UNEARTHING THE MISSIONS OF SPANISH FLORIDA

Edited by Tanya M. Peres and Rochelle A. Marrinan

Unearthing the Missions of Spanish Florida

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Foreword by Jerald T. Milanich

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This book is dedicated to the memory of

Judith A. Knight,

a publishing force in the archaeology community.

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Foreword

It was January 1969. Several months earlier I had defended my Master of Arts thesis, the topic of which was the Pre-Columbian Alachua "tradition" in north-central Florida. The Alachua culture was ancestral to the Mission-period Potano Indians, who were becoming near and dear to my heart. I was giving serious thought to a dissertation project that focused on the archaeology of the seventeenth-century Potano Spanish missions, one of which had been located by archaeologist John M. Goggin a decade and a half before on University of Florida property off Millhopper Road in northwest Gainesville.

My interest in the missions was fueled by a copy of Michael Gannon's 1965 book *The Cross in the Sand* I had bought at the Florida Book Store just across University Avenue from the University of Florida campus. Mike's book led me to a host of publications, including *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* (1951) by Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin; two *Florida Historical Quarterly* articles by Boyd (1939 and 1943); and a 1936 article by Lucy L. Wenhold (1936; *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 95, no. 16). I learned a lot.

My dissertation plan hit a wall when I presented it to my major professor. I was told I likely would never be able to find any new Potano missions, and besides, there wasn't a lot left to learn. I was crushed! My second choice for a research topic took me to Pre-Columbian shell midden sites on the Georgia coast.

In 1970, a few months after I had completed my excavations on Cumberland Island (where, ironically, my field crew and I accidentally discovered a Spanish mission site one weekend while roaming about the island), I would learn that a new era of mission research was under way in Leon and Jefferson counties in northwest Florida, the location of a number of Apalachee Indian missions. It turns out, as you will see in *Unearthing the Missions of Spanish Florida*, there **was** a lot new to learn about Spanish missions, a whole lot.

The renaissance began with B. Calvin Jones and L. Ross Morrell of the

Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management. Many of us were certain Calvin Jones had a sixth sense for finding archeological sites, including Spanish-Indian missions. I once asked him how he found so many missions, and he said something like, "I just follow the old Indian trails and there they are." There they were indeed.

The 1970s and 1980s saw a new generation of scholars joining Ross and Calvin to investigate missions, both the ones in Apalachee and those of the Timucua Indians in northern Florida, including the Potano. Books, monographs, and reports appeared in rapid fashion. Historian John H. Hann literally moved to the site of San Luis in Tallahassee and plied his considerable skills as a researcher to write several important books and more than a handful of data-rich monographs about the missions. Hann, archaeologists Gary Shapiro and Bonnie G. McEwan and their field crews, and Bonnie's superb administrative skills developed mission San Luis as a research center and museum *par excellence*. Mission studies were in good hands.

In 1993 Bonnie edited *Spanish Missions of La Florida*, a volume that provided an update on the state of mission research. I was in awe when I compared what was known about missions in 1970 and the new information available by 1993.

But the story gets better. In the last more than a quarter century, archaeologists and students at Florida's universities and the renamed Division of Historical Resources have continued study of the missions, producing a plethora of articles, theses, books, and dissertations. Field projects have run the geographical gamut from St. Augustine west into the Florida panhandle, and from Miami north into southern and coastal Georgia. More than a handful of scholars from Georgia have gotten into the act.

The synergistic investigations of the Spanish missions by archaeologists and historians are one of the true success stories of modern American scholarship. As more information is acquired and disseminated, researchers are able to formulate and address new research questions, resulting in still more knowledge. Excellent examples of that payoff can be read in *Unearthing the Missions of Spanish Florida*. Congratulations to Tanya Peres and Rochelle Marrinan (both of whose dissertation supervisory committees I was privileged to serve on) and their fellow contributors. Mission research has moved from being a cottage industry in 1970 to the big time, a focus of research by a community of scholars.

One last note: not only have mission researchers communicated their discoveries to one another, they have also shared huge amounts of information

with the public. At one time the missions of Spanish Florida were largely unknown; today they have become a part of North American history.

Is that true? You bet it is. Today on my laptop computer I typed "Spanish missions of La Florida" into a search engine and received 30,100,000 hits!

Jerald T. Milanich

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Preface and Acknowledgments

We acknowledge that the contributors to this volume live and conduct research on land that is ancestral and traditional territories of the Apalachee Nation, Mocama, Timucua, Yamasee, the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, the Miccosukee Tribe of Florida, and the Seminole Tribe of Florida. We pay respect to their Elders past and present and extend that respect to their descendants, to the generations yet unborn, and to all Indigenous people.

Archaeologists with the Department of Anthropology at Florida State University have been involved with the archaeology of Apalachee-Spanish missions in seventeenth-century Florida since the founding of the department in 1950 by Professor Hale G. Smith (Boyd, Smith, and Griffin 1951; Fairbanks 1994). For more than 60 years, FSU archaeologists have worked at mission sites in the Florida panhandle, in St. Augustine, and along coastal Georgia. The longest running program of Apalachee-Spanish Mission archaeology was conducted by FSU Anthropology Associate Professor Rochelle Marrinan (current department head) between 1984 and 2002. Marrinan conducted research and taught archaeological field schools at the Patale Mission Site (8LE152) from 1984 to 1995 and one season in 2000; O'Connell Mission Site (8LE157) from 1995 to 2000; and the Castro Site (8LE151) from 2000 to 2002. After a 16-year hiatus, the FSU Apalachee-Spanish Mission Archaeology Program was revived under the direction of FSU Anthropology Associate Professor Tanya M. Peres.

