture are also said to have grown crops that included squash, pumpkin, beans, and a variety of fruits. 21 Many narratives from the era of early exploration mention an abundance of grapes. A young Frenchman living at Fort Caroline in 1564 wrote to his father, “the woods are so full of vines that you can hardly take two steps forward without finding an abundance of grapes . . . so that we hope to make plenty of wine.” 22

Subsistence strategies were not the sole factor influencing social organization. The proximity and strength of neighboring tribes, and the manner and frequency of interaction with these groups, played a significant role in shaping communities as well. Chiefdoms in southern Florida were complex. Political organization in these areas was based on a complicated network of alliance relationships predominantly facilitated through marriage. 23 Hereditary leadership positions may have been inherited through

19 Milanich and Hudson, 92.


patrilineal lines in Southern Indian groups, rather than following matrilineal lines as
was characteristic of chiefdoms in the north.  

Without agriculture or other exploitable resources to draw Europeans, the geographically isolated Indians living in south Florida, for a time, escaped much of the devastation wrought in the wake of colonial power struggles. Indians of southern Florida successfully maintained a buffer region between themselves and the European invader until the early 18th-century.

Indians in northern regions of La Florida, which included areas of southern, coastal present day Georgia, did not enjoy the luxury of choosing whether to engage with colonists. The arrival of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and his founding of St. Augustine in 1565 ushered in a new era for these indigenous groups. Indigenous communities in these areas sought ways to accommodate the Southeast’s changing demographics. Caciques and cacicas, the men and women leading these communities, struggled to negotiate through changes in the social and political landscape that accompanied these transitions. Perhaps most difficult in negotiating these changes was that many were subtle transitions that slowly destroyed the power of indigenous leaders, subsuming them into the colonial system. The Indian leaders did

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24 ibid., 169.


28 John E. Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1: Assimilation* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), see page 9 for explanation of process of women assuming leadership, page 86 for definition of titles. The titles cacique and cacica were neither Spanish nor Timucuan, but were Arawak terms “borrowed” from Caribbean Indians by the Spanish.
not have a cultural or political parallel by which to predict the long term cost of their efforts to accommodate the European newcomer. The political organization of chiefdoms of La Florida’s central and northern regions can be likened to the soil that supported their agriculture when considered in the context of the Spanish endeavor. The Spanish planted the seed of their colonial system in the existing political infrastructure of the chiefdoms, leached away what had supported the Indians’ lifeway, and then reaped a harvest of souls and pesos. Spanish forces at St. Augustine exploited La Florida’s Indian communities through the political infrastructure that supported the Indian’s practice of agriculture.

The Spanish were able to insinuate themselves into the existing political structure of the Guale, Timucua, and Apalachee provinces because ranked status was part of the pre-contact political organization of these culture groups. This engagement by the Spanish in the existing political structure contributed to Indian leaders initially believing that Spanish leaders held them in esteem equal to their own. Caciques saw themselves not as subjugated by the Spanish, but as Spanish allies. St. Augustine represented a principal chieftaincy to indigenous leaders, a perception that led to culturally rooted misunderstandings and tensions when Spanish officials failed to fulfill this relational role. Modern interpretations of practices such as caciques extending the use of tributary labor to the Spanish often do not evidence adequate analysis of the complex, multivariate motivations of Indian leaders. This practice was not simply representative of a cacique’s exploitation of his people in order to increase his own status, nor always a consequence of “vassalage” to the Spanish Crown. During periods in which caciques understood their relationship to the Spanish as one of alliance,
tributary labor was a natural extension of status rights extended to the principal ruling class of Spaniards with whom these matrilineal groups considered themselves allied.

Cultural miscommunication seems to have been the norm rather than an exception in relations between Indians and Spanish colonizers. The apparent difference in meaning ascribed to the institution of *compadrazgo* by these two groups provides an example of these cultural miscommunications that directly correlates with issues of alliance and allegiance. *Compadrazgo* was a practice of the Catholic Church that, in theory, facilitated ties of “spiritual kinship” through godparent sponsorship of individuals undergoing the rite of baptism. 29 This ritualized religious ceremony contained aspects which held “similarity of some of its rites and forms to indigenous American rites and forms, which thereby made it attractive to native peoples.” 30 Interestingly, Indian beliefs regarding the meaning and benefits of *compadrazgo* seem to have been more aligned with its practice in Spain than those of their Spanish sponsors in La Florida.

Spanish parents often saw *compadrazgo* as a vehicle for increasing social status and economic opportunity, and actively sought these benefits from sponsorship relationships. 31 Indian leaders seemed to have expected these same benefits, seeing the relationship as cementing their ties to Spanish principal men. Indians connected themselves to a godfather by taking on the sponsor’s surname. 32 While Jesuit and

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30 ibid., 25.

31 ibid., 3.
Franciscan missionaries welcomed converts to the kingdom of God, governors and royal officials who stood as sponsors welcomed them as subjects of the Spanish Crown.

Governors and royal officials from St. Augustine generally saw *compadrazgo* as a tool for integrating Indians into the colonial system and a means of bringing Indians under Spanish control, rather than facilitating close relational ties. One exception to this rule seems to have been Treasurer Francisco Menéndez Márquez. Testimony revealed later in this work will evidence that Francisco did, though pursuing self-interest through reciprocity, apply himself to nurturing mutually beneficial relationships with Indians. Francisco probably learned these relationship building skills from his father, Treasurer Juan Menéndez Márquez, who was noted for being connected to many important families through *compadrazgo*. Interestingly, the *mico*, or chief, of Santa Catalina de Guale, whose rule was contemporaneous with that of *cacique* Lúcas Menéndez was named Don Alonso Menéndez. The evidence seems to bear out that Francisco allied himself with several *caciques* through *compadrazgo*.

The Spanish sought to convert *caciques* with hopes that they would then facilitate the conversion of their villages. Indian leaders perhaps viewed Christianity as a vehicle for negotiating peaceful relations between themselves and the superior

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weaponry of the Spanish. The formal ceremony and gift giving by Spanish sponsors to caciques that accompanied compadrazgo likely seemed to caciques an effort toward relationship building by the Spanish based on mutual esteem. Indian groups were under pressure to develop and adopt social and political policy that afforded diplomatic relationships to deal with increasing encroachment on their power. Consideration of potential protection and benefits of European alliances were strategy driven decisions based on multi-faceted issues rather than simple, singly-focused reactions to immediate concerns. The complexity of these negotiated relationships increased as the English and allied tribes became an increasing threat to the security of Christianized Indians living in Spanish Florida mission towns.

The administration and military leadership of St. Augustine further confused the issue of whether their relationship with caciques was one of alliance or allegiance by actively recruiting the caciques as military defenders of Spanish interest. The role assigned to caciques by the Spanish has been compared to the encomenderos, armed militiamen made use of during the 16th century in defense of Spain’s holdings in the Caribbean. Royal officials at St. Augustine apparently held Indians of Spanish Florida to the same obligation for military participation in defense of the Crown’s interest that residents of the Indies were subject to perform. Resident obligation to

36 Hann, Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers, 10.


participate in militia duties was set forth in a royal cédula dated October 7, 1540.  

Historical documents refer to Governor Luis de Rojas y Borja activating an Indian militia sometime during his term as governor [1624 - 1630] when St. Augustine was in danger of attack.  

Timucuan warriors allied with the small contingent of Spanish soldiers during the 1647 rebellion in Apalachee proved an invaluable asset against a formidable enemy force.  

This incident led to the creation of a more formalized system for incorporation of the Indian militia as a normalized branch of St. Augustine’s defenses.

The system of Indian militia recruitment included bestowing of rank and arms provisioning in limited measure during the latter half of the 17th-century.  

Captain Alonso de Argüelles, a reformado whose testimony was collected as part of Rebolledo’s residencia, testified that the Governor confiscated the arms of Guale Indians after the Timucuan rebellion was in progress. The Governor then, according to the Captain’s testimony, used these to arm the Apalachee who had been at the presidio, in order for them to accompany Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares into the Timucuan

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39 Hoffman, 40.

40 Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1, 123.

41 ibid., 124.

42 ibid.

43 ibid.

44 Reformados were a group of experienced military officers who no longer served actively, but who were called to duty by the governor as there was need. Worth, The Timucuan Missions of Spanish Florida and the Rebellion of 1656, 5-6.
interior. In 1658 Captain Nicolás Estévez de Carmenatis was ordered, during a visitation to Guale in the place of Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo, to take a census of “who [of the Indian population in Guale], if it were necessary, could take up arms, and whom he will obligate to have and hold [their weapons] in all places, without any lack in this on pain of being punished” Use of an Indian militia was necessary for the defense of St. Augustine because there was not an adequate number of Spanish soldiers in Florida to accomplish this task. Paul E. Hoffman, a recognized authority on Spanish colonial history, notes in his exposition on Spanish militias that “The key to the militia system was numbers.” “Numbers” were simply unavailable to the Spanish without recruiting Indian warriors, including caciques and principal Indians.

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45 Permission to use excerpts from The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volumes I and II (Appendix A). Appendix B, Testimony no. 29. See Testimony Reference Key, 88-89.

46 Worth, The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: an Eighteenth-Century Spanish Retrospective on Guale and Mocama, 14.

47 Hoffman, 41.
CHAPTER II

THE ECONOMY OF SPANISH FLORIDA

Founded in 1565, the Spanish presidio of St. Augustine served as the administrative center of La Florida over the course of the first Spanish colonial occupation of the peninsula. The original agreement extended to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was a contract with the Crown similar to those extended during previous attempts to colonize the inhospitable frontier of Spain’s colonies in the Americas. Menéndez was to finance his venture personally, being afforded “royal concession of economic and seigneurial privileges” under the institution of adelantamiento, a feudal arrangement used to extend Spain’s rule in its frontier lands. He earned the privilege of becoming Florida’s adelantado through a long career of exceptional service to the Crown. As a young man Menéndez distinguished himself as being gifted at two enterprises, seamanship and securing possessions of the Spanish Crown. He was first commissioned by Emperor Charles V, and later appointed Captain General of the Indies fleet by Charles’ heir, King Philip of Spain. This era of Spain’s political history was punctuated by hostilities with France.


Efforts to establish clear policies regarding French intrusion in areas claimed by Spain through diplomatic negotiations were unsuccessful. France’s political volatility led French Huguenots to make clandestine attempts to establish a colony in Florida. The first of these attempts was in 1562 and ended with the site being abandoned by the discouraged settlers. A second colony, Fort Caroline, was founded in 1564. The nature of Menéndez’s venture changed within days after his official agreement with Philip II was signed as the King learned of the French colony of Fort Caroline. News came of Jean Ribault’s efforts to deliver supplies and reinforcements to the settlement located at the mouth of the St. John’s River.

Florida’s new adelantado’s first service to the King was a military mission to evict the French from Spanish claimed Florida. Like his sovereign King Philip II, Menéndez extended a policy of a “sentence of death in advance . . . ‘without dissimulation, dispensation . . . or delay’” to corsairs and heretics alike. French soldiers were killed on Menéndez’s order after they surrendered at Matanzas Inlet Beach. The adjoining of Menéndez’s private enterprise with a royally subsidized military campaign

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50 Lyon, 18.
51 ibid., 22.
52 ibid., 33.
53 ibid., 34-35.
54 Hoffman, 139.
foreshadowed complexities of Florida’s economy that would endure over the next two centuries. Menéndez exhausted not only his own fortune, but that of friends in his bid to colonize Spanish Florida. He purposefully recruited “kinfolk and friends” to accompany him. Menéndez is said to have explained his choice of accompaniment thus:

They are people of confidence and high standing who have served your majesty for many years in my company. Out of covetousness for the offices [for which they are proposed], and out of love for me, it could be that they might bring their wives and households. It is a fine beginning for the population of the provinces of Florida with persons of noble blood.

Menéndez’s mention of the offices those who accompanied him expected to occupy as a benefit of their settling Florida is of measured significance. Royal offices were considered possessions during the first Spanish colonial era, possessions with certain rights and privileges including heritability. As the economy developed private enterprise and government subsidy, augmented by repartimiento [tributary] labor, embezzlement, corruption, and exploitation, provisioned St. Augustine and those in its provinces.

Government support of the presidio came first in the form of wages for soldiers and other monies for equipping the military effort to expel the French. Menéndez’s contract with the Crown was renewed and renegotiated in 1578 with Philip II agreeing

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58 Barrientos, xii, xvii.


60 Bushnell, Situado and Sabana: Spain’s Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida, 43.
to underwrite the salaries of 150 soldiers assigned to the presidio at St. Augustine. 61

This *situado*, or subsidy, was first taken from a share of monies allocated for support of the Armada. These early efforts to establish garrisons in Florida are, in one critical study of the period, referred to as “little more than segments of an anchored armada.” 62

The *situado* was subsequently paid through equal shares taken out of two separate treasuries, that of New Spain and Tierra Firme. Payment of the *situado* was later reassigned to the Vera Cruz treasury of New Spain in a *cédula*, or royal order, drafted on July 3, 1573. This directive from the Crown ordered annual payments of 38,862 *pesos de a ocho* to be made for the support of St. Augustine beginning in 1574. The situado allotment was increased to 65,859 in 1579, with this amount in effect through 1656. 63 The *situado* was not a reliable source of support, as both the timing and amount of receipt were, at best, unpredictable.64

Entrepeneurs and Opportunists

Spanish private enterprise in Florida was anchored as inextricably to the geography of the peninsula as the subsistence strategies of Indians of different regions. There were few exploitable resources, and none that afforded fortunes resembling the

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64 Sluiter, 1-9.
prizes of conquest in Mexico. Florida did not possess the deposits of precious metals 
adelantados had hoped to discover to recoup their investment. Corn, cattle, and 
ambergris were the few commodities of value salable as exports, and none of these 
could be gained without the cooperation of Indians. Agriculture and cattle ranching 
required Indian labor and ambergris required amicable dealings to keep trade ties open. 
Ambergris was procured from the Ais, a group of coastal Indians living south of 
modern day Cape Canaveral. The Ais were neither agriculturalist nor integrated into 
the Spanish mission system. From their earliest history with the Spanish they 
maintained a defensive stance, guarding the borders of their territory. The Ais were 
known for salvaging goods from Spanish shipwrecks including gold, silver, and 
foodstuffs, such as rum, sugar and molasses.

Agriculture, both at the presidio and in the provinces of St. Augustine, relied on 
repartimiento Indian labor. Repartimiento was a labor draft by which Indian men 
worked fields associated with the presidio. The draft was carried out through 
cooperative arrangement with caciques. Initially the Governor of St. Augustine sent 
a request for a specific number of annual laborers to come to St. Augustine to work his

67 ibid., 58.
68 Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1, 126.
69 ibid., 126.
Majesty’s fields. Over time “his Majesty’s fields” transitioned to private fields. Tributary labor was a highly exploitable resource, and its abuses were a major source of complaint by both Indians and friars. By exploiting Indian labor, entrepreneurs produced corn that was sold to the Crown at a considerable profit while requiring little capital outlay. Abuses of Indian labor occurred in the interior regions of Spanish Florida as well. Indians were commonly compelled to carry burdens or provide food at the behest of soldiers. The issue of a lack of pay and compensation for such services is addressed in both royal cédulas and governor’s orders, though these seem to have accomplished little in stopping such practices judging by the regularity of address of these abuses.

There were two primary Spanish economic ventures in place in the interior of Spanish Florida in the late 1640s. One of these was the cattle ranch known as La Chua, which was located in the Timucuan province in an area under the jurisdiction of the cacique of San Martín. La Chua was privately owned by Royal Treasurer Francisco Menéndez Márquez. The second of these ventures was a farm named Asile located in Apalachee province that produced wheat and corn using Indian labor. The difference

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70 Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1, 196-197.


73 Ibid., 13-15.

74 Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1, 199-200.

75 Ibid., 208-209.
in reception of La Chua and Asile can be traced to both the differences in the type of labor needed to maintain the properties and the relations of the owners with indigenous leaders. The relationship between Francisco and San Martín’s *cacique*, Lúcas Menéndez, was one of not only mutual benefit and reciprocity, but also of mutual affection and friendship. The overseers of Asile, Claudio Luís de Florencia and his family, were on the other hand, noted for their abusive treatment and disregard for the Indians who worked the fields of Asile.

The Spanish were not the only entrepreneurs seeking to take advantage of new economic opportunities. The Indian groups that interacted with the Spanish initially perceived a relationship with the Spanish as a possible means of gaining increased power and prestige, as well an increased access to trade goods. Of the three major Indian groups that became part of Spanish Florida’s missionized Indian groups, it was the Timucuans who were the least homogenous. There were two separate associations related to the term “Timucua.” One denoted the geographic province of Timucua as delineated by the Spanish. The second association identified Indians who were speakers of the Timucua language, though these were not necessarily “Timucuans.” The borders of these language groups did not fit neatly into the Spanish’s constructed border system. Timucua speakers lived in a variety of environmental niches and each group made use of the resources most readily available to them as part of their


77 Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord, Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians*, 126.

subsistence strategies. The Timucuan Indians were organized as a series of related simple chiefdoms without a strong central political seat.

Apalachee Indians, a group separate from the Timucua in geography and language, belonged to the group of highly stratified Indian societies referred to as Mississippian chiefdoms. The Apalachee have been referred to as “the largest and most politically complex group in colonial Florida.” In addition to the most complex political structure, the Apalachee possessed abundant natural resources and had the furthest reaching trade relationships. A friar who visited Apalachee in 1608 noted that the people of Apalachee “were more organized and refined than those on the coast with whom he was acquainted.” It has been suggested that the Apalachee rebellion was not supported by Apalachee Indian leaders who profitted from their economic alliance with Spanish entrepreneurs. The fact that Don Luís, the principal cacique of Apalachee, was noted as being literate as early as 1651 can been interpreted as supporting that there

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80 Milanich, The Timucua, 151,160.
82 Milanich, Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe, 93.
84 Hann and McEwan, 11.
were those in Apalachee’s leadership developing skills that would help in their negotiations with the Spanish.  

The Crown and the Cost of Indian Allegiance

By the mid-17th century a formalized system for gaining allegiance and cooperation from Indian leaders living in Florida provinces claimed by the Spanish Crown was well in place. Monies set aside from the annual situado were used to pay for gifts and food to secure allegiance and cooperation from Indian leaders, known as caciques, and principales. Principales, or “principal Indians,” are believed to have been relatives of the ruling cacique who served as counselors and administrative assistants in matters of governance. As such, they often accompanied Indian caciques during their visits to the presidio as members of the leader’s entourage. When a change in administration occurred at the presidio, Indian leaders would come to St. Augustine to “render obedience” to the new governor. During these visits to the presidio, Indian caciques and their retinue were presented gifts, such as clothing and tools, and were accorded the honor of dining with the governor. These groups are also noted as having been provided food to accommodate them on their journey home from such visits.

Directives for interacting with indigenous peoples were recorded in two royal decrees, titled cédulas, that outlined the crown’s policies for overseeing relations in

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86 Hann, Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers, 28.

87 Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1, 36.

88 ibid.

89 Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 2, 40.
the frontier provinces. Though these cédulas, dating from 1593 and 1615, prescribed a system for the distribution of gifts to Indian caciques and their nobles, the interpretation of these documents was inconsistent. Because frontier areas existed on the borderlands of a government’s authority, as well as the furthest reaches of its supply lines, individual administrators often wielded a greater measure of autonomous authority than their counterparts in urban areas. Documentary evidence reveals that several high-ranking officials serving at St. Augustine took advantage of their remote assignment, exploiting La Florida’s resources for personal financial gain. The remoteness of the region left government authorities in Spain slow to react to corruption, and hesitant to prosecute except in instances where the scale of the offense severely impacted the interests of the Crown. The slow machinations of government oversight sometimes caused malfeasance to go unchallenged as a matter of daily routine, but those committing such offenses remained aware of their vulnerability to prosecution. The quantity of goods introduced into the economy of diplomacy through the Indian fund was sizable and represented a measured expense to the Crown (Tables 2 - 4).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Gifts/Rations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 30, 1597</td>
<td>old Indian from Agua Dulce</td>
<td>4 arrobas corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33 Indian laborers (to cut palm thatch)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 24-26, 159</td>
<td>cacique Antonio with cacica of San Antón, his wife other caciques</td>
<td>339 lbs. wheat flour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>old Indian mandador of Agua Dulce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cacique mayor of Potano and his heir other mandadores and Indians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 23, 1598</td>
<td>nephew of the cacique of Potano with cacique and Indians from Çurruque),</td>
<td>822 lbs. corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other Indians</td>
<td>1 mestizo blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20 lbs. salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 5, 1599</td>
<td>cacique mayor of the town of Potano</td>
<td>48 lbs. wheat flour,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 principales (other caciques and his mandador)</td>
<td>244 lbs. corn,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 other Indians</td>
<td>1 fine blanket, 3 hoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 25, 1600</td>
<td>heir of the cacique of Potano</td>
<td>6 arrobas wheat flour,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one of his mandadores</td>
<td>2 fine white blankets,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 28, 1601</td>
<td>cacique of Mautina of Potano</td>
<td>3 mestizo 16 varas of common sayal cloth,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heir of Don Juan, cacique of Potano</td>
<td>7 mestizo blankets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his mandador major and 2 Guale caciques, cacique of Apalua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 26, 1601</td>
<td>2 caciques from the province of Timucua</td>
<td>165 lbs. wheat flour,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a mandador principal of one of these caciques for other Indians</td>
<td>14 ½ varas common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sayal cloth, 2 suits,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 12, 1601</td>
<td>cacique of Mauquina of the province of Potano other Indians</td>
<td>2 mestizo blankets,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 arrobas corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 13, 1602</td>
<td>mandador mayor of Don Gonzalo, cacique of the province of Timucua,</td>
<td>3 arrobas biscuit,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>province of Timucua, province of Timucua, 3 principales, 11 other</td>
<td>6 arrobas corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>indians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 22, 1602</td>
<td>cacique of Nigua he of the province of Potano of his Indian vassals</td>
<td>2 arrobas biscuit,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 of his Indian vassals, heir of the cacique of Potano and his</td>
<td>14 arrobas wheat flour,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mandador mayor, 10 of his Indian vassals</td>
<td>21 arrobas corn, 7 hoes,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 axe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data adapted from John E. Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1, Assimilation*, 55. Reprinted with permission of the University Press of Florida.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>8,709 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat flour</td>
<td>2,404 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biscuit</td>
<td>932 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheeses</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>102 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt beef</td>
<td>66 arrobas (1,650 lbs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh beef</td>
<td>159 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine</td>
<td>1 perulera (1-arroba &quot;olive jar&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>17 bundles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow wax</td>
<td>4 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatchets</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoes</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knives</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adzes</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudder mount (cancamo de timón)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steel</td>
<td>1 axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>3 lbs. of steel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bells</td>
<td>914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-blankets (medias fressadas)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine blankets</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small conga blankets from New Spain</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gergeta</td>
<td>135 varas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmilla</td>
<td>36 varas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listones</td>
<td>30 varas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerga</td>
<td>27 varas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloth from New Spain</td>
<td>47 1/2 varas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordobanes</td>
<td>3 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buttons of Zerda</td>
<td>1 gross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tar (alquitrán)</td>
<td>1 perulera</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data adapted from John E. Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1, Assimilation*, 139. Reprinted with permission of the University Press of Florida.
### Table 4. Itemized Gifts and Rations Distributed From the Indian Fund, 1687

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recipient</th>
<th>Gifts/Rations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cacique of San Francisco and 4 Indians</td>
<td>18 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Pitano</td>
<td>12 lbs. of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Santa Fé</td>
<td>12 lbs. of hardtack; 2 lbs. of salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of San Pedro de Potohiriba</td>
<td>4 varas of fine cloth from New Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caciques of S. Pedro, Santa Fé, S. Juan de Guacara</td>
<td>2 arrobas of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Machava</td>
<td>4 varas of cloth from New Spain; 10 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Asile</td>
<td>8 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Tarihica</td>
<td>8 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caciques of Salamototo</td>
<td>4 varas of fine cloth from New Spain; 1 arroba, 8 lbs. of hardtack; 1 arroba of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Epo</td>
<td>4 varas of cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caciques of Ivitanayo and vassals</td>
<td>8 lbs. of hardtack; 3 arrobas of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caciques of Ybiniute (rendering obedience)</td>
<td>24 knives; 1 hoe; 2 arrobas of wheat flour; 12 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Ypaja and San Antonio</td>
<td>12 lbs. of hardtack; 1 arroba of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Ventura, cacique of Ivitachuco</td>
<td>2 arrobas, 10 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Tomole</td>
<td>3 varas of cloth from New Spain; 32 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of San Francisco</td>
<td>12 lbs. of hardtack; 2 arrobas of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Aspalaga</td>
<td>8 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Ocuia</td>
<td>20 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Escambe and vassals</td>
<td>12 lbs. of hardtack; 4 arrobas of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caciques of Colcube, Ype, and Ayubasca</td>
<td>6 varas of cloth from New Spain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. Itemized Gifts and Rations Distributed From the Indian Fund 1687, cont.’d

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recipient</th>
<th>Gifts/Rations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Talube from San Pablo</td>
<td>3 varas of fine cloth from New Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Santa Maria</td>
<td>2 ½ arrobas of wheat flour; 4 lbs. of hardtack; 36 lbs. of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caciques of Guale</td>
<td>2 varas of jerga cloth; 25 lbs. of wheat flour 2 arrobas of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caciques of Santa Catalina</td>
<td>8 lbs. of hardtack; 1 arroba of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caciques of San Phelipe</td>
<td>12 varas of fine cloth from New Spain; 24 lbs. of hardtack; 3 arrobas of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of Ais</td>
<td>1 axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of the Bar of Mosquitos</td>
<td>1 bundle of tobacco; 1 arroba of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique of [?]ontuaia (southern coast)</td>
<td>2 bundles of tobacco; 4 lbs. of hardtack; 20 lbs. of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacique Pastrana and vassals</td>
<td>4 varas of cloth from New Spain; 12 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caciques (rendering obedience)</td>
<td>8 half blankets; 12 hoes; 4 lbs. yellow wax; 18 fine blankets; 1 congilla blanket; 19 varas of palmilla cloth; 7 varas of jergueta cloth; 81 arrobas, 14 lbs. of wheat flour; 2 cheeses (12 lbs.); 24 lbs. of hardtack; 5 arrobas of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor of Santa Cruz, caciques and vassals</td>
<td>2 arrobas of hardtack; 2 arrobas of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandador of Nombre de Dios</td>
<td>1 ½ varas of fine cloth from New Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an Indian from Mobila (rendering obedience)</td>
<td>7 varas of jergueta cloth; 3 half-blankets; 2 hoes; 2 hatchets; 12 dozen large bells; 2 arrobas of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recipient</td>
<td>Gifts/Rations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some Indians from Apalachee (rendering obedience)</td>
<td>2 arrobas of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some Indians (rendering obedience)</td>
<td>12 lbs. of wheat flour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some pagan Indians from Ybiniute</td>
<td>20 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Indians from Santa Elena</td>
<td>11 arrobas of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jusephe, tunaque of Guanoche (prisoner?)</td>
<td>2 varas of fine cloth from New Spain; 60 lbs. of wheat flour; 1 arroba, 17 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Apalachee, a forced laborer</td>
<td>1 congilla blanket; 4 lbs. hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian prisoners</td>
<td>6 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartolomé, atiqui of Timucua</td>
<td>1 hoe; 3 lbs. of steel; 6 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian couriers</td>
<td>4 lbs. of hardtack; 18 lbs. of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian children who danced during Corpus Christi</td>
<td>670 large bells; 6 arrobas, 9 lbs. of fresh beef; 12 lbs. of hardtack; 36 lbs. of corn; 3 ½ sections of Cordoban leather for shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians who brought ramadas for Corpus Christi</td>
<td>24 lbs. of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians who serve at the Salamototo ferry</td>
<td>26 varas of jerga cloth for sacks; 2 arrobas, 1 lb. of hardtack; 5 arrobas, 24 lbs. of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian who brought munitions from Timucua</td>
<td>4 lbs. of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 Timucua and Apalachee Indian warriors</td>
<td>66 arrobas of salt beef; 300 arrobas of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian warriors from Santa Cruz, San Juan, etc.</td>
<td>3 arrobas, 15 lbs. of hardtack</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. Itemized Gifts and Rations Distributed From the Indian Fund, 1687, cont.’d

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recipient</th>
<th>Gifts/Rations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conejo, an Indian from the southern coast</td>
<td>1 bundle of tobacco; 12 lbs. of wheat flour; 2 arrobas, 5 lbs. of hardtack;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25 arrobas, 22 lbs. of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians from Surruque</td>
<td>1 arroba of wheat flour; 11 lbs. of hardtack; 8 ½ lbs. of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians of the southern coast</td>
<td>13 bundles of tobacco; 16 lbs. of hardtack; 8 arrobas, 24 lbs. of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians from Tolomato</td>
<td>12 lbs. of hardtack; 1 arroba of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian vassals of Santa Maria</td>
<td>63 lbs. of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian from Mobila</td>
<td>½ arroba of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>100 large bells; 9 lbs. of hardtack; 1 arroba of corn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data adapted from John E. Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1, Assimilation*, 139. Reprinted with permission of the University Press of Florida.
CHAPTER III

RESISTANCE AND CONCILIATION: REBELLION IN SPANISH FLORIDA

Franciscan friars established missions north of St. Augustine on the Atlantic coast among the Mocama and Guale Indians well before efforts were made to bring missions to the interior regions of the peninsula. It was in this mission field that the first incidences of organized community violence against Spanish residents occurred. Uprisings by Indians in the region of Santa Elena began in 1576 and continued to flair sporadically through 1583. Spain was only beginning to move into interior Timucuan controlled regions of the peninsula when dissension sparked the Guale rebellion of 1597. The next major rebellion occurred in 1647 in Apalachee, the furthest borderland of St. Augustine’s provinces. In contrast to the Guale rebellion, the Timucua considered themselves Spain’s allies at the time of the Apalachee rebellion. An estimated 500 Timucuan warriors accompanied Spanish soldiers to the western border of their province helping to quell the Apalachee violence. Though all of these incidents are particularized by issues specific to the area in which they occurred, there are also similarities within each rebellion that afford generalizable insights.