Fieldwork conducted by Dr. Hale G. Smith during his time with the Florida Park Service archaeology unit at the site of San Francisco de Oconee (8JE2) identified the first archaeological remains of a mission church and *convento* (Smith 1950, 1956; Weisman 1992). In 1950, Smith founded the Department of Anthropology at FSU, and so began a long-standing tradition of Apalachee-Spanish Mission period archaeology. He conducted limited investigations at

the site of Pine Tuft (8JE1), possibly the Mission San Juan de Aspalaga. His work yielded preserved food remains—an unusual occurrence in the acidic clay soils of Tallahassee (Smith 1956; Weisman 1992). The most important outcome of Smith's investigations was that it showed the potential of Mission archaeology to uncover structural remains of buildings from that period, as well as the material remains of daily and ceremonial life.

Dr. Charles Fairbanks was hired by Smith to join the faculty at FSU and worked here from 1956 to 1963. During his tenure he helped to start the Master's of Anthropology program, the first of its kind in the state. Fairbanks began his program of Spanish colonial archaeology in La Florida and Georgia while at FSU (Deagan 1985). In 1963 he left FSU to start the Department of Anthropology at the University of Florida. While at UF, in addition to continuing his work with Spanish period sites and artifacts, he mentored a number of students who would go on to become leaders in the field of Spanish period archaeology, including Kathleen Deagan and Rochelle Marrinan.

Dr. Kathleen Deagan was a member of the Anthropology faculty at FSU from 1974 to 1982. During this time, she established a program of annual excavations (including student training field schools) at historical archaeological sites in St. Augustine. She continued her work on Spanish colonial sites of La Florida during her tenure as curator at the Florida Museum of Natural History at the University of Florida starting in 1982.

Deagan's replacement, Dr. Rochelle A. Marrinan, directed a number of Spanish period related projects, including the Apalachee-Mission Archaeological Survey in 1985 (Marrinan 1993; Marrinan and Bryne 1986). Marrinan began working at the Apalachee mission site of San Pedro y San Pablo de Patale in 1984 at the invitation of the then landowners Dr. Frank and Eveline Bilek (Marrinan 1993). Marrinan conducted extensive investigations at Mission Patale from 1984 to 1995 and a final season in 2000. During this time, the main research focus was on acculturation during a heightened time of culture contact between the Indigenous Apalachee, Spanish soldiers and civilians, and Franciscan missionaries. Following this line of research inquiry, Marrinan identified the religious/ceremonial area of the site, which consisted of the church, *convento*, and *cocina*, and domestic areas (Marrinan 1993). Tanya Peres was a student in the 1994 Spring semester (January through April) field school held at the Patale site.

In 1995, Marrinan and students with the FSU Archaeological Field School conducted testing and excavations at the Mission O'Connell site. This time, Peres was a graduate field assistant for the 1997 Spring semester (January through April) survey and excavations at the O'Connell site. Over the six sea-

sons of investigations conducted at the O'Connell site, evidence of Indigenous and Spanish residents was uncovered. This evidence consisted of structures and artifacts related to Mission period activity and domestic activities related to everyday life of the residents (Marrinan et al. 2000).

In 2000, Marrinan directed subsurface testing of the Castro site to determine the horizontal extent of deposits and started topographic mapping of the landscape. She returned in 2001 to continue subsurface testing, coring, and magnetometer survey, and to conduct excavations. The excavations focused on several anomalies that had appeared in the magnetometer survey. These proved to be large trash-filled pits dating to the Mission period. Artifacts recovered from these pits include Indigenous ceramics, European-derived ceramics, glass beads, fragments of maize cobs, and lithics. In 2002, Marrinan and the field school students explored other areas based on anomalies, but these proved to be less productive areas than in 2001.

• • •

With an undertaking such as this, spread over 36 years, there are many scholars, researchers, institutions, and landowners to thank. The editors are most appreciative of our fellow collaborators who have joined us in this effort to add to the body of information about Florida's Spanish-Indian missions. Without their efforts, this volume would not have been possible.

Dr. John H. Hann, who died in 2009, has been the most important ethnohistorical scholar who has investigated the Florida missions and the Indigenous people of Florida. His books, articles, and presentations at meetings have been gratefully received by archaeologists and historians. John was one of the original members of the San Luis Archaeological and Historic Site staff who began work in the fall of 1983 when the property was purchased by the State of Florida. The work he accomplished before his health declined is invaluable to each of us, as evidenced by its use throughout our chapters.

As the work at Mission San Luis began, the property on which Mission San Pedro y San Pablo de Patale had been identified by Calvin Jones was sold to Dr. Frank S. and Eveline B. Bilek. The Bileks contacted the Department of Anthropology at Florida State University to continue investigations at the site. Their financial contributions to the Florida State University Foundation supported 11 years of work (1984–1994) at this mission site, giving several hundred undergraduate and graduate students the opportunity for field training. Eveline died in 1991 and Dr. Bilek's health rapidly declined thereafter. The property was sold in 1995.

A grant from the U.S. Department of State supported Stephen Bryne (1986)

and a small field crew to conduct a survey during the summer of 1985 for sites related to the Patale mission. The Bileks provided matching funds for the grant, and Florida State University provided support for Marrinan (Marrinan and Bryne 1986). During the survey, we inspected the site on the property of Stephen C. O'Connell, former justice of the Florida Supreme Court and president of the University of Florida. Judge O'Connell permitted our investigating the site on his property (Turkey Roost, Patale II, and renamed the O'Connell Mission site). In 2000, Judge O'Connell's health was declining, he sold his cattle, and the land was swapped for land in planted pines. The FSU field school investigated the site on his land from 1995 to 2001.

The archaeological collections of the State of Florida were managed by David D. Dickel when work on missions resumed in the 1980s. Marie Prentice was his able staff. Both made collections available for study by students and senior scholars. Because much of the material originated in sites for which there was no site report, study of these collections made it possible to see the variety of material culture that had been excavated. Both Dave and Marie were helpful in examining the collections and their associated documents.

Between 2002 and 2018, no fieldwork was conducted on a Mission period site by FSU Anthropology faculty. During this time, Marrinan had nearly finished the monumental tasks of analyzing the artifacts and features identified at Patale and turning these data and findings into a monograph. Marrinan received a Summer Research Grant from the Florida State University Council on Research and Creativity in 2002 that supported the preliminary analysis of the material culture from features associated with the O'Connell Mission site *convento*. She is grateful to Dr. Jessi Halligan for translating her hand-drawn illustrations into versions acceptable for publication.

Peres returned to FSU as a faculty member in the Department of Anthropology in August 2015. Her active research program focuses on Indigenous foodways in the Southeastern United States, an important component to the Apalachee-Spanish Mission Archaeology Project. While Peres will undertake new excavations at mission sites local to Tallahassee, and in Spring semester of 2018 directed a field school at the site of Mission San Luis, her investigations are informed by the previous work of Hale, Marrinan, and other FSU archaeologists. Members of the Apalachee Indian Nation have graciously shared their enthusiasm and support of the Apalachee-Spanish Mission Archaeology Project. Peres thanks Dr. Elizabeth J. Reitz for supplying copies of her original zooarchaeology reports. Jerry Lee has proven to be an invaluable repository of knowledge of the archaeology of Mission San Luis, and is gracious in sharing his time with researchers and students alike. Michelle Gray drafted Figure

1.1 and digitized the figures for Chapter 3. Peres also thanks her family (John, Graeme, and Cora) for their support in this and all endeavors.

The editors thank the editorial staff at the University of Florida Press. The timing of this manuscript was such that we were fortunate to work with Judith Knight, Meredith Babb, and now Rachel Welton and Romi Gutierrez. We appreciate the tough talk, kind words, advice, guidance, professionalism, and their dedication to academic publishing. We thank Charles Ewen and a second, anonymous reviewer for their thoughtful feedback on the manuscript. The completion of this volume would not have been possible without the support of our home institution, the Department of Anthropology at the Florida State University.

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Unearthing the Missions of Spanish Florida

An Introduction to the Volume

ROCHELLE A. MARRINAN AND TANYA M. PERES

Nearly 30 years have passed since the publication of the edited volume, *The Spanish Missions of La Florida* (McEwan 1993). In that volume, a "blue ribbon" group of scholars from multiple disciplines contributed the most up-to-date corpus of information on mission research available for the Florida missions. In the 1980s and 1990s, mission archaeology was at the forefront of scholarly research programs at the University of Florida (Hoffman, Hoshower, Loucks, and Saunders), Florida Museum of Natural History (Cordell, Deagan, Johnson, Milanich, and Weisman), American Museum of Natural History (Larsen, Thomas), Florida State University (Marrinan), and the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research (Baker, McEwan, Mitchem, Vernon, and Shapiro). Those multiyear projects produced substantial amounts of data and new understandings of the interactions between Indigenous groups and Spaniards.

The present volume brings together a multidisciplinary group of scholars working on the Spanish missions in La Florida and the Indigenous people who occupied them. Prior to our current volume, two substantial works synthesized the then-current research on missions, both published by the University of Florida Press/University Press of Florida. The first was *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* by Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin (1951), which presented documentary translations that portrayed events in Apalachee Province along with reports of the first archaeological work undertaken on mission sites. Forty-two years after the Boyd, Smith, and Griffin publication, *The Spanish Missions of La Florida*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan (1993), brought together the findings of mission research—both archaeological and historical—in those intervening years. The chapters in that book ranged from site-specific studies of mission complexes to material cul-

ture studies to analyses of the lived experiences within mission communities in the Guale, Apalachee, and Timucua provinces (the latter including the Mayacas and Jororos).