91 Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1, 121.
Guale

The founding Adelantado of Florida, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, is caricatured in historical records as a devout Catholic, genuinely concerned for the souls of Florida’s Indians. Menéndez was the first Spaniard to proselytize to a cacique of Guale. The Adelantado was invited to the cacique’s village after winning over a group of Indian archers with biscuits, figs, and gifts when he was exploring a harbor in April of 1566. Menéndez told the cacique the Catholic faith was the true Christian faith, and that the French “heretics” who had been living at Ft. Caroline were false Christians. Communication was accomplished through a French Catholic interpreter who sailed with Menéndez from Cuba. Menéndez is said to have erected a cross wherever he and the soldiers accompanying him lodged. Boys were assigned to stand in front of the cross and recite Christian doctrine, and after the recitation the Adelantado would kiss the cross. Menéndez also inserted himself as mediator in a conflict between Guale’s cacique and the cacique of Orista during this visit by negotiating the return of two Orista Indians being held prisoner in Guale.

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93 Barrientos, 98; Matter, Pre-Seminole Florida: Spanish Soldiers, Friars, and Indian Missions, 1513-1763, 31.
94 Barrientos, 96-97.
95 ibid., 98.
96 ibid.
97 ibid.
98 ibid., 97-103.
Menéndez actively recruited Jesuit priests for his colony. The Jesuits arrived in 1566 and left La Florida in 1572, heading for New Spain after having become frustrated with the little progress achieved by their evangelizing efforts in La Florida’s frontier missions. Franciscan friars took over the effort of converting the Indians in 1573. The mission efforts in Guale evidenced a significant step of success when a principal cacique of Guale and his wife were baptized, and there were Indians making an effort to live within the tenets of the Catholic faith as articulated to them by the friars. Nevertheless, relations between the Guale Indians, the Orista Indians, and the Spanish, remained punctuated by episodes of violence, including the uprising which led to the destruction of Santa Elena in 1576. This act of rebellion was intimately tied to the efforts of Pedro Menéndez de Aviles begun a decade earlier in April of 1566 when he proslytized to the cacique of Guale. Time and again practices of Spanish Catholicism that stood in direct opposition to longstanding practices of Florida’s Indian groups, such as the prohibition of polygamy, would spark violent uprisings against Spanish rule. This pattern of violence was episodically repeated over the next two centuries in one form or another.

99 Matter, Pre-Seminole Florida: Spanish Soldiers, Friars, and Indian Missions, 1513-1763, 27.
100 Milanich, Laboring in the Fields of the Lord, Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians, 93.
101 ibid., 30.
102 Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1, 44; Matter, Pre-Seminole Florida: Spanish Soldiers, Friars, and Indian Missions, 1513-1763, 40.
103 Matter, Pre-Seminole Florida: Spanish Soldiers, Friars, and Indian Missions, 1513-1763, 40.
Early writings of Florida’s Franciscan delegates provide one of the most exhaustive sources of information regarding the history of Spanish Florida. When Father Luis Gerónimo de Oré visited Florida in order to conduct canonical elections in November 1616, he traveled the entire mission system conducting interviews. During these sessions he questioned eye witnesses regarding unrest in Guale. Father Oré mined additional testimony from the relaciones [recorded testimonies] of friars serving during that time, including that of Father Avila, the friar who had been held captive by the Guale.105 Father Oré wrote the following account of the events of 1576 from interviews conducted during his two month stay:

Then it happened that one of the principal caciques of the peninsula of Guale together with his wife became Christians. And because one of his vassals refused him respect and obedience, the cacique approached the town. A nephew of the recalcitrant cacique killed the Christian chieftain by an arrow shot. Wherefore the wife of the dead chieftain went to Santa Elena to complain to the governor. Since her husband had become a Christian, she asked the governor to protect her and avenge the murder.106

After inducing caciques of Guale to gather at Santa Elena with a promise that he would “do them no harm,” Spanish governor Don Diego de Velasco hanged the Indian responsible for the Christian cacique’s murder, which set off a wave of violence against the Spanish in the region.107

The events that led to a subsequent episode of rebellion in Guale in 1597 reveal several marked similarities with the rebellion that erupted in the province of Timucua over half a century later. In both instances, one individual with a personal grievance

105 Oré, xiv-xvi.
106 ibid., 33.
107 ibid.
incited others to action by pleading his case in a broader social context. Don Juanillo of Guale was the heir apparent to the chiefdom of Guale and was, therefore, sensitive to perceived disrespect or injustices that might call his authority or position into question in the presence of his fellow Indians. Father Pedro de Corpa twice insulted Don Juanillo in a public manner, the first instance being a public reprimand for his practice of polygamy, and then in reference to an issue involving Don Juanillo’s turn at serving as the temporary head of a Guale tribal council. Because of the nature of the insults, Don Juanillo, like Lúcas Menéndez after him, was not only concerned with revenge, but with recovering his status among his fellow Indians.

Leadership positions are believed to have been inherited in the matrilineal hierarchies of the Southeastern region during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the actions of Don Juanillo as the next in line for the position of cacique in Guale, and those of Lúcas Menéndez as the principal cacique in the Timucuan province, belied a more tenuous hold on power than would be inferred from accepting the supposition of these men’s “right to rule” with no qualification. Both men were very concerned with their public persona and the idea of defending their honor. The insults shown them by the Spanish interlopers were an affront to their position as leaders. Their concern suggests that challenges to leadership positions ascribed through a matrilineal system, or at least the possibility of losing the right to lead due to the unwillingness of subjects to follow a leader seen as unfit to hold the position of cacique, was a possibility.


Don Juanillo did not react immediately to the first instance of public insult. According to testimonies collected by Father Luís Gerónimo de Oré, the young heir apparent made an effort to overlook the actions of Father Corpa, until the perceived insults to his honor passed a threshold he could not tolerate. At this point Don Juanillo is said by Oré to have gathered together fellow caciques and presented the following exhortation as a call to action against the friars:

They deprive us of every vestige of happiness which our ancestors obtained for us, in exchange for which they hold out the hope of the joys of heaven. In this deceitful manner they subject us, holding us bound to their wills. What have we to hope for except to become slaves? If we kill them all now, we will throw off this intolerable yoke without delay.

Don Juanillo placed the fear of becoming slaves to the Spanish friars at the center of his argument. This theme, from all evidence, was one that cut to the core of Indian sensibilities. The practice of taking prisoners as slaves seems to have been in place pre-contact, and the caciques who met with Don Juanillo and listened to his exegesis of what the friars were trying to accomplish had no difficulty in imagining this outcome. He convinced his compatriots that the gentle manner and kind speech of the friars was a trick to garner cooperation so they could wrest control from the Indians.

In all, five friars died in the violence that began with the death of Father Pedro de Corpa at Tolomato. A sixth friar, Father Francisco de Avila was taken captive and held for

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111 ibid.

112 ibid., 44.

113 ibid., 43.
ten months.  

The friar was eventually rescued by Spanish soldiers and returned to Spain to recover from his ordeal.  

Lúcas Menéndez would adopt a similar method for inciting his fellow caciques to action against the Spanish. Interpreter Juan Bautista de la Cruz recollected the following statement offered by one of the caciques of Timucua when he was being questioned by Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares as to the cause of the Indians rising up: “they had no more reason than what the said cacique of San Martín had told them, that the Spaniards wished . . . to embark to sell them, so that they should be slaves, and to present most of them to the King so that they should be his slaves”

The fear of enslavement figured prominently in Lúcas’ entreaties to his fellow Indians.

Apalachee

Fray Martín Prieto was the first Spanish representative from St. Augustine to establish conciliatory relations with the Apalachee. In July of 1608 Fray Prieto purposed to establish peace between Timucua Indians and their Apalachee rivals living in the border areas of these separate culture groups’ territories. The friar perceived the longstanding hostilities between the two groups as an impediment to missionization efforts, and so facilitated amicable relations between them. Prior to arranging a meeting

114 Matter, Pre-Seminole Florida: Spanish Soldiers, Friars, and Indian Missions, 1513-1763, 44.
115 ibid., 44.
116 Appendix B, Testimony no. 30.
117 Hann, Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers, 10; Oré, 115.
118 Oré, 116.
between the principal caciques of Timucua and Apalachee, Fray Prieto traveled within the Timucua province, accompanied by the cacique of the future Mission San Martín, beginning in 1607. Fray Prieto journaled that this Timucuan cacique was “greatly esteemed and feared in the whole land of Florida,” and that he had “more than twenty places under his command.” San Martín’s cacique, according to Prieto, embraced the Christian faith with great zeal and encouraged the people of his villages to also embrace Christianity.

The cacique of San Martín accompanied Fray Prieto to the town of “Juitachuco,” [Ivitachuco] to meet with Apalachee caciques. Though this meeting went well, efforts to establish friars or soldiers in the region of Apalachee presented formidable challenges in logistics, as supplies had to be carried over land from St. Augustine. Permanent Franciscan presence in Apalachee was not in place until 1633. Caciques of the Apalachee region actively sought political alliance with the Spanish once a permanent Franciscan presence was established. A letter of appeal from a friar to the governor requesting the installation of soldiers in Apalachee noted that Indian leaders saw intervention of Spanish authority as a tool for gaining control over those subject to their authority. The friar wrote, “the Indians obey their chiefs poorly, and the chiefs would like to gain control of their Indians with the aid and support of Your majesty.”

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119 Oré, 114.


Soldiers followed the friars into Apalachee shortly before the founding of a Spanish port there in 1639 under the direction of Governor Damián de Vega Castro y Pardo. This event mitigated the difficulty of supplying friars using cargo bearers from St. Augustine, thus facilitating a greater missionary presence in the region. The opening of the port also ushered in an era of entrepreneurial ventures. Shortly after replacing Governor Vega, Castro y Pardo in April 1645, Governor Benito Ruíz de Salazar Vallecilla established a wheat farm near the Asile River. This hacienda was located in territory under the jurisdiction of a Timucuan cacique, but also recruited labor from Indians of Apalachee, including cargo bearers for getting produce to port. Analysis of the 1647 rebellion in Apalachee reveals violence seemingly directed toward the Spanish leadership in the region during that period, rather than a generalized objection to Spanish authority legitimized through political ties with St. Augustine.

Interpretations of escalating resentment against Spanish residents during this period have posited that increased exploitation of Indian labor at the wheat farm of Asile and use of Indian labor in efforts by friars to grow produce for export predominantly contributed to the Indian revolt against the Spanish residing in Apalachee.

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124 ibid., 120.
125 ibid., 205-207.
126 ibid., 209.
127 Bushnell, 123; Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1*, 169.
The opening of the Apalachee port created an opportunity for trade between Apalachee and Havana away from the oversight of St. Augustine’s administrators. Tension between friars and the governor’s agents escalated as each sought to exploit the new trade opportunity afforded by the port. By 1643, shipping between Apalachee and Havana was regular enough to have become a source of complaint regarding nonpayment of taxes on cargoes of Apalachee produce. In response to this issue Governor Pardo’s replacement, Governor Benito Ruiz de Salazar Vallecilla, gained permission to appoint a lieutenant governor for the Apalachee port area. Apalachee’s first lieutenant governor was Claudio Luis de Florencia. He was assigned to the Apalachee post in April 1645 and moved to the province with his wife and daughters.

The Florencia family seemed specifically targeted for brutal treatment during the revolt. After being lured away from the safety of San Luis under the ruse of an invitation to attend a fiesta at San Antonio de Bacuqua, the family, including women and children, were tortured and killed. While the barbarity of the acts creates the impression that the Florencia family was especially resented by the Apalachee, there is later evidence that the Apalachee may have held a proclivity for not sparing women and children to take for slaves as other groups of Indians were known to do. During a visitation of the Apalachee chiefs in 1675, Domingo de Leturiondo, serving as an agent

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128 Hann, Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers, 15.
129 ibid.
130 ibid.
of the governor, is said to have entreated Apalachee leaders to hold women and children
as slaves rather than killing them.\textsuperscript{132} That Leturiondo addressed this issue specifically,
telling those assembled that having mercy on women and children who had surrendered
made them true \textit{norocos} [warriors of honored rank]\textsuperscript{133}, may mean that the Indians of
Apalachee did not usually spare women and children during hostilities.

Address of the 1647 Apalachee revolt by the Spanish unfolded in two separate
actions. The first of these involved a small detachment of thirty-one Spanish soldiers
dispatched from St. Augustine, who were joined by 500 Timucuan warriors.\textsuperscript{134} The
need for Spanish forces to augment their number through recruitment of an Indian
militia substantiates Paul E. Hoffman’s argument that the low number of Spanish
soldiers garrisoned at St. Augustine necessitated this sort of measure for addressing
episodes of rebellion.\textsuperscript{135} This allied force was confronted by Apalachee’s rebel force,
joined by Chisca Indian allies, before they reached the western border of Timucua. The
day-long battle ended with the rebels still in control of Apalachee province, and Spanish
soldiers returning to St. Augustine believing that reinforcements from Havana would be
needed in order to regain control of Apalachee.

Francisco Menéndez Márquez was able to quiet the region and reestablish
Spanish control without waiting for reinforcements.\textsuperscript{136} Francisco was St. Augustine’s

\textsuperscript{132} Hann, \textit{Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers}, 43.

\textsuperscript{133} Worth, \textit{The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 2}, 61.

\textsuperscript{134} Hann, \textit{Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers}, 17.

\textsuperscript{135} Hoffman, 41.

\textsuperscript{136} Bushnell, “The Menéndez Marquez Cattle Barony at La Chua and the Determinants of
royal treasurer during this time and was acting as co-governor during this period, sharing the responsibilities of the office with Sergeant Major Pedro Benedit Horruytiner. Francisco possessed, by all indications, a talent for diplomacy in relations with Indians. At the outbreak of the Apalachee rebellion, he was in Guale seeking to quiet hostilities in that region \(^{137}\) (the principal *cacique* of the province of Guale, as noted earlier, had adopted the surname Menéndez). Francisco recruited Indian assistance on his way through Timucua to Apalachee. The royal treasurer founded the La Chua cattle ranch situated in a region of Timucua under the jurisdiction of his presumed godson, Lúcas Menéndez, the principal *cacique* of Timucua, in the 1620s, and maintained a close relationship with him. \(^{138}\)

After gathering a small force of 21 soldiers and 60 Timucuan warriors that would have included, by custom and necessity, the principal *cacique* of the province of Timucua and Francisco’s personal friend through *compadrazgo*, Lúcas Menéndez, the royal official secretly stole into Apalachee and negotiated a resolution to the crisis. \(^{139}\) In examining the role of Indian alliance in quieting the unrest in Apalachee, John Worth observed that Francisco’s “relationship with the Timucuan *caciques* near his cattle ranch of La Chua undoubtedly proved vital.” \(^{140}\) Testimonies given by Spanish soldiers during the Rebolledo *residencia* would evidence the relationships that Lúcas Menéndez built during this period of joint military service with Spanish soldiers. Soldiers the

\(^{137}\) Hann, *Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers*, 17.

\(^{138}\) Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1*, 200-201.

\(^{139}\) ibid., 121-122.

\(^{140}\) ibid., 122.
cacique served with would later welcome him into their homes at St. Augustine, and they would express concern regarding his well-being born from the camaraderie that resulted from serving together during the Apalachee rebellion.

The cacique of Ivitachuco, Apalachee’s principal town which sat close to the province’s eastern border abutting Timucua, is noted as being seventy years old at the time of the 1608 meeting of Timucuan and Apalachee caciques that was facilitated by Fray Prieto. 141 This reference to the age of Ivitachuco’s cacique is significant in that it suggests several changes in the leadership of Ivitachuco were likely to have occurred between the time of the meeting with Fray Prieto in 1608 and the Timucuan rebellion in 1656. A signature from cacique Don Luís of Ivitachuco on a land deed drafted March 25, 1650, shows him as principal cacique of Ivitachuco three years after the Apalachee rebellion of 1647. 142 Additionally, Don Luís is noted, from this document, as being literate. 143 A second cacique signatory of this same land deed, Manuel of San Miguel de Asile, is noted as not being literate. Manuel signed the document only after protracted haranguing by the governor’s son Luís de Salazar Vallecilla and was said to have been displeased about being pressured to concede the deeded land gift. 144 No such protests from cacique Don Luís are recorded. The fact that Don Luís was a signatory to the deed, when the land ceded was under Timucuan ownership, is a point for additional research.

141 Hann, Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers, 11.

142 Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1, 206.

143 Hann, Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers, 28.

144 Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1, 203.
In an article examining economic expansion in Spanish Florida, Amy Bushnell, who has written extensively on this aspect of Spanish Florida, offers that the Asile wheat farm was but one of the business ventures begun by Governor Benito Ruiz de Salazar Vallecilla. The governor was also involved in fur trading with Indians living north of Apalachee. 145 Ivitachuco is speculated to be one of the early missions of the Apalachee area, and the literacy of Ivitachuco’s cacique is interpreted as supporting this supposition. 146 Following this line of argument, Don Luís, the cacique of Ivitachuco during Governor Rebolledo’s term, would have come to power after Spanish economic interests in Apalachee were well established. Interactions between cacique Don Luís and the Spanish during this period, and his later interactions with Governor Rebolledo, create the impression that this second or third generation, post-political and economic alliance Apalachee leader was adept at negotiating his interests with the Spanish.


146 Hann, Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers, 28.
CHAPTER IV

PRELUDE TO REBELLION

The residencia detailing Rebolledo’s term as governor of La Florida is extraordinarily detailed, both because officials were seeking to discover whether Rebolledo was responsible for the Timucuan Indian uprising, and because he was sorely disliked by many. The portion of testimony John Worth translates from the Rebolledo residencia relates to the ninth question of the royal inquiry. Here Royal Inquisitor Don Diego Ranjel asked witnesses the following question:

If they know that the said Governor [sic] visited the Indian towns at peace or if he has endeavored to know how the native Indians were ministered to, and if the said Governor [sic] or his lieutenants have made any bad treatments, and if they have looked after the growth and conversion of the [Indians], or if in this there has been some lack.\footnote{Worth, \textit{The Timucuan Missions of Spanish Florida and the Rebellion of 1656}, 154.}

In the following, I argue that one must consider the collection of testimonies, rather than any single account, in order to gain a clear understanding of the extent of Rebolledo’s manipulations. This necessity, in itself, evidences Rebolledo’s skill at avoiding accountability for his actions. Each testimony must be set in place, like so many pieces of a puzzle.
Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo arrived in St. Augustine June 18, 1654. Two years later, six Timucuan caciques were sentenced to death in the aftermath of an uprising. Most theories on the cause of the Timucuan rebellion cite Rebolledo’s leadership as ineffectual or derelict to some degree. Other explanations caricature Rebolledo as inexperienced in matters of frontier politics and lacking the diplomatic skill to effectively manage relationships with Indian leaders. The most often cited explanation for the Timucuan rebellion is Rebolledo’s attempt to activate the Indian militia. The governor’s order for Timucuan nobles to assist in St. Augustine’s defense against a rumored impending English attack included an order that they “should have supplies on their backs for their journey.” The order for nobles to bear burdens was, as interpretation of this historic event has long supposed, a grievous insult. However, I propose that the primary catalyst of the Timucuan rebellion was not Rebolledo’s request for Timucuan nobles to bear their own burdens, but rather Rebolledo’s differential treatment of the principal caciques of the provinces of Apalachee and Timucua. These, as seemingly all of the governor’s relationships, were predicated upon one consideration – his entrepreneurial ambitions.

Evidence supports that the economic hubs of the La Florida provinces were well established before Don Diego de Rebolledo arrived in St. Augustine. The exploitable

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148 Matter, Pre-Seminole Florida: Spanish Soldiers, Friars, and Indian Missions, 1513-1763, 123.


150 Worth, The Timucuan Missions of Spanish Florida and the Rebellion of 1656, 203.
resources of La Florida were not enough to accomplish a return to the Spanish Crown for its investment in the frontier provinces, but the region did represent a measurable opportunity for profit to an ambitious entrepreneur. In 1635, ship pilot Sebastián Rodríguez was commissioned by Governor Luis de Horruytiner to search for a suitable port by which supplies might be sent from St. Augustine to Apalachee. Through this effort, Apalachee welcomed its first ship from Havana in 1637. The first ship to sail directly from St. Augustine to port San Marcos arrived in 1639 with the trip taking less than two weeks’ time.

Apalachee represented the western border of the Spanish Florida mission area. Where Governor Benito Ruíz de Salazar Valleilla had installed a lieutenant governor in Apalachee out of concern for evasion of tax payments on cargos, Governor Rebolledo maintained a military presence at the port because it allowed him to control the flow and pricing of goods. Rebolledo created a monopoly in the frontier area, forcing Spanish and Indians alike to buy goods from him at inflated prices. Apalachee was the only province where Rebolledo maintained a military garrison. Though he claimed that he had assigned a lieutenant to the area because of the presence of pagan Indians, Franciscan friars protested the claim as false pretense to cover that the true matter was the protection of Rebolledo’s control of ships coming in and out of port San Marcos.

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152 ibid., 160.
153 ibid., 125.
154 ibid., 184.
A new treasurer, Joseph de Prado, was assigned to St. Augustine following the Apalachee rebellion of 1647. Prado was placed in this office to serve as a secret inquisitor, assigned by the Crown to investigate the causes of the Apalachee rebellion and to report on the manner of dispersal of gifts and rations given to Indians through the Indian Fund. In 1654, the first year of Rebolledo’s term in office, Prado sent a letter to the King summarizing his findings. It was Prado’s recommendation that control of the Indian Fund should be transferred to the treasurer’s office, as governors were not using the fund according to the policies written in the cédulas of 1593 and 1615 which set forth rules for the distribution of gifts to Indian caciques and their nobles.

Rebolledo sent a letter to the Crown countering that reassigning control of these monies from the governor’s office to the treasurer’s office would adversely affect the equitable distribution of gifts to caciques which could result in “general protest” and “unrest and disturbances, obligating that they be punished with military force.”

Rebolledo’s own words evidenced his awareness of tensions likely to result from inequitable distribution of gifts from the Indian fund. I argue that the Governor’s true concern was that he might be shut out of one of the more lucrative benefits of his office. Amy Bushnell described the process of Indian Fund distribution this way “With one hand, for his private trade, the governor skimmed off a portion of the king’s gifts to caciques. With the other, he accepted the caciques’ reciprocal gifts to the king.”

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When speaking with Sergeant Major Don Pedro Benedit Horruytiner, Rebolledo offered an interpretation of proper use of the Indian Fund that was entirely different from his statements to Prado and his letter to the king. In his conversations with Horruytiner, Rebolledo claimed that the royal cédulas from 1593 and 1615 justified the differences in his treatment of Indian caciques in that they specified that the funds were to be used for “unconverted leaders.” 159 This interpretation left just enough room for argument as to why caciques from coastal provinces in more remote areas were given gifts, while those from areas missionized by Franciscans early in St. Augustine’s history, such as Timucua and Guale, were not. 160

In his testimony to Royal Inquisitor Don Diego Ranjel, Sergeant Major Horruytiner stated that from the outset of Rebolledo’s term, the governor gave preferential treatment to certain caciques and Indians while neglecting others. Horruytiner’s testimony makes specific reference to “the cacique of San Martín, who is the principal of Timucua,” as being slighted by the governor’s policies. The sergeant major names those Indians who were well-treated simply as “Indians of the coast.” 161 Horruytiner might have used this more generic label of “Indians of the coast” because Rebolledo was gaining ambergris from the Ais tribe on the Atlantic coast and also making use of the port town of San Marcos in Apalachee on the Gulf of Mexico. 162 The one other individual acknowledged in testimony as having specifically mentioned

159 Appendix B, Testimony no. 34.
160 Appendix B, Testimony no. 34.
161 Appendix B, Testimony no. 36.
162 Appendix B, Testimony no. 36.
Rebolledo’s preferential treatment of Ais caciques from the east coast was the cacique of Mission San Martín, Lúcas Menéndez.

The cacique of San Martín, Lúcas Menéndez, is said to have made specific mention of Rebolledo’s designation of some Indians as pagan and others as “Christianized.”¹⁶³ He further elaborated that as a Christianized Indian he was estimated as unimportant by the new governor, not even being afforded food.¹⁶⁴ This preferential treatment of certain caciques seems to have begun immediately upon Rebolledo taking office. During his initial visit to render obedience, Lúcas was not invited to dine with the new governor as was customary. Instead, Lúcas dined at the home of Spanish soldier-interpreter Estéban Solana. Captain Martín Alcayde de Cordoba testified that when he questioned the cacique of San Martín as to why he was dining with Solana, rather than with the governor, the cacique answered “that he was hungry, and his comrade [camarada in the original Spanish] did him the mercy of giving him that [food].” Lúcas added, “that if he were cacique of Ays [Ais], or some other pagan, that the governor would give it [food] to him.”¹⁶⁵ Captain Cordoba’s recollection of Lúcas’s use of the term comrade [camarada] is significant because it denotes the relationship Lúcas formed with the soldiers who accompanied Francisco Menéndez Márquez during address of the Apalachee rebellion.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Appendix B, Testimony no. 13.
¹⁶⁴ Appendix B, Testimony no. 11.
¹⁶⁵ Appendix B, Testimony no. 13.
¹⁶⁶ John E. Worth, conversation with author at the University of West Florida, November 2, 2010.
John Worth offered the following interpretation regarding the use of the term *camarada*:

The fact that it's a term rarely used in Spanish Florida (based on my experience) suggests that this was a specific term meant to indicate something slightly different from simply friend (amigo), and since it's based on a "quote" from Cordoba, I'm presuming there is an intentionality to the use of the word which implies they [Lúcas Menéndez and Esteban Solana] had indeed served together. There's really not much other shared experience that a Timucuan chief and a Spanish soldier would have had in that context. 167

The marked number of soldiers’ testimonies that detail Rebolledo’s poor treatment of Lúcas further substantiates that the bond shared between Lúcas and the soldiers of the presidio was one of special significance. The testimonies evidence a concern for Lúcas’s welfare that one would expect to see shared between men who had served as comrades at arms.

The list of soldiers who questioned the *cacique* of San Martín about his circumstances during his visits to the presidio underscores the contrast between the treatment customarily extended to someone of Lúcas’s position, and the manner in which he was treated by Governor Rebolledo. That these soldiers would detail this bad treatment and recall Lúcas’s answers to their questions in the course of their testimony before a Royal Inquisitor speaks of the good relations, what many might undoubtedly term friendships, which Lúcas had developed with them. Captain Augustín Pérez de Villa Real testified that Lúcas complained to Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez Márquez that he “had no food to carry for the road” for the return trip to his village because the cost of food was “barbarous.” 168 This testimony reveals that Lúcas was not

167 John E. Worth, e-mail message to author, November 2, 2010.

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only absent from the governor’s table when other caciques were being entertained, but that he was also being charged the inflated prices that had resulted from Rebolledo’s control of market goods.\(^\text{169}\)

The younger brother of Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez Márquez, Don Antonio, testified that on several occasions the cacique of San Martín expressed disappointment in the reception he was given by the new governor.\(^\text{170}\) According to Don Antonio, the cacique said he was “rather disgusted from the little reception that he had found in the Governor, who was Don Diego de Rebolledo.”\(^\text{171}\) Don Antonio, Francisco Menéndez Márquez’s youngest son, recalled that Lúcas made specific mention of the relationship he enjoyed with Francisco before the royal treasurer’s unexpected death during an epidemic of typhus or yellow fever in 1649.\(^\text{172}\) Lúcas complained to Don Antonio, “After your father died, no attention is paid to us.”\(^\text{173}\) In his testimony, Don Antonio also recalled that the cacique said Governor Rebolledo had affectively doubled his request for repartimiento laborers after a plague killed half the population of his province. Don Antonio quoted the cacique as saying, “upon the

\(^{168}\) Appendix B, Testimony no. 9.


\(^{170}\) Appendix B, Testimony no. 25.

\(^{171}\) Appendix B, Testimony no. 25.


\(^{173}\) Appendix B, Testimony no. 25.
Indians dying, the Spaniards would die.” This statement evidences Lúcas’s feelings of desperation about his circumstances.

The Spark

The testimonies of many high ranking officers who would have been in a position to witness the governor’s treatment of Indian leaders first-hand specifically address the preferential treatment shown to the cacique Don Luís of Ivitachuco in Apalachee. Don Luís is mentioned by name in six separate testimonies. Of these, two claim that Rebolledo “regaled” him with attention. Another states “and in particular Don Diego de Rebolledo made much festivity for the cacique of Ybitachuco (Ivitachuco), province of Apalachee.” Three other testimonies refer to Don Luís as “the most important and principal cacique of Apalachee,” and one offers the following detailed account of the esteem in which Rebolledo held Don Luís:

the said Don Diego received well the caciques and principales who came from the subject provinces, and gave food to all the most [important] ones in his house, and in particular, the said Don Diego de Rebolledo made much festivity for the cacique of Ybitachuco, province of Apalachee, and gave him gifts. And this witness having presented to the said Don Diego a sword from Toledo which he esteemed highly, the said Don Diego gave it to the aforementioned cacique and seated him at his table.  

174 Appendix B, Testimony no. 25.
175 Appendix B, Testimony nos. 15, 18, 19, 20, 23, and 26.
176 Appendix B, Testimony nos. 15 and 17.
177 Appendix B, Testimony no. 19.
179 Appendix B, Testimony no. 19.
The *cacique* Don Luís was a frequent visitor at the presidio.¹⁸⁰ Testimony shows that he was staying at the presidio as a guest of Rebolledo when the Timucuan rebellion occurred, and that his visit lasted a sufficient length of time for Lúcas Menéndez to convince other leaders he was recruiting to join him in rebelling against the Spaniards because Don Luís had been imprisoned in St. Augustine.¹⁸¹

Examination of the order said to have incited the Timucuan rebellion raises additional questions regarding the relationship between Rebolledo and the *cacique* of Apalachee, Don Luis. In the order issued by Rebolledo, the *caciques* of Timucua were not only instructed to carry their own rations, the arrobas of corn so often mentioned, but they were also ordered to report to Ivitachuco, located in the province of Apalachee west of the Timucuan town of Asile, to obtain the corn, and then return across the province of Timucua carrying their burden to St. Augustine (Figure 1).¹⁸²

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¹⁸⁰ Appendix B, Testimony nos. 18 and 26.

¹⁸¹ Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 2*, 67; Appendix B, Testimony no. 11.

¹⁸² Appendix B, Testimony nos. 9 and 33.
Figure 1.

Land transportation network of the western provinces of mid-seventeenth century Spanish Florida. Source: *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1: Assimilation*, Figure 10-2. Reproduced with permission of the University of Florida Press.
The record also shows that the Spaniard, Francisco Vásquez, and the Mexican Indian named Geronimo, both murdered on Lúcas Menéndez’s order, were returning to La Chua with corn purchased in Ivitachuco. One might wonder, in the absence of definitive testimony, whether Rebolledo was manipulating the market in a manner that not only benefited himself, but also his close Apalachee ally Don Luís. The fact that the area from which the Timucuan caciques were ordered to obtain the arrobas of corn was the home of the cacique Don Luís might be viewed as more than coincidental.

The first murders committed during the Timucuan rebellion were those of Bartolomé Pérez, one of the garrison soldiers from Apalachee, and that of Estéban Solana. Solana appears to have been the first casualty, being killed by the Timucuan Indians he had been ordered to accompany when the group reached the village of San Pedro. Ensign Don Juan Joseph de Sotomayor, one of the soldiers who accompanied Sergeant Major Adrián Cañizares during the first stage of the pacification of Timucua prior to Rebolledo’s arrival, was ordered by the Sergeant Major to serve as a notary, recording the proceedings during the interrogation of Timucuan Indians and caciques. Sotomayor recalled in his residencia testimony that the Indian was convicted, and hanged, for having killed Bartolomé Pérez because of a personal grudge for bad treatment he had suffered by him earlier. The Indian, never mentioned by name in any of the

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184 The soldier Estéban Solana killed at San Pedro was the same soldier who earlier invited Lúcas into his home for a meal when Rebolledo failed to provide thecacique the customary hospitality. It is not clear by currently known documents whether Lúcas was present in San Pedro when Solana was murdered.


186 Appendix B, Testimony no. 19.
testimonies which recount this episode, stated that upon overhearing the *caciques* and *principales* gathered in a council meeting in the village of San Pedro speaking of the necessity of killing the Spaniards, he was incited to travel to Asile and avenge the previous insult he had suffered at this soldier’s hand. ¹⁸⁷

Lúcas, being unaware of the actions of this particular Indian who made the decision to act independently of any organized plan, may have been well on his way into the interior by the time the second murder, that of Bartolomé Pérez, took place in Asile. Fray Joseph Bamba, a Franciscan friar residing in Asile, brought news of the murders in San Pedro and Asile to Captain Agustín Pérez, the soldier who had traveled from St. Augustine bringing Rebolledo’s order, and to Antonio de Sartucha, the lieutenant assigned to the garrison in Apalachee. ¹⁸⁸ These two men remained in Apalachee, while soldier Bartolomé Francisco rode to St. Augustine with news of the rebellion. ¹⁸⁹ The messenger was instructed to skirt the edges of the Timucua province to avoid any confrontation with the rebelling Indians. ¹⁹⁰ This cautionary measure afforded Lúcas, travelling freely within the interior by the main roads, additional time to act before officials at St. Augustine were aware of the uprising (Figure 2).

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¹⁸⁷ Appendix B, Testimony no. 19.
¹⁸⁸ Appendix B, Testimony no. 60.
¹⁸⁹ Appendix B, Testimony no. 61.
¹⁹⁰ Appendix B, Testimony no. 61.
Figure 2.

Early events in the Timucuan rebellion. Source: *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 2*, Figure 3-1, p53. Reprinted with permission of the University of Florida Press.
This speculated timeline affords due explanation for Major Don Juan Menéndez’s surprise at seeing Lúcas so soon after the order for the caciques to report to St. Augustine was dispatched and his lack of knowledge regarding the events unfolding at the border towns of Ivitachuco, Asile, and San Pedro. Captain Francisco de la Rocha stated that Don Juan greeted Lúcas by saying, “So quickly have you departed and gone toward the presidio?” The eldest son of Francisco had no knowledge of the recent events in San Pedro and Asile when he greeted the cacique who he must have surely known as a friend of his father. Lúcas’ response to Don Juan’s question was his final honoring of that friendship. The cacique pulled Don Juan outside the La Chua residence as those inside were attacked and killed. Lúcas instructed Don Juan to return to Spain and sent him as far as the village of San Francisco escorted by two Indians to ensure his safe passage.

Rebolledo knew that any exhaustive inquiry into the cause of the Timucuan rebellion would bring the discontent caused by the inequity of his policies toward individual caciques to light. This discovery was most especially assured since he had petitioned the Spanish Crown directly in regard to the damage which could ensue from such inequitable distribution of the Indian Fund. Rebolledo’s disagreements with Sergeant Major Horruytiner over the interpretation of the royal cédulas would have

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191 Appendix B, Testimony no. 20.
192 Appendix B, Testimony no. 20.
193 Appendix B, Testimony no. 25.
194 Appendix B, Testimony no. 6.
195 Appendix B, Testimony nos. 39-40.
surely become an issue of contention during an inquiry as well. Rebolledo knew that he would not be able to mount a credible defense against accusations that he had caused the discontent that sparked the Timucuan rebellion. Evidence from testimonies contained in the Rebolledo residencia, and in the subsequent verification, makes clear that the inequity of his policies was common knowledge. Rebolledo was, however, a consummate opportunist. When he received word from Fray Alonso Escudero that the Indians refused to comply with his order, he began to circulate the caciques’ protest to his request that they bear their own corn as the issue that caused the uprising. Rebolledo also recognized Fray Escudero’s communiqué as an opportunity to shift focus away from the presidio and his inequitable treatment of the caciques. The fact that word of the protest was delivered by a friar most likely left Rebolledo feeling assured that his ruse would succeed. There was no one in the interior of La Florida more enthusiastic in scandalizing Rebolledo’s failures as a governor than the Franciscan friars. Rebolledo knew he could rely on the friars to share their interpretation of events with every Spaniard who would listen.

Despite Rebolledo’s efforts, most of the testimonies taken from soldiers and reformados say they were uncertain as to the cause of the rebellion, but that they heard from someone that the caciques of Timucua were upset at having been asked to bear burdens. There are several testimonies in which witnesses state outright that this explanation for the rebellion, given their knowledge of the Indians and the situation, did

196 Appendix B, Testimony no. 36.
197 Appendix B, Testimony nos. 2, 12, and 33.
198 Appendix B, Testimony no. 5.
not make sense.\textsuperscript{199} Rebolledo’s interest, however, was not in establishing a clear case of cause and effect, but rather in establishing just enough confusion and uncertainty to maintain shadows of doubt. The testimony of Sergeant Major Juan Sánchez de Uriza affords an opportunity to analyze the ways in which various groups seized on the version of underlying causes which best promoted their own agenda.\textsuperscript{200} Sergeant Major Juan Sánchez de Uriza was one of the soldiers who accompanied Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares on his assignment to capture the Indians involved in the rebellion and to quell further unrest.\textsuperscript{201} He was also a \textit{reformado}. Juan Sánchez’s testimony shows the experienced soldier intuited disjointedness between the unfolding events and the explanations for those events being offered by the disparate groups representing themselves as privy to the underlying causes.

In particular, Juan Sánchez drew attention to the fact that within the general populace it was only the friars who contended that the reason for the rebellion was the order that \textit{caciques} should carry burdens to St. Augustine. After listing, by name, four Franciscan friars from whom he separately heard this explanation for the rebellion, Juan Sánchez states, “He [referring to himself in third person as the witness] did not hear this from one lay person, neither Spaniard nor Indian.”\textsuperscript{202} Juan Sánchez states that upon his return to St. Augustine, he heard this same interpretation from only two Spanish officers.

\textsuperscript{199} Appendix B, Testimony nos. 9, 12, 19, and 28.

\textsuperscript{200} Appendix B, Testimony no. 5.

\textsuperscript{201} Appendix B, Testimony no. 5.

\textsuperscript{202} Appendix B, Testimony no. 5.
One of these officers was a captain whose name will never be known because of fire
damage to the testimony documents at the Archivos General de Indias in Seville,
Spain. 203 The other was Sergeant Major Don Pedro Horruytiner, who considered Don
Diego de Rebolledo an enemy. 204

Lucas’s Revolt

Lúcas Menéndez, the principal cacique of San Martín, made use of Rebolledo’s
request to further his own agenda. Examination of the various strategies Lúcas employed
to convince others to join him in his attempt to regain control of his lands reveals an
adept strategist who, with greater numbers or superior weapons, might have succeeded in
his bid to overthrow Rebolledo. The various elements of Lúcas’s strategy warrant
individual address. Lúcas set several rumors in motion to undermine confidence in the
Spanish. Reformado Jacinto de los Reyes testified that when he questioned Indians who
had taken part in the killings at La Chua as to their motivation for committing the
murders, they answered that they had news that the English had already taken St.
Augustine “and killed the Spaniards.” 205 These Indian prisoners, serving a sentence of
forced labor in St. Augustine for their part in the murders, testified that it was Lúcas who
delivered this news. 206 Lúcas may have convinced them that their best advantage would

203 Worth, The Timucuan Missions of Spanish Florida and the Rebellion of 1656, 5-6.
204 John E. Worth, conversation with author at the University of West Florida, 27 April 2009.
205 Appendix B, Testimony no. 27.
206 Appendix B, Testimony nos. 33 and 34.
be served by killing those few Spanish soldiers who remained in the interior, presumably with an end goal of gaining English confidence.

Lúcas, as previously stated, made strategic use of cacique Don Luís’s absence by telling Indians in Apalachee that the Spanish had arrested him and were holding him prisoner at the presidio. 207 Lúcas used this story to reinforce one additional rumor he began circulating to incite others to join his cause against the Spanish; Lúcas convinced many of his fellow caciques that the Spanish did not need support against the English, but rather were planning to enslave the Indians and were forwarding the story of impending danger from the English as a ruse to lure them to deliver themselves to the presidio. 208

Like Rebolledo, Lúcas Menendez’s strategy depended not so much on making others believe in the veracity of any single explanation, but in creating an adequate measure of confusion to render his fellow Indians vulnerable to his persuasion. After the rebellion, Lúcas explained to a friar that the Indians were rising up against “offenses and continuous injuries.” 209 He made clear to the friar “that the rebellion did not signify that the Timucuans were ‘abandoning the law of God, nor refusing to be obedient to [his] majesty.” 210 Lúcas seems to have used different rumors to recruit the cooperation of various individuals according to what he felt would most likely gain their support. Because he was “on the move” he also seems to have been unconcerned with

207 Worth, The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 2, 67; Appendix B, Testimony no. 11.

208 Worth, The Timucuan Missions of Spanish Florida and the Rebellion of 1656, 218.

209 ibid., 226.

210 ibid., 225.
contradictions in his stories. Lúcas was in the village of San Pedro when Captain Augustín Pérez de Villa Real delivered Rebolledo’s message to both Lúcas and Diego, *cacique* of San Pedro.  

Clemente Bernal, the *cacique* of San Juan del Puerto in the coastal Mocama province, testified that the *cacique* Lúcas Menéndez called a meeting of the Timucuan *caciques* in the village of San Pedro to announce the contents of a letter written by Governor Rebolledo, which had been intercepted in route, having been confiscated from the Indian courier Juan Alejo. In this meeting of the *caciques*, Lúcas announced that the letter written by Rebolledo stated the Spaniards wished to make slaves of the Indians. Rebolledo’s order to have the *caciques* from Timucua gather in Ivitachuco in the province of Apalachee to collect corn and then travel back through the Timucuan province most likely served to add credibility to Lúcas’s claim that the English threat was a ploy. Lúcas may well have raised the following question: why would Rebolledo make such an unreasonable request when corn was routinely sent by ship from the province of Apalachee to St. Augustine? At the same time Lúcas also speculated that the English had already attacked the Spanish on the eastern coast and won, making it advantageous for the Timucuans to kill the few Spanish left in the La Florida’s interior regions.

211 Appendix B, Testimony no. 9.

212 Appendix B, Testimony no. 32.

213 Appendix B, Testimony no. 33.

214 Appendix B, Testimony no. 32.

The Guale brought an additional element into the contest between Rebolledo and the cacique of San Martín. The relationship between Rebolledo and the Guale caciques was more amicable than his relationship with the Timucuans by only the smallest measure. Several testimonies cite displays of ill will between Rebolledo and caciques of the province of Guale, including a public incident during which Rebolledo purportedly told one of the caciques to “kiss him in the behind.” 216 After learning of the rebellion, Rebolledo sent for the caciques of Guale saying they should come to St. Augustine with all their arms. Upon reaching the presidio, the Guale Indians were made to surrender their arms to the Spanish and return to their province. Rebolledo then used these guns to arm the Apalachee repartimiento workers who were at the presidio when the Timucuan uprising occurred. 217 Cacique Don Luís accompanied Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares on his trip to Apalachee, skirting the Timucua province on his way to meet with the Spanish soldiers garrisoned in Ivitichuco. 218

216 Appendix B, Testimony nos. 9 and 20.
217 Appendix B, Testimony nos. 12 and 30.
218 Appendix B, Testimony nos. 5, 12, and 26.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Timucuan Indians resided in an area that afforded few environmental, and therefore, economic resources beyond that required for subsistence in Spanish Florida’s agriculturally-based economy. Additionally, the existence of the missions and the presidio were inextricably tied, as Robert Allen Matter observes in his examination of the economy of seventeenth-century Spanish Florida, to the “productive capacity, or lack thereof, of the Indians.” Adopting a fatalist interpretation of Timucuan history would, however, be an egregious mistake. Such an interpretation would inadequately consider the differences in productivity and function evidenced under different leadership styles, and the effects of individual personalities on the history of Spanish Florida. Francisco Menéndez Márquez worked successfully with Timucuan, Apalachee, and Guale leadership in a manner that facilitated peaceful, cooperative production of resources. The cattle ranch at La Chua represented not only an entrepreneurial opportunity for the Spanish, but also the Timucuan as well. Lúcas, as evidenced by his references to Francisco, perceived benefits to his relationship with the senior Menéndez. Where one leader facilitated greater economic capacity for indigenous groups through cooperative diplomacy, another wrought disruption through exploitation.

In the aftermath of the rebellion, during the pacification of Timucua, Rebolledo conducted the subsequent visitation of Timucua and Apalachee at his own expense.\textsuperscript{220} His decision to do so was likely influenced by his desire to bring about quick resolution to the instability of the interior regions of La Florida in order to circumvent action by government officials in Havana or New Spain. Such action would have increased the risk of drawing attention to his private ventures. By financing the visitation, he was probably also attempting to avoid interference from Royal Treasurer Joseph de Prado, who, as evidenced during their earlier disagreement regarding the Indian Fund, revealed that he was not hesitant to petition Spain when duly concerned. Quick punitive action on Rebolledo’s part was also preemptive. By hanging the rebelling caciques, changing jurisdictional boundaries, and relocating villages in the Timucuan province immediately following the rebellion, he affectively erased evidence of his misdeeds. The cacique of San Martín was among the six caciques tried and sentenced to death for their part in the uprising. Some participants, mainly those who were manipulated or coerced into participation such as Francisco Pasqua and Juan Alejo, were sentenced to serve prison terms at St. Augustine.\textsuperscript{221}

Later analysis would reveal that Rebolledo assigned rewards to some caciques as part of the rebellion’s aftermath as well. Caciques who had not aligned themselves with the rebels found they were able to use their act of allegiance to Spanish interests to increase their own political power.\textsuperscript{222} Worth wrote, “Rebolledo appears to have

\textsuperscript{220} Worth, \textit{The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 2}, 85.

\textsuperscript{221} Appendix B, Testimony nos. 32 and 33.

\textsuperscript{222} Worth, \textit{The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 2}, 78.
intentionally transferred the Timucuan town of Asile from Yustagan [Timucuan] to Apalachee political jurisdiction,” adding, “Rebolledo may well have intended the move as a sort of annexation, expanding the territory of Apalachee’s principal chief, Don Luis, all the way to the west bank of the Aucilla River as a reward for his support during the Timucuan rebellion.” 223

Rebolledo presumed he only needed the explanation of the caciques’ protest to burden bearing to be plausible enough to create an atmosphere of confusion and controversy regarding the reasons for the escalation in violence on the part of those Indians of Timucua that participated in the rebellion. The governor knew that there was ample evidence to substantiate an accusation that his policies created the political instability in the affected regions. If he could, on the other hand, make it seem as though the turn of events hinged upon his lack of experience with frontier politics, the likelihood of his being held responsible for the events lessened because there was no proof of culpability. Being labeled an inexperienced leader, or even ignorant in not recognizing the potential damage of his actions, was preferable to a charge of deliberate action that undermined the Spanish Crown’s interests and the political stability of La Florida. Rebolledo’s efforts were not successful.

Rebolledo’s Fate

The exploitative practices of Governor Rebolledo were the work of an individual possessing an undue measure of power in a system geographically removed from offices of approbating governmental oversight. Rebolledo was prosecuted for his crimes, evidencing that the system of oversight did not fail entirely. The inefficiency of the system did, however, fail the Timucuan people and certainly Lúcas Menéndez in particular. This failure was not due to a lack of effort toward exposing Rebolledo’s corrupt practices. Numerous letters of complaint detailing the disruptive effects of his policies upon the provinces of Spanish Florida were sent to the Council of the Indies. Historian John H. Hann described the outcry as “a steady drum of complaint.”

These complaints were investigated by the Council of the Indies which, in turn, recommended to the King that Rebolledo be removed from office and made to return to Spain to stand trial. The Council noted “the cruelty and inhumanity of don Diego de Rebolledo” in their communication dated June 15, 1657. Rebolledo was replaced by a new royally appointed governor on February 20, 1659. He died of an illness during the fall of that same year without ever having been made to stand trial for his crimes.

This examination of the residencia report from the term of Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo affords only a cursory visit of the wealth of documentary material that exists

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225 ibid., 132.

due to this governor’s corruption. Worth stresses in his introduction to the second notebook of secret testimony and the subsequent verification\footnote{Worth, A Century of Missions: Source Materials from Florida’s 17th-Century Frontier, 3. Unpublished manuscript in possession of author.} that the documents of the Rebolledo residencia contrast markedly to the “lackluster responses to the same question during the residencias of other Florida Governors [sic].”\footnote{ibid.} Rebolledo’s term brought the effects of the Spanish colonial system in La Florida to a crisis point. The instruments he used in order to exploit people and resources were not new. The repartimiento labor system, the Indian fund, trade relations with specific groups of Indians – all these were in place before he arrived. Rebolledo’s demands, however, compressed the critical issues faced by indigenous people of Florida as he applied increasing pressure to both individuals and the system during a period marked by disease and depopulation.

Implications for Contemporary Anthropological Research

The effects of the Spanish colonial system on the indigenous people of Florida cannot be uncomplicatedly generalized. This research project has required pendulous movement between the limited perspective of individuals rendered through testimonies and the broader political, economic, cultural, and social landscapes of the period and region. French historian Marc Bloch observed that “we can never interpret a document except by inserting it into a chronological whole.”\footnote{Marc Bloch, The Historian’s Craft (New York: Knopf, 1953), 110.} Efforts toward understanding the motivations of individual actors must be anchored within the broader landscape.
conditioning and informing people’s choices, but this research should, whenever possible, return the researcher to the voice of the individual with an added measure of confidence in interpretation. The foundation of human agency, regardless of the manner in which it might be theoretically contextualized for purposes of research, ultimately rests upon the daily choices of individual actors.

Questions that arise from analysis of intertwined landscapes such as those evidenced in the provinces of Spanish Florida speak to broader issues with modern parallels. Borders of economic, social, cultural and political systems can be recognized as simultaneously representing points of functionality and fracturing. Analysis of the Timucuan rebellion affords the luxury of historical distance. This distance allows for a greater measure of objectivity, if only in that there is no attached imperative: there is no supporting agency’s agenda to be considered; no living peoples to benefit from a campaign by impassioned applied anthropologists; there is no company or government negotiating resource procurement. This lack of immediate imperatives does not, however, imply that such analysis is hollow or void of modern applicability. Historical documents that capture the voices of individuals in narrative testimony position researchers closer to the daily machinations that wore at the fabric of indigenous societies during the colonial period. Efforts to achieve a robust understanding of the long-term effects of colonization should include this method of research when there is an opportunity to do so. Where hermeneutics such as systems analysis facilitate broad perspective, individual histories communicate the human condition that adjoins us all.
Indigenous peoples continue to struggle in order to have their voices heard and their rights respected. Indigenous groups, such as the Kayapo of the Brazilian Amazon, struggle to negotiate their place in an increasingly globalized world that refuses to turn back from their door, mirroring images of similar historical indigenous struggles. There are additional implications for analysis of social and political organizational phenomena now seen with increasing frequency as globalization facilitates a world landscape changing at frenetic speed. Nationless states, such as the Tibetan diasporic community, struggle to maintain social cohesion and culture preservation initiatives facilitated through a government that has been functioning in exile for over a half century. Ethnohistorical studies of colonial period indigenous peoples afford increased perspective of the challenges and struggles faced by contemporary indigenous groups.

The geographic, economic, and political marginality that Indian leaders of the first Spanish colonial era confronted stands mirrored in challenges faced by many contemporary indigenous communities occupying similar peripheral spaces. These communities, reflective of the circumstances of the Timucua Indians, lack political and economic resources sufficient to afford power for leveraging negotiations in today’s complex political arenas. This position of marginal political power limits the ability of such a state to negotiate security for its citizenry. What has transitioned since the days of

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Lúcas’s struggle against Rebolledo’s heavy-handed exploitation of his people are the created spaces of technology in a global landscape where information has become a tool for negotiating political power and legitimacy. Safe spaces created through technology have become especially significant to communities dispossessed of their ancestral lands, such as the Tibetan diasporic community.

Had Lúcas been afforded the resources available to many current day indigenous leaders, such as Tibet’s Dalai Lama, the voice of Timucua, like that of Apalachee, might still be heard. Tools of technology have facilitated the creation of new arenas for cultural and even national preservation. These new arenas do not, however, preclude complications of political and economic contingency. Such contingencies were evidenced in the forestalling of assistance for Tibet’s refugee community out of concern that trade negotiations with China might be compromised. This hesitancy was evidenced across the spectrum of countries positioned to provide assistance. The people of Tibet could have become victims of cultural erasure as the Timucua before them. The Tibetan refugee community found itself, fortuitously, in possession of one additional resource that Timucua’s leader lacked, a sympathetic listener.

Ethnohistoric inquiry into injustices committed against indigenous peoples during the colonial period played no small part in facilitating the paradigmatic shift seen in anthropology during the latter half of the twentieth-century. A concern for affording voice to unrepresented and disenfranchised groups included efforts to “hear” the voices of those whose histories were absent from historic documents, especially in the context of first person narrative. The voices of the principal agents of Rebolledo’s residencia;
Francisco, who negotiated mutually beneficial relationships with Florida’s indigenous groups; Rebolledo, who exploited the communities for personal gain; and Lúcas, who lost hope of negotiating any measure of self determination under Rebolledo’s governorship, appear almost archetypal aspects of current struggles that challenge indigenous communities.
REFERENCES


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Unpublished manuscript in possession of author.
APPENDIXES
APPENDIX A

Copyright Permission Letter
December 8, 2010

Dear Ms. Borgen,

we are pleased to grant you one-time, non-exclusive permission for use of excerpts from the following material to be used in your graduate thesis at the University of West Florida:

John E. Worth. The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volumes 1 and 2, 1998, (Volume 1) Table 4-3, 9-1, 9-2, 10-2, and Figure 3-1 in Volume 2.

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Thank you for working with us.

Regards,

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APPENDIX B

Rebolledo *Residencia* Testimonies
The following translations were transcribed from the second and third notebooks of the residencia of Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo. These secret testimonies were taken from witnesses during April and May of 1660 by Royal Inquisitor Don Diego Ranjel and recorded by Royal Notary Francisco de Rueda. The third notebook addresses follow-up, or verification, of answers given to questions contained in the second notebook. Damage to the legajos caused by the earlier noted fire at the Archivo General de Indias is indicated by the following notation in the text […]..

Testimony Reference Key

Translations used with permission of John E. Worth, the University of West Florida.

Testimony Key from the Second Notebook: Secret Testimony

1. Sergeant Major Don Nicolás Ponce de León
2. Don Joseph de Prado, Royal Treasurer
3. Captain Nicolás de Carmenatis
4. Captain Batolomé López de Gabira, reformado
5. Sergeant Major Juan Sánchez de Uriza, reformado
6. Adjutant Pedro de la Puerta, reformado
7. Adjutant Phelipe de Santiago, reformado
8. Adjutant Salvador de Pedrosa, reformado
9. Captain Augustíne Pérez de Villa Real, reformado
10. Captain Sebastián Rodríguez, Piloto Mayor
11. Captain Antonio de Argüelles, reformado


233 ibid., 354.

234 ibid.