Research on mission sites and communities has waxed and waned since 1993, with resurgence in academic interest in the past decade. *Unearthing the Missions of Spanish Florida* brings together archaeologists, historians, and ethnomusicologists to present the cutting-edge in Mission archaeology in Apalachee and Timucua provinces. The contributors build on the foundational studies included in the 1951 and 1993 volumes. They bring together current data and interpretations from additional years of research on questions such as missionization, settlement, foodways, soundscapes, conflict and warfare, and the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples and Spaniards during the Mission period. Mission settlements were established throughout Spanish Florida (La Florida), extending north from St. Augustine into the middle Georgia coast and linking St. Augustine on the East Coast to San Luis de Talimali, the western capital in Apalachee Province in the Tallahassee area. Missions also were established in north central Florida near Lake City, Gainesville, and Ocala. The focus of the chapters in this volume is on mission sites located within the boundaries of modern-day Florida.

The Spanish Mission Period of Florida's History

Spain's exploration and colonization of La Florida is not a history that is well known among the residents of the state of Florida. There are many reasons for this disconnect. Certainly, the migratory nature of Florida's contemporary population is one. Another significant factor is the overwhelming concentration on United States history in our educational institutions and a devaluation of any history before English-speaking colonists arrived in Virginia and Massachusetts. Florida was not one of the "first thirteen" colonies, but rather was colonized by the archenemies (Spain and France) of the English colonists who represent the bedrock of United States history. Florida has a long history, longer than the history of the English colonies, and longer than that of the United States. The history of the Spanish-Indian missions in La Florida is a part of that history, a brief period in the larger sweep of time, but of great consequence to the Indigenous communities of the Spanish Borderlands, the area between Florida and California. Mission settlements were a significant part of that landscape from late in the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century.

Missions as Religious, Social, and Administrative Places

Just as the history of Spain in Florida has been undervalued in public education in the state, the knowledge that Spanish missions were once a significant part of the landscape of northern Florida is not widely appreciated. What is meant by the term, Spanish mission? It was a settlement of varying size where Indigenous peoples lived and worked under the direction of a foreign religious leader and their native chiefs. Church and state were inseparable in Spanish government. Missionization, a means of frontier pacification, was to be funded by the Crown. All costs of administrative, military, and missionary activity in the New World were to be paid by the Crown. Because the friars were mendicants, all financial support—whether for the construction and furnishing of the mission church, for the conduct of the sacred liturgy, or the maintenance of the friar—was the responsibility of the colonial governor in St. Augustine. This arrangement, plus the ebb and flow of wealth in the Spanish empire, meant that the friars and the Indigenous people they served were dependent on government officials who often had other priorities.

To the archaeologist in Florida, a mission is a place where the location of a sixteenth-, seventeenth-, or eighteenth-century religious-led settlement of Indigenous people has been identified through the presence of diagnostic material objects, structural evidence, and, sometimes, human skeletal remains. Unlike the California or Texas missions, the Florida missions left no standing structures. It is the debris of everyday life, deposited around domestic and ritual spaces, that indicates where generations of Indigenous people lived under the direction of Catholic clergy and their chiefs. In Florida, native chiefs retained their roles, acting as middlemen in trade as well as in the provision of labor for the hated *repartimiento*, the labor levy owed to Spanish authorities.

Archaeological Correlates of Mission Life

What evidence confirms that an archaeological site is a mission? Material culture may provide the first clue. Often a mixture of Indigenous earthenware fragments (potsherds) and European-introduced ceramics are present on the surface of the land. Beside ceramics, various objects made from metals (iron, bronze, brass, gold, and silver) may be observed. Glass beads also are frequently recovered on mission sites. The types of ceramics, both Indigenous and European-introduced, and the types of beads provide an indication of time of occupation. Ceramic, metal, and glass artifacts may be evident on the site surface, but structural features are also important indicators. These are harder to see since many of the sites have been farmed or have been affected by post–

World War II development, both public and private. To determine whether structures indicative of a mission are present, excavation generally is necessary, but sometimes, remote sensing (e.g., aerial photography, ground-penetrating radar, or magnetometry) can be helpful in determining the presence of buried structures. Confirmation of an archaeological site as a mission is best made by the identification of the mission church, and usually, by the remains of members of the congregation interred beneath its floor. This relationship—a church structure with subfloor cemetery—has been observed in most of the mission provinces in Florida, marking a cultural change in Indigenous burial practices. Burial beneath the church floor and the arrangement of the body are consistent with Catholic practices although some individuals were interred with Indigenous and European items.

Temporal and Archaeological Chronologies of Mission Period Archaeology

Mission period archaeology effectively involves the time from the arrival of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés on the Florida coast in the sixteenth century to the demise of the last Yamasee mission in St. Augustine in the eighteenth century. Historians divide the early history of Florida into several time segments: First Spanish period (1565–1763), British period (1763–1783), and Second Spanish period (1783–1813). In Florida, missionization of native groups involved two religious orders: the Jesuits (Society of Jesus) and the Franciscans (Order of Friars Minor). The Jesuit Mission period is brief, lasting from 1565 to 1572. The earliest Franciscan Mission period is much longer, from 1572 to 1704. The missions discussed in this volume date to the First Spanish period (1572–1704).