235 The testimonies in this work have been partially revised by John E. Worth from their original publication in his 1992 dissertation.
Testimony Key from the Second Notebook: Secret Testimony, cont.’d

12. Captain Alonso de Argüelles, reformado
13. Captain Martín Alcayde de Cordoba, reformado
14. Captain Francisco García de la Vera, reformado
15. Ensign Don Cosme Catalán, reformado
16. Captain Matheo Luís de Florencia, former accountant
17. Adjutant Francisco de Monzón
18. Captain Don Matheo Pacheco, reformado
19. Ensign Don Juan Joseph de Sotomayor
20. Captain Francisco de la Rocha, reformado
21. Gonzalo Hernández, resident of St. Augustine, pilot of the presidio
22. Ensign Manuel Calderón, reformado
23. Diego Hernández, constable of the fort (St. Augustine)
24. Domingo González, carpenter
25. Adjutant Don Antonio Menéndez Márquez, reformado
26. Squad Leader Bartolomé Entonado
27. Adjutant Jacinto de los Reyes, reformado
28. Ensign Alonso Solana

Testimony from the Third Notebook: Verification

29. Captain Alonso de Argüelles, reformado
30. Juan Bautista de la Cruz, interpreter
31. Sergeant Pedro Texeda
32. Sergeant Manuel Gómez, reformado
33. Clemente Bernal, cacique
34. Juan Alejo, Indian prisoner
35. Francisco Pasqua, Indian prisoner
36. Adjutant Francisco Romo de Uriza, reformado
37. Sergeant Major Don Pedro Benedit Horruytiner, reformado
38. Ensign Luís de Biana, reformado
Testimonies

1. Sergeant Major Don Nicolás Ponce de León

April 26, 1660

To the ninth question he said that […] referred in the question […] the said Governor commanded […] for what could happen […] trenches in the place called San Antonio […] in which the sentinel serves, which is where the enemy could do damage to this city if they should place people on land […] might take possession of it. And he put it in execution, commanding that the soldiers from this presidio and the Indians that each one has in his service should go to make the aforementioned trenches. He also commanded that Captain Augustín Pérez should go to the province of Timucua and bring five hundred principal Indians, without touching the laborers, since it was the time of the plantings and they should not be absent from them, and that each one of the said Indians should bring provisions for one month for themselves. The aforementioned Captain Augustín Pérez went to the province of Timucua and related the [order] to the caciques […] they came in […] the said Captain Augustín Pérez […] the province of Apalachee, which is farther off from that of Timucua going from this [city], and from there he sent a soldier named Estéban Solana back to the aforementioned province of Timucua so that everyone might get ready to march toward this city the next day, and also so that the stated soldier would go to the said province in order to come back with them. The aforementioned soldier having arrived at the village of San Pedro, which is the second in Timucua coming from Apalachee to this city, after having told them why he was going, the Indians of the said village of San Pedro killed him. Then some
Indians left from it and went to the village of Asile in the said province, where there was a soldier from the garrison of Apalachee, who had gone there by order of the lieutenant of the said province of Apalachee, and they killed him. This witness knows this because he saw letters from the captain, which [he wrote] during this occasion from the province of Apalachee, where he was, to the aforementioned Governor about what was referred to above. At the present the said captain Pérez does not reside in these provinces on account of being married in the city of Cuba. The aforementioned Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo received the said letters, and likewise Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez came from his hacienda which is in the said province of Timucua in the place called La Chua, and he gave account to the said Governor about the uprising of the stated province, and that in the hacienda of the aforementioned Menéndez the said Indians killed three slaves and Juan de Osuna, a soldier of this presidio, in his presence when eighteen or twenty Indians arrived at the said hacienda in peace, saying that they were coming to this city in virtue of the order that Captain Augustín Pérez had given them in name of the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo [….] from San Pedro. The rest of the people withdrew from the aforementioned Don Juan Menéndez, and then the remaining Indians killed the said soldier and slaves. This witness knows this from having heard it thus from the said Don Juan Menéndez, and that he had told it to the said Don Diego de Rebolledo, who commanded that the Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares should go to this province of Timucua and take sixty soldiers from the presidio with their weapons, and some Indians from the province of Apalachee who were in this city in the agricultural fields, and that he should
apprehend the leaders of the mutiny and those who had committed the aforementioned killings. The said Don Diego de Rebolledo gave the stated order in writing to the aforementioned Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, and it will be found in the office of Juan Moreno, who made the copy of it, or among the papers which remained after the death of the said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares. In virtue of the stated order, he departed from this city with the aforementioned people, and having […..] of Timucua he apprehended […] of San Martín, San Pedro, and the [cacique] of Santa Fé, and others whose villages he does not remember, and some Indians who were among the killers. He sent notice to the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo, because [this witness] saw some of the soldiers who had gone with the said sergeant major, who said that they had come to give an account of what had been done. Then this witness saw that the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo departed, saying that he was going to the said province to conduct a visitation and find out about the stated uprising and its causes. Having arrived at the said province of Timucua, it was said that he had made and fulminated the cases against the guilty, and that he had hanged [ahorcado] ten or twelve Indians, all the most important caciques, as heads of the said uprising, and he brought another ten or twelve condemned to serve in this presidio for a limited time, some for more, others for less. This witness does not know about the said cases by the sight of his eyes more than what has been told him by Juan […..] said Governor for […..] and punishment, with which the Indians remain quiet and pacified. And the Governor established with them that not one of them, neither principales nor those that are not, should carry cargos without being paid for their labor, and that when some soldier
should pass through their villages, they should have no obligation to give them food at their cost. And this witness knows that the Governor made no other visitation of the said towns more than that he sent Captain Nicolás de Carmenatis to the province of Guale to make a visitation, and the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo went to Timucua on the occasion referred to above. This witness knows that he visited the provinces of Apalachee, and he refers to the papers about it which the aforementioned notary Juan Moreno had before him. Regarding the bad treatment of Indians, this witness only knows that the said Governor seated the caciques who came to St. Augustine at his table.

2. Don Joseph de Prado, Royal Treasurer

April, 1660

To the ninth question he said that he knows that the said Governor Diego de Rebolledo went on the visitation of the villages of the provinces of Timucua and Apalachee, and this witness went in his company, and he doesn’t know if he visited that of Guale. Regarding the treatment of Indians and natives he doesn’t know him to have done evil to the said Indians in any particular case, more than that he has heard it said that when the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo sent Captain Augustín Pérez to the said provinces of Timucua and Apalachee, the uprising of the Indians of Timucua resulted, the case being thus: before having resolved to do this, the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo received a cédula from His Majesty in which he was informed that the English enemy men menaced this post, and that he should be cautious. And the said [……] Salvador de Cigarroa and other persons went to the doctrina of Tolomato where Father
Fray Pedro Chacón, a former Provincial of these provinces, was serving, and having
arrived, they found in the company of the said Fray Pedro Chacón, according to what he
recalls, Father Fray Juan de Medina, likewise a Provincial in the opinion of this witness,
and Father Fray Jacinto Domínguez and Don Pedro Horruytiner, a resident of this city.
All of them being together, the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo made a
presentation of the cédula from His Majesty and what it contained, and likewise how,
on account of this presidio being so needy of people and supplies by scarcely having
that which was necessary for the sustenance of the infantry which were in the presidio,
he found no other recourse to which he could appeal than to send word to the
aforementioned provinces of Timucua […] the natives for the […] of the enemy that
[…] and that it was necessary that each one bring the sustenance necessary for his own
person, because on the other hand it would not be possible to sustain them. Having seen
this proposition, there was not one of all the aforementioned people who found
themselves present who was of a contrary opinion, but rather that it was suitable to
bring them the Indians, without contradicting the stated proposition, and only discussion
about the quantity of corn that each one could carry. He left them in this conformity,
and the aforementioned Governor, this witness, and the said Salvador de Cigarroa and
others who he does not remember returned to this city. Then the said Governor Diego
de Rebolledo placed in execution the dispatch of word to bring the stated Indians as is
referred to above, and for this he sent the aforementioned Captain Augustín Pérez who
took in his company Estéban Solana, a soldier […] to be interpreter for […] the
Indians. This witness does not know if he carried a written order or not because it was
dispatched in the office of government. The said [pair] having arrived at the
aforementioned provinces, those of Timucua, it was said in this city that its caciques
had dispatched a letter to the said Governor. Although this witness did not see it nor did
he know what it said, it rejected the order with respect to commanding that the
principales should come to this city, that they ought not come burdened, because among
them only the ordinary Indians carry burdens, not the principales. This witness also
heard it said that Father Fray Alonso Escudero, doctrinero of a town of the
aforementioned province, wrote about the same reason. The said Governor having
received the aforementioned warnings, this witness heard it said generally, not
remembering who in particular, that the said Governor had responded that they should
come loaded nevertheless […] in the Spanish militia, not one person is exempt on such
an occasion to come to the aid of [the presidio] and to carry that which is necessary.
After the aforementioned, this witness heard it said that the Indians of Timucua had
killed the said soldier Estéban Solana, although he does not know the precise cause for
which it was, and after some days Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez, who at present
is absent, came to this city [telling] how the Indians of the said province of Timucua
had risen up and killed the people of his hacienda which is called La Chua. This
witness does not know what was the foundation of the uprising of the said Indians, nor
if it were on account of the aforementioned, and this witness has made a statement
about this at the request of the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo before the notary
Juan Moreno, to which he refers without any contradiction.
3. Captain Nicolás de Carmentis

April, 1660

To the ninth question this witness said that he knows and saw that the aforementioned Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo went personally to visit the villages of the provinces of Apalachee and Timucua, and he tried to find out how the native Indians were governed and ministered to, and this witness, by order of the said governor on account of his being sick, with a commission and title which he has in his power, went on the visitation of Guale, which is that which he, the Governor, failed to do himself. And this witness saw that the said Governor made good treatment to the said Indians, and that he inflicted punishment on some of the caciques of the province of Timucua, in which this witness did not find himself present, and he refers to the cases which there might have been about it which would pass before Juan Moreno […] who went to their punishment with the said Governor. And on the occasions that this witness […] the said Governor endeavored to achieve the […] news that in the visitation that he made in the said provinces of Apalachee and Timucua, he placed regulations [aranceles] in the villages and the houses where the Indians meet for the good government of those who were against the Spaniards before, which this witness has heard said commonly. And with regard to the conversion in […] that for many years it has remained without expanding at all, and this he responds. He was questioned if in this city there is a protector named for the defense of what relates to the aforementioned Indians, and he said that there is not one, and that for the past fourteen years he has not known of one, and that before he
knew of one whom the Governor named, and when some Indian affair arises, the Governors officially name a person who comes to their defense.

4. Captain Bartolomé López de Gabira, reformado

April, 1660

To the ninth question he said that […] in the province of Timucua there was a rebellion and uprising among the Indians. This witness does not know from what it proceeded more than that he heard Don Juan Menéndez, who at present is in New Spain, say that having gone to his hacienda called La Chua, which is in the aforementioned province of Timucua, the cacique of San Martín had asked him why had he gone there, having written to him saying that he should not go, and that he should come immediately because they had [to kill] all his people […] they killed two […] that he had in the hacienda […] soldier who was called Osuna, and another Spaniard who was coming with corn from Apalachee for the hacienda in the company of an Indian who went with him. They also killed two soldiers who were coming from Apalachee to this city, one called Solana and the other Bartolomé, all of the rest of which, beyond what the aforementioned Don Juan Menéndez said, was public in this city among those whom the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo then sent with the said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares. This witness does not remember how many people went. Afterwards he, Cañizares, sent word to say that the cacique of San Martín had not appeared, with which news the said Governor left, taking with him more people and the notary Juan Moreno. He found when he arrived that […] was already […] and others that he does not know because he did not find himself present and he had no news of
them. This witness does not know the cause for which the said Indians rose up and killed the people, and this witness does not know if anything was written or not only that he holds for certain that later justice was done to them, and it was the notary who recorded it [the case].

5. Sergeant Major Juan Sánchez de Uriza, reformado

April 28, 1660

To the ninth question this witness said that he saw that the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo went personally to visit the towns at peace of Apalachee and Timucua, and with regard to the treatment of the Indians, what this witness knows is that the caciques and micos, who are caciques of greater estimation, from the province of Guale, having come at the calling of the said Governor on the occasion of the tumult of the province of Timucua […] Antionia de Argüelles and Alonso de Argüelles, brothers, said that the said caciques had gone away disgusted with the Governor for not having treated them as they wished, on account of the aforementioned Governor having commanded that they gather up the weapons that they and their Indians had, and as a result they gathered them up and brought them to this city, but from this not one damage nor inconvenience resulted. With regard to the tumult that there was in the province of Timucua […] in the province of Apalachee, where this witness went in the company of Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, who went as head of forty men who left from this city. These were Captain Francisco de la Rocha, the aforementioned Captain Alonso de Argüelles, Adjutant Don Antonio Menéndez, Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez, who at present is absent, Adjutant Francisco Monzón, and Captain Matheo […] which are those whom
at present he remembers […] in writing, which according to what he recalls passed before the notary Juan Moreno, that he should go and meet with another twenty men who were in the aforementioned Apalachee so that they might apprehend the caciques of the said province of Timucua. He does not know if he carried an order to punish them, that for this it will be on record that he hanged an ordinary Indian in the place of Machava of the province of Timucua for saying that he had committed a killing or killings in the province of Apalachee, and this witness does not know that anything was written about it, more than that there was no notary then, nor did the said Adrián de Cañizares take one. In virtue of the stated order they apprehended Dionicio, cacique of the said village of Machava, and Diego, cacique of San Pedro, and another three or four caciques whose names he does not remember, and they carried them as prisoners to the said province of Apalachee and this […] he heard in particular Bernardo de Santa María, a missionary of the order of San Francisco, who served in a doctrina of the said province of Apalachee, say that the aforementioned province of Timucua had risen up on account of having obligated the caciques and remaining principales to carry corn in order to bring it to this presidio because of the news that had come from his majesty that the English enemy would come, and that they should be prepared. And he heard the same said by Father Fray Pedro Vásquez of the said religion, who then was in the village of Aspalaga of the aforementioned province of Apalachee, and Father Fray Joseph Bamba of the said religion, who was doctrinario in the village of Machava, province of Timucua, and Fray Manuel Umanes, who served in a village of the said province, the name of which he does not remember. He did not hear this from one lay
person, neither Spaniard nor Indian. And after he came to this city he heard Captain
 […] and Sergeant Major Don Pedro Horruytiner say that the cause for the said Indians
having risen up had been the command for the caciques and principales to carry cargos.
As to whether the said Captain Augustín Pérez did this by order of the said Governor or
not, he refers to the stated order. After the aforementioned, this witness came in the
company of the said Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez, and they brought a letter
from the aforementioned leader for the said Governor in which he advised him of what
he had done, and likewise this witness and the rest told him by word of mouth, with
which the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo resolved to go in person to the
aforementioned provinces of Timucua and Apalachee, and it was said in this city that
upon the arrival of the Governor, they apprehended Lúcas, cacique of San Martín, and
another cacique, of San Francisco, and others, and that he had commanded that all the
imprisoned caciques be hanged […] sentence he refers to the […] which passed before
the said Juan Moreno. This witness does not know anything else with regard to the
treatment of the Indians which has been done poorly, and now he has remembered that
the said Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez said to this witness many times that the
cause for the said Indians having risen up and killed his people was having commanded
the caciques and principales to carry cargos, and he gave other causes which he does
not remember.
6. Adjutant Pedro de la Puerta, reformado

April, 1660

To the ninth question this witness said that he knows and saw that the said Governor went personally to visit the provinces of Apalachee and Timucua of this jurisdiction, taking with him Juan Moreno, government notary. And he has not heard it said that the aforementioned Governor, nor his lieutenants, treated the native Indians badly, but rather saw that the said Governor regaled the caciques and principales on many occasions that they came to this city, and he gave them gifts and seated them at his table. And when a cédula came from his majesty, in which he advised the said Governor that the English enemy was trying to descend upon this post and that he should be cautious, the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo communicated the stated cédula in this city with the treasurer Don Joseph de Prado and with Don Pedro Horruytiner, as persons […] of this province […] proposed by the said [Prado and Horruytiner] that […] good to bring the principal Indians of this province for its defense. It seemed to the aforementioned Governor that it would be a difficult business, both on account of summoning them as well as finding themselves without provisions, and thus they resolved to consult Father Fray Pedro Chacón and Father Fray Juan de Medina, who was the acting Provincial of this province, both of whom found themselves in Tolomato along with Fray Jacinto Domínguez, who is at present a guardian in Havana on account of being experienced and knowledgeable, all of them missionaries of the Order of Señor San Francisco. They embarked in a launch and went to the aforementioned village of Tolomato, and likewise the Sergeant Major Salvador
de Cigarroa, who had been treasurer in this city, went in his company. Having arrived at the said [....] the stated Governor communicated to Fathers Fray Pedro Chacón and Juan de Medina the doubt he had on account of the royal cédula from his majesty about the defense of this post, and his reservations that the caciques and principal Indians should be summoned and should come to this city for its defense, in case the enemy should come, and that each one should bring one or two arrobas of corn for his sustenance, on account of this presidio being on that occasion very lacking and needy of supplies if they should come. With this the aforementioned Governor returned to this city with the rest of the persons that had gone with him, and this witness knows this on account of having seen them go and return, and having heard the aforementioned Governor and Salvador de Cigarroa say what had happened in the said meeting, and thus it was said publically in this city. After which the said Governor sent Captain Augustín Pérez [...] and this witness has [...] if he carried an order, a copy would be found in the office of government [...] to the provinces of Timucua and Apalachee in order to summon the aforementioned caciques and principal Indians, and so that they should bring corn for their own persons, one or two arrobas according to what is said, for their sustenance in the interim during which it would have been brought from other places. The aforementioned Augustín Pérez departed from this city, and this witness does not know if he took another person with him or not. After which, more than twenty days having passed in the opinion of this witness, the said Don Diego de Rebolledo, taking in his company the said Sergeant Major Salvador de Cigarroa, this witness, and Martín de Urriaga, a carpenter, and his servants who [this witness] does
not remember, all went to the *remate del barial* of San Marcos behind the *corcobada* which […] wood which was […] in order to find out if they were suitable for the fort. And having seen them, while on the return journey, the Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez, who at present is in New Spain, arrived and said that he came from a hacienda that he had named La Chua in the province of Timucua, and that being with his people one night at nightfall, the *cacique* of San Martín had arrived with more than twenty Indians at the house which he has in it [the hacienda]. The aforementioned *cacique* had grabbed him by the arm telling him “Don Juan, come here,” and withdrawing a little outside of the door of the said house, the rest of the Indians entered within it and killed four or five persons which he had in his service, one of them a soldier who had gone from this city with [Don Juan], and one or two of them, who came out fleeing, they had killed outside. […] Menéndez […] “What is this?”, and he had responded that he should not be afraid, that he would not do him harm, and that he should come to the city. For this he gave him two Indians who would accompany him so that others should not do him harm all the way to the village of San Francisco, three leagues from the said hacienda La Chua going toward this city, and that from there he had come alone. And the aforementioned Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo asked him what motive the stated Indians had for this, and the said Don Juan responded that earlier, the said *cacique* of San Martín had written him a letter, which he received while going on horseback from this city in order to go to his said hacienda, and on account of the letter being in the language of Indians which he did not understand, he had not opened it. He had proceeded with his journey, and having arrived at the aforementioned
hacienda of La Chua, he gave the letter to an Indian who he had in his service who spoke Spanish so that […], this witness does not remember what he said the letter contained, any more than that the Indian had deceived him in what he had told him. After all this news came to this city how the Indians of the village of San Pedro had killed a Spaniard and an Indian from Tabasco that the aforementioned Don Juan had in his hacienda, [both of] whom he had sent to look for corn, and Estéban Solana, a soldier from this presidio, had died in the village of San Pedro, and in Azile Bartolomé Pérez, a soldier who was in the company of the Lieutenant Sartucha. All of these villages are in the jurisdiction of Timucua. With this news the aforementioned Governor sent Sergeant Major Adrián Cañizares as leader of forty or sixty men, and among them the said Don Juan Menéndez, Sergeant Major Juan Sánchez de Uriza, Captain Francisco de la Rocha, Ensign Diego de Florencia, who is at present in Havana […] and other soldiers who […], and within a short time [this witness] heard it said how an Indian messenger had come […] how the caciques of Machava and of San Pedro and Tari and others were fortifying themselves [hecho fuertes] in a palisade, and that the aforementioned Sergeant Major Adrián Cañizares had seized them, and that he did not find the cacique of San Martín, nor the cacique of San Francisco or Santa Fé. And thus with this news, which the said Governor also found out about, he resolved to go in person, and he went taking with him Juan Moreno, notary, the treasurer Don Joseph de Prado, the aforementioned Salvador de Cigarroa, and other persons who this witness does not remember. And afterwards it was said that the aforementioned Governor had seized the said cacique of San Francisco and Santa Fé on the road, and later the cacique of San
Martín and other Indian accomplices in the deaths, and that the said Governor had ordered to be hanged […] who were responsible for the deaths, and that they had […] case before the said notary, whom [this witness] has heard say that he has [the case] in his power. And this witness does not know the foundation of said uprising, only that more than six years before, he heard it said publicly, not remembering who, that they wished to rise up, but he does not know the cause.

7. Adjutant Phelipe de Santiago, reformado

April 26, 1660

To the ninth question, this witness says that he saw the aforementioned Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo go personally to visit the towns at peace of the provinces of Timucua and Apalachee, and on this occasion he sent to call upon the caciques and principales of the province of Guale, and having come and brought firearms, the said Governor took them away from them, saying that he had need of them for […] with him to the aforementioned provinces of Timucua and Apalachee, and commanded that the stated Indians should return to their land, with which the Indians went away very embittered and disgusted with the said Governor, which was public in the place [St. Augustine], and it was rumored in it that the aforementioned Indians, on account of the embitterment with which they left, were on the look-out for whatever might happen with the Indians of Timucua and Apalachee, so that they might make another similar uprising if that of Timucua should come out well. Afterwards this witness heard it said, he does not remember by whom, that having gone to the said province of Guale in order to quiet the aforementioned Indians, Father Fray Francisco de San Antonio, who was
then Provincial, had come back very disconsolate. And likewise this witness heard that the Indians of Timucua raised a tumult because of the Governor having commanded that the *caciques* and *principales* of the said province should come to this city for its defense [....], and this witness heard it said that the Governor had letters from his majesty, God guard him, in which he was advised that the English enemy was trying to come and take this city, and thus he made many preparations, like repairing the Castillo, the large part of which was collapsed, and all the wood rotted. And he likewise made trenches at the mouth of the bar, and commanded that each one of the aforementioned Indians should bring one or two *arrobas* of corn for his own sustenance during the time that they had to be in this city, in the interim during which the Governor might be aided from other places, because on that occasion there were no supplies, not even for the infantry of the presidio. The cause of the aforementioned tumult was having commanded them to bring and carry the said corn, on account of being *caciques* and *principales* who had no obligation for this. [this witness] does not know [.....] some person, any more than that the aforementioned tumult and uprising had happened, and the said Indians of Timucua had killed the servants and slaves of the hacienda of cattle called La Chua, which the said Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez has in the said province of Timucua, and they likewise killed two soldiers of this presidio, one called Bartolomé Pérez, and the other Estéban Solana, a man of much consideration in this province on account of being an *atiqui* and interpreter of three languages, one of Guale, and the other two of Timucua and Apalachee, since in this presidio there are few who understand them, and if there is anyone he knows of no more than one. The
aforementioned Indians from Timucua carried out the said killings in the village of San Pedro to Estéban Solana, and in Asile, on the border of the province of Apalachee, to Bartolomé Pérez, where the said Governor went […] with some soldiers […] of those from Apalachee, having had news that Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, whom he had sent first with infantry in order to apprehend the guilty in the aforementioned rebellion, had imprisoned some of the caciques of the stated province of Timucua, leaders of the said rebellion and tumult. He did justice to them, hanging some caciques, all of which was public and notorious in this city, and this witness refers to the case which there was about it.

8. Adjutant Salvador de Pedrosa, reformado

April, 1660

To the ninth question he said that not only did the aforementioned Governor not give bad treatment to the Indians, but rather this witness saw earlier that he scolded the soldiers because they treated the Indians badly, and this witness saw that the said Governor gave money to the Indians so that they might eat. And when there was the uprising of the Indians, this witness was not in the city, and when he came, it was at the time that the said Governor named Adrián de Cañizares as leader, so that he should go apprehend the caciques and Indians of the tumult. And this witness knows that the aforementioned Cañizares carried an order, and read it there to everyone, which said that the stated Adrián de Cañizares, with the people that he took, which would be up to sixty men, and among them the Adjutant Francisco Romo, Sergeant Major Juan Sánchez, Ensign Manuel Calderón, and Captain Alonso de Argüelles, who are all that
the rembers, should all go to the province of Apalachee, without entering the province of Timucua so that they might not disturb the Indians. And from there he should endeavor to have communication with the aforementioned Indians of Timucua without offending them, and find out the cause that they had had for having become disturbed, and for having committed the murders that they had done, and that he should apprehend the guilty caciques and killers. And a second time he repeated the stated order that he should endeavor to quiet them by good [means], and in case he could not do so, he should recruit people from Apalachee and go and apprehend all the guilty. And in case he should apprehend them without having a disturbance, he should take them to the province of Apalachee, and from there send news. In execution of the aforementioned, the said Adrián de Cañizares went with the said people […] palisade in the form of a fort, which the said Indians of Timucua had made next to the village of Santa Elena de Machava, which in that area is the closest of that jurisdiction to that of Apalachee. Having arrived at the aforementioned palisade, they divided themselves in two squads, on account of there being a great quantity of Indians gathered inside it, one squad at the command of the said Adrián de Cañizares, and the other at the command of Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez. They situated the aforementioned palisade in the middle in order for some to assault it on one side and others to do so on the other side. When the aforementioned Indians saw that they were approaching and surrounding the said palisade, there came forth a cacica of the village of San Juan and the cacique of Santa Elena, both villages of the said province of Timucua, and they went out to meet and speak with the said Adrián de Cañizares. Saying that they rendered their obedience,
and that they were friends, and that they, the soldiers, should withdraw [...] from Santa Elena, that all those there were caciques. With this the said Adrián de Cañizares commanded that they should withdraw, and all went to the aforementioned council house [buxio]. While they were in it there was a rumor among the Spaniards and the Indians of Apalachee, and others of the said province of Timucua who were not among the accomplices in the tumult and uprising, that the intent of the Indians was to receive them in peace, and after the Indians of Apalachee and the rest who were at peace with the Spaniards had gone, then they would have only a few infantry, and then they would seize and kill them. Regardless of the aforementioned, the said Adrián de Cañizares gave no other order than to say that everyone should be cautious, and that upon the entrance of the caciques from the aforementioned palisade, the soldiers should be cautious with the door of the stated council house. The said Adrián de Cañizares spoke with the caciques [...] Apalachee, who included the one from Ivitachuco, whose name this witness does not remember at present, and the one from Cupayca, who is called Don Juan, and Benito, the village of which this witness does not remember and others who he does not remember, and he said that when he embraced one of the aforementioned rebel caciques, each one should embrace one of his own, and hold him tightly in order to apprehend them. The following day the aforementioned caciques and cacica who were in the said palisade went with some principal Indians to the said council house. This witness does not remember the names of the said caciques more than that one was cacique of San Pedro, another from Santa Elena, the said cacica of San Juan, and another two or three caciques, according to what he recalls, and they
apprehended all of them, and two Indians who they said were those who had killed the Spaniards. And after having imprisoned the aforementioned caciques, according to what was said, they sent order to [...] they were and should not move [...] come to defend [...] this witness does not remember who he heard say this. They were in the said buxio that day and night, and the next day they left for the village of Ivitachuco, province of Apalachee, taking the said prisoners with them. Having arrived, they put the said Indians in prison with guards, and left from the aforementioned village for the village of San Martín, province of Timucua, in search of its cacique, taking in their company some missionaries who were coming to this city, and who did not dare to come because of the uprising of the said Indians. They went to a settlement [rancheria] which is next to the river of San Juan de Guacara, where the aforementioned cacique of San Martín was said to be, but they did not find him. From there the said Don Juan Menéndez, this witness and another six persons came to this city, bringing [...] missionaries, according to what this witness recalls, for the said Don Juan Menéndez to give an account to the said Governor of what had happened. And while they were still in the aforementioned village of Machava an Indian was apprehended, and this witness does not remember who apprehended him more than that they took him there as a prisoner saying that he had killed a Spaniard. And upon the said Adrián de Cañizares investigating the case, it seemed that the murder was of Bartolomé Pérez, a soldier of this presidio, and that the Indian had killed him in the town of Asile, of the said province of Timucua. He took the confession of the aforementioned Indian, and he confessed that it was true that he had killed him, according to what they said, because
this witness did not understand the language, and that the cause for having done it was to stop having to carry chicubites, and to be a noroco. Chicubites means the boxes [caxas] that the friars and other persons who travel carry in these provinces, and noroco means knight [caballero] […] the said Adrián de Cañizares commanded them to hang him, and the people executed him there in the said village. The autos passed before Don Antonio de Sotomayor, because he performed the office of notary, but this witness does not know who named him notary, and at the present time said notary is an ensign. And the aforementioned Don Juan Menéndez, this witness, and the rest having arrived and given account to the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo, he immediately put himself on the road and went to the aforementioned province of Apalachee, taking with him some soldiers. This witness remained and does not know what happened there more than that he heard it said that the aforementioned Governor did justice to some caciques, which is on record in the autos which are referred to. And on this occasion, he heard it said that the said Governor visited the provinces of Apalachee and Timucua, and this is what he knows of the question.