For archaeologists, Mission period archaeology is the province of Historical Archaeology, which covers the period from the last prehistoric cultures to the colonial era and beyond. This field includes the archaeology of the European expansion into, and colonization of, the Americas. European colonization efforts were often economically driven. Those economic efforts required massive amounts of human labor. Thus, captive Africans were brought across the Atlantic from ports along the African coast to the Americas. It also concerns the spread of capitalism in the modern world and the marginalized groups within those systems. However Historical Archaeology is defined or conceptualized, it deals with contact between Europeans (and shortly thereafter, Africans) and Indigenous New World peoples. To be effective, the historical archaeologist must take into consideration the prehistoric (or pre-Contact, pre-1492) culture of a group being studied as well as their post-Contact circumstances. The late prehistoric period is significant in our consideration of missions because many

of the Indigenous peoples and communities recognized by the exploring and colonizing European nations coalesced during this time.

When Europeans and others entered the Western Hemisphere, the material world expanded to include a variety of objects of metal, container glass and beads, ceramics made on a wheel, glazed, and hand-painted, and new plants and animals brought from all over the world. The social world changed with forced accommodation to new arrangements in settlement location, labor requirements, housing, status and roles in society, religion, and mortuary behaviors. The ideological world of Indigenous peoples was shaken, and scholars are interested in the persistence, resistance, and blending (also called syncretism) of ideological elements. Contact between Indigenous peoples and the European intruders was not a one-way affair, even though, in many instances, we have the sense that European institutions were quickly imposed on native groups, European material culture was promptly seen as superior, and European diseases took their toll. It was not that simple.

Europeans had significant adjustments to make. Ideological assaults began with the discovery of people living a "stone age" existence at a time when Europeans smugly held their way of life as superior to all others. In fact, Europeans would not accept the evidence of their own prehistory, their own "stone age," until the mid-nineteenth century. Were the natives human? What rights had they? Where did they come from? Were they one of the "lost tribes of Israel" as the Bible recorded? Why were their social conventions for leadership, justice, family life, and dress so different from European practices? Religious precepts, physical modesty, and inheritance—the perceptions of "otherness" required Europeans to confront their own beliefs and customs at a time when questioning received wisdom could bring charges of heresy. Europe itself was in a time of transition—from theocracy and divine-right monarchy to a more enlightened society of science, laws, and recognition of basic human rights. For colonists, living in a new environment and interacting with Indigenous peoples required changes in their foodways as well as perceptions of what constituted "proper" behavior. The so-called Columbian Exchange was really a Columbian Collision in many respects.

To the Spaniards, Indigenous people were "conquered people" and, as such, owed tribute that was paid in goods and services. Missions were established to maintain stable relationships with chiefly leaders and their people. This extended Spanish hegemony, to teach the "gifts of Spanish civilization," and to provide the means of extracting labor and resources. Groups such as the Timucuas, Mocamas, and Guales, who were the first to have sustained interactions with Spaniards, experienced population decline from repeated infectious

disease epidemics. Milanich's (1999) *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord* documents Indigenous population loss on the east coast of La Florida.

The Early Years of Mission Research

The development of Spanish Mission archaeology in Florida involved the first group of professionally trained archaeologists active in the state: John W. Griffin, Hale G. Smith, John M. Goggin, and Charles H. Fairbanks. They were employed by either the Florida State Park Service or academic institutions, principally Florida State University and the University of Florida. Spanish Mission archaeology has a lengthy history in two areas of the state: St. Augustine and the Tallahassee Red Hills region. Excavations at the Fountain of Youth Park in St. Augustine in 1934 exposed a substantial number of Indigenous burials. This site is now recognized as affiliated with Mission Nombre de Dios. The location of the San Luis de Talimali mission in Tallahassee was never lost. The presence of an earthwork and recovery of fragments of cannon were noted by the earliest surveyors and people living in the area.

The earliest work in the Tallahassee area was a collaborative effort between two archaeologists, Hale G. Smith and John W. Griffin, and historian Mark F. Boyd. Griffin (P. Griffin 1996:4–6) was hired by the Florida Park Service in 1946 as state archaeologist, a newly created position (apparently there had been an earlier position of state archaeologist in the Florida Geological Survey). Griffin and Smith, his assistant, manned an office in Tallahassee but worked at sites throughout the state. Mark F. Boyd was a medical doctor who became interested in the Spanish history of the Tallahassee area. He translated documents relating to the area, many of which were published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (Boyd 1937, 1939, 1948a, 1948b, 1953). Hale G. Smith was interested in the Contact period, and his early work became the basis for his doctoral dissertation published in 1956. During his employment with the Park Service, his mission excavations led to investigation of the Pine Tuft site believed to be the location of Mission San Juan de Aspalaga (8JE1). Fairbanks joined the faculty at Florida State University in 1955 and conducted further field school excavations in the fort area at San Luis de Talimali in 1956 and 1957. He joined the Department of Anthropology at the University of Florida in 1963 after John Goggin's death (du Toit 1986:52).

John M. Goggin had a deep interest in Spanish-Indian contacts and published seminal works on the material culture of these interactions. *The Spanish Olive Jar* (1960) and *Spanish Majolica in the New World* (1968) remain significant references. Before his death, he drafted a study of glass trade beads

(Goggin n.d.) that was never published but was widely circulated in mimeograph form. He involved students in discovering sites and in field projects, both terrestrial and underwater. Goggin, a pioneer of underwater archaeology, investigated the Fig Springs (8CO1) tributary of the Ichetucknee River where substantial quantities of Spanish materials (largely ceramics) were recovered. Goggin never identified the terrestrial component of the site, but the quantity and variety of material remains from the spring and run (stream) suggested that the site was nearby. Deagan (1972) published Goggin's collections and the material belonging to Russell Platt, a local collector.

In the 1960s, the Florida Department of State, Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties, became engaged in Mission-period research. The United States Bicentennial Celebration and construction of Interstate Highway 10 were the principal reasons for their involvement. B. Calvin Jones, an archaeologist hired in 1968, was the most active of the state agency archaeologists. Jones identified the locations of numerous missions in northwest Florida in the late 1960s and early 1970s. A number of brief notices (Jones 1970a, 1970b, 1971, 1972b) regarding these sites were published in the Division of Archives, History, and Records Management *News* and longer treatments of excavations in its *Bulletin* series (Jones 1972a, 1973; Jones and Penman 1973). An overview of Jones' work was published in 1990 (Jones and Shapiro 1990).

Although they worked in different areas, it is these archaeologists to whom we look for the earliest sustained interest in mission sites. We also look to historians Boyd, John H. Hann, and Amy T. Bushnell. Hann was initially hired to translate documents but became the site historian when Mission San Luis was purchased by the State of Florida. During his tenure, Hann (1988, 1990, 1991, 1993b, 1996, 2003, 2006) produced major syntheses of the Indigenous groups in Florida. His documentary translations (Hann 1986, 1993a) assisted the process of developing the San Luis site for public interpretation as well as providing insights to archaeologists regarding site features, dating, and identification. Bushnell (1994) published a study of the economics of the mission system as well as articles on the ball game (1978) and on the mission system (1979, 1989, 2001, 2004, 2014).

Missionary Efforts

Evangelization of Florida's Indigenous people involved two missionary orders: Jesuits and Franciscans. The Jesuit effort in La Florida was brief; the Franciscan effort lasted well over a century. When the Jesuits left the Florida mission field in 1572, the responsibility for La Florida was transferred to the

Franciscans. Documentation of their efforts and the material remains of their installations are more extensive.

The Jesuit Missions

Although clergy accompanied the early exploratory expeditions to what is now Florida, an intentional effort to pacify and evangelize Indigenous groups was not made until 1565 when Pedro Menéndez de Avilés established a foothold in North America at St. Augustine. The Jesuits were a new order founded by the Spaniard Ignatius Loyola and chartered by Pope Pius III in 1540. Jesuits accompanied Menéndez to La Florida. At first, Menéndez established several manned strongholds along the east coast and southwestern Gulf Coast of peninsular Florida and stationed Jesuits at these outposts. The relationships among the soldiers, Jesuits, and Indigenous peoples were fraught with tensions and misunderstandings. Jesuits also were sent to the Georgia coast (1569–1570) and served at Santa Elena near present-day Beaufort, South Carolina (Jones 1978; Thomas 2010). Santa Elena, established in 1566, was to be Menéndez's principal settlement, but relationships with the Indigenous people of the area were hostile. The settlement lasted until 1587 when the remaining colonists returned to Spain.

Initially, the Jesuits thought that the Indigenous people of Florida could be easily won to Christianity (Cushner 2006:31). Father Juan Rogel, one of the first Jesuits in Florida, believed that the Indians of Florida were amenable to a "spiritual harvest" (Rogel quoted in Cushner 2006:31). Two years later, Florida Jesuit missionary Father Antonio Sedeño described Florida as "the most miserable land ever discovered by man" and characterized the Florida natives as "sensual, savage beasts who preferred going to hell with the devil than to heaven with Christians" (Sedeño quoted in Cushner 2006:31).

In retrospect, the Jesuits were probably a poor choice for service in Florida. They were founded at a time when the Protestant Reformation threatened the Roman Catholic Church. In response, a Catholic Counter-Reformation occurred to correct various deficiencies. One chronic problem was the status system within the church that provided little religious education for those at the base of the hierarchy, the parish priest. The Society of Jesus, a mendicant order, required education in the classics and theology as qualification for membership. The Jesuits' mission was to reinvigorate European Catholicism, convert non-Catholics, and bring the Gospel to the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. In Spanish and Portuguese New World colonies, they often clashed with administrators in the system that permitted government functionaries to decide a wide variety of tactical religious issues. In 1767, the order was sup-

pressed, and all Jesuits removed from the New World. In Florida, however, the order withdrew in 1572 after seven years of effort, martyrdom, and little success.

The archaeology of these earliest Jesuit missions is not well developed. Although Jesuits contacted numerous Indigenous groups along the coastal strand from southwest Florida to the Chesapeake Bay, only two sites in Florida, the Granada site (8DA11) and the Safety Harbor site (8PI2) have been linked to the Jesuit missions. The Granada site may be the location of historic Tequesta, where the Jesuit lay brother Francisco de Villareal served (Griffin 1985; Parks 1985:30–36). Griffin and Bullen (1950) believed that the Safety Harbor site was probably historic Tocobaga. Both the Tequestas and Tocobagas were influential Indigenous groups reported by the first expeditions to Florida. Although cultural material datable to the Mission period has been recovered from both sites, features from a specific mission component or fortification have not been identified at either site.