9. Captain Augustín Pérez de Villa Real, reformado

April 30, 1660

To the ninth question this witness said that he knows that the aforementioned Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo visited personally the village of the provinces of Apalachee and Timucua […] they went as soldiers […] company, and he heard it said generally, not remembering who in particular more than Captain Francisco de la Rocha, that the stated Don Diego de Rebolledo had said some insolent words to a cacique of the
province of Guale. Which among others was to tell him to kiss him in the behind [\textit{que le besara en el culo}], and that the \textit{cacique} had gone away very upset about it, and the aforementioned Francisco de la Rocha will be able to say more in particular about what happened. And likewise he heard it said, not remembering by whom, that the \textit{cacique} of San Martín had made complaints about the said Governor to Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez, who at present is in New Spain, saying that now he was not \textit{cacique} of Timucua, nor was any attention paid to him, after having come to this city, in order to return toward his own town he had no food to carry for the road, nor [...] the cost being barbarous [...] they lacked wheat and corn. And when the aforementioned Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo had news from the Governor of Havana, according to what this witness understood, that His majesty had advised him that the English enemy was trying to descend upon this post, at that time he found himself with the fort poorly finished, and he needed to make trenches at the mouth of the bar, and he also said to this witness that he wished to make trenches from the fort all the way to San Francisco at the bank of the harbor marina. And having communicated and discussed the case with all the most important persons of this city, and likewise having gone to Tolomato, where he found Father Fray Pedro Chacón a very old missionary who has been Provincial of this province, and experienced in such affairs, and this witness heard it said that he had also found there Father Fray Juan de Medina [...] who was then [...] and having discussed it with the aforementioned and others, and having discussed other preparations for defense if the enemy should come, he resolved to send word to the \textit{caciques} and the rest of the \textit{principales} of the provinces of Timucua and Apalachee, and
that between them they should bring the sustenance of corn which they had need of for the road, and for a few days in the interim that provisions could be searched for in this city. For this effect, he gave an order in writing to this witness, which he has in his power, and it passed before Juan Moreno, governmental notary, for which effect this witness departed, taking in his company Estéban Solana, a soldier of this presidio, and atiqui and practitioner of the language of Timucua. And having arrived at the village of San Martín, which is [...] in it Lúcas, its cacique, he passed to the village of Santa Cruz de Tari, likewise a principal village of the aforementioned province. In it he found Benito, its cacique, and this witness gave him to understand the order that he carried from the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo, and he responded that he would very willingly come to this city with the people that the Governor asked for. Then he passed on to the village of Niayca, where he found the cacica, the name of whom he does not remember. Having given her to understand the stated order that he carried, she said that she would prepare the people that she could in order to comply with the said order. From there this witness passed to the village of Arapaja, having sent the said Estéban Solana, atiqui, to the village of San Pedro, where he had notice that the said cacique of San Martín was, and likewise Diego, cacique of the said village of San Pedro, so that likewise he should make known the said order [...] of the said two caciques, he should go to the village of Machava, which is the last one which borders of [que es ultimo que confina con] the province of Apalachee, and that he should wait for this witness there. And in the aforementioned village of Arapaja, this witness made known the order that he carried to its cacique, named Pastrana, and he responded that he and his vassals
would come to serve His majesty like the rest of the *caciques*. Seeing that the aforementioned Pastrana was an old man, who is now dead, and that it was not suitable to put him on the road, and on account of the ministry, he said he should name a person in his place who might come with his people, and although at first he refused, he said he would name a person, as he did, and he named one of the principal Indians of his village. With the people who the said *cacique* named, this witness went from this village to the aforementioned village of Machava, and in it he found the said Estéban Solana, and [...] this witness that he had declared the order as stated above. And the aforementioned *caciques* of San Martín and San Pedro sent as their reply that they would go to the village of Ivitachuco, principal village of the province of Apalachee, where everyone had to meet in order to bring the provisions and come to this city. With this, this witness and the rest, in the company of the said Estéban Solana, departed from the aforementioned village of Machava and went to the said village of Ivitachuco. Having arrived at it, they found the aforementioned *caciques* of San Martín and San Pedro. All of them being together, along with Lieutenant Antonio de Sartucha, who on that occasion was lieutenant of the aforementioned provinces for the said Governor, this witness made known to them the stated order by means of the said Estéban Solana, interpreter, and Diego Salvador, *atiqui* and interpreter of both languages of Apalachee and Timucua, and all of them responded that they were ready to comply with the said order [...] by command of the said lieutenant, the supplies [...] each one had need of for the journey, and which were requested. And having dispatched with them all the people from the aforementioned Timucua in the company of the said Estéban Solana, in order
that they should march for this city, this witness remained in order to dispatch those from Apalachee. This witness had likewise given them to understand the said order when all the caciques and principales met in the aforementioned village of Ivitachuco of its jurisdiction, and they obeyed it. He dispatched the said Indians from Timucua ahead because the aforementioned Lieutenant Antonio de Sartucha told this witness that he should do it that way, because if both nations came together, they would steal what they were carrying from each other [se hurtaban unos a otros] and cause grief among them, and likewise because at the river crossings it would be quicker, and there would not be enough canoes in order to cross […] This witness remained in order to leave in the afternoon the next day in pursuit of them with the aforementioned people from Apalachee. And being ready to leave from the said village of Ivitachuco, with the people prepared, he sent Bartolomé Pérez, a soldier of this presidio who served in the stated province of Apalachee in company of the said Lieutenant, ahead to the village of Asile, of the Timucuan language, in the boundary [raya] of both provinces, so that there he might get a little corn prepared to bring with them. About two in the afternoon, a little more or less, on the same day that the aforementioned Indians from Timucua left, the Father Fray Joseph Bamba, who served in the said village of Asile, arrived at the aforementioned village of Ivitachuco, where this witness was, on a horse at all speed. He said that in the stated village of San Pedro the Indians had killed the aforementioned Estéban Solana [….] company as soon as they arrived, without saying in particular who, the aforementioned Father saying that the province of Timucua was risen in revolt. And [he said] that the aforementioned Bartolomé Pérez, as soon as he arrived at the said
village of Asile, while he was in its council house [buxio] an Indian from the village of San Pedro entered and struck him from behind with a hatchet in the head and killed him. And seeing the aforementioned, this witness and the said Lieutenant Antonio de Sartucha told the people of Apalachee that each one should go to his village, and they did so. This witness and the said Lieutenant remained in the aforementioned village with some people in the garrison, because it was said that the caciques of the said Timucua were confederated against the Spaniards and the people of the aforementioned province of Apalachee. And this witness and the said Lieutenant wrote to the aforementioned Governor, giving him account of what happened […] from the said village of Asile who is called Bartolomé, and this witness does not remember his surname, giving him an order that he should travel off the road, so that the Indians of Timucua should not do him harm and steal the letters. And the aforementioned Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo responded that they should stay in the said village of Ivitachuco with all caution until he might go in person or send someone. And after some days, there arrived at the aforementioned province Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares as head of some people, and among them Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez as second in command, with forty or fifty soldiers from this presidio. And having arrived at the village of Ivitachuco where this witness was, they stayed some days resting. And all together, with the people that they had there and some from Apalchee, they come to the village of Machava […] Timucua, and a little […] in a forest [monte] were the caciques of the aforementioned province with many people gathered, and made into the form of a stockade [estacada] in order to defend
themselves. The said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares sent them a messenger [correo], telling them that they should leave in peace, that he did not wish to make war on them, and that they should see and speak with him. When the said Adrián de Cañizares went with the aforementioned people up to the forest and place where the said Indians were, the cacique of Machava, called Deonizio, and the cacica of San Juan Evangelista, whose name this witness does not remember, came forth to receive him, and said to the aforementioned Adrián de Cañizares that he should go away to the village of Machava where they were, and the following day all the caciques would go to see him. With this, they returned and stayed in the village. The following day, the said Adrián de Cañizares sent them another message, not saying [...] reminding them that they should come, and he sent the message with two Indians, the first with Francisco Xiriba, one of those from San Pedro of the aforementioned province of Timucua, and the second with an Indian whom this witness does not remember. And [in response] to the stated second message, that day or the following, the aforementioned cacica came, and having arrived at its council house, they apprehended the said cacique of Machava, Deonizio; and Diego, cacique of San Pedro; and Benito, cacique of the said village of Santa Cruz de Tari; and the said cacica of San Juan Evangelista; and other caciquillos and cacicas whose names this witness does not remember. From there they took them to the aforementioned village of Ivitachuco, and each one of the remaining Indians who were in the woods went away to wherever he wished, without any action being taken against them. Leaving the aforementioned caciques imprisoned, and having posted guards, the said Adrián de Cañizares departed in company of some of the infantry [...]
Apalachee for the village of San Martín in search of the said cacique Lúcas of the stated village. Having arrived at it, he did not find the said cacique, and this witness came with some soldiers to this city at the order of the aforementioned Adrián de Cañizares. And during all of the aforementioned, there found themselves present Captain Francisco de la Rocha, Captain Alonso de Argüelles, Juan de los Reyes, Adjutant Francisco Monzón, and this witness does not remember the names of the rest. And having arrived at this city and told the said Governor what happened, after some days he departed from this city, and this witness in his company, and the treasurer Don Joseph de Prado and Juan Moreno and other persons. They arrived at the said village of Ivitachuco and found the aforementioned cacique of San Martín imprisoned with the rest, and the said Governor made the case and sentence, and condemned to death the caciques Lúcas of San Martín, Diego of San Pedro, Benito of Tari […] does not remember his name, and the cacique of San Lucás, and two Indians who had killed the said Bartolomé Pérez and Estéban Solana, as will appear from the case which is referred to. And after the aforementioned, the said Governor visited the stated provinces of Apalachee and Timucua, and left in the council houses [buxios principales] of the villages fixed regulations about the mode of conduct of the Indians and soldiers who passed through. And this witness did not see that in the aforementioned provinces the said Don Diego de Rebolledo treated the Indians badly. This witness did not find out the cause for which the said caciques of Timucua killed the aforementioned soldiers and rose up in revolt any more than the complaints referred to above that when they came to this city they did not treat them as they were accustomed to, although this witness heard it said publicly
in the aforementioned village of Ivitachuco, and afterwards in this city, that to the
\textit{cacique} [...] in the time that he was in [...] the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo

treated him very well, and seated him at his table. And after the aforementioned, this

witness has heard it said across the place, not remembering who, that the protest that the
said \textit{caciques} of Timucua had used for the stated uprising was to say that he had

commanded the \textit{caciques} and \textit{principales} to carry the food which they had to bring for

the war and the news of enemies, but this witness does not know this as certain, because
during the time that he was in those provinces to make known the order that he carried,

he did not recognize one thing among them, for had he recognized it, he would not have

placed the said order in execution, and would have given an account to the

aforementioned Governor of what happened, because all the \textit{caciques} and \textit{principales}

showed great willingness to come to this city for its defense.

10. Captain Sebastián Rodríguez, Piloto Mayor

April 30, 1660

To the ninth question this witness said that he does not know that the said Governor

Don Diego de Rebolledo made any bad treatments to the Indians, and he heard it said

by Ensign Luís de Biana, \textit{reformado} of this presidio, and other soldiers whose names at

present he does not remember, that a soldier, whose name he does not remember, nor

who he was, had struck the \textit{cacique} of San Martín, who is one of those of Timucua, in

the face with a piece of meat or with a slap, not remembering which one of these two he

said. And likewise he heard it said by some missionaries and soldiers, whose names at

present he does not remember, nor who they are, that the uprising of the Indians of
Timucua was on account of having commanded the *caciques* and *principales* to come and bring corn for their sustenance during the time that they might be in this city, because of the aforementioned governor having had news from Madrid that the enemy was about to descend upon it, which [...] he came to this city, because when it happened he did not find himself present. And likewise after he came to this city from his journey, he heard it said that the aforementioned Governor had visited the provinces of Apalachee and Timucua, and had left them a code of regulations [*aranzel*] for their government, and that it had been against the soldiers and in favor of the Indians, preventing that the soldier should be given Indians to carry their clothes and food when they pass through the aforementioned provinces, unless they paid for it, and that other times they were in the habit of doing so without payment, and this he responds.

11. **Captain Antonio de Argüelles, reformado, age 40**

May 1, 1660

To the ninth question this witness said that [...] from the said Captain Augustín Pérez came news that the Indians of the aforementioned province of Timucua had killed the people of the hacienda of La Chua, which is owned by Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez, in the said province, and also Juan de Osuna, a soldier who was of this presidio, and had gone to the said hacienda in company of the said Don Juan Menéndez, who was the only one they left with life, telling him to come to this city. And likewise they had killed Bartolomé Pérez in the village of Azile, and Estéban Solana, interpreter of the aforementioned language, in the village of San Pedro, both soldiers from this presidio, and another two servants of the said Don Juan Menéndez who were traveling
with supplies for the said haciendas. This witness does not know the cause that they could have had for the aforementioned. The Governor sent Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares with infantry for the pacification of the uprising […] afterwards the said Governor went and did justice to the guilty, and he refers to the cases that there were about it. As he has said, this witness did not know nor does he know now the cause of the aforementioned uprising, because each one said what it seemed to him, some because the Governor had commanded them to carry burdens, others because of the soldiers, others because they had nothing to eat when they came to render obedience to the said Governor when he had recently arrived at the city, but this witness cannot state a person in particular from whom he heard this.

12. Captain Alonso de Argüelles, reformado, age 36

May 2, 1660

To the ninth question this witness said that he knows that the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo visited personally the towns at peace of the native Indians who are in the provinces of Apalachee and Timucua, and he likewise knows that in the time of his government, the said Governor treated the Indians of these provinces with all amiability and regaled them, because he saw on some occasions that [the Governor] had the cacique who was from Cupayca, of the province of Apalachee, fell ill while in this city, and the aforementioned Governor placed him in bed in his house […] died, they interred him […] of the Señor San Francisco, and […] to all those of this city so that they might attend to his interment, as they did, from which many other Indians from the province of Apalachee who found themselves in this city were insanely content to see
the interment which had been done with such solemnity. If the friars had interred him, they would have done nothing more than have four Indians carry him and place him in the church, as they are accustomed to do in their towns. And likewise this witness saw that the Governor imprisoned Thomé, a soldier of this presidio, and another soldier, the son of Inés Martín, whose name he does not remember, for having had unpleasantness with some ordinary Indians, the aforementioned Indians meriting punishment on the said occasion in the opinion of this witness. Likewise he punished many others [……] who he does not remember because the Indians complained about them. In the opinion of this witness, the uprising and mutiny which the Indians of the province of Timucua made was not because of any guilt that the said Don Diego de Rebolledo might have had, because in this city it was said that the aforementioned Governor had gotten a cédula, on account of it being public and presented in the city, and because its fort was very ruined and collapsed to the ground in many places. And then the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo instantly surrounded it all with new wood, as it is at present, and gave order […..] in the place […] should make trenches, as they did, going in person to show the arrangement and [depths?] they had to have. There he left this witness and Captain Antonio de Argüelles, his brother, and Don Antonio Menéndez and Francisco Sánchez and other residents with the Indians that each one had in his service, all working in the trenches, coming to this city to serve in the building of the said fort. And after this witness came from the aforementioned trenches to this city, Captain Don Pedro Horruytiner, Adjutant Pedro de la Puerta, Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, who is now dead, Salvador de Cigarroa, who is absent, and Father Fray Jacinto
Domínguez said to this witness that the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo had held a meeting in this city with its leader and principal people about if it would be suitable that the caciques and principal Indians [...] government should be summoned for its defense in case the enemy should come. He likewise went to the village of Tolomato, of the province of Guale, to consult with Father Fray Pedro Chacón and Father Fray Juan de Medina, a very old Padre de Provincia in this land, and who was then acting Provincial, who both served in the said village, and it had been resolved that the aforementioned caciques and principales should be summoned, leaving the rest of the Indian laborers [yndios de de servizio] so that they might attend to the fields, because on that occasion this presidio was very lacking in provisions, on account of having neither wheat or considerable corn, and the little that there was had to be reserved for the occasion. It was arranged that each one of the aforementioned Indians who had to come for the said defense should bring one or two arrobas of corn for the sustenance of their persons. And the stated Governor having returned from [...] this witness saw, because [...] that he dispatched Captain Augustín Pérez, and that he should carry in his company Estéban Solana, soldier of this presidio and interpreter of the languages of the Indians of the aforementioned provinces of Timucua and Apalachee, so that he should go to the said provinces and summon the said Indians. And this witness heard it said that he had given him an order in writing of what he had to perform, which will be on record on the forms that there were, to which he refers. The said Augustín Pérez having gone, after a few days an Indian from the village of San Pedro, province of Timucua, came to this city with a letter for the aforementioned Don
Diego de Rebolledo, which he read to this witness while he was in the fort, and although there were other persons working in it, no one other than this witness found themselves present when the letter was read. The aforementioned letter was from Father Fray Alonso Escudero, who served in the said village of San Pedro, and the stated letter told how the said Augustín Pérez had given the order which he said he carried to the *caciques* of that province, and they said that they did not wish to carry burdens. The Indian who brought the said letter is named Juan Alejo, bringing in his company Juan Pasqua. Both are prisoners in the fort of this city, because when they returned with the reply from the aforementioned Governor, they killed Francisco Vásquez and Fulano [Geronimo] Tabasco, persons who served in the hacienda of La Chua, which is in the said province of Timucua, to which they were coming with corn for sustenance. They encountered them in the forest of Ayaxeriva between the river of San Juan de Guacara and the village of San Martín of the said province of Timucua.

Afterwards in his house, where this witness also found himself, the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo told the said two Indians, who had brought the letter with the message from the *cacique*, that he told them that they should come, and they should do what they wished [*les dixo que viniesen y hiziesen lo que quisiesen*], and understanding that the said Governor wrote in reply to the said letter, this witness does not know effectively if he did it or not. After the said Indians had gone, Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez came to this city from the aforementioned hacienda of La Chua, and said that the *cacique* of San Martín, who is the principal *cacique* of the province of Timucua, and the *cacique* of San Francisco, and other principal Indians had gone to his hacienda and
had killed, the slaves and people of service that he had in it, without leaving a person alive, up to the creatures, which they killed, excepting two Indians who fled, and the said Don Juan Menéndez. They told him that he should come instantly to this city [….] clothes of his garments that he had there, without letting him bring something of what he had. They had also killed Juan de Osuna, a soldier who he had taken in his company when he went from this city. And likewise, news came from the province of Apalachee that there it was said that the Governor had imprisoned the cacique of Ivitachuco in this city, and all the Indian field hands [yndios de las cavas] which there were in it, and that he wanted to make them slaves. This news was brought by two Indians who were said to have been dispatched by the soldiers of the aforementioned province of Apalachee. This witness did not see the letters which they brought, other than that later what they said was made public, which is referred to above. This witness saw that the aforementioned Governor gave the said Indians some iron tools in gratitude for having brought the stated news. And the said Governor having seen the above, this witness saw that he wrote to the Lieutenant […] Apalachee, and likewise […] Don Luis de Ivitachuco sent his heir and principales, with an ynixa of the said cacique, which is like a Sergeant Major, commanding that they should be quiet, and that everything that those Indians of Timucua had made public was a lie and false. And after some days, the said Governor sent Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, who was alive in this post on that occasion, with sixty soldiers, taking in his company the said cacique of Ivitachuco and all the Indians of his jurisdiction and province who were in this city in its labors, and he carried an order and instruction in writing of what the said Sergeant Major had to
perform, which is referred to. And all the aforementioned having departed from this city and among them this witness as one of the said [....] and having arrived at the aforementioned village of Ivitachuco, the said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares having had notice that the caciques and principales and many Indians of the said province of Timucua were in a forest, having fortified themselves next to the village of Machava, of the said province of Timucua, he sent them messages two or three times, and letters written in their language with Francisco Hiriba, a principal Indian and mandador of the village of San Pedro of the said province of Timucua, and with another Indian who is now dead, saying that they should return to their villages as before, and that he did not intend to make war on them, nor do them any damage. The Indians responded that they would do what he ordered and return to their villages, which according to what they found out was a deception with the intent of summoning more caciques and Indians of those who had not risen up so that [...] more to their faction [...] by the cacique Lazaro, who is cacique of the village of Chamile, of the said province of Timucua, four leagues from that of Machava, who went to where the said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, this witness, and the rest of the soldiers were. First he sent two messengers to find out if it was true that the Spaniards had imprisoned the Indians of Pachala, who were at peace. With the replies that they carried, saying that it was a lie, the said cacique Lazaro came, and likewise the cacique of Chachipile, named Francisco, and the cacique of Arapaja, named Pastrana. They said that the caciques who had fortified themselves in the said forest had sent word to say that they should not trust the Spaniards, and that they were deceiving them, and in order to verify
what they said, they advised them that [the Spaniards] had imprisoned the
aforementioned Indians of Pachala, with which the malice of those who were in the said
forest was discovered. And […] companions having communicated with the said
Sergeant Major about the case, the aforementioned cacique of San Pedro, named Diego;
and the cacique of the village of San Pablo, named Pedro; and Molina, cacica of San
Lúcas and the cacique of San Lorenzo, whose names this witness does not remember;
and other principales and caciques with the cacique of Machava, Deonizio; and the
cacica of San Juan Evangelista, who according to what this witness is want to
remember, is named Maria. He took them to the village of Machava, where the
aforementioned Sergeant Major, this witness, and the rest of the soldiers had arrived.

While in the council house [buxio principal] of the said village, seated on the
barbacoas, the said Sergeant Major admonished them and presented the case, asking
why they had risen up, giving them to understand by Juan Bauptista de la Cruz, soldier
of this presidio, atiqui and interpreter of the language of Timucua [….] village of
Mocoso […] of Diminiyuti, which is of pagans, and who was raised in the province of
Apalachee, and is atiqui and interpreter of the aforementioned language and that of
Timucua. The aforementioned caciques and the rest of the Indians did not respond one
thing, with which the said Adrián de Cañizares told them by means of the said
interpreters that it was necessary to apprehend them in order to investigate the case, and
he apprehended all the aforementioned. And he sent an order to the forest where the
rest were that each one should go to his town quiet and safe, that they would not do
them damage nor injury. Then the said Adrián de Cañizares sent this witness to the
aforementioned forest to see if the said Indians were there, and he did not find them. And having returned to the said village of Machava, this witness saw that two Indians were imprisoned, who they said had been brought as prisoners by the cacique Diego Xeva [... for saying that one had killed Bartolomé Pérez treacherously in the village of Asile, and the other [had killed] a black man in La Chua. In the presence of everyone, these Indians confessed to having committed the aforementioned killings, and one of them said that he had killed the said soldier Bartolomé Pérez in order to be a noroco of God and of the King. Noroco means brave man [valiente]. The said Adrián de Cañizares took the confession of this Indian before Don Antonio Sotomayor, who had been named as notary, and having substantiated the case, he commanded him to confess, and garroted him, which was suitable as an example for the rest according to the feeling of this witness. Then he dispatched notice to the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo about what happened, and departed with the people and prisoners to the aforementioned village of Ivitachuco. Having left the prisoners in its council house with a garrison, the said Adrián de Cañizares returned […] to traverse the towns of the aforementioned province of Timucua, and he told them that they should be quiet, and that he was not going to do them any damage, but that they should stay in their villages and houses. After this, this witness apprehended the cacique of San Martín, named Lúcas, between the villages of Asile and Ivitachuco, by order of the said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, who, having notice that he was there, sent this witness and six soldiers in his company so that they might apprehend him. Having done so, he took him to the said Sergeant Major and placed him in the council house with the rest of the
prisoners. And after some days, the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo went with some people from this city, and this witness met him in the village of Santa Fé, of the aforementioned province of Timucua. He was carrying as a prisoner the cacique of San Francisco, named […] order to this witness so that with […] soldiers he should descend to the village of San Francisco and Santa Ana and apprehend some Indians, who were those who had found themselves in the hacienda of La Chua when they killed some of its people. Having done this task, this witness could not apprehend them, and came to this city. Afterwards, he heard it said that the aforementioned Indians of Timucua had to rise up, and he only knows that, while making the trench at the bar, as he has said above, Francisco Sánchez, a soldier of this presidio, said that they did not have to fear the enemy that would come by sea, but rather those on land, because the Indians of Timucua, according to what he understood, had not been secure for many days. And after the uprising had passed, one day while in this city in the house of this witness […] principal of the town of San […] of the said province of Timucua, and its sacristan, said to this witness that the one who started the uprising of the Indians of the aforementioned province of Timucua had been the said cacique of San Martín, named Lúcas Menéndez, who was principal cacique and did not have vassals, and through that course could have them. And this is what he knows about the question and responds.
May 2, 1660

To the ninth question this witness said that he saw that the aforementioned Governor went in person to visit the towns at peace of the provinces of Timucua, Ustaca, and Apalachee, and he sent a person to the province of Guale. This witness heard the cacique of San Martín complain that having come to render obedience at the time that the said Don Diego de Rebolledo first came, eating one day in the house of Estéban Solana, antiqui and interpreter of his language, this witness entered in it and asked him why he was eating there, and the said cacique responded that he was hungry, and his comrade did him the mercy of giving him that [food]. This witness asked again why the Governor did not give it to him, and he responded that if he were cacique of Ays, or some other pagan, that the Governor would give it to him. This witness also says that in the province of Mocama, very distant [retirada] from the village of San Pedro, which is the head of the said province, between two lakes [...] little towns [pueblecillos pequeños] [...] that the largest was Santiago, in which village a missionary served. The aforementioned villages are very remote from this city, and likewise distant from the rest of the provinces. And on account of the village of Nombre de Dios, which is under the artillery of the fort, having been depopulated, the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo tried to reduce the said little towns to this village of Nombre de Dios which would be more among the Catholics, and at hand for the service of the King, for which reason he called the caciques. The cacique of Santiago de Ocone having come to this city as head of the rest, he said to the Governor that they would very willingly come to
settle where he commanded them, and furthermore that he would be well-served to give them time to harvest what they had sown. From this the aforementioned Governor became infuriated and commanded him to be taken as a prisoner to the fort, saying that he had to stay until [...] vassals came, and those of the rest of the caciques. Then he commanded Captain Juan Fernández to make the Indians come, and for this he should burn the houses. This witness found himself present when this happened, and afterwards the said Captain Juan Fernández went with some soldiers, and when he returned, he said to this witness that upon bringing all the people and having the meeting in the aforementioned village of Ocone, as the principal village, in order to convey the people to this city and the village of Nombre de Dios, the greater part of them fled to the forests, and most of them never again had recourse to the village, except for some who had gone to the village of San Pedro. This witness has performed some tasks with those who are in the forest, and could not reduce them so that they might come under the bell. This witness has heard it said by the cacique of Chamile, named Lazaro, and Diego Xeva, cacique of Santa Catalina […] San Pedro […], and the cacique of Cachipile […] Coachine, all to which are of the province of Timucua, that the uprising which some of its caciques made was for having commanded them to carry corn for their sustenance, on account of not having it in this city on the occasion when there was news that the enemy was going to descend upon this post, and that the said Don Diego de Rebolledo gave an order to Captain Augustín Pérez that he should go to summon them for the aid of this post. This witness does not know what else might be the precise cause, and this witness knows that, having certain news that the enemy
wished to come upon this post, it is suitable to the service of his majesty and the conservation of this post to convey and summon the Indians of the aforementioned friendly provinces, having supplies to sustain themselves. By order of the aforementioned Diego Rebolledo, this witness [...] and dismantle [...] Indians of the villages of Arapaja and its jurisdiction, which are three or four little villages [lugarzitos] of few people, and the village of San Ildefonso de Chamile, and the village of Cachipile, and the village of Choaqueine, all of the said province of Timucua, in order that they should settle in the villages of San Francisco, Santa Fé, San Martín, San Juan de Guacara, and San Augustín de Axoyca, all of the said province of Timucua, which were depopulated on account of some having died, and others having absented themselves, from which the aforementioned Indians formed a great complaint if it were truly suitable that these villages of San Francisco and the rest that they were ordered to settle should be populated, and in the service of his majesty, on account of their being in the commerce and passage from Apalachee, and those that they were commanded to depopulate very astray. And this is what he responds to the question.

14. Captain Francisco García de la Vera, reformado

May 3, 1660

To the ninth question this witness said that he heard it said that the said Governor visited the villages of the jurisdiction of the provinces of Apalachee and Timucua when he went on the pacification of the Indians of the aforementioned Timucua, and this witness heard some soldiers, who he does not remember, say that in the town San Luís, jurisdiction of Apalachee, and in another village which he does not remember, that the
said Governor had treated the *caciques* and *principales* of the said town poorly by mouth, about his departure, and not having brought Indians in order to leave, and that this had happened upon the departure of the said Governor from one village to another when he visited it. And in this city, this witness did not see that the said Governor treated badly one Indian or *cacique* of those who came. On one occasion, when this witness was present, asking the *cacique* of San Luís de Apalachee [...] by force from this [...] the Governor got angry and said that he refused to concede it, and that he should not ask for hens, and that he did not understand why he was afraid, and the said Governor told him this through an interpreter. But before this interpreter said it to the aforementioned *cacique*, who did not understand the Spanish language, this witness asked the said Governor to distribute them, and not to give the aforementioned reply, and thus it was done. And he told this witness that he should tell the aforementioned *cacique* that he had said that on that occasion he could not release the Indian he asked for, and that afterwards, on another occasion, he would do it, with which the aforementioned *cacique* was pleased. And this is what he responds.

15. Ensign Don Cosme Catalán, *reformado*

May 3, 1660

To the ninth question this witness said that he knows that the aforementioned Governor went to visit the towns at peace of the provinces of Timucua and Apalachee, and he saw him leave on the visitation. And this witness saw that when the *cacique* Don Luís of Ivitachuco and others came to this city, the Governor regaled them and seated them at
this table, and he did not see him treat any Indian badly, nor did he consent anyone else
to do so, and this he responds.

16. Captain Matheo Luís de Florencia, former Accountant
May 4, 1660
To the ninth question this witness said that he saw the aforementioned Governor leave
from this city, and he heard it said after he returned that he had visited the towns at
peace of the provinces of Timucua and Apalachee, and he has not known, or heard, or
understood that the said Governor treated the natives badly, and he has instead heard
that he regaled those who came to the city. And when the Governor found out about
some unimportant Indians, for being scoundrels [bellacos] he gave them two blows with
his baton [vengala] and made them go back to work where they had been. And this
witness saw that the aforementioned Governor had great caution with the Indians, and
he ordered that they should not be burdened with any cargos, and if they should do so
that they should be paid, and upon going here […] Governor […] owing them, that they
should be paid immediately, taking the sheets from the bed in order to pay the Indians
with them when there was no money, as this witness saw. And this is what he responds
and knows about the question.

17. Adjutant Francisco de Monzon, age 32
May 4, 1660
To the ninth question this witness said that he saw the Governor treat the Indians that
come to this city well, and that he had the caciques in his house, placing them at his side
at his table and giving them food to eat, with lavish attention. And he took particular care that all the soldiers should treat them well, and [...] with an Indian of those that he had in his field working [...] the aforementioned Governor heard the Indian complain that the said Juan de la Cruz had hurt him in the hand, and immediately the said Governor sent for him and put him in the guard house [cuerpo de guardia] and held him prisoner there for several days, and this witness found himself present at the aforementioned incident. And likewise he took particular care that the Indians should be paid for their work, and if one of them came to complain that they had not been paid, he ordered this witness or others to pay them immediately, or to draw up pledges [prendas] in order to satisfy the Indian, even though the parties might complain, because he said that he wanted the Indians to go away very content. And when an order from His Majesty came to this city, in which he advised that the English enemy was trying to descend upon it, the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo [...] with an order that he should summon five hundred Indians from the province of Timucua and Apalachee, and that they should bring provisions, according to what was said, since this witness did not see the order, nor did he know of it, for which it will be on record what it contained, if there is one, to which he refers. And after several days, which would be fourteen or fifteen according to what he is want to remember, a little more or less, Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez came to this city, and this witness saw him enter it in the company of the said Governor and other persons who had been in an agricultural field [sabana] outside the city, and it was said that the aforementioned Don Juan Menéndez had told the said Governor that while he was in a hacienda that he has,
named La Chua, in the province of Timucua twenty-four leagues from this city, the cacique of San Martín, named Lúcas, had arrived at the house of the aforementioned hacienda, and the cacique of San Francisco, whose name this witness does not remember with some twenty Indians, and they had killed the slaves and people that he had in the hacienda, and Juan de Osuna, a soldier from this presidio who had gone […] Menéndez. The said cacique of San Martín had […] from the rest of the people, and the aforementioned Don Juan asked if he wished to kill him, he said no, rather that he should come to the city. Afterwards, approximately thirty days in the opinion of this witness, Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares and the said Don Juan Menéndez and this witness left from this city with sixty soldiers, and the aforementioned Governor gave an order to the said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares in writing, which was read after leaving from this city in the presence of everyone. In it, the Governor ordered that he should not make war on the said Indians, but rather by all means endeavor to quiet them, and if they should encounter some Indian, he should not treat him badly, and other things which at present [this witness] does not remember, and he refers to the said order. They continued traveling to the village of Ivitachuco, of the province of Apalachee, where there were convened five hundred […] province, and by some letters, some missionaries who were in the said provinces of Timucua in villages which were at peace, and by the cacique Lazaro, who was cacique of Chamile in that time, province of Timucua, and today is cacique of the village of San Martín of the said province, the said Adrián de Cañizares had news that the aforementioned cacique, who was then [cacique] of San Martín, and others with Indians, were in a forest in a palisade
[palenque] near the village of Machava, of the said province of Timucua. With this, the aforementioned Sergeant Major Cañizares commanded them to march for the said forest. And being in front of the wall [cerca], he sent them messengers, and in particular Francisco Xiriba, an Indian from the village of San Pedro of the aforementioned Timucua, saying that the caciques who were in the said palisade should leave, and that he wanted to speak, giving them to understand that he was not going to war, but rather to pacify them. The said Francisco Xiriba and others having gone, [...] aforementioned message, and the cacique of the village of [...] and a cacica of the village of San Juan Evangelista, whose names [this witness] does not remember, returned and spoke with the said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, who received them well, and said that they should tell the rest of the caciques to leave, because he was not going to make war on them, but rather to pacify them. And the said cacique and cacica having returned to the forest, the aforementioned Sergeant Major commanded to march to the said village of Machava, which is half a league, a little more or less, from the said forest. Having arrived, they stayed the following day, and on the next, there went to the aforementioned village the caciques of San Pedro, named Diego; and the cacique of Tari; and the cacique of Santa Ana; and another two or three heirs whose names [this witness] does not remember; and the said cacica of San Juan Evangelista and another two who he does not remember where they were from. And having arrived at the council house [buxio principal] of the said village, where [...] he advised the people that he took that they should be cautious, in case the aforementioned Indians might wish to make some treachery. The aforementioned Sergeant Major
received and embraced them, and ordered them to sit next to him, and by means of Juan Bautista de la Cruz, called by another name Nayó, atiqui and interpreter of the said language, he asked the said caciques what cause they had had to rise up, since they had been Christians and maintained the faith for so many years, and the said caciques did not respond one thing. He asked them a second and third time, but they did not respond one word, and having seen this, he made a sign which he had given before to some of the aforementioned soldiers and Indians from Apalachee who were present. And having seen it, they apprehended the said caciques, making them prisoners and throwing them in chains. The following day the aforementioned Adrián de Cañizares marched with everyone, and they went to the […] province of Apalachee […] traveling all that day, and the following day they arrived and placed the said caciques as prisoners in the place of the council house, and placed a guard of soldiers and some Indians. Having stayed two or three days preparing supplies, they went in search of the cacique of San Martín, Lúcas, and having arrived at the village of San Pedro, where it was said he was, they did not find him, and they marched for the said village of San Martín. Having arrived, he was not found, nor did they have any word of him, with which they returned again to the said village of San Pedro, the two of which are eighteen leagues from one to the other. The said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares gave an order to this witness so that with eleven soldiers he should come to this city to give an account to the aforementioned Governor of what had happened, bringing a letter. This witness arrived at this city and gave the letter […] the said Governor left within days with some soldiers, and this witness remained. He does not know what happened there any more
than that they hung some delinquent caciques, referring to the autos and case which there was about it. This witness does not know the cause that the said Indians of Timucua had for the said uprising, more than having heard it said, in the time that he was in the aforementioned province of Apalachee, by some soldiers of those who in that time served in it, like Bartolomé Francisco, and this witness does not remember well if he also heard it said by Ensign Juan Baupista Terraza, that the cause of the said Indians having risen up and mutinied had been that Captain Augustín Pérez, who had gone to convey them to this city, wanted the caciques and principales to carry burdens. Others who [this witness] does not remember in particular said that a missionary had said to [...] of the said province [...] that they were going to round them up and make them slaves, and that they should rise up. This witness does not know what foundation the aforementioned had, more than that it was said among the soldiers. On this occasion that the aforementioned Governor went to the said provinces he visited them, according to what he heard said, and this is what he responds to the question.

18. Captain Don Matheo Pacheco, reformado, age 40

May 5, 1660

To the ninth question he said that the aforementioned Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo visited the villages at peace of the provinces of Apalachee and Timucua, and this witness saw it because being while the said Governor was in the aforementioned province of Apalachee beginning the visitation, this witness arrived from Havana in a vessel [...] the cacique and [...] any bad treatments [...] only that having arrived at a village of the aforementioned province of Apalachee that he understands is called San
Luís, on account of the Indian mandadores not having gathered the Indians of service in order to depart and go to another village to proceed with the visitation, and for the said departure they had sent the Indian women, this witness saw the aforementioned Governor scold the said mandadores about how they sent the Indian women. And in this city, the aforementioned Governor treated the caciques who came well and regaled them, feeding them in his house, and this witness saw it, and he seated some at this table, and especially Don Luís, cacique of Ibitachuco, who was in this city many days, whom he gave a very good […] the said Governor had the cacique of Cupayca in his house, where he fell ill, and he ordered him treated, inviting those of this presidio for the interment, in which this witness found himself. This witness did not hear the aforementioned Indians complain, because the Governor made everyone pay the Indian laborers what they owed them. And while this witness was in the aforementioned province of Apalachee, as was stated, a little time after the uprising of the Indians of the province of Timucua, he heard it said, not remembering by whom, that they had done so on account of having ordered them to come to this city and bring the provisions for their sustenance on account of the news that the English enemy was going to descend on this post, but this witness does not know anything certain about the aforementioned uprising. And he saw that when the aforementioned news came, the said Governor [….] the fort of this presidio, because he found it all fallen to the ground, and he made it all anew with good wood [….] and having asked this witness the reason for the ruin of the Castillo, and who caused it, he said that in the time of the government of Benito Ruiz, this witness entered in this city and saw that he had repaired the aforementioned
fort, and even in some places […] cut wood, and in this time he died, and the Accountant Nicolás Ponce entered in the government, governing five or six months, a little more or less, and he died without working on the aforementioned fort on account of the little time that there was, and then there entered Sergeant Major Don Pedro Horruytiner, who governed twenty-six months, a little more or less, and he did nothing in the said fort, with which it was ruined when the aforementioned Don Diego entered, he found it in a pitiful state, understanding […] since the said Governor Benito Ruíz died, this witness swears that it would be on account of no money from the situado having come to this presidio, and only during the time of the aforementioned Don Pedro Horruytiner did there come two shipments of wheat flour [harina] and clothes, and this he responds.

19. Ensign Don Juan Joseph de Sotomayor, age 27

May 5, 1660

To the ninth question this witness said that he saw that in the time that the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo governed this city, the said Don Diego received well the caciques and principales who came from the subject provinces, and gave food to all the most [important] ones in his house, and in particular the said Don Diego de Rebolledo made much festivity for the cacique of Ivitachuco, province of Apalachee, and gave him gifts. And this witness having presented to the said Don Diego a sword from Toledo which he esteemed highly, the said Don Diego gave it to the aforementioned cacique, and seated him at his table. And when a cédula from his majesty arrived in this city, according to what this witness heard said, in which the said
Governor was advised about news that [...] upon this post, and that he should be cautious, the said Governor made many preparations, and repaired and made the fort anew, all on the outside as it is today, because when he came to the government he found it ruined and breached [aportillado] in many places. And he made trenches upon the bar, and also sent Captain Augustín Pérez to the provinces of Timucua and Apalachee to summon the Indians, and according to what he said, he gave him an order in writing of what he had to perform. And several days later, the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo sent word to this witness at the sentinel post of Matanzas, where he had been sent as a sentinel, and having come to this city, this witness found out that it was public knowledge there that the aforementioned province of Timucua had risen up, and they had killed Estéban Solana, ati qui of their language and a soldier of this presidio, and Bartolomé Pérez, likewise a soldier and [...] from Don Juan Menéndez [...] dead, and he saw that the Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares was prepared in order to go as leader to the said uprising. This witness was named to go as a soldier with others, which including everyone were sixty men, and after having left from this place, having passed the town of San Martín, upon arriving at a lake that is there, he performed an auto with the people, and gave this witness the order that he carried so the he should read it to everyone, and this witness did it in a loud voice, so that all might be able to understand it, calling for all the reformados to come close. The order contained that he should endeavor to quiet the land by whatever form and means possible, without resorting to arms, and to what this witness is want to remember, that he should apprehend the guilty and leaders of the uprising, as will be on record at greater length in
the stated order, which passed before Juan Moreno, public and governmental notary. He proceeded his journey until arriving at the village of Ivitachuco, province […] performed an auto where […] many caciques, principales, and Indians of the said province of Apalchee, and some from the province of Timucua, and in particular a cacique of the province of Timucua who, to what this witness is want to remember, they said was the cacique of San Pedro, who remained very vigilant and loyal. There it was found out that the Indians of Timucua were in a little forest [montecillo] next to the village of Machava, province of Timucua, and that they had made a palisade [palenque] for their defense. The aforementioned Adrián de Cañizares wrote to them in their language two or three times with Indians of the said province of Timucua. The messages were written by Father Umanes, who is now dead, and who was an interpreter of the said Timucua and doctrinero of the village of San Martín, and who had passed to the province of Apalachee on account of the uprising. According to what was said there, [the letters] contained that the caciques who were in the aforementioned forest should go to where the […] do them damage, but rather pacify them, and that they should be at peace, endeavoring by all means possible to give them to understand the aforementioned. And having written the said letters, the aforementioned Indians did not come at his bidding, but rather it was said that the stated Sergeant Major should go to where they were, because they were with a good heart. This witness did not know for certain, because they wrote the stated letters in their language. And thus the said Adrián de Cañizares came forth with the aforementioned infantry and up to five hundred Indians from Apalachee who had joined them there, and having arrived in view of the
aforementioned forest and palisade, they divided themselves in two parts, the said Adrián de Cañizares going as leader of the other, marching a bit ahead, and the other remaining behind, in order to cover the entrances. Remaining at [the distance of] an arquebus shot, the said Adrián de Cañizares again sent a message to the aforementioned Indians and caciques with the said cacique of San Pedro, who […] Diego Xeva so that […] palisade where they were […] going to war, and with the stated message, one cacique and the cacica of San Juan Evangelista left and came to where the said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares was, and they spoke with the said Sergeant Major. They returned, and according to what was said, they said that he should go with his people to the village of Machava, and that they would go there, with which the aforementioned Sergeant Major commanded them to march for the said village. Having arrived, they entered in its council house [buxio principal], and the said Adrián de Cañizares posted guards and gave order that everyone should be cautious, and that upon the Indians coming, and making a sign, they should apprehend them. He gave this order to the norocos, who are the principales of the province of Apalachee. The following day, in the afternoon, there went to the aforementioned council house the caciques who were in the said palisade, and the said cacica of San Juan […] is a signal of peace, and the aforementioned Indians seated themselves on a barbacoa, and the said Adrián de Cañizares made them an address by means of an atiqui and interpreter, which this witness did not understand, and after the stated address [razonamiento], he made the sign that he had given, with which they apprehended the said caciques and threw them in chains. They also apprehended an Indian who they said had killed the
aforementioned Bartolomé Pérez in the village of Asile, of the said province of Timucua. He made the case, in which this witness served as notary, and Juan Baupista de la Cruz, a soldier of this presidio, as interpreter, in order to take the confession, and having taken it, he confessed that it was true that he had committed the aforementioned killing, and that the cause had been because in times past, the stated Indian being in a council house of one of the villages of Apalachee, stretched out next to the fire, the aforementioned Bartolomé Pérez entered, and striking him with his foot, he said, “Go away, dog, get up from there!” [....] the caciques of the said province of Timucua were in the middle of a council meeting [andavan en junta], and saying that they had to kill all the Spaniards, as he heard in the village of San Pedro, where some caciques and principales were together. Without waiting for weapons, he left the said village of San Pedro, and going toward Apalachee, he entered in the village of Asile, the last [postren] village of the province of Timucua, he met the said Bartolomé Pérez upon entering its buxio, and gave him a hatchet-blow in the head and killed him, and dragging him outside, he scalped him in the ancient custom of their pagan times [le quito la cavellera a su usanza antigua de la gentilidad], which is to cut off all the skin with the hair. He knew well what he had to pay afterwards, but until then, he had not been a man, and with that action he was a noroco of God and of the King, and he was very content, as will be on record at greater length in the autos which they performed, which remained [....] Adrián de Cañizares, who died in the aforementioned province of Apalachee. And this witness swears that they remained with his executors Manuel Gómez, sergeant reformado who is in this presidio, and Andrés Pérez, a squad leader who is in the
aforementioned province, and who will be able to give a copy of the said papers, or they will be found in the house of Juana de Mendoza, his wife. After that, they carried the said caciques as prisoners to the aforementioned village of Ivitachuco, where they placed them in its council house with chains and guards, and sent an account to the said Governor of what happened. Afterwards, he left in search of the cacique of San Martín, who did not appear, and carried out other tasks in which they were occupied for a long time. And having returned to the said village of Ivitachuco, they had news that the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo was coming, and they went forth to receive him at the village of Santa Fé, of the province of Timucua, [including] this witness with other soldiers, and from there [...] where there was news [...] the said Governor did justice to the aforementioned imprisoned caciques, and this witness refers to the case, where those who they were will be seen. This witness does not know the cause that the said Indians had for the said uprising, because some said that the aforementioned Indians, when they found out about news that the enemy was coming by sea, wished to take advantage of the occasion and rise up. Others said it was because the caciques had been commanded to carry the provisions for themselves while they were in this presidio, and others said that the friars had the guilt, with which this witness is unable to say anything with foundation, and this he responds. And likewise this witness heard it said that the aforementioned Governor, upon returning, visited along the way the said province of Apalachee, Timucua, and Ustaca.
20. Captain Francisco de la Rocha, reformado, age 33

May 6, 1660

To the ninth question this witness says that he knows that the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo visited the towns of the provinces of Apalachee and Timucua, because this witness found himself in the said provinces of Apalachee at the time, and when the said Don Diego went to make the aforementioned visitation, this witness does not know that he treated the Indians badly. What he knows is that, when the said Governor had recently come to this city, the micos and caciques of these provinces came to render obedience to him, and the cacique of Guale gave some complaints to this witness that he had not […] Governors gave them gifts, […] time giving him a suit at the expense of his majesty. Likewise, Adjutant Don Antonia Menéndez said to this witness that the cacique of San Martín, of the province of Timucua, who among them was the most principal cacique, had been complaining one night about what was done with them in this city. This witness does not remember in particular what the complaints were, but this witness judges that the said complaints were not of consideration, nor cause that the said Indians should leave off attending to all that they were commanded which was of service to his majesty, because if the aforementioned Indians formed some complaint, others were very grateful. And the aforementioned Governor treated them well, with many examples, and in particular, this witness remembers that he did so with Don Luís, principal cacique, and the most important of the province of Apalachee, who serves in Ivitachuco. And likewise this witness neither knew nor understood that the aforementioned Governor treated any Indian poorly. And
when news came that […] of the English enemy […] descend upon this post […] and this witness heard the cédula read. With this, the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo repaired the fort […] because he found it breached in many places, and the wood was rotten, and it had been in the said state for a long time. This witness does not know the exact time that the fort had been this way, because he does not know the governor who made it. And the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo likewise made fortifications at the mouth of the bar, where this witness was serving with others for many days. And he sent Captain Augustín Pérez to the aforementioned provinces of Timucua and Apalachee with an order which this witness saw, and what it seemed to him to say was that he should summon the principal Indians, and that they should bring two arrobas of corn for their sustenance […] will be on record, because on that occasion this presidio was lacking in provisions, and there was not enough even for its people, because although the aforementioned Governor had sent someone to search for supplies, they had not come. The said Captain Augustín Pérez having gone to the aforementioned provinces, after some days Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez, who today is absent in the kingdom of New Spain, came to this city from a hacienda of his named La Chua, which is in the stated province of Timucua, and said that the Indians of [the province] had risen up, because the caciques of San Francisco and other caciques and Indians had gone to his aforementioned hacienda and had killed the slaves and all the people that they found there in their sight, the said Don Juan having separated himself. And this witness heard the said Don Juan Menéndez say that when he saw the aforementioned caciques enter his said hacienda, he had judged […] which the said
Augustín Pérez had carried, they were coming toward this city, and so he told them when he saw them, “So quickly have you departed and gone toward the presidio?” and at these words, one of the caciques who was there pulled him outside by the arm, and in that instant he heard screams from the people who were in it, and saying to the aforementioned cacique “What is this?”, he responded that “From this I spare you; we will not kill you” [desta te quedo que a ti no te hemos de matar], and the said Don Juan responded “Well, if you have to kill me, let me go to a village, if you have left a missionary alive, in order to confess,” and the cacique said again that he should not be afraid, that he would not do him harm. And he gave him a horse, and he came, and this witness did not hear anything else. After many days came news from the aforementioned Captain Augustín Pérez, and the messenger said that he had come skirting the province of Timucua so that its Indians might not seize him, and some Indians from Apalachee brought him […] Indians of Timucua were risen up, and that the said Captain Augustín Pérez, with the Indians of the province of Apalachee and the lieutenant and soldiers, were in the village of Ivitachuco so that the rebel Indians could not enter in the said province of Apalachee, because they menaced them greatly if they did not help them, and they sent them letters to this effect. With this news, the aforementioned Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo resolved to send people to the said province of Timucua in order to pacify them, and he named as leader Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, who was the Sergeant Major in that time, and likewise the aforementioned Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez, and this witness and other soldiers, who including everyone were sixty, with an order in writing from the said
Governor of what he had to do. The order was read in the presence of everyone after leaving […] in the said province so that they should be forewarned of what they had to do, and so that they would not go beyond its limits. They marched up to the said village of Ivitachuco, separating themselves from the aforementioned province of Timucua. And upon having arrived at the said village and incorporated themselves with the rest who were there, the aforementioned Sergeant Major Cañizares dispatched messengers to the caciques of Timucua, who were in a palisade [palenque] next to the village of Machava, which is the last one of the said provinces, bordering [convecino a] that of Apalachee, using Indians at peace from the said province of Timucua. They sent them to say that the intent and order that he carried was not to make war on them, but rather to quiet them, and that if there were some guilty person, he should be handed over, and they should not take up arms, because if they did so, it was necessary to make war on them. The messengers went and came many times about this, and thus it was necessary to leave from the said […] they left, marching toward where the said Indians from Timucua were, who had constructed a very well-made palisade and fortification of stout wood [palenque y fortificazion muy buena hecha de maderas gruesas]. They arrived near the said palisade, in the manner that it would be possible to speak from one side and from the other, and the aforementioned Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares sent Francisco Xiriba, mandador of the town of San Pedro of the province of Timucua, which was at peace, and he went with the people from this presidio in order to tell the aforementioned caciques who were in the said palisade that they should come forth to speak with him and make their plea. With this, the cacique of the said village of
Machava, named Deonizio, and the cacica of the village of San Juan Evangelista came forth and spoke to the aforementioned Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares. They told him that the caciques would come forth and give their explanation, with which they entered the aforementioned village of Machava, and stayed in the council house [buxio] two days awaiting the said caciques. Finally the aforementioned caciques came, and the said Sergeant Major received them [...] made them a speech, while being such good caciques [...] loyal vassals of His Majesty, they had risen up, an action of such evil consequences, which could cause them great damage, and he said this to them by means of interpreters of the said language of Timucua. The aforementioned caciques did not respond one thing, and he said it two or three times to them, and he admonished them through the said interpreters that they should respond, and that if not, he had to take them as prisoners to the aforementioned province of Apalachee. Nevertheless, the said caciques did not respond, with which the stated Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares ordered them apprehended and thrown in chains. Later that night, some of the caciques from the aforementioned province of Timucua who were at peace, one of whom was Diego Xeva, who was [cacique] of Santa Catalina de Ayepacano, but the names and locations of the rest [this witness] does not remember, brought as prisoners [...] presented to the said Sergeant Major, saying that that Indian had killed Bartolomé Pérez, a soldier of this presidio, in the village of Asile, entering the council house [buxio principal] treacherously. This witness does not know if a case was made in writing or not, any more than that he heard the aforementioned Indian confess vocally that it was true that he had killed the said Bartolomé Pérez treacherously, only in order to be a
noroco, and [this witness] does not remember the other things that he said. The following day Cañizares ordered him garroted, and he was executed in the presence of everyone. After this, they went to the said village of Ivitachuco, where they secured the aforementioned cacique and sent news of it to the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo, who went from this city to the said village. Having arrived, he made the cases and sentence, and did justice to some of them, as will appear in the case which passed before Juan Moreno, public notary. And this witness came to this city, remaining […] said visitation. He did not know nor perceive the cause and motive that the aforementioned Indians of Timucua might have had for having risen up. According to the news that he has from elderly persons, on another occasion when there was news that the enemy wished to descend upon this post, the aforementioned Indians of Timucua were about to rebel [estubieron para lebantarse], and had made watch-towers for firing arrows [garitas de flechas], and this he responds. And asked about the citation that Sergeant Major Juan Sánchez de Uriza makes in the ninth question of his statement, which is on folio forty-nine, in which he says that he heard this witness say that the cause that all the aforementioned Indians rose up was having ordered the caciques and principales to carry burdens, and heard by this witness, he [Rocha] said that this witness, as he has said, does not know the cause and motive of the aforementioned uprising, and that it was said that it had been on account of having been ordered to carry […] and it was rumored at first that that had been the cause, but as he has said, this witness asked about the citation that Captain Augustín Pérez makes about this witness in the ninth in which he says that this witness told him that the
aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo had said some insolent words to a *cacique* of the province of Guale, which among other things had been to tell him to kiss him in the behind, and that the said *cacique* had gone away very upset about it, he, Rocha, said that it is true that on occasion this witness said the aforementioned words, but he heard them from the said Don Diego de Rebolledo, apart from having been told so by a *mico* of the aforementioned province of Guale, and that afterwards, the aforementioned Don Diego gave him gifts and received him very well, and this witness saw it, and this he responds.

21. Gonzalo Hernández, resident of St. Augustin and pilot of the presidio, age 44

May 7, 1660

To the ninth question, this witness said that he knows that the aforementioned governor visited in person the villages at peace of the provinces of Apalachee and Timucua, and this witness found himself present when the visitation began, and he found himself in some […] and he did not see him treat the native Indians badly, and he saw him receive the *caciques* and Indians well, and […] And while the aforementioned Governor was in this city, this witness saw that he regaled and treated well the *caciques* who came to see him from these provinces, without having heard them complain about the said governor on any occasion. And although after the uprising of the Indians of the aforementioned province of Timucua, this witness found himself, as he has said, in the [province] of Apalachee, he did not find out, hear, or understand the cause that they could have had for it, and this he responds.
22. Ensign Manuel Calderón, reformado, age 33