The Franciscan Missions (1930s to 1970s)

The Franciscan missions in Spanish Florida are often referred to as a "chain." Beginning in the St. Augustine area, Franciscans first moved north along the coast in the late sixteenth century. The earliest missions were established among the Timucuas, Mocamas, and Guales in what today is northeast Florida and coastal southeastern Georgia. In the early seventeenth century, they moved into interior north Florida among the Timucuas, Acueras, Utinas, Potanos, and Yustagas. Finally, in 1633, they moved into northwest Florida among the Apalachees. Beyond Apalachee, they were unsuccessful in attracting any of the native groups into permanent mission settlements.

Mission Nombre de Dios (Timucua Province–Agua Salada)

A gardener planting orange trees was the first to encounter human remains at this site. The landowner, Walter B. Fraser, contacted the Smithsonian Institution, and archaeologist Matthew D. Stirling recommended that J. Ray Dickson should investigate the gardener's find. Although Dickson did not recognize the burials he encountered at Fountain of Youth Park in St. Augustine as members of a mission congregation, subsequent work has shown that these individuals were buried within the walls of a church (Deagan 2009). The interments that Dickson exposed were buried in Christian fashion: recumbent, fully extended, arms crossed over the chest, and with a generally east-west burial orientation. Some burials were intrusive, and in some cases, more than one individual was buried in a grave. In six "group burials," one

or more adults with children were observed, and Deagan (2009:52) suggests that these graves might indicate the elimination of whole families from epidemic disease episodes.

Since Dickson's work in 1934, there have been numerous archaeological projects at the Fountain of Youth Park (8SJ31), most directed by Kathleen A. Deagan. The site of the Nombre de Dios mission is not restricted to the Fountain of Youth Park, however. It extends north to the grounds of the Our Lady of La Leche Shrine (8SJ34). In 1951, Father Charles Spellman, director of the Diocese of St. Augustine Archives, conducted excavations in search of the original stone chapel. Spellman was assisted by students from the University of Florida under Goggin's direction. A native Floridian, Spellman had written a master's thesis on the Spanish Mission period while at the University of California at Berkeley (1947). In 1951–1952, he excavated a broad area south of the commemorative chapel located on the grounds (Deagan 2012). His excavation exposed coquina foundations, but it was not clear that they represented the shrine chapel he sought. Deagan has continued excavations in this area.

Goggin's students also worked on the Fountain of Youth property in 1951. The work by Dickson and Goggin's students is summarized by Seaberg (1951) and Deagan (2009). Although Dickson exposed more than 112 burials, Stirling performed osteological analysis on only two, both identified as female. Some of the burials have remained exposed since 1953 as a park exhibit for tourists. In 1990, David D. Dickel conducted an osteological assessment of 12 more individuals who were subsequently reburied (Deagan 2009:59–60). The village of the mission was located around the church, extending in all directions (Deagan 2009:60).

Mission San Francisco de Oconee and Mission San Luis (Apalachee Province)

In the northwest Florida Province of Apalachee, the first professional work on Franciscan mission sites was conducted by Hale G. Smith and John W. Griffin in the late 1940s. J. Clarence Simpson of the Florida Geological Survey had shown mission sites to Boyd, who served as Honorary Historian for the Florida Park Service. Boyd published a series of articles on mission sites in Florida (Boyd 1939, 1948b, 1953, 1958) trying to match named missions with known archaeological sites. Boyd introduced Smith and Griffin to mission sites around Tallahassee. Smith excavated at the Scott Miller site (8JE2) in 1947, which they identified as Mission San Francisco de Oconee (Griffin 1996:18). Griffin (1996:19) excavated at the site of Mission San Luis (8LE4) in 1948, then on the

outskirts of the Tallahassee city limits, concentrating on the area of the fort. This pioneering work was collaboratively published in 1951 as *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions*. Boyd contributed translations of many documents pertaining to the Apalachee missions and Smith and Griffin contributed their field reports. In addition, Smith appended a discussion of Mission-period material culture with initial type descriptions of Mission period ceramics. Smith had published brief, earlier versions (1948a, 1948b). Willey (1949) included some of this information in his seminal overview, *Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast*.

San Juan del Puerto (Timucua Province–Mocama)

On the east coast, near Jacksonville, Goggin and his students identified the location of Mission San Juan del Puerto (8DU53) on Fort George Island in 1951 (McMurray 1973:20). This mission was established by one of the 12 Franciscans who arrived in St. Augustine in 1587, the first contingent of any size. The mission is well known as the parish administered by Father Francisco Pareja after 1595. Pareja left a literary legacy in the form of a Timucuan grammar, catechisms in Castilian and Timucuan, and a *confessionario*, a list of questions asked by the priest during confession. This latter document has been reprinted by Milanich and Sturtevant (1972:15). John Griffin (1960) initiated excavations at the site in 1955 in cooperation with volunteers from the Jacksonville area. Ashley and Douberly-Gorman (this volume) substantively consider the numerous projects that have been undertaken at this site.