May 7, 1660

To the ninth question this witness said that the aforementioned governor personally visited the villages of the province of Apalachee and Timucua, and he sent Captain Nicolás de Carmenatis to Guale. And this witness did not see, know, or understand that the said Don Diego Rebolledo treated the caciques or Indians badly by deed or word, neither in this city nor in the aforementioned provinces. Instead, this witness saw that on some occasions that the caciques and Indians came from the said provinces, he regaled them and received them well, keeping them up in his house and feeding them. And he knows that when news came from his majesty that the English enemy was coming to descend upon this post, the aforementioned Don Diego de Rebolledo sent Captain Augustín Pérez with an order, according to what was said, that the caciques of the province of Timucua and of [...] for its defense [...] principales so that the rest of the Indians would not be lacking for the plantings [sementaras], and that each one should bring corn for the sustenance of his person, as will appear in the order, to which he refers. And this witness knows that on the aforementioned occasion, this city and presidio was very lacking in provisions and in corn, with which it was unavoidable that in case the Indians should come to help in its defense, they should bring provisions for their persons, because not bringing them, they could avoid consuming in short order the little that there was in this city and presidio. In this case, they would not be of any help, but would rather occasion that if the enemy should come, they would perish in an even shorter time from hunger, with which the enemy would achieve their goal in even
shorter order. And after the aforementioned, after several days, it was said publicly in this city that the Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez had come [...] Timucua of cattle, and had spoken with the aforementioned Governor and other persons who found themselves in his company in an agricultural field [sabana] about one league from this city, which they had gone to that afternoon. He told him that while he was in his hacienda with his slave and servants, and Juan de Osuna, a soldier from this presidio whom he had taken in his company when he went from this city, there had arrived at his house the cacique of San Martín, the cacique of San Francisco, and the cacique of Santa Fé, bringing in their company fourteen Indians, and that the cacique of San Martín had seized the aforementioned Don Juan Menéndez by the hand, drawing him outside the house, and the rest of the caciques and Indians had rushed in and killed all those who were in it. And [the cacique] told the aforementioned Don Juan that he should come to this city, giving him a horse, and that he should go to Spain and give an account to His Majesty, and that they might return from there [...] in the [...] which is a place and [...] of this city, and this was said generally about what the said Don Juan had told the Governor. After this, after several days two Indians came, and while this witness was on guard, he saw them enter the house of the said Governor, and then this witness, as Sergeant, which he was then, went to the aforementioned house of the Governor to see if something was needed, and this witness saw that they had brought more letters, which they said were from Captain Antoniao de Sartucha, who was Lieutenant of the aforementioned provinces of Apalachee. And later it was said that he advised in them that the province of Timucua had risen up, and that they had killed Estéban Solana, a
soldier of this presidio, and *atiqui* and interpreter of that province, who had gone in company of the aforementioned Captain Augustín Pérez. With this the said Governor […..] by different routes so that the Indians might not intercept them. This witness does not know the orders that they carried. The [messengers] were Adjutant Francisco Sánchez, Ensign Juan Bauptista Terraza, who at present is in Apalachee, Sergeant Pedro Texeda, and Bartolomé Francisco. After several days, an Indian who this witness saw came and brought letters for the said Governor, and later they were made public, and carried news about how those who had left as messengers [*correos*] had arrived with the letters that they carried. Then the aforementioned Governor dispatched Adrián de Cañizares, who was then the acting Sergeant Major of this presido, and in his company the said Don Juan Menéndez, with sixty soldiers from this presidio, and this witness as their Sergeant, with an order and instruction from the Governor of what they were to do, entrusting much to them, that they should not arrive […..] but rather that first […..] and that in any case they should carry out all possible tasks in order to reduce them by good means, according to what this witness is want to remember, as will appear in the order. Having left from this city, the aforementioned Adrián de Cañizares, while on the road, and in particular when he was approaching the Indians, had the order read and made public to all the infantry together, about whether they had to assault them or not. And traveling as far as the village of San Martín, and from there across an unpopulated region [*por despoblado*], they arrived at the village of Ivitachuco, which is on the frontier of Timucua, and a village of Apalachee. There they found the aforementioned Lieutenant Antonia de Sartucha with the people that he had from this presidio and many
Indians from Apalachee, which in the opinion of this witness would be up to nearly two thousand persons, and he also had the people from a ship from the city of Havana. And then [...] he prepared supplies for [...] and wrote to the cacique of San Martín and the [cacique] of Machava, remitting the letters with Francisco Xiriba, an Indian mandador of the said province for Timucua so that he should give them to the aforementioned caciques, whom they said had fortified themselves in a forest next to the said village of Machava, in which they had made a palisade of stout poles [palenque de palos gruesos], and in which a quantity of Indians of the said province of Timucua were together. The said Francisco Xiriba having returned, it was said that he had brought a reply from the aforementioned cacique of Machava, saying that he could not come alone to where the said Sergeant Major was, even less would the said cacique of San Martín come in his company. Then the said Sergeant Major resolved that he should march in search of the said Indians to the place where they were, and upon their arrival nearby, the Indians sounded the call to arms. Then the said Sergeant Major divided the people that he brought in two parts, one at his charge [...] Don Juan Menéndez [...] wished to enter in the forest where the aforementioned Indians had fortified themselves. They rejoined outside and left the forest, making a halt, from where the said Adrián de Cañizares sent a message with the said Francisco Xiriba, so that he might tell the cacique of Machava and the cacica of San Juan Evangelista, who was the superior of that land [que era la superior de aquella tierra], that they should come to where the said Sergeant Major was to meet with him. And the said Francisco Xiriba having gone and given the message, according to how it appeared, the said cacique and cacica came forth and arrived where
the said Sergeant Major was, who in the presence of this witness told them, by means of Diego Salvador, atiqui and interpreter of the said language, and an Indian native to the province of Mocosa, that he did not come to make war on them, but rather peace and tranquility, and to find out why they had risen up, and that this was what the Governor endeavored […] and the aforementioned cacique and cacica said that they would leave and go to the council house [buxio] of the said village of Machava, with which they returned to the palisades, and this happened in the presence of this witness. The said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares withdrew to the said village of Machava and entered in its council house [buxio principal] with all the people, waiting for the said Indians to come. And late that night, after having arrived, the Indians of that village of Pachala, which is very near there [que está alli cerquita], who were not among the rebels, brought two Indians to the said village of Machava and turned them over to the said Sergeant Major, saying that they were killers. And the following day, the said Adrián de Cañizares sent to call upon the cacique of Chamile, named Lazaro, who was the one who sheltered the missionaries of that province so that the rebels should not do wrong to them, according to what was public there. And having received the message […] and in his company […] man who had retreated to his doctrina out of fear of the Indians. When he arrived, the aforementioned Sergeant Major told him to go to the palisade where the caciques and Indians were and tell them that they should go to the council house [buxio], because he was not going to do them any harm, and for other reasons, by means of the said atiqui Diego Salvador. The said cacique went and returned, and in his company [came] the caciques of San Pedro, whose name this
witness does not remember; the *cacique* of Tari; the *cacique* of Machava; and the said *cacica* of San Juan Evangelista; and the *cacique* of San Francisco. The said Sergeant Major received them and commanded them to sit, and once there, he questioned them by means of the said interpreter, saying “Come here, my sons. What was this uprising about?” two or three times in the presence of all the people who were there. The aforementioned *caciques* spoke to one another about what the stated interpreter Diego Salvador said [….] all, and not one responded to what the said Sergeant Major had asked them, with which he ordered them to be apprehended. And the Indians of the palisade sent two Indians as prisoners to be turned over to the aforementioned Sergeant Major, as they did in the said council house of Machava. This witness is not certain if it was before apprehending the *caciques* or after. They said that the aforementioned two Indians were killers, and one of them there confessed publicly that he had killed a Spaniard named Bartolomé Pérez, a soldier of this presidio, in the village of Asile. According to what the stated interpreter said, the aforementioned Indian confessed because one day, being in Apalachee next to the fire, the said Bartolomé Pérez had arrived and kicked him with his foot, saying “Get up from there!” Then the said Sergeant Major made a case which Ensign Don Juan Antonio de Sotomayor, who was then a soldier, wrote up. And then the next day they garroted him […] in the said village […] the said Sergeant Major ordered them to march toward the said village of Ivitachuco, carrying the aforementioned caciques imprisoned. They put the said caciques in the council house, and he sent a messenger to the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo about what he had done. And afterwards, some soldiers left, with the said
Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares as leader, in search of the cacique of San Martín, whose name this witness does not remember, and after many days they returned to the said village without having passed, the aforementioned mandador Francisco Xiriba went to the said village of Ivitachuco and said to the aforementioned Adrián de Cañizares that the cacique of San Pedro said that he had the cacique of San Martín imprisoned, and that he should send a dozen men so that they might take him to his presence. Cañizares sent them, Captain Alonso de Argüelles going as leader, and he apprehended him and carried him as a prisoner to the said [.....] of Ivitachuco. And when the said Sergeant Major received news that the said Governor was coming, he went forth from the said village to receive him, and he met him in the village of Santa Fé, of the aforementioned province of Timucua, from which they returned together. He made a case before Juan Moreno, public notary, and did justice to six caciques, who were the caciques of San Martín, San Pedro, and Tari in the village of San Pedro, and on the road of Machava its cacique, and the cacique of San Francisco and two of the killers on the road which goes to San Francisco, and the cacique of San Lúcas and the other two killers in the village of Asile, and he refers to the case. This witness does not know the cause of the said uprising, because some said that it had been for having commanded the principales to carry burdens [.....] planting had [.....] and that if they had to perish, it was better to rise up, and others said that it was because the cacique of San Martín had been angry with Ensign Don Cosme. And this is what this witness heard, but he does not know from what persons. And as he has said above, none of the aforementioned causes have any foundation for the said uprising in the opinion of this
witness, and because of this, he did not hear anything else said. And the visitation that
the said Governor made was after the aforementioned, and in it, according to what this
witness heard and saw, he made good treatment to the Indians, for their government,
and they said that the regulatory codes that he left them were against the soldiers in
many matters, which had not been done until then, such as that the Indians should not
give them anything to eat without being paid when they were going as messengers
[correos] from one place to another, and that they should not carry any more burdens
than the bed […] and knows about the question.

23. Diego Hernández, constable of the fort, age 57

May 8, 1660

To the ninth question he said that Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez, who is at
present in the kingdom of New Spain, came to this city bringing news about how when
he was in his hacienda La Chua […] the province of Timucua in the first place going
from this city, there had arrived at it some caciques of the jurisdiction of the
aforementioned Timucua, the names and villages of which this witness does not
remember, with some Indians, and that before his eyes they had killed his slaves whom
he had in his house and the people of service, and among them Juan de Osuna, a soldier
of this presidio who had gone in his company. This witness heard this said by the said
Don Juan Menéndez, and he had given an account of it to the aforementioned Governor,
who gave an order to this witness to discharge an artillery piece in the fort in order to
gather the people which he then did. And afterward, within a few days, he heard it said
that some Indians came and brought news to the said Governor from Lieutenant
Antonio de Sartucha, who was in Apalachee as Lieutenant […] whom the aforementioned Governor had sent earlier to the said provinces of Timucua and Apalachee in order to summon a quantity of Indians who would not be missed from their plantings, so that they might come to this city, on account of the said Governor having had news that his majesty ordered him to say that the English enemy was going to descend upon this post. And this witness heard it said that the aforementioned governor had the stated cédula. And according to what was said, the aforementioned Captain Augustín Pérez carried an order in writing, in which will appear what he was to do, to which he refers. And it was said that the aforementioned Indians who were to come had to bring corn for their sustenance, on account of there being little in this city for the infantry. And in virtue of the stated letter that the aforementioned Governor had from the said Lieutenant and Captain Augustín Pérez […] Major Adrián de Cañizares, who was Sergeant Major of this presidio, as the leader of sixty soldiers and reformados so that they should go to the aforementioned provinces, and he saw him leave. He does not know the order that he carried. This witness only saw that on this occasion the aforementioned Governor remained making trenches at the mouth of the bar for defense, and likewise building the fort, because it was all on the ground, and would not serve for anything for military affairs [ministerio militar]. The said Governor found it thus when he came, and this ruin occurred after the death of Governor Benito Ruíz, because the wood from which it was made is pine, which rots immediately with the water, and there was not the necessary care taken in its repair during the time that Don Pedro Horruytiner governed, and before him the accountant Don Nicolás Ponce […]
suitable, he does not know [...] the cause for [...] that the rest of the soldiers have as their salary. And in regard to the ruin of the said fort, more could be said by Luís Martín, a carpentry official and artilleryman, and Antonio Serrano, artilleryman. And the aforementioned Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo constructed the said fort in a brief time with great vigilance using thick baria wood, which is the most long-lasting in this land, as it is today on all the outside, and he made an embankment [terraplen], and on the inside two sections of wall [lienzo de muralla], and some carriages [cureñas] that were lacking for the artillery. And some days after the aforementioned Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares left, it was said that news had come that he had imprisoned some of the rebel caciques, and that he had them in the village of Ivitachuco. And the said Governor departed from this city [...] with him some persons and among them the treasurer Don Joseph de Prado and Juan Moreno, public notary, and some soldiers. After some days, news came that the said Governor had done justice to some of the accomplices. This witness does not know the cause that the aforementioned Indians might have had for having mutinied and risen up, because this witness saw that when the caciques and principales of the provinces subject to this city came to it, the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo received them well in his house, feeding them, as he did with the cacique Don Luís, who is cacique of Ivitachuco, of the jurisdiction of Apalchee, and its principal (cacique). And this witness likewise says that the Governor many times apprehended soldiers due to complaints which the Indians made to him of how they were treated badly. And although [this witness] heard it said variously [...] treatment made [...] Captain Augustín Pérez, and he heard it about Ensign Don Cosme
Catalán, by saying that he had had a difference with an Indian, this witness judges and holds for certain that all that they said was without foundation that should occasion the uprising of the said Indians, nor does he remember a person in particular from whom he heard this. And what he knows is that the Indians are fickle and deceptive, and that on other occasions when they have seen the presidio lacking in provisions, they have given signs and indications of their evil intent and little stability. And in particular, this witness heard it said during the time that Damián de Vega governed this city, on one occasion there was a great lack of provisions in it, that the aforementioned Indians were restless and agitated, from which it was presumed that they wished to make some uprising, and thus for the said reason, and also on account of the news that [...] the said Indians could take pleasure in [...]. And after the aforementioned Governor came to this city, he heard it said that he had visited the said provinces of Apalachee and Timucua, and this he responds.

24. Domingo González, carpenter, age 70

May 8, 1660

To the ninth question, this witness said that sometimes he saw some Indians of the Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo [...] persons having gone in company of the said governor to see some wood that was being cut for the fort one league from this city, while they were returning there arrived Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez, very agitated, and he told the governor that while he was in La Chua, his hacienda of cattle, with his slaves and servants, there had arrived some caciques that he mentioned, but whose names this witness does not remember, of the jurisdiction of Timucua, with some
Indians, and that they had killed his slaves and servants, leaving only him alive. With
this, the said governor came to this city, and then within a few days dispatched Sergeant
Major Adrián de Cañizares, who was sergeant major of this presidio, as leader of the
soldiers and reformados who went [...] the said Adrián de Cañizares, saying that he
had imprisoned the caciques who had committed the murders and risen up. And the
aforementioned governor left for the said provinces, taking with him the treasurer Don
Joseph de Prado and some soldiers and having returned after a time, this witness heard
it said that he had hanged [ajorcado] the cacique of San Martín and others, and that on
the road he had visited the towns of the said province of Apalachee and Timucua, and
this he responds and knows about the question. And he says that he did not know or
hear said anything firm with regard to the aforementioned uprising, nor the cause that
motivated them for it.

25. Adjutant Don Antonio Menéndez Márquez, reformado, age 25
May 9, 1660
To the ninth question he says that what he knows is that Sergeant Major Don Juan
Menéndez, the older brother of this witness, on one occasion said in the presence of
others that he had asked Juan Menéndez, an Indian who was living in Nombre de Dios
and who is now dead, and who was an interpreter of the language of Timucua, if the
cacique of San Martín had gone away content when he came to render obedience to the
Governor, he had responded that no, but rather disgusted from the little reception that he
had found in the Governor, who was Don Diego de Rebolledo. And Sergeant Major
Adrián de Cañizares, who is now dead, related to the said [...] Pedro Horruytiner that
the cacique of Tarixica, named Benito, while in this city had entered his house, telling him that he was going away, and the said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares responded “How are you going, without carrying something for the road?”, and he had told him that he had gone three or four times, and that they gave him nothing, and thus he would go running in order to arrive quickly at his land. And this witness and the rest understood that the complaint was that the Governor did not give food for the road, and both caciques were from the province of Timucua. On another occasion, while this witness was in the said village of San Martín, the aforementioned cacique, who was named Lúcas Menéndez, gave complaints to this witness, and what he understood most was that he said “After your father died, no attention is paid to us now,” and other reasons like that which [this witness] does not remember well, and this witness understood that they were complaints about the Governor during the time that he had been in this city. He also complained that the year […] thirty-two Indian farm workers [Indios de cava] should come to this city for the labors, and afterwards there had been a plague [peste] and almost half of the people of the said province of Timucua had died, and that consecutive year after the plague he had ordered him to pick out fifty or sixty, not remembering well which of these two numbers he said. And the said cacique retorted, according to what this witness is want to remember and understood, that the Indians died and the Spaniards will die [acabaronse los yndios y acabaránse los españoles], and this witness understood, in his opinion, that he said that upon the Indians dying, the Spaniards would die. There had not been another Spaniard present, although there had been many Indians, his vassals. And on another occasion, this
witness being in the village of San Francisco Potano, which is of the said province of Timucua, the *caciquillo* of Namo responded that [...] nothing, but rather it was [...] and this witness was alone. And likewise, this witness heard it said, not remembering by whom, that the Governor had treated some principal Indians from the province of Apalachee poorly over having asked him for an Indian woman from their village who was in this city. And Father Fray Alonso Escudero, who serves in the village of Asile, and in the time of the tumult and uprising of the said province of Timucua served in its village of San Pedro, said to this witness that the cause for the said Indians of Timucua having risen up had been on account of the aforementioned Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo having sent an order that five hundred Indian *principales* and *caciques* should come, and that these should bring provisions for their persons for the road and to stay thirty days in this city, and that the *principales* and *caciques* said that they were not accustomed to carrying burdens, and thus they had written to the said governor [...] Escudero, for having [...] the said *caciques* and *principales*, and that they would come, but not to command that they should come burdened, because they were not accustomed to it. And the said Don Juan Menéndez told this witness what he has referred that the aforementioned governor said, and he had said that he had received a letter from the said *caciques* of Timucua, in which they asked him to command that they should not come burdened, and Don Juan had asked him what he had responded, and the aforementioned Governor said that he responded that on any similar occasion the sergeant majors and captains also carried burdens. And likewise the said Don Juan told this witness, his brother, how while he was in his hacienda called La Chua, in the said
province of Timucua, there had arrived at his house the aforementioned cacique of San Martín, named Lúcas, and the cacique of San Francisco [...] referred to above, with some twenty Indians, and having entered within, the cacique of San Martín grabbed him by [...] at that instant he heard the screams [...] slaves and servants, and among these Juan de Osuna, a soldier of this presidio, about how the said Indians were killing them, from which the said Indians killed them, and that he saw them, and that the aforementioned cacique of San Martín had started to speak with him through interpreters, and further that as he saw what was happening, he judged that they wished to kill him. He did not understand what he said, and he only remembered that they had said that they, the Spaniards, wished to make them slaves, and that likewise they said “Now the Spaniards die!” He asked if they had killed the Fathers, priests, and they had responded no, that they had killed the Spaniards who were in Apalchee and Timucua, and no more. Then he Don Juan had requested that if they had to kill him, they should let him go to confess at a village, and they had responded that on account of the benefits that they had received from his father [...] he should come and go away to Spain, and he might return within six [...], that then they would have a good heart, and although they spoke more as has been referred, he was not paying attention to it. Then they gave him a horse so that he might come, and they gave him his clothes, and in order not to be hindered he left it, and Lúcas gave him two Indians to accompany him so that he would not encounter Indians who might kill him. And to this witness and his said brother, and the missionaries who were in the said Timucua, according to what they understood and said, the cause of the said tumult and uprising was having commanded the said caciques
and *principales* to carry the provision for their persons, for the journey and what they might eat here. This witness knows that they had been commanded to bring provisions because he was told so by Captain Augustín Pérez, who was the person whom the said Governor sent to convey the supplies, and because of Don [...] having shown to this witness [...] which the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo wrote, in which he said that five hundred men should come, and that each one should bring provision for [...] and so that they might eat for thirty days in this city. This witness knows that on the occasion that he ordered the aforementioned Indians to come for the aid of this city, there were no provisions of consideration in it, and unless the Indians brought it, they would not have been able to sustain themselves in any way. This witness has heard it said that on another occasion when corn was necessary for the sustenance of this city, a frigate was sent to a river which enters through [Ocone?] in the province of Mocama, and that the Indian laborers [*Indios de servizio*] had been commanded to descend from there with a quantity of corn in order to load the aforementioned frigate. And this witness says that there is no doubt that, having news of enemies, it was suitable to summon said principal Indians for the aid of this post. And this witness has not seen that the aforementioned governor Don Diego de Rebolledo treated any Indians badly, and that when he went to the case of the uprising of the said Indians of Timucua, it was said that he had visited the stated province, and that of Apalachee, and this he responds. And likewise this witness said that he heard it said that he had sent Captain Nicolás de Carmenatis to the visitation of the province of Guale, who are those at peace, and this he responds. This witness was questioned if it is true that he left from this city in the
company of the Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, who went as leader of sixty men, reformados and soldiers from this presidio, by order of the said Governor, and with an order in writing of what he had to do, so that he should go to the pacification of the aforementioned Indians […] had to do […] what happened in it. He said that the said Governor having received news of the stated uprising, he sent the aforementioned sergeant major with an order which he commanded to be read on the road, while this witness, who went in his company, was present, in which it was commanded that with all peace, he should endeavor to see them without making war on them, as will appear in the order, to which he refers. And having arrived at the village of Ivitachuco, province of Apalacheee, which is on the border [raya] of both provinces, the aforementioned Adrián de Cañizares received news that the rebel caciques of the stated province of Timucua were in a forest next to the village of Machava, having fortified themselves inside a palisade. The said Cañizares sent them messages with Indians so that they would go from where they were, and seeing that they did not wish to, it was determined to go forth to where the said Indians were, as he went forth with some of […] said Sergeant Major […] arrived in view of the aforementioned forest where the said caciques and Indians were, having fortified themselves within a palisade. He sent them messages that they should leave, and that he was not going to make war on them, but only to find out the cause of having risen up, and no more. And afterwards, the cacique of the aforementioned village of Machava and the cacica of San Juan Evangelista came forth and told the said Sergeant Major that he should go to the council house [buxio] of the said village, with which they withdrew and went to the stated
council house. At the end of two or three days, seeing that they were not coming, he sent a message to the said caciques with the cacique Lazaro, who is cacique of Chamile, of the aforementioned province of Timucua, asking why they did not come, and that he was awaiting them. He returned afterwards, and with him came the aforementioned caciques, who are those of the said village of Machava, the [cacique] of Tarixica, the cacique of San Pedro, the cacique of San Lúcas, the cacica of Niaxica, and the aforementioned cacica [...] and some [...] in the said palisade, and [...] Adrián de Cañizares commanded them to sit, and questioned them by means of Juan Bauptista de la Cruz, who today is in this city, and by others. Because this witness was on guard at the door, he was not involved in it any more than that Cañizares ordered them to apprehend them, the caciques, and throw them in chains. And then they brought an Indian who they said had killed Bartolomé Pérez, a soldier of this presidio, and the stated Indian confessed that it was true that he had killed him, and they tried him and hanged him [le hizo causa y ahorco]. And from there they returned to look for the cacique of San Martín, but they did not find him, and having returned another time, he commanded this witness and others to come to this city and along the way to bring the Franciscan Fathers who had to come to the Chapter meeting. Having arrived at this city, an account was given to the said Governor, who immediately departed [...] in his company with others, and having arrived at the aforementioned village of Ivitachuco, the said Governor tried them and hanged the delinquents, before Juan Moreno, public notary, to whom he refers. Leaving all in calm, he returned with all the infantry, visiting all the villages, as he has mentioned, and this he responds.
26. Squad Leader Bartolomé Entonado, age 26

May 10, 1660

To the ninth question he said that the Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo having news that the *caciques* and Indians of […] had risen up and killed the slaves and service people which Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez had in the hacienda of La Chua, whom this witness heard say so, and that likewise they had killed Bartolomé Pérez and Estéban Solana, soldiers of this presidio, the said Governor ordered Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, who was Sergeant Major of this presidio, as leader of more than forty soldiers from this presidio, among which went this witness, and likewise with the Indians from Apalachee who were in the city as farm workers [*para las cavas*], and having left from this city, the aforementioned Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares ordered that the order saying what had to be done should be read. This witness does not remember what it contained, although he heard it read, and he refers to it. He saw that, after everyone had arrived at the village of Ivitachuco, province of Apalachee, which is on the border [*raya*] of Timucua, the aforementioned […] that the rebel *caciques* of the said Timucua, with a quantity of Indians, had fortified themselves in the jurisdiction of Machava, of the said province, in a forest, as he had since he left from this presidio. And the aforementioned Adrián de Cañizares, with Indians of the stated province who were at peace in company of the infantry, sent messages to the said *caciques* with letters that they should leave from where they were and go away to their villages, and that he was not going to do them damage or war, but rather to quiet them and find out the cause of the uprising. And although the aforementioned Adrián de Cañizares had a reply from
the said caciques with letters which were read, which this witness heard, and which
Diego Salvador, interpreter of the Timucuan language who resides in Apalachee gave
them to understand, in some letters they said that they would leave, and in others that
they did not dare to leave, because the Spaniards were deceiving them. With this, the
Sergeant Major resolved […] taking the said infantry […] other persons who were in
his company, and Indians from the aforementioned province of Apalachee, and having
arrived at the forest where the said caciques had fortified themselves in a palisade
encircled with poles in open view [en un palenque sercado de palos a la vista], this
witness saw that the aforementioned Sergeant Major sent the said caciques messages
with the stated Indians of Timucua who were at peace, whom this witness does not
remember, so that they would leave, and that they should do this and that he was not
going to do them damage, and that if not, it would be by force of arms to charge against
them. With the said messengers, Deonizio, cacique of the aforementioned village of
Machava, and the cacica of the village of San Juan Evangelista, which is in the said
province of Timucua, came forth from the said palisade and arrived where the
aforementioned Sergeant Major was. By means of the stated interpreter Diego, and
Juan Bauptista de la Cruz, who is also […] should withdraw […] council house [buxio
principal] of the said village of Machava, and that they would all leave and go there.
The aforementioned Sergeant Major withdrew to the said village and buxio, and the said
Indian cacique and cacica returned to the stated palisade. And seeing that the said
caciques were not coming, and that three days had passed, the aforementioned Sergeant
Major determined to return another time to where they were. And upon this there
arrived the cacique of Chamile, named Lazaro, who was of the said province of Timucua, and was at peace, and he told the aforementioned Sergeant Major that he would go to call upon them, with which he would communicate that they would not do them evil, and the aforementioned Sergeant Major said that he should go. And having gone, he returned to the said council house [buxio] and brought the cacique of San Pedro, who was named Diego, and the said cacique Deonizio of Machava, and the said cacica, and other caciques who this witness does not remember, and arriving where [...] to seat themselves [...] of the said interpreters, they were questioned in their language about the cause for which they had killed the Spaniards and risen up. The caciques did not respond anything about it, although it was said to them three times, and they only looked at one another, for which cause the said Sergeant Major ordered them apprehended. With them, he went away another time to the said village of Ivitachuco, having first garroted [dado garrote] an Indian whom they had brought from the stated palisade, because of having killed the aforementioned soldier Bartolomé Pérez, which the said Indian confessed by means of the said interpreters and atiquis Diego Salvador and Juan Bauptista de la Cruz. Having arrived at the stated village of Ivitachuco, leaving the said caciques imprisoned and with guards, the aforementioned Sergeant Major, with some soldiers, and among them this witness, and some Indians from Apalachee, went in search of the cacique [...] of the accomplice [...] uprising to a forest where some Indians said he was with a quantity of Indians. He did not find him, although he also went to his village, and thus he returned to the aforementioned Ivitachuco, where having news that the said Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo was
coming, he went forth to receive him. All having arrived at the said Ivitachuco, the
aforementioned Governor carrying with him the *cacique* of San Francisco and the
*cacique* of Santa Fé, who were also among the rebels, and who the said Governor had
found in their villages, he fulfilled the case before Juan Moreno, government notary
who he took in his company, and did justice to the accomplices, hanging [*ahorando*]
those who will appear in the aforementioned case, to which he refers. This witness does
not know, nor was able to fathom, the cause of the said uprising, and only heard it said
by some in the stated province [*…*] who [this witness] does not remember, that the
cause of the said uprising would be because the said Governor, having news that the
enemy had to come upon port, had sent Captain Augustín Pérez so that he should bring
principal Indians so that they might help to defend this post if the enemy should come,
and that they should bring the corn that might be necessary for their sustenance, because
in the presidio there was no corn. This witness, for the said effect, heard it said in this
presidio before the uprising that the said Captain Augustín Pérez had gone for the said
*principales* of the said provinces of Apalachee and Timucua. He did not know the order
that he carried, and only knows that on the said occasion, there was neither corn nor
sufficient provisions in this presidio, not even for the people who were in it, and that if
the said Indians should come, it was necessary what they should bring provisions,
because here there was nothing to give them except what they brought, and [*…*] all
[*…*] said English, as there was [*…*]. And after the said Governor made the said
punishment, he came visiting the villages of the said provinces of Apalachee and
Timucua, and this witness did not see in them that the said Governor did any bad
treatments to the said caciques or Indians, nor in this city to those who came did he see that he did the said bad treatments. And he only heard the Ensign Luís de Biana and Bernabé López say that the said Governor had treated badly by word some Indians, and this witness does not remember which they said. And this witness saw that to Don Luís, cacique of Ivitachuco, who is the most principal and above the rest of the said province of Apalachee, having come to this city, the said Governor received him well and gave him gifts and food in his house, and likewise to the rest of the principals who had come with him, which this witness saw many times, and this he responds to the question.

27. Adjutant Jacinto de los Reyes, reformado, age 34

May 9, 1660

To the ninth question, this witness said that [...] being in the presidio in conversation with some Indians from the said province of Timucua, whose names he does not remember, who were working in his field, asking them what cause and motive they had to kill the people of La Chua and the Spaniards, the said Indians responded to this witness that as they had news that the enemy had to come to this post [...] and killed the Spaniards [...] they had risen up and done the said killings, and this witness knows that the said Governor having the said news, ordering the said principal Indians was necessary, in that there should not be doubt for the defense of this post if the English were coming, because the infantry, or at least the greater part of them, had to be in the fort, and there was no one who might make opposition to the enemy, and they could enter through the bar and other parts and seize the land, and the said Indians would be able to face up to them with some of the soldiers and not let them come off the land,
because unless there was someone who could do this, it was unavoidable to conquer the city and then the fort, having it besieged by land and by sea, with which it would be impossible to be able to sustain themselves in it, nor to have aid for it, and this he responds and knows of the question.

28. Ensign Alonso Solana, age 40

May 12, 1660

To the ninth question this witness said that […] he likewise heard Captain Francisco García, Ensign Bernabé López, Ensign Luís de Biana, and other soldiers who went and came to, and from, the provinces subject to this government that the said Don Diego de Rebolledo, in order to protect the Indians, was against the soldiers, and had commanded the Indians that they should not give them anything to eat unless for their money, as they did before […]. And likewise he heard the referred say that although the Governor had done away with the caciques giving them food, they said that they had to give it graciously […]. This witness does not know the cause that had moved the caciques and Indians of the said province of Timucua […] the killings that they did and having risen up, but that he heard it said, not remembering by whom, that a soldier had had unpleasantness with the cacique of San Martín, but he does not know if it originated from there, or what cause there was, more than that he knows that the said Indians killed Bartolomé Pérez and Estéban Solana, soldiers of this presidio, and Juan de Osuna, likewise a soldier, and another Spaniard and slaves who were in the hacienda La Chua, which is of Don Juan Menéndez. Although it was rumored and made public in this city that the cause for the said province of Timucua having risen up had been for the said
Governor having commanded that a quantity of Indians should come to this city with the arms that they had, and that each one should bring provision for his person for the time that he might be in this city, due to having had order and advice from His Majesty that the English enemy was trying [...] in order to set foot in [...] not having on that occasion the necessary provisions in the royal warehouses, this witness does not hold the said cause as foundation, nor enough that the said Indians should rise up, because it is not the first time that it was commanded that the said Indians should come to the aid of this post and bring provisions for themselves and for the infantry of this presidio, for having done so in the time that the Governor Damián de Vega governed, when this witness saw that not only did some Indians come to this city, but rather their villages remained almost depopulated without men, and the roads were full of those who went and came, some who brought provisions, through this city being perishing, and others who returned. And likewise, this witness saw that it was done in the time of the Governor Don Luis de Rojas, when there was news of enemies, and they came to the defense of this post [...] burdened for [...] What this witness feels is that a fixed or apparent reason cannot be given that the said Indians of Timucua had to rise up, and that in no time have the said Indians been more alleviated than in the government of the said Don Diego de Rebolledo, and he knows this as a resident, and having been born in this city, and this he responds. He likewise said that the said Governor looked so much after the said Indians that if there was some displeasure between some Indian and some soldier or another Spanish person, he took the side of the Indians, as he did when, having an Indian badly treated by Andres Hernandez in his field, the said Indian came
to complain about the said Andres Hernandez, and then [the Governor] sent to call upon him and treated him poorly by word. And another Indian was impudent […] with Captain Nicolás de Goyas, and he reprimanded the said captain. And [the Governor] also took a census of all the Indians of service that there were in this city, and one by one […] and saying […] go to their villages […] and it is that he wished to remain […] paying them they remain […], and this witness saw this, and it was after the said uprising, and this he responds.

Third Notebook: Verification

The following testimony represents responses to follow-up questions regarding specific points raised by earlier witnesses in the secret investigation. In contrast to the testimony from the second notebook, these answers generally comprise more detailed information about a more restricted topic.

29. Captain Alonso de Argüelles, reformado, age 36
May 11, 1660

Sergeant Major Juan Sánchez de Uriza says that this witness told him that after the tumult of the province of Timucua, the caciques and micos of the province of Guale had gone away displeased with the Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo for not having treated them as they wished, and for the said Governor having ordered to collect the arms they and their Indians had, as they collected and brought […]. This witness says that what he said was to say that the Governor took away the weapons of the Indians of Guale, and that it was just that they should be paid, and he did not say the rest that he was asked. And the taking away of the weapons by the Governor was after the uprising
of Timucua, in order to arm the Indians from Apalachee who found themselves in this
city and went with the infantry which left, with Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares as
leader. And [...] arquebuses to some soldiers of this presidio, because on that occasion
there was a lack in this presidio. After the referred, the said Governor Don Diego de
Rebolledo said to this witness that upon having money from the King, he would pay
for the weapons that he had taken away from the said Indians of Guale, and that also it was
not just that the said Indians should have firearms, and this he responds.

30. Juan Baputista de la Cruz, interpreter, age 29

May 13, 1660

By another name Nayo, soldier of this presidio and atiqui, which means interpreter, of
the language of the Indians of the province of Timucua [...] Questioned if it is true that
the Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares being the person who went as leader of sixty
soldiers from this presidio to the uprising of the Indians of the province of Timucua, in
the principal buxio of the village of Machava, of the said jurisdiction, having entered in
it Lazaro, the cacique of Chamile of the said jurisdiction of Timucua; [...] of San
Pedro; Pedro, cacique of San Pablo; Molina, cacica of San Juan; Benito, cacique of
Tarixica, and the cacique of San Lúcas, and the cacique of San Lorenzo, and Deonizio,
cacique of Machava, and the cacica of San Juan Evangelista, and other principals and
caciques of the said jurisdiction of Timucua, who had fortified themselves in a palisade
in a little forest [montecillo] next to the said village of Machava, and the said Sergeant
Major Adrián de Cañizares seeing them, he commanded them to sit, and being on the
barbacoas, he admonished them and asked the said caciques and principals why they
had risen up, giving them to understand it by means of this witness, as interpreter of the language of Timucua, and by Diego, native of the village of Mocosó in the province of Diminiyuti, who was raised in the province of Apalachee [. . .] of the said language of Timucua, and the said caciques and Indians did not respond one thing, for which the said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, by means of this witness and the said Diego, told them that it was necessary to apprehend them in order to investigate the case, and he apprehended all the referred and sent a message to the said palisade and forest where the rest of the Indians were, so that they should go away each one to his own town, quiet and secure that he did not have to do them damage, and with the said prisoners they went to Ivitachuco, province of Apalachee, declare if this is true, and the rest which happened about this, as cited in the statement of Captain Alonso de Argüelles in the secret testimony at folio 111, and Adjutant Francisco de Monzon in the said question at folio 147, and others [. . .] witness left with [. . .] men, a little more or less, from this city, and for leader Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, for news having come that the province of Timucua was risen up, with order from the Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo so that he should go and pacify them for good effect, as will appear from the said order which this witness heard read. Having arrived at the village of Ivitachuco, of the province of Apalachee, which borders with [confina con] that of Timucua, there arrived an Indian named Francisco, who is mandador of the said province of Timucua, and today serves in San Pedro, and the said Sergeant Major commanded this witness and the said Diego Salvador, who today serves in the said province of Apalachee, as interpreters of the said language of Timucua that they should
tell him what the said mandador said, and this witness and the said Diego said that the cacique of Chamile, named Lazaro [....] and that an Indian had [...] as leader of the Spaniards, and [...] was waiting for hours in order to have himself beyond risk from the caciques and Indians of Timucua, who were risen up, who they feared might kill him, and that he took great pleasure that the Spaniards had gone, and that after he found out the news, he was with a good heart, and that Cañizares should send to tell him what he had to do, if the Spaniards had to go through Chamile or Machava so that he should be prepared to receive him. And the said Sergeant Major responded that the should advise the caciques who, according to the news, were in a palisade next to the village of Machava, of the province of Timucua, in a little forest [montecillo], and that he should send to tell them that he was not going to make war on them, but rather to pacify them, and that each one should go away to his village, and that those who were guilty in the uprising of course were [...] does not know if the said Sergeant Major wrote something or not to the cacique of Chamile. With this, the said mandador returned with a message from the said cacique of Chamile, and by means of the said Diego Salvador and this witness, he gave it to the said Sergeant Major, saying that this cacique said that he could not do more than what he had done, which was to send to say to the caciques of the palisade what Cañizares had sent to say, and that he had not had any reply, and [he asked] if they had sent a reply from where they were. The said Sergeant Major sent to tell him that he had not had any reply [...] that he had sent to say that he urged brevity, because he wished to give account to the Governor. And the said Indian went away for his village with the said inquiry, and Cañizares was awaiting the reply some days, and
having seen that he was not going, he commanded to march, and on this occasion the
said mandador arrived and said that he was going of his own will in order to be with the
Spaniards. Then they marched the route of the said village of Machava and little forest
which is next to it, where the Indians who had made the palisade were, and being near,
in view of it, the said Sergeant Major sent the said mandador, who is named Francisco
Xiriba, so that he should tell the caciques who were in the said palisade that they should
leave from it, having given him word of what they wished, and if they were at peace, or
at war [...] with the [...] for which the said Sergeant major ordered the people to
divide, one part remaining with him, and with the other went Sergeant Don Juan
Menéndez, who went marching up to one part of the forest and palisade where there
appeared to be many people. And the said Sergeant Major marched for the middle of the
forest. And having begun to enter in it, there was a rumor, which [this witness] does not
remember with certainty what was said, more than that the said Sergeant Major ordered
that they should turn back and come back outside the forest, and thus it was executed.
And being outside the said forest, the cacica of San Juan Evangelista came forth from
the said palisade, and behind her the cacique of the said village of Machava, and both
arrived to where the said Sergeant Major was and said that they were at peace [...] and
that for that night they could not leave, and that they would send some Indians who
might carry them firewood to the buxio, and that the following day all would leave and
go there. Diego Salvador was given to understand this in the presence of this witness,
and the said Sergeant Major told them “What good news!” With this the said cacique
and cacica went away for the said palisade, and the said Sergeant Major with his people
went away for the principal *buxio* of the said village of Machava, where they made a guard corps [...]. The said *cacique* and *cacica* did not send firewood like they said, but the *cacique* of the village of Pachala brought firewood and water with some Indians [...]. And that same night in the small hours an Indian arrived who said that the said *cacique* of Chamile had sent him, and that he was going to find out if it was true what there [...] the *caciques* of the palisade [...] that the Spaniards had made war on them and had killed many people, and that they should aid them, and that the Indians who found themselves in the said village of Chamile and the village of Arapaya said that they wished to go to help those of the palisade because they had relatives there, and that those of his village of Chamile wished to find out if it was true. Diego Salvador was given to understand the said message in the presence of this witness. The said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares told the said Indian that he should see if it was true, and that all was false and a lie, and that he should go and tell his *cacique* that he told him that he should come to see, with which the said Indian went away. The following day, the said *cacique* of Chamile went to the said village of Machava, and having [...] and spoken with the said Sergeant Major, he told him that the said Indians of the palisade had sent to say what is referred above, and the said Sergeant Major told him that it was a lie, which he saw now, and all this by means of the said interpreter in the presence of this witness. And with the same interpreter, he responded and said to the said *cacique* that he should go to where the said *caciques* were and tell them that as they had not fulfilled what they had agreed, and that unless they left for good effect, it would be for bad effect. And the said *cacique* went away with the said message to the said palisade and
returned that same day, and said that they said that they would leave in peace, and the
following day the said cacique of Chamile returned with a second message in the same
form, and then there came forth the cacique of San Pedro, named Diego, and the
 cacique of the said village of Machava, named Deonizio, and the cacica of [...] of Tari,
name [...] and the cacique of San Lúcas [...] San Juan, and the [cacique] of San Pablo,
whose name this witness does not know, and these three were not principal caciques,
but rather caciquillos, and likewise two cacicas, one from Santa Ana, and another from
Niayca. All arrived at the said buxio, and another two Indians who they said were
servants of the said caciques, where, being before the said Sergeant Major, who had
already given order that all the soldiers should be with caution, and at their posts, he
commanded them to sit on the barbacoas, and all being there, he asked them why they
had risen up. And what cause there was for having killed the Spaniards. One of the
said caciques, [this witness] not remembering which, responded that they had no more
reason than what the said cacique of San Martín had told them, that the Spaniards
wished [...] they wished to embark to sell them, so that they should be slaves, and to
present most of them to the King so that they should be his slaves, and that discussing
this, and making a consultation about it in the village of San Pedro, next to the village
of Santa Catalina, two young boys [mozuelos] left and killed the soldier who went with
cargos of provisions for the Indians who had to come to guard this city, which he
brought from the village Ivitachuco, province of Apalachee, and that with this occasion,
they had gone away to gather themselves at the said forest. And the said Sergeant
Major asked them who was the Indian who had killed the soldier, and they responded,
saying the name, which this witness does not remember, and that he was in the palisade. Then the Indians from Apalachee, to whom the said Sergeant Major had earlier given the order and sign, so that upon making it [...] make them prisoners [...] chains, named Diego Egua, to go to the palisade where the Indians were and bring the killers imprisoned. And having gone, he returned and brought he who had killed the soldier, and another who had helped to kill a black man from La Chua, the hacienda of Don Juan Menéndez, and being before the said Sergeant Major, they took the confession of he who had killed the soldier. He confessed to having killed him, named Bartolomé Pérez, a soldier of this presidio, in the village of Asile, because one time he had gone to Apalachee and entered in the house of the soldiers to warm himself, and the said Bartolomé Pérez told him to leave, throwing him out, and that he did not want him to warm himself. For that, he had killed him, and in order to be a noroco. All of this passed [...] Salvador, atiquí, in the presence of this witness, and it was what happened and what [this witness] understood, as an interpreter. The said Sergeant Major ordered the said Indian garroted, and ordered the people to march and go to the said village of Ivitachuco, province of Apalachee, where, having arrived with the said caciques imprisoned, they placed them in the buxio and placed guards, and sent news to the said Governor of what he had performed. Afterwards, he left in search of the cacique of San Martín at the place which is called Aramuqua, where they said he had withdrawn, but they did not find him. From there they went to his village, but they did not find him there either, with which they returned to the said village of Ivitachuco. After some days, the cacique of San Pedro, who was then cacique of Santa Catalina, named Diego
Egua, advised the said Sergeant Major how he was sending imprisoned the said [....]  
the said Governor Diego de Rebolledo went and made a case against the prisoners, and  
took their confession and declarations by means of Clemente Bernal, the principal  
cacique of Mocama and San Juan del Puerto, and by means of the said Diego Salvador  
and this witness as atiquis and interpreters. And he did justice to the cacique of San  
Pedro, the cacique of Machava, the cacique of San Martín, the cacique of San  
Francisco, the caciquillo of San Lúcas, and the cacique of Tari, and two Indians, as will  
be on record in the case which passed before Juan Moreno, notary public, to whom is  
referred. This witness does not know any other cause which the said Indians of  
Timucua had to rise up more than that which was stated above, which one of the said  
caciques said to the said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares when all arrived at the  
said buxio, and this he responds.  

31. Sergeant Pedro Texeda, age 32  
May 14, 1660  
Manuel Calderon says that Captain Augustín Pérez being in the province of Apalachee,  
Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo sent messengers to its Lieutenant through different  
parts, so that it should not happen that the Indians should intercept them, and among  
them went this witness, Adjutant Francisco Sánchez, Ensign Juan Bautista Terraza,  
and Bartolomé Francisco, and that he did not know the orders that he carried, declare  
what it was, and what happened on the said road and journey. This witness said that it  
is true that by order of the said Governor, this witness with those who were questioned  
about, Ensign Juan Bautista Terraza, who today serves in Apalachee, going as leader,
left from this city […] with letters from the said […] for Antonio de Sartucha, who was Lieutenant of the said province, and for Captain Augustín Pérez and some missionaries, and escorting five Indians who had come with letters of news of the uprising, so that the Indians should not encounter them. Likewise, the Indians had come to find out if the cacique of Ivitachuco, who is the principal of the said province of Apalachee, was imprisoned or not, because the said Indians of Timucua had put out a rumor that he was imprisoned, so that by this route they would bring the Indians of the said province of Apalachee to their devotion, so that they would join with them, which was public among all, and the Indians of the said province. And with the said letters, by divergent roads the soldiers arrived at the said village of Ivitachuco, of the said province of Apalachee and gave them over, and likewise the Indians who they carried from the said cacique of Ivitachuco for his heirs and principals, with which they were enlightened […] Timucua […]. Asked if he knew or heard it said what cause had moved the said Indians for the said uprising, he said that he heard it said that it was for having commanded the principal Indians who had to come for this city to bring the provisions which were necessary for their persons, as aid from the news that had come of the enemy, and this he responds.

32. Sergeant Manuel Gómez, reformado, age 27

May 15, 1660

Don Juan Joseph de Sotomayor says that this witness is executor of Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, who died in the province of Apalachee, and that as such he will give a copy of his papers, and especially a case which he made against an Indian of
Timucua who he hung before this witness who is cited, declare if he has it in his power or knows of it, and with whom are his papers. He said that the said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares, by a memorial which he made in the province of Apalachee, in the village of San Luis de Niayca, being sick, from which he died, he left it [...] to Father Fray Pedro Vásquez, missionary of the order of San Francisco, to the Squad Leader Andrés Pérez, and to this witness for his [...], and all the papers which he left remain in the power of the said Squad Leader Andres Pérez, and this witness did not read any papers, and thus does not know of the case of which he was questioned, and this he responds.

33. Clemente Bernal, cacique, age 70

May 16, 1660

Principal cacique of the village of San Juan del Puerto, province of Mocama, and its jurisdictions [...] asked about what some witnesses in the secret testimony say, that he was one of the interpreters who found themselves at the case which Don Diego de Rebolledo made against the caciques and Indians of Timucua, say and declare what happened and what he knows with regard to the uprising which the said caciques and Indians of Timucua made, and for what cause it was, and the rest which he had known and understood. This witness said that he was in his village at the time of the uprising of the province of Timucua, and he did not know one thing about it until the Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo sent to call upon this witness, writing him with a soldier, giving his account of the said uprising, and that he should come immediately to this city, and thus he did, placing himself on the road. He came to this city and was in it
some days until the said Don Diego de Rebolledo […] province of […], and he took
with him this witness, interpreter of the said language of Timucua. Having arrived at
the village of Ivitachuco, province of Apalachee, he saw that there were imprisoned in
the *buxio* of the said village, and with guards, the *cacique* of San Martín, named Lúcas
Menéndez, the cacique of Tari, the *cacique* of Machava, the *cacique* of San Francisco,
the *cacique* of San Pedro de Potohiriba, whose names this witness does not remember,
and three particular Indians, all of the said province of Timucua. This witness knew for
a public matter that the said imprisonment was for having risen a tumult and rebelled
and killed some Spaniards, and that for the said uprising, the *cacique* of San Martín,
named Lúcas Menéndez, had made a meeting of *caciques* in the said village of San
Pedro de Potohiriba, the cause which moved him, according to what he said, was a letter
that he said he had intercepted from the said Governor […] he said he wrote it, and that
in it, the sending to call upon the principals and the rest of the people of the said
provinces of Apalachee and Timucua for the aid of this city was in order to make them
slaves, and not because there was news of enemies, and that an Indian who knew
Spanish had read the said letter. This witness did not know or hear any other cause with
regard to the said uprising. The said Governor made a case against the said *caciques*
and Indians and took their confession by means of this witness, as an interpreter, and
Diego Salvador, an Indian who serves in Apalachee, and Juan Bauptista de la Cruz, a
soldier of this presidio, interpreters of the said language of Timucua, The Governor did
justice to the guilty, and in all this witness said to refer to the said case, and what he has
said and signed in it as an interpreter, and that what he said and declared then is the truth […] in anything […] detriment, and this he responds.

34. Juan Alejo, Indian prisoner, age 34

May 17, 1660

An Indian who said he is named Juan Alejo, and is a Christian […] Luis, province of Diminiyuti, and native of the village of Santa Lucia, two leagues from it, which borders with [confina con] the province of Timucua, and at the present said he serves in the fort of this presidio at forced labor, serving in the construction of His Majesty, by sentence which Don Diego de Rebolledo, who was Governor and Captain General of this city pronounced for having killed, in the company of an Indian named Antonio, a Spaniard named Francisco Vásquez and Geronimo, an Indian from Tabasco, servants of Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez, who served in this hacienda La Chua […]. Asked about the citation of Captain Alonso de Argüelles in the ninth question of his statement which is in the secret testimony of folio 108, in which he says that this witness, in company of Juan Pasqua, brought to this city for the Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo a letter from Father Fray Alonso Escudero, declare if it is true, and if he knows what it contained. He said that it is true that this witness brought a letter for the Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo from the Father Fray Alonso Escudero, who served in the village of San Pedro of the said province of Timucua, and in his company come the Indian Antonio, son of the cacique of the village of Chamile, and not Juan Pasqua, as he was questioned. The said Father gave him the letter in the village of San Pedro and its cacique and the cacique of San Martín, who were there gave him another for […] they gave him after
[...] in the said village of San Pedro, that the *cacique* had received a letter from Captain Augustín Pérez which told him to go for Apalachee and which advised in it that he should send his people to Apalachee for corn, so that they might come with him to this city, and this as he has said, he heard it said in the said village, because this witness did not see the letter which it was said the said Captain Augustín Pérez had written. This witness having come to this city in company of the said Indian Antonio, he turned over the said two letters to the said Governor, and after this he gave to this witness a sealed letter so that he should give it to the said Captain Augustín Pérez. He did not know if another went within. Likewise he gave him a sealed paper for the said *cacique* of San Pedro, and with them, [this witness] went away in company of the said Indian Antonio. Going on his journey, they passed by the village of San Martín [...], then called San Juan de Guacara, and they met four Indian men, two named Lorenzo, and the other an Indian woman, natives of the village of Santa Fé. And the names of the other two he does not remember, only that they were natives of the said village of San Martín. They said to this witness and his companion that they had killed Estéban Solana, and that the said *cacique* of San Martín said that upon meeting Spaniards, they should kill them. And the said four Indians came for San Martín, and this witness and his companion proceeded with their journey for the village of San Pedro. Having arrived at a place which is called Calacala, before arriving at the said river, they met Francisco Vásquez, a Spaniard, and Geronimo, an Indian, native of Tabasco, who had gone to bed, speaking about how the night was. This witness drew near where were the said Francisco Vásquez and the said [...] the said Geronimo [...] and with a stick which this witness
and his companion carried in their hands, they struck them a blow in the head, and repeated with another, with which they killed them. And the said Antonio removed the scalp of the said Geronimo and placed it […] in a cloth [paño]. From there, proceeding on the journey past the said river of San Juan de Guacara, they met with the said cacique of San Martín, named Lúcas, and with him came four Indians, one of them his mandador named Lorenzo, and the other a principal who was sacristan, whose name this witness does not remember, and another two who he did not know. And the said cacique asked this witness what news there was in St. Augustine, and what had the Governor said, and this witness told him that he had said nothing, and that he was carrying letters from the Governor, and he took them and read one and placed them in his pocket [faldriquera]. He also asked them if they had […] and Geronimo and […] responded […] yes, and that they had killed them, and the said Antonio showed him the scalp. And the said cacique said that it was well done, and that although he had commanded that they should kill all the Spaniards, he had not commanded that they should remove the scalps, and he ordered him to bury it, and thus he did at one side of the road. And the said cacique commanded that this witness and his companion should go to the village of San Pedro and tell the cacique what they had done, and how he went for La Chua in order to see if there were some people to kill, and that he should send more people of his vassals. He also wrote there a letter which he gave to this witness for the said cacique and turned over the letter to him, and he opened and read it, and said to his people […] people that […] follow the said cacique of San Martín, he should do it, and some of the Indians went in search of him, and of what this witness
remembers of their names, they were Lorenzo, Thomás, and Matheo. This witness does not know if others went, nor the cause for which the said Indians of Timucua rose up, and only heard it said that Estéban Solana coming from the village of Ivitachuco province of Apalachee, with Indians in order to come to this city with corn, he had said on the road that there they did not have to have more caciques than him, and this he responds. He said that although he is serving in the said fort by the case which the said Governor made about the said death, not for this has he neglected saying the truth.

35. Francisco Pasqua, Indian prisoner, age 35

May 17, 1660

An Indian who said he is named Francisco Pasqua, and who is usually called Juan Pasqua, and he said he is a Christian, baptized in the village of San Luís in the province of Diminiyuti, and native of the said village […] by a case which the said Governor Diego de Rebolledo made about having killed a black man in the hacienda of La Chua […] [regarding the same testimony by Captain Alonso de Argüelles] […] he said how […] although in the […] persons call him Juan Pasqua, and that this witness did not bring one letter to the said Governor from Father Fray Alonso Escudero, nor from any other person, nor went from this presidio for the province of Timucua in company of Juan Alejo. The cause of having been condemned to forced labor in the fort was because this witness being in this city in the diggings, he had finished, and the person with whom he was, who was Magdalena de Uriza, told him to go away, and thus he picked up the road and arrived at San Francisco Potano, village of the province of Timucua, where he found its cacique, and the cacique of San Martín, named Lúcas
Menéndez, and thus he remained, and he ordered him to go with him to the hacienda of La Chua, and that if he did not do it, he had to punish him, and thus the said two caciques, with twenty of their Indians [..] from the said village of San Francisco.

Having arrived at the said hacienda of La Chua, the said caciques and Indians killed a soldier named Osuna and the rest of the people of service who were in it, and the said cacique of San Martín sent this witness to go to kill a black man of the said hacienda who was in a hut apart, and this witness went and killed him. From there, all went away for the village of San Martín, and then went to the village of Santa Elena de Machava, where apart from the said two caciques, the cacique of Machava and many others of the said province of Timucua gathered, where he heard it said that they had killed other Spaniards, and this he responds. He was questioned by means of the said interpreter if he knows for what cause the said caciques and Indians did the said killings and had the tumult among them. He said that he did not know, nor heard it said.

36. Adjutant Francisco Romo de Uriza, reformado, age 25

May 17, 1660

Regarding the testimony of Salvador de Pedrosa, this witness says that he went with the said Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares for the pacification of the Indians of the said province who had risen up and done some killings of Spaniards and persons of service who were in the hacienda of La Chua […] of Apalachee […] […] the missionaries who were there […] and soldiers of the presidio, who this witness does not remember, that the cause for the said Indians of Timucua having risen up had been because an order had been sent that the principals and caciques should come to this city burdened with
corn, due to the news which had come of the enemy. And this witness heard Sergeant Major Don Juan Menéndez say that being in his hacienda La Chua at the time that the cacique of San Martín and other Indians had killed his people, they had said that he should go away to Spain and not come until six years had passed, because until then they had to be with a bad heart for the evil which had been done with them, and this he responds.

37. Sergeant Major Don Pedro Benedit Horruytiner, reformado, age 43

May 18, 1660

Regarding the testimony of Sergeant Major Juan Sánchez de Uriza, this witness said that it is true that on many occasions he has said it, and thus has felt it, because in the twenty-four years that he has been in this presidio, and five of them governing these provinces, and he has recognized the nature of the Indians, and that they do not look at or agree with reason, but rather charm [aquello] which they see, and those who give them gifts […], and this […] make them form complaints, as has been done since the first was founded […], and according to the news which will be found in the Contaduría, in which he commands that all the expenses which are made with the caciques and the rest of the principal Indians when they come to render obedience, a new Governor recently entered in the government, and on other occasions, should be paid from his Royal hacienda, without touching the situado of the presidio, with certification of the quantity which the said expenses amount to each year that the Royal Officials of this presidio give. Those of Mexico remit the rest of the quantity from the situado […]. This witness has seen that this has always been observed and guarded,
only the said Don Diego de Rebolledo left off doing it by saying that the said cédula only spoke about the infidel Indians who [...] in the years [...] and obedience to His Majesty, or similar treatments. This witness sometimes made a petition with the said Don Diego de Rebolledo as soon as he entered in the government so that he should not alter the matter, but that he should treat them as before, giving something to each one, by knowing the nature of the said Indians as is stated above, and that the said cédula was obtained [...] in the early years of the foundation of this city, and for that it spoke in that manner. Nevertheless this witness does not know that said Don Diego had given anything, and that if he did so, it will be seen in the Contaduria. For this reason this witness heard it said by Don Juan Menéndez, Don Antonio Menéndez, and Sergeant Major Adrián de Cañizares that the cacique of San Martín, who is the principal of Timucua, and the cacique of Santa Cruz de Tari gave [...] Rebolledo [...] give them gifts, nor had given anything when they came to render obedience, and that he only treated well the Indians of the coast, because they bring amber, and likewise for having commanded that the caciques, principales, and norocos should come to this city and carry the provisions which each one should have to eat on the road and in their stay of one month in this city, without occupying others of the common people, so that they might not make fault in the diggings of their corn fields and sown ground [...] because it is an injury to them to command the caciques, principals, and norocos to carry burdens, and in no way if they do not carry burdens, nor are accustomed to it. This
witness does not know that it was suitable to summon the said Indians for the aid of this
presidio for having to make war in case the occasion should arrive with [...] they guard
[...] had to be [...] Indians [...] by absence [...] they were of importance, and he knows
that in that occasion there were not provisions in the presidio, not even those necessary
for the infantry, and this he responds.

38. Ensign Luís de Biana, reformado

May 20, 1660

Regarding the testimony of Sebastian Rodríguez in which he says that this witness told
him that a soldier had struck the cacique of San Martín, who is of those of Timucua, in
the face with a piece of meat or a slap, one of the two things, declare who was the
soldier and for what cause. He said that he has not said what he was questioned about
in the form which is referred, and that what happened was that this witness coming with
the Indians of [...] Timucua [...] and in the company of Captain Augustín Pérez with
those from Apalachee, upon crossing the river of San Juan de Guacara, which is crossed
in canoes, due to many coming, they stayed more than one day, and this witness said to
the Ensign Don Cosme Catalán, who was coming in the company of the said Augustín
Pérez, that he should cross to the other side of the river and order preparations to be
made to eat, in order to find it done when they might finish crossing, which he thus did.
Upon crossing with a boat-load to where the said Don Cosme Catalán was, in his
presence one of the digging Indians gave complaints to this witness of how the said Don
Cosme had struck him in the face with a piece of meat because it was not well cleaned.
And this witness reprimanded the said Don Cosme who then came with the rank […]
Augustín Pérez likewise reprimanded him. Coming […] for this city, and having
arrived at the village of San Martín, of those of Timucua, its cacique asked this witness
if it was true that a soldier had struck an Indian in the face with a piece of meat, and this
witness told him that the said Indian had told him so, but that he had not seen him
struck, and the said cacique said that this was not well done, and this witness told him
that the soldier who had done it had not walked among them, and thus had done it
ignorantly. The said Indians whom the said Don Cosme had struck in the face with the
meat was of the jurisdiction of Apalachee, and this he responds. [regarding the
testimony of Bartolomé Entonado, folio 220] This witness said that what he has said
has been that the Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo came visiting the villages of the
province of Apalachee, arriving at the [village] of San Luís, of the said jurisdiction, and
having visited it, wishing to leave in order to come to another village, and not giving
him Indians so that they might bring his clothes, and they only had prepared women to
carry his clothes and that of the infantry in order to pay them later on, the said
Governor, seeing the referred, ordered the caciques of the said village of San Luís
apprehended because they had sent the women, and he held them prisoner one hour
[…..] principals of the said village of San Luís […] Ynixa, which is Sergeant Major, he
did not only apprehend only the caciques, which they call caciquillos, of the jurisdiction
of the said village, and then they brought Indians so that at this charge and that of the
soldiers they should carry [the clothes] to another village which is two leagues from
there, from where the said Indians and the Governor returned another time to the said caciquillos. After freeing them, with good reason he told them that he had done that because they had ordered the women to carry burdens, having ought to have ordered their Indians, and that if they did that when he was coming, it would be when a soldier will pass. And this happened after the uprising of Timucua, and this he responds.