Fox Pond Site (Timucua Province–Potano)

Goggin and his students tested the Fox Pond site (8AL272) in Alachua County in 1956. Work at the site was continued by William H. Sears, from the Florida State Museum (now Florida Museum of Natural History), and by Fairbanks in 1964. The findings from those excavations were reported by Symes and Stephens (1965). They noted the possible association of the site with the mission San Francisco de Potano founded in 1606, destroyed in the Timucua Revolt of 1656, and believed to be rebuilt subsequently. The excavations did not expose Mission-period structures such as the mission church, although Symes and Stephens (1965:75) mention "possible house sites." No human remains were located. Material culture indicated a blend of local ceramics, types from the Apalachee area to the west (Leon-Jefferson ceramics), and from northeast Florida (St. Johns ceramics). They concluded that the Fox Pond site was a village site that probably had not been occupied after the Timucua Revolt.

Baptizing Spring (Timucua–Utina)

In the Timucua area, Milanich conducted excavations at the site of Baptizing Spring (8SU65), tentatively identified as a Utina mission, San Agustín de Urica. Two years later in 1978, L. Jill Loucks (1979, 1993), then a doctoral student at the University of Florida, excavated at the site for her dissertation fieldwork. These investigations resulted in the identification of four areas thought to be Indigenous living areas. Loucks (1993) also extensively excavated two wattle and daub structures that she identified as a church (Structure B) and *convento* (Structure A). The structure identified as a church was located at the most topographically elevated area of the site, but Loucks reported neither finding human remains associated with this structure nor the identification of grave pit features within her excavation areas. It is not clear what functions these structures served. At the time of Milanich's and Loucks' work at the site, it was identified as San Agustín de Urica. Subsequently, Worth's (1992:59) research has suggested it is more likely the mission San Juan de Guacará, dating the site to ca. 1610–1656.

Apalachee Province

By 1968, when the Florida Division of Historical Resources began a project to identify and investigate Apalachee mission sites, only three locations were known: the Pine Tuft site (8JE1, also known as San Juan de Aspalaga), the Scott Miller site (8JE2, also called San Francisco de Oconee by Smith [1951a] and later, Concepción de Ayubale by Morrell and Jones 1970), and Mission San Luis de Talimali (8LE4). In anticipation of the Bicentennial Celebration, the State of Florida was interested in purchasing and developing one of the seventeenth-century mission sites for public visitation. Jones was assigned to locate four new mission sites as part of this project. Although none of the sites was ultimately purchased, Jones identified the Apalachee missions of San Joseph de Ocuya (8JE72), San Lorenzo de Ivitachuco (8JE100), San Miguel de Aisle (8JE106), and San Pedro de Potohiriba (8MD30), the latter a Yustaga (Timucua) mission (Jones 1998). Jones also investigated the mission site that he identified as Mission San Pedro y San Pablo de Patale (8LE152) in 1971.

Investigations conducted prior to the 1980s, although generally brief and impressionistic, had furthered knowledge of missions in La Florida, primarily through site identification. The work of Smith and Griffin (Smith 1951b; Smith and Griffin 1951) at mission sites provided an early type-variety system for the classification of Mission-period ceramics and a trait list of the kinds of material culture to be expected in assemblages. The work by Jones (1970a, 1970b, 1971,

1972b, 1973) generated a "Florida Mission Model" based on very limited excavations and apparent expectations from other mission systems in the Spanish Borderlands. The architectural reconstruction of the "church" at Mission San Joseph de Aspalaga is an example (Morrell and Jones 1970). Given the internal partitioning of the structure, it is more likely a *convento* than a church. Marrinan believes that familiarity with Franciscan approaches to preaching and church constructions would have prevented this error in interpretation. The architectural historian George Kubler (1940, 1948) documented Franciscan edifices in New Spain (Mexico) and New Mexico. Although these structures vary in appearance, size, and construction materials, their footprints and plans emphasize a single-nave, hall-church.

Franciscan Missions (1980 to Present)

In the early 1980s, a period of intense activity in Spanish mission archaeology was just beginning, although we did not know it. During the governorship of the Honorable Robert D. "Bob" Graham (1979–1987), several initiatives began. Graham, traveling in the western United States, had followed the Lewis and Clark Trail and wondered why Florida did not have a De Soto Trail. At Graham's direction, a committee composed of historians, archaeologists, transportation planners, and Division of Historical Resources staff formed to consider the evidence of de Soto's presence in Florida. Funds were made available to conduct archaeological surveys in support of marking a trail, particularly in north central Florida (Johnson 1986, 1987; Johnson et al. 1988). Although the National Park Service declined to mark a trail in the Southeast, the State of Florida marked a trail along major roadways as a matter of public interest.

Fifty acres of the site of Mission San Luis de Talimali were purchased during the fall of 1983 by the State of Florida. Further, a research program within the Bureau of Archaeological Research was developed under the leadership of James J. Miller (State Archaeologist) and Gary N. Shapiro (first director of archaeology). By this time, the state held two other properties on which a mission site had been identified or suspected: Mission San Damian de Escambe (Leon County) and Ichetucknee Springs State Park (Columbia County).

The 450th anniversary of the De Soto *entrada* (1989) was also approaching. Survey work conducted by Kenneth Johnson (1990), in support of determining the route of the de Soto expedition, identified the location of the long-sought mission in Ichetucknee Springs State Park. The Florida Park Service considered replicating the mission. Archaeologists Brent R. Weisman, Jerald T. Milanich